TEARS OF REPENTANCE

Christian Indian Identity and Community

in Colonial Southern New England

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PREFACE

Henry Oliver Walker (1843–1929) painted an evocative mural, *John Eliot Preaching to the Indians*, commissioned in 1903 for the rotunda of the Massachusetts State House in Boston. Walker received his training at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Consistent with this academic tradition, he adopted a muted palette of red, orange, and yellow to suggest an autumn woodland scene at Nonantum in 1641 where light reflected from the Charles River in the background. The artist enhanced the grandeur of Reverend Eliot's gesture of exhortation by recording his words in the lower border of the mural: "I am about the work of the great God and my God is with me." He preached to seven assembled Native men clothed only in breechcloths. One man appears to be wearing a Plains Indian feather headdress, and several women are draped in woolen garments.[1] The mural reflects an enduring trope in the American imagination captured in paintings, prints, and lithographs throughout the nineteenth century: heroic, godly men like Eliot, renowned as the "Apostle to the Indians," brought gospel light and truth to "savage" and "uncivilized" inhabitants of the forest. Natives are depicted as enthralled, passively receiving these messages of hope (in a subordinate or inferior position), seated or standing below the towering preacher. The viewer's focus remains on the preacher, not the Native audience.

Five years earlier, in 1898, the Reverend Edward G. Porter commissioned the Spanish sculptor Domingo Mora to carve four bas-relief panels for the front façade of the Congregational House in Boston. The fourth bas-relief, *Community Witness: The Apostle Eliot Preaching among the Indians, 1646*, captures Eliot preaching in front of Waban's wigwam in Nonantum. Porter writes, "The evangelic spirit, drawn directly from the New Testament and encouraged by an enlightened mind and a consecrated heart, finds expression in missions of all kinds at home and abroad."[2]

My study attempts to alter this perception of Native passivity, thralldom, subordination, and docile receptivity by shifting the focus from the preacher to the Native congregation. What did Native peoples make of Reformed religion in the context of the unfolding of settler colonialism in New England during the colonial period?

The impetus for this book came from the instructive comments of a reviewer of my first book, *Religious Melancholy and Protestant Experience in America* (1994), who suggested that a study of religious melancholy among Christian Indians in the context of Protestant missions was long overdue. For more than a decade I immersed myself in Native American studies, ethnohistory, American history, religious studies, and relevant topics in sociology and psychology, seeking to understand the lived religion, religious emotions, and predicaments of Native peoples—individuals and groups—in southern New England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who found themselves in the throes of missionization, religious paternalism, and the dynamic of settler colonialism.

I realized that if I wanted to reconstruct how Natives actively reshaped their lives and communities, then concepts like "conversion narrative," "morphology of conversion," and "religious melancholy," although important, were too limiting. As C. Wright Mills argues in *The Sociological Imagination*, when a concept is not adequate to the task, we must develop broader heuristic constructs. To this end, I posed the question of individual and collective identity: how did Native groups appropriate selected aspects of Reformed religion to persevere as ethnic groups and peoples in their new world? Shifting the focus and emphasis from conversion to salvation, I examined how Christian Indians recast Protestant theology into an Indianized quest for salvation from this-worldly troubles and toward the promise of otherworldly paradise. The melancholy praying Indian embraced a penitential sense of life in which rituals of evangelical humiliation might prompt God, Jesus, and Christian other-than-human persons to grant health, prosperity, and good things to the people. And Christian Indians in mission communities that were organized by various regimens of religious paternalism adopted, with differing degrees of success, an ethic of ascetic life regulation suited to the restricted land base and lifeways on reservation communities.

The chapters on the Great Awakening among Native communities behind the frontier consider how evangelical pietist religion transformed religious identities and communities, giving rise to the sublime hope that regenerate Christian Indians were children of God who might effectively contest colonialism. With this dream unfulfilled, the exodus from New England to Brothertown on Oneida lands in New York envisioned a separatist Christian Indian commonwealth on the borderlands of America in the decades following the Revolutionary War.

Many people have assisted me in bringing this project to completion. Elisabeth Chretien, Associate Acquisitions Editor, clarified questions regarding permission to publish archives and manuscripts, copyright and fair use, and other production issues.

I wish to acknowledge the critical insights and guidance provided by the anonymous readers whose suggestions have helped improve this book. I am trained as a historical sociologist of religion and have benefited from readers with expertise in American history and Native American studies.

This is my third study of religious melancholy, that complex of theology, practical divinity, and religious emotions in American Protestantism that contributed to our national religious identity and the recasting of ethnic identities of Christian Indians from colonial times through the nineteenth century. Matthew F. Bokovoy, PhD, Senior Acquisitions Editor, Native American and Indigenous Studies and Western American History, saw promise in my work and steadfastly championed this book through the process of revision, helping me to develop and clarify my ideas for publics across disciplines in the humanities and social sciences.

This project was made possible by faculty development grants from Saint Joseph College, including sabbatical leaves in 1996, 2002, and 2010, summer minigrants, and research funds. Emma Lapansky, Professor of History and Curator of the Quaker Collection at Haverford College, provided an opportunity for me to study lived religion in America during my participation in a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Institute, "Religious Diversity in America," in 1996. I presented my conceptualization of evangelical Christian Indian identity at the Third Mashantucket Pequot History Conference, devoted to "Eighteenth-Century Native Communities of Southern

New England in the Colonial Context," in September 2002. I am grateful to Jack Campisi of the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center for his encouragement and to Kevin A. McBride, Director of Research at the Center, for sharing his study of the Mashantucket Pequot village known as Indiantown. I wish to thank Scott Manning Stevens, Director of the D'Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian and Indigenous Studies, for selecting me as a participant in the National Endowment for the Humanities Institute, "From Metacom to Tecumseh: Alliances, Conflicts, and Resistance in Native North America," hosted by the Newberry Library in June 2010. These sessions and conversations helped me to clarify my ideas about the role religion played in Indian resistance to settler colonialism. Rowena McClinton has assisted me in my study of the Moravian mission to Pachgatgoch.

Kerry Driscoll, my colleague at Saint Joseph College, convinced me to join her in teaching an honors seminar on Native American literature and history. During these classes, she taught me much about captivity narratives and Native American literature. Her considerable influence can be found throughout this book. Kathy Kelley has graciously filled my many interlibrary loan requests.

I want to thank Yale University for providing a Pew Visiting Faculty Fellowship during 1996, and Harry S. Stout, Professor of History, Religious Studies, and American History, Yale University, for the many invitations to participate in Pew Conferences devoted to the study of religion in America. This study would not have been possible without access to Yale's libraries, including the Manuscript and Archives Collection of Sterling Memorial Library, the Special Collections of the Divinity Library, and the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Other libraries that have made this research possible are the Houghton Library, Harvard University; the Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, the Newberry Library, Chicago; Massachusetts Historical Society Library, Watkinson Library, Trinity College; Shain Library, Connecticut College; Connecticut Historical Society; Madison County (New York) Historical Society; Olin Library, Wesleyan University; Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts; and the Special Collections and Archives of the Burke Library, Hamilton College, Clinton, New York.

Nearly twenty years ago, in the preface of my first study of religious melancholy in America, I articulated my hope that I reiterate today: "Writing is an act of faith, the mustering of an 'inner assurance' and conviction that we indeed have something of value to contribute to anonymous publics from across many disciplines."[3]

TEARS OF REPENTANCE

INTRODUCTION

In this study I retell the now-familiar stories of the intercultural encounters between Protestant missionaries and Native peoples in southern New England from the seventeenth century through the early national period. These encounters include John Eliot, Thomas Mayhew Jr., and others who established the first "praying towns" in southeastern Massachusetts and Martha's Vineyard among the Wampanoags. From the eighteenth century we consider John Sergeant's work among the Mahicans in Stockbridge, Gideon Hawley's mission among the Mashpees, David Brainerd's evangelical mission to the Lenapes in New Jersey at Crossweeksung and Bethel, the Moravian mission at Pachgatgoch, and Samson Occom's ministry to the Montauketts. Finally, from the early national period, I retell the migration to Oneida lands of the Stockbridge tribe to create New Stockbridge, and the formation of the Brothertown community—an amalgamation of emigrants from the Narragansetts/Niantics, Montauketts, Farmingtons, Mohegans, Pequots, and Paucatuck Eastern Pequots from New England.

Retelling these stories of intercultural encounters presents accounts of the ideals, purposes, and goals of the Protestant missionaries juxtaposed with accounts of the lived religion, religious experience, and religious practice of Indians in these unique village communities. Natives are not depicted as either the "culturally demoralized victims of European aggression or as the self-actualizing resisters of White imperialism."[1] If Natives must not be viewed as one-dimensional caricatures—passive victims or scheming political operatives—then alternatively, we need to imagine them as complex human actors enmeshed in their village worlds, bound together through kinship and the noncoercive political and religious authority of sachems and powwows. They shared a common culture and language, and pursued

trade, diplomacy, and warfare and the seasonal migrations that were their traditional lifeways.

By examining the distinctive features of social relations in Indian village worlds in a colonial context, we can identify patterns of thought and cognition (eidos), and the cultural construction of emotions and lived experiences (ethos),[2] to elucidate the distinguishing characteristics of "being Indian in colonial New England." The evidence from more than fifty Indian towns in southeastern Massachusetts, Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—local linguistic communities in the eighteenth century—suggests that despite English interference, Natives continually recreated and revitalized their languages, identities, oral traditions, cultures, and lifeways.

The family household, clusters of extended families, and large multigenerational kin groups formed the basis for village social organization. Kinship bonds of blood, marriage, and intermarriage across Indian towns created local and regional networks of affiliation, status, and sachemship that tied Natives to one another and to their ancestral lands. Villagers reunited for traditional calendrical rituals and sacred Christian holidays in church grounds, dances, weddings, funerals, and "frolics." Their ceremonies attempted to maintain balance and reciprocity with many other-than-human persons: God, Jesus, traditional gods, culture heroes, guardian spirits, and shape shifters. They continued to believe in portents and dreams, consulted powwows and herbalists, and defended themselves against witchcraft. The textures of village life show how Indians selectively made choices about incorporating English culture as they struggled to preserve their communities and recreate themselves and their traditions.[3]

We will investigate how Native peoples adapted to their new worlds in the colonial encounter and pose several questions. First, how and why did Reformed Protestantism appeal to so many Native Americans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? Second, how did they selectively appropriate, embrace, and institutionalize Protestant theology, piety, and morality, blending Christianity with traditional lifeways to create unique and hybrid Christian Indian identities and communities?

When ethnographers or historians recount stories of intercultural

encounters, they impose a narrative structure to explain continuity and change. For example, influenced by the salvage ethnography of Franz Boas, anthropologists working in the 1930s and 1940s created the master narrative of Native American cultural changes by conceiving of "the present as disorganization, the past as glorious, and the future as assimilation."[4] This interpretive framework imagined the Native as a romantic and exotic other, alienated from an idealized precontact past, languishing in a present marked by pathology and social disintegration, and destined to disappear or assimilate in the future. Recurrent themes in American literature, poetry, and the arts, as well as collective representations of our national identity from King Philip's War through the early national period to the present, envision Natives as the vanishing American.[5] Alexis de Tocqueville embraced this trope that structured his perception of race in America. Writing in the margin of the manuscript of *Democracy in America*, he describes an encounter with a young Creek women and a slave woman who were left to care for the child of a member of the planter elite in the 1830s. He asks: "Why is it that of these three races, one was born to perish, one to rule, and one to serve?"[6]

Jean M. O'Brien's *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* examines six hundred local commemorative histories in the period 1820–1880, in the context of emerging American nationalism, to reveal the ideological project that elaborated a master narrative of Indian extinction. Doomed by perceived racial inferiority, Native groups and cultures steadily declined as intermarriage diluted "blood purity" and undermined the "authenticity" of aboriginal peoples. Central to New Englanders' perception of "real" Indians was a belief that Native lifeways were tied to nature, unchanging tradition, and irrational superstition. Thus, Indians could not make the transition to nineteenth-century modernity that was dominated by science and reason.[7]

Michael V. Wilcox refers to these images of Indian history as terminal narratives—injurious ideas that distort our understanding by conveying a story of destruction, disappearance (as a result of epidemic diseases and demographic decline), conversion, and assimilation. As an alternative, he proposes a narrative that emphasizes Native presence and persistence. It

rejects terminal narratives as one-sided "accounts of Indian histories which explain the absence, cultural death, or disappearance of Indigenous peoples."[8]

Following the decades of the civil rights movement, the American Indian Movement, and the cultural revolutions of the 1960s, a new postcolonial narrative structure emerged that imagined the past as exploitation, the present as resistance, and the future as ethnic revitalization. Terms such as oppression, colonialism, resistance, identity, ethnogenesis, and ethnicity captured strategies of resistance that ensured the revitalization of tribal ethnic identities.[9]

In reversing the terminal narrative, Wilcox suggests that in response to colonialism, Native peoples reconstructed their collective identities as political entities—tribes and nations—and reinvented themselves as sociocultural entities—ethnic groups. Max Weber defines ethnic groups as constituted by "an overarching communal consciousness" or brotherhood, a shared historical memory of colonization, a social division and boundary for inclusion of insiders and the exclusion of outsiders, and a common culture, language, religion, and way of life.[10] Within the dynamic of colonialism, nation-states, and empire, indigenous peoples as tribes and nations could engage in resistance, warfare, diplomacy, and treaty making to secure rights to ancestral land.[11] As distinctive ethnic groups they could reclaim their collective identity and peoplehood.

The formation of new Christian Indian communities exemplified one type of ethnic group formation and a critical dimension of ethnogenesis that is defined as "a creative adaptation to a general history of violent changes— including demographic collapse, forced relocation, enslavement, ethnic soldiering, ethnocide, and genocide—imposed during the historical expansion of colonial and nation states in the Americas."[12] In seventeenth-century encounters with colonizing newcomers, many remnant groups joined together to form amalgamated villages to reconstitute themselves as new peoples. We need to consider the role that religion played in this recreation of Native peoples.

Ethnogenesis implies that peoples possess the powers of agency to reclaim their histories and reinvent their cultural traditions and collective identity.[13] Ethnogenesis embraces the Western idea of cultural reflexivity and cultural

reinvention as a self-conscious process wherein peoples examine aspects of their culture as an object from the point of view of an outsider. In this manner, they make purposeful decisions to blend and syncretize elements of various cultures and create variations of Christian Indian identity in which "new ethnic identities, communities, and cultures are built or rebuilt out of historical, social, and symbolic systems."[14]

Each generation returns to study Native communities and to the historical record, to research and retell important stories that are reshaped and revised by new questions, value commitments, and scholarly imperatives of the zeitgeist. In the spirit of Michel Foucault's archaeology of knowledge, we must become self-reflexive about the discourses of knowledge and power and about the theoretical constructs and methods that we employ. "There is no fixed meaning in the past, for with each new telling the context varies, the audience differs, the story is modified."[15]

Before I proceed to retell the stories of intercultural encounters and the emergence of Christian Indian identities and communities, I first need to define and clarify key concepts, methods, and the narrative structure that inform this work. I begin with the insight that Christian Indian identity and community were produced by, and in response to, colonialism.[16] Colonialism, invasion, and conquest radically transformed the Indians' old world. The logic of domination by settler groups devised political-legal, administrative, and economic initiatives to control and domesticate Native populations, dispossess them of land, and eradicate their culture and lifeways. Settler colonialism envisioned the elimination of Native societies and their replacement by newcomers.[17]

Native peoples have resisted, persisted, and survived, despite the attempts to dispossess and eliminate them. In light of Native adaptations and perseverance, colonialism needs to be viewed as a multidimensional process that includes (1) biological survival and stabilization of populations after initial demographic decline due to epidemics and warfare; (2) political participation through overlapping alliances and warfare in North America where European colonizers from France, Spain, England, and the Netherlands sought Native allies in geopolitical competition; (3) economic exchange and incorporation of Indians as producers and consumers into

the mercantilist and later market economy through the fur trade and dependency on manufactured goods; (4) cultural exchange of worldviews, language, ideas, and religion.[18]

While these four dimensions of colonialism have been the impetus for change and discontinuity imposed from the outside, the colonized peoples exercised limited opportunities for agency within their communities. "Choices for change are made with the limiting constraints of colonial forces which are powerful enough to push indigenous peoples and individuals in directions they do not control and in fact deem undesirable. . . . The patterns of change that we are looking for are those that express the values and interests that gain the consensual support of the indigenous communities."[19] We need to examine the cultural exchange of religious ideas in the encounter between Native and newcomer and focus on the choices that Native peoples made when they encountered missionaries, ministers, and church-based institutionalized religion.

English Protestants introduced alternative myths of creation and previously unimaginable models for making a good life. Reformed Protestantism was a world religion that proclaimed the existence of a transcendental creator deity and the expiating sacrifice of a savior-prophet who might redeem humanity tainted by the sin of innate depravity in this fallen world. The concepts of sin as the willful disobedience to divine law and repentance formed the basis for a systematic religious ethos of life regulation and a heightened ethical relationship between God and humanity.

The unfolding of history, all human endeavor, and the events in each believer's life reflected God's preordained plan (providence). Protestant dogma explained the existence of good and evil (theodicy), the meaning of human existence marked by the believer's relationship with God (theology), the paths to salvation (practical divinity), and the obligations to submit to God's laws to make a good life and to forge a personality and identity in conformity with religious ideals (ethics). Within this religious worldview, English Protestants struggled mightily to find the inward grounds for the assurance of salvation in the world to come, eschewing a stance that promoted the enjoyment and sanguine acceptance of this world.

Christian Indian identity from the seventeenth through the nineteenth

centuries was forged in the crucible of religious melancholy. Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* identified an epidemic of religious melancholy in England in the seventeenth century, especially among radical Calvinist Puritans and Separatist sects who transplanted this spiritual malady onto New England shores.[20] Religious melancholy was a necessary, prescribed spiritual exercise for the believer in the spiritual journey from sin to regeneration. Each pilgrim traversed this inner journey, appropriating the practice of piety: self-examination to reveal sin, holy terror before God's law, feelings of abandonment as one forsaken by God. Conversion narratives structured the passage through the slough of despond into an ecstatic, selfless surrender to God in a moment of grace marked by the illumination of the heart and reception of the Holy Spirit as the regenerate believer turned toward God. Yet so many found themselves trapped in religious melancholy, in a ceaseless psychomachy, and unable to find the inner assurance of God's love. Not infrequently, believers obsessed over the dialectical tension between despair and assurance—the presumption of grace.[21]

From the beginning, Protestant missionaries to Native Americans schooled their neophytes in the consciousness of sin, the necessity of self-abasement, and the need to shed copious tears of repentance. Missionaries brought models of making a life through religious melancholy, and the promise of conversion and salvation, to Native peoples as a cultural therapeutic intended to redeem savage peoples living in darkness.[22] We will examine the "marrow of divinity" for Christian Indians as they selectively appropriated new concepts of self and personhood and new religious experiences, religious emotions, and forms of prayer, worship, and ritual.

The encounter with English religion occurred through missionary outreach beginning in the 1640s after three decades of virgin soil epidemics. Between 1616 and 1619, an epidemic struck coastal New England, killing an estimated 90 to 95 percent of the afflicted populations. Before the plague, Massasoit, chief Wampanoag sachem, could boast of sixty villages and twenty thousand people joined in confederacy. But after the pestilence, his chieftainship was reduced to one thousand survivors, as they stood helpless before their enemies and forced to ally with Plymouth Colony in March 1621.[23] Thousands more perished in the winter of 1623 in Massachusetts Bay

from fevers and influenza. Smallpox swept through Native settlements in 1633.[24]

The associated population decline and village abandonment, the collapse of corporate kin networks, and the triumph of English hegemony in southern New England after the Pequot War in 1637 did create a crisis in meaning for surviving Indian groups. The colonists introduced new gods, new sources of spirit power, and competition from ministers and missionaries who would discredit shamans and seek to control spiritual power.

Acceptance of new religious ideas and practices was neither inevitable nor uniform among Native groups. Early Protestant missionization often failed to take root in tribes such as the Narragansetts who had not suffered catastrophe and collective trauma, or among Mohegans, Pequots and Niantics, Wampanoags, Nipmucks, and other groups whose population, kinship structure, system of political and religious authority, land base, and lifeways adapted and restabilized into traditional, non-Christian village worlds.[25]

Historical anthropological investigations of missionary encounters identify the diversity, complexity, and uniqueness of the emergent "local Christianity," in which the reception of Christian doctrine is paradoxical and susceptible to multiple interpretations. "When a locality encounters Christianity, it is never obvious in advance what that 'Christianity' is, it can be defined only in reference to its own historical development."[26] In light of this caution, we must take seriously how Natives experience and shape this religious encounter to capture the histories of local Christianities "as they are lived in all their imaginative force."[27]

Anthropologists argue that religious conversion in a missionary encounter must not be perceived as the eradication of indigenous religion, although missionaries pursued this end. Neither is conversion simply a syncretism—a blending of Native and Christian elements that forge a new hybrid religion. Rather, conversion involves a quest by Native peoples for new social practices and new forms of community, relatedness (habitus), belief, and ritual. Through conversion, neophytes struggle to rebuild social worlds shattered by invasion, warfare, epidemics, population collapse, and village abandonment. Christian Indians everywhere have embraced new forms of identity, "a newly inscribed communal self defined through the gaze of others."[28]

Christian Indian communities and identities in the eighteenth century were constituted by hybrid, blended, and innovative expressions of Native belief, ceremony, and folk religion intermixed with a variety of Protestant forms. "Christianity did not eradicate old beliefs; rather, it supplemented and even strengthened them, providing a new, broader spiritual basis. The new world that emerged was one in which Christian and traditional beliefs alike, sometimes separately and sometimes together, guided and gave meaning to people's lives."[29]

Native appropriations of Christianity did not necessarily result in acculturation or "cultural genocide" where the influx of new religious ideas and practices replaced traditional lifeways.[30] We should shift our focus from the intentions of missionaries to Christianize and "civilize," and emphasize what Native peoples made—the hybrid beliefs (meaning-making) and their emergent religious practice (making do). Undoubtedly, the receptivity and religious pluralism of Native peoples who adopted new truths, visions, ceremonies, and gods frequently resulted in intratribal factionalism (neophyte-Christian as opposed to traditionalist-pagan)—not solidarity and empowerment. Nevertheless, Native Christian practice also produced ceremonies that reverenced the land, reanimated communal bonds, and reaffirmed kinship, the sacred, and the ritual passage through the life cycle. "The logics of religious practice proved especially useful for colonized peoples trying to lead lives of integrity on their own terms within the spaces surveyed, structured, and policed by people with power over them."[31]

Linford D. Fisher emphasizes the lived religion and the practice of Native Christianity while deemphasizing the importance of conversion. The religious practice of Christian Indians was distinguished by praying to God, Sabbath worship, the singing of psalms, and the practice of piety in private devotions that included Bible reading, prayer, and mediation. Intermixed with Reformed Protestantism, Christian Indian enclaves everywhere continued traditional practices of powwowing, funeral rituals, feasts, and other communal ceremonies. He concludes: "the Christian practices and beliefs that were adopted, even by second and third generation Indian Christians, were done so alongside other, more traditional elements of Native culture and religion."[32] What is the significance of these hybrid and emergent prac-

tices in praying towns or in second- or third-generation communities for Natives as they confronted religious paternalism and colonization?

This study has also benefited from the methods employed and the questions investigated by the new Indian history and ethnohistory that examine the dynamic in which each group seeks to understand and shape the encounter with the other.[33] Natives possess powers of agency to pursue their self-interests, to make decisions that might ensure their survival, to negotiate, to resist, and at times, to accommodate.

Talal Asad provides us with key questions: What model of human agency and self-constitution do we employ? How do we conceptualize a grammar of motives to capture meaning, awareness, and intent? "People are never only active agents and subjects in their own history. The interesting question in each case is: In what degree, and in what way, are they agents or patients?"[34]

The categories of self, agency, and motivation in tribal groups differed significantly from those of the Protestant missionaries who sought to transform Native identity and society in the image of civility and Christianity. The logic of ethnohistory requires that we attempt to reconstruct these categories for each culture and capture the transformative changes that occurred, the decisions taken, and the strategies employed.

Culture provides the key to the cognitive worlds of Natives and newcomers. The concept of culture—a symbolic code that guides, directs, orders, and renders meaningful individual and collective life—is represented in language, material artifacts, and social organization. Understanding the symbolic code of the other remains one key objective of ethnohistory.[35] Ethnohistorians are students of "otherness" who "try to understand each culture, initially at least, on its own terms, according to its own cultural code, because that is the only way to understand *why* people in the past acted as they did. Unless we know what they imagined reality to be and their own particular place and role in it, we will never succeed in recreating the world they really lived in."[36]

In the "spirit wars" following the American Indian Movement and Red Power in the 1960s and early 1970s, scholars and activists reevaluated the significance of missions and Christian Indian identity in historical perspective for contemporary Native groups. Appendix A, "Religion and Red Power,"

considers this polemic and affirms the receptivity and religious pluralism that characterized Native groups in their encounter with Christianity from first contact to the contemporary period.

Guided by the insights of ethnohistory, we seek to recover the religious experiences, expressions, meanings, and intentions of Native peoples.[37] "We can but listen to what, in words, in images, in actions, they say about their lives. . . . It is with expressions—representations, objectifications, discourses, performances, whatever—that we traffic: a clay figurine, a mural, a curing rite, a revitalization movement."[38] Insight into their lived experience necessitates an attempt to reconstruct their cognitive worlds and mentalities, and their categories of action and the logics of thought and morality.[39]

Ethnohistorians attempt increasingly to recover and reinterpret Native literacy among Algonquian groups in southern New England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by searching for indigenous voices in documents created by missionaries or colonial officials, such as wills, petitions, handicrafts, conversion narratives, deathbed lamentations, confessions, and sermons. Protestantism fostered Native literacy following Eliot's translation and publication of the Bible, catechisms, and devotional books into Massachusett. Colonial administration and Christian Indian life, especially in the eighteenth century, imposed new literary forms: letters, petitions to colonial authorities or the Crown, spiritual diaries and daily account books—the morphology of conversion, the reflection on life anticipating the saints' everlasting rest. With caution, we can "'read through' Euro-American documents to recover and interpret Indian voices and experiences."[40] Mohegan men like Samson Occom and Joseph Johnson completed Eleazar Wheelock's boarding school and devoted much of their lives as missionaries promoting Wheelock's "Grand Design." They wrote autoethnographic accounts of their lives and predicaments, and these documents reveal their experiences of self and community as the cultural intermediaries who straddled many worlds.[41]

We need to "read people back into history" using missionary writings that depict the religiosity and actions of Natives in primary documents, where a sensitized ethnographer can tease out their voices, meanings, experiences, and forms of resistance and accommodation as they speak to

us across the centuries. Even when Natives remain silent in the historical record, we can interpret their actions as a mode of "talking back," as in the case among Moravian missionaries at Springplace in the early nineteenth century, whose diaries record their attempts to suppress alcohol use, social and ceremonial dancing, or ball play (*anetso*). Cherokee youth and elders are "silent" in the records, yet we infer from their actions a commitment to individual and collective identity as they continued to participate in community ceremonies that included gambling, frolics, and anetso.[42]

Each missionary initiative—the praying town and the mission church and community—was an experiment in religious paternalism and an attempt to impose a religiously grounded ethnogenesis on Natives as integral to the dynamic of colonization. Missions envisioned the creation of a unique community with formal social structures that emulated European models of polity, economy, household, gender role allocation, and church community, designed according to God's blueprints and scriptural authority.[43] Jesuit missions to New France (Sillery) and New Spain (Paraguay), Franciscan missions to Alta California, New England praying towns, and Moravian missions in America were each modeled as a rational utopia that would remake sinful "savage" peoples into godly Christians who might dwell together in a commonwealth marked by hierarchy, civility, order, sobriety, and a work ethic.[44] Religious paternalism attempted a reduction of indigenous peoples, stripping them of their cultures so that they might submit to institutional social control. James Axtell recounts the goal of seventeenth-century English religious paternalism, "to reduce them to civility," to apply "the yoke of Christ." He explains: "becoming a Christian was comparable to assuming the posture and character of tame cattle—docile, obedient, submissive. . . to 'reduce' the Indians' proud independence and godless self-reliance to the total dependence of a 'weaned child.'"[45] In this regimen of supervision and surveillance, Native hands and labor, and their hearts, minds, and souls, were rededicated to a higher purpose in the service of civilization and Christian conversion.[46]

Clearly, Protestant missionaries advanced a system of religious paternalism hoping to institute a Christian Indian identity and congregational community of the ingathered faithful. Conversion, reduction to civility,

and the accommodation to a settled residential community with English patterns of agriculture, family, gender, and polity provided the blueprint for this model of individual and collective identity. Here religious paternalism envisioned conversion as the obliteration of Native beliefs and practices and the abandonment of traditional patterns of kinship, authority, oral tradition, language, seasonal migrations, and lifeways.

Religious paternalism, in its many iterations, promulgated a religious ethos and life order suited to internal colonies—reservation life—where Natives could no longer practice seasonal migrations of traditional economies and lifeways, nor intertribal trade, diplomacy, and warfare. Instead, they lived as settled populations concentrated on a smaller land base, where Protestant moral guidance prescribed a work ethic of sober vocational asceticism in which their duties were as Christian men and women living godly lives in a Christian commonwealth.[47]

What did Christian Indians make of these paternalistic regimes? What Indian voices, meanings, and religious experiences can we extract from the extant documents and the early records that have been largely written by ministers, missionaries, and colonial administrators? What dialectic and interplay can we discover between the missionary architects of religious paternalism, who devised God's blueprints, and the Native laity and religious leaders, participants in these regimes of religious paternalism? How did they forge individual and collective religious identities in this crucible of colonialism?

Finally, in the spirit of Max Weber's historical sociology of religion, we investigate how religious ideas formed the foundation for coherent worldviews that promoted the methodical organization (rationalization) of practical conduct through a religious ethos, life order, and corresponding type of personality. Weber articulated a structural phenomenology of religious experience using the typology of inner-worldly/otherworldly (asceticism/mysticism) to create an explanatory understanding of how believers, like Christian Indians, embraced a distinctive religious ethos, forged religiously grounded personalities, conducted their lives in conformity to religious dictates, pursued prescribed religious experiences, and struggled to attain the promises of salvation.[48]

Weber redirects our attention away from the problematic and ambiguous concept of conversion of indigenous peoples where the dynamic of conversion (turning toward God) has become linked to the terminal narrative.[49] Mary Douglas suggests that the language of conversion or moral regeneration does not assist us in our study of Native encounters with Christianity. She writes: "When the study of religion is conducted in the language of the pulpit and dominated by the language of moral regeneration, anthropology is excluded."[50]

Weber is concerned with religious ideas of salvation wherein the promise of salvation helped make suffering meaningful. Using this explanatory model we will discover how Christian Indians welcomed the annunciation of salvation as the hope for transcendence or escape from the varieties of suffering that afflicted the body: hunger, sickness, disability, death and dying, and intrapsychic distress from dreams, desires, and compulsions. In addition, "one could wish to be saved from political and social servitude," of the colonialism where Native communities suffered from powerlessness, poverty, land dispossession, and cultural and later racial exclusion from English social and moral communities.[51] Finally, peoples everywhere seek salvation from indifferent fortune represented by natural disasters—storms, droughts, floods, earthquakes—and the social disasters of warfare and genocide.

Weber provides important methodological insights that inform our study in the historical sociology of religion. Like the changing master narrative of ethnographers, Weber understood that historians and social scientists selected research topics and perspectives that were constituted by critical value commitments, questions of cultural significance, and the prevailing narrative structure. Writing in "Objectivity in Social Science," he argues that "All knowledge of cultural reality, as may be seen, is always knowledge from *particular points of view*."[52] Thus, each point of view created a limited and partial perspective that might engage or be contested by other perspectives. And contemporary historical and social scientific scholarship would necessarily be reevaluated as succeeding generations would create their own distinct points of view. Advocating a radical perspectivalism, Weber states that knowledge is never value-free but is created by refer-

ence to value. "Knowledge of historical reality cannot and should not be a 'presuppositionless' copy of 'objective' facts."[53]

Weber's historical sociology articulated a methodology to investigate the cultural significance and uniqueness of the object under study through the formulation of ideal types. Each ideal type, for example, religious paternalism, colonialism, religious personality, the Protestant ethic, and Christian Indian identity, is articulated with clarity and precision, in a logically consistent form that accentuates or exaggerates certain aspects of the object domain. Thus, ideal types create "logical utopias" that are not intended as statistical averages or normative ideals but as classificatory and sensitizing constructs. Ideal types assist us to identify the significant and "unique individual character of cultural phenomena" under investigation and guide us in conducting empirical and historical cases studies.[54]

Mary Douglas offers a cautionary note: classical sociologists of religion have adopted structural explanations that tend to view social actors as passive recipients of external and impersonal social forces or carriers of religious ideas.[55] Instead, she proposes an active voice—the study of religious action and actors grounded in their social worlds, situations, meanings, and accounts that explain intentionality, motivation, and purpose. I propose to investigate Christian Indian identities and communities by recovering, wherever possible, their active voices, religious experiences, expressions, and practices guided by the insights of ethnohistory and sociology. We must retell the stories of these intercultural encounters with a faithful narrative of the missionary endeavors and with sensitivity to how Indian people are different and what they made of religious paternalism and colonialism.[56] Our goal, as Axtell suggests, must be to get the stories "straight for ourselves and future generations . . . particularly if we want to do justice to *all* the participants, not just those who allegedly 'won'—or 'lost.'"[57]

The study of religious emotions (known in past times as religious affections) can also assist us in understanding the dynamics and significance of emerging Christian Indian identity and personalities, or types of self and personhood founded on the fulfillment of religious values and concerns. Sociologists argue that religious emotions are constituted by the dialectic of selves, who are situated in distinctive groups or institutions, and their

relationship to sacred symbols and the performance of ritual and ceremony directed toward a numinous or transcendental other. Religious groups establish through dogma, ritual, and performance specific "emotional regimes."[58]

Chapters 1 through 3 examine the Christian Indian congregational communities that were influenced by Calvinistic Puritanism in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Here, under the canopy of religious paternalism, in praying towns and eighteenth-century reservations, missionaries championed the Christian Indian identity of the regenerate neophyte who would become a Native Christian reborn in faith. Religious melancholy shaped their religious personhood and experience. Christian Indians were marked by the attributes of the melancholic saint, repenting the sins of the forefathers for their heathen past, viewing life as a penitential journey—a perpetual round of repentance in Protestant rituals designed to remove the providential curse of sin and bring good fortune, prosperity, and health to the people.

Chapters 4 through 8 explore the emotional regimes produced by evangelical pietism and the New Light theology of the Great Awakening. Christian Indian youth and men and women became newborn children of God endowed with powers of agency to testify in public—"democratic personalities" inspired by the Holy Spirit to act on behalf of tribal and intertribal interests. Religious melancholy was a constant companion in the lives of Samson Occom, Joseph Johnson, and others who repeatedly traversed the cycle of self-examination that uncovered the evidence of sin followed by holy despair and the joyous assurance of God's love and adoption.

Evangelical Christian Indians dreamt of building the new communities of Brothertown and New Stockbridge on Oneida lands in the borderlands of white settlement in the New Republic. They longed to create a separatist Christian Indian commonwealth of brothers and sisters united as reborn children of God, residing in individual agrarian households and exercising liberty as proprietors in a self-governing democracy.

Chapter 6 explores the Moravian missions to Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch and the system of religious paternalism they instituted—the Brüdergemeine (congregational community of brothers and sisters united by faith).

Moravian doctrine articulated by Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf in 1743 placed increased emphasis upon "Blood Theology" with constant, seemingly obsessive references to the suffering of Christ on the cross—his wounds (especially the side hole) and blood—that reminded believers of the sacrifice that would redeem humanity.

Believers embraced a daily, inward fellowship with Christ, who was viewed as a loving and compassionate friend, and anticipated a life order of *Lebensgefühl*—a joyful feeling for life and bliss.[59] Zinzendorf's theology of the heart proclaimed a "blessed happiness" (*Glückseligkeit*) for the childlike neophyte whose broken and shattered heart was daily refilled with the love for Christ and made anew by the contemplation of Christ, who successfully traversed the spiritual itinerary of shame and sorrow.[60] Thus, an evangelical pietist personality for the Christian Indian neophyte in Moravian religious paternalism promoted a Protestant inner-worldly mysticism combined with a life order of asceticism, temperance, and godly conduct. In a sermon preached at Pachgatgoch in 1755, missionary Carl Gottfried Rundt summarized the inner life of the childlike neophyte who alternated between penance of sin and contemplation of redemption through surrender to Jesus. He instructs his "brown flock" that "Every faithful child of God neither could, nor should let these 2 considerations leave his heart: 1) I am a poor sinner, a fallen person, I have sin and misery in and about me, and I can no longer rely upon myself in the least; but 2) I am atoned, I am a redeemed and saved sinner. . . . He to whom I lawfully belong [and] who ransomed me, shall have me wholly as His own."[61]

The praying town (e.g., Natick, Stockbridge), the eighteenth-century reservation with a sponsoring missionary (Gideon Hawley at Mashpee, David Brainerd at Crossweeksung and Bethel, the Moravians at Pachgatgoch), and the evangelical Christian Indians who founded the communities of Brothertown and New Stockbridge each articulated a summum bonum of religious identity and a model of community organization. Would these religious and cultural ideals and resources prove effective for Native peoples as they struggled to forge new ethnic identities? Would Christian Indians triumph over the material forces of colonialism that were characterized by the relentless process of land dispossession, the erosion of political sover-

eignty, and the positioning of Native peoples at the bottom of the economic hierarchy in poverty and debt peonage? I retell these stories and recapture the sublime hope of those caught in a crucible of social change, who hungered for this-worldly salvation, beseeching the new Christian God to bring prosperity, health, and good fortune for themselves and their people. But Christian Indians, who dared to hope for better lives, not infrequently encountered despair.

ONE

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Praying Towns and Praying-to-God Indians

A portion of the surviving Native groups in southeastern Massachusetts, Cape Cod, and Martha's Vineyard—Wampanoags, Massachusetts, Poka-nokets, and others—demonstrated remarkable resiliency and perseverance when confronted with the tragic consequences of epidemics and depopula-tion, colonization and dispossession. Many would seek new identities as Christian Indians—"praying to God" to find meaning in their adversity and salvation from the calamities of this world through the promise of an otherworldly paradise. New collectivities of refugee, amalgamated, remnant groups would recast themselves as "praying people" in praying towns that occupied the interstitial space between English settlements and traditional Indian villages.[1] "On a human landscape utterly devastated and transformed by English colonization, some Indians found in Christianity a basis for reordering their lives materially, politically, and spiritually."[2] In this chapter we will investigate the practical and economic incentives and political advantages for becoming praying Indians, and consider why some Natives accepted religious paternalism to create distinctly Christian Indian identities and church communities.

The first recorded Indian convert, Wequash, appears in an anonymous Eliot tract, *New England's First Fruits*, in 1643. The outlines of this story

reveal the distinguishing features of Christian Indian identity: alienation from one's natal community, a survivor of war and plagues, a conversion narrative forged in religious melancholy, and martyrdom as indicative of sincerity and authenticity. He was a Pequot "Captain," a proud and "proper man of person, and a very grave and sober spirit"[3] devastated by war and the destruction of Pequot hegemony.

Wequash initially regarded the English God as an insignificant fly or "Musketto." After his experience as a soldier allied with the English in the Pequot War, he changed this perception to a "most dreadful God" whose power enabled the English to slay hundreds and vanquish this once-powerful tribe.[4]

He had participated in the massacre of his own tribe at Mystic fort in 1637. Wequash spoke of self-loathing, striking his breast with his hand and exclaiming, "this is evil," "Wequash no God, Wequash no know Christ. It pleased the Lord, that in the use of the meanes, he grew greatly in the knowledge of Christ, and in the Principles of Religion, and became thoroughly reformed according to his light, hating and loathing himselfe for his dearest sinnes, which were especially these two Lust and Revenge."[5] The author attributes these emotions to sinful alienation from God and argues that "This conviction did pursue him and follow him night and day, so that he could have no rest or quiet because hee was ignorant of the English mans God: he went up and down bemoaning his condition, and filling every place where he came with sighes and groanes."[6]

Wequash returned to his tribesmen seeking forgiveness and reconciliation, forsaking his several wives in favor of monogamy, and instructing the survivors of the war of the special treasure that he had received in his affiliation with English religion and civility. He received abuse and ridicule from the Pequots, and true to his new faith, prostrated himself before those who belittled and assaulted him. He suffered, in the words of Thomas Shepard, "the martyrdom of Christ" when Pequot tribesmen poisoned him and he refused medical treatment from a powwow, stating: "If Christ say that Wequash shall live, then Wequash must live; if Jesus Christ say that Wequash shall dye, then Wequash is willing to dye, and will not lengthen out his life by such meanes."[7]

How can we understand this striking transformation of identity, forsaking ties to his natal community and abandoning the ritual obligations to propitiate the old gods? How could Wequash accept his imminent death with equanimity and faith, surrendered to Christ, in serene compliance with God's will?

From the end of the Pequot War in 1637 until King Philip's War (1675–76), praying Indians represented a minority of the estimated fifteen thousand Natives and traditional village communities in southern New England. Unlike the Narragansetts, Niantics, and Mohegans who had been spared the early epidemics, for many Wampanoags and Massachusetts, southern New England was a place of Indian refugees whose world had been shattered by war and disease. Survivors from various groups attempted to overcome a "world in disorder" by the formation of new villages where they struggled to reorder their lives "through an amalgam of old and new logics."[8] These Indians were drawn to praying towns.

After the triumph of Wequash's receptivity to missionary outreach, *New England's First Fruits* concludes with the promise of even greater successes: "Thus we have given you a little tast of the sprincklings of God's Spirit upon a few Indians, but one may easily imagine, that here are not all that may be produced."[9] These first fruits were planted on soil prepared by the devastation of epidemics and catastrophic depopulation. A great plague of unknown origin afflicted selected Native groups in southeastern coastal New England from 1616 to 1619. The epidemics spared the Narragansetts but decimated the Pequots, Pawtuxets, Pokanokets, and countless other bands from Massachusetts Bay to Plymouth Bay and Cape Cod. Mortality rates ranged from 50 to 90 percent on what Neal Salisbury describes as "a vast disaster zone, comparable to those left by modern wars and other large-scale catastrophes," as virgin soil epidemics devastated groups who lacked any immunity from Old World pathogens.[10]

The oft-quoted history, *The New English Canaan*, written by Thomas Morton in 1637, presents a horrific account of these epidemics with the explanation that the English God struck heavy, mortal blows against the infidel Native peoples in order to open land for colonization for the new English Canaan on the boneyards of fifty abandoned Native villages.[11] The

few survivors abandoned their villages, apparently fleeing without burying their dead, forsaking burial rituals that prevented the appearance of ghosts and ensured the availability and protection of ancestral spirits.[12] When the English came upon these sites, they found the skulls and skeletal remains of the thousands who had recently perished. Morton proclaimed a newfound Golgotha, explaining that "the place is made so much more fitt for the English Nation to inhabit, and erect in it Temples to the Glory of God."[13]

Twenty years later bubonic plague, diphtheria, and typhus swept through this region. A second pestilence in 1633–1634 brought outbreaks of measles, influenza, and smallpox. William Bradford, governor of Plymouth Plantation, offers this account of the smallpox epidemic among the Pawtuxets in the spring of 1643:

> For want of bedding and linen and other helps they fall into a lamentable condition as they lie on hard mats, the pox breaking and mattering and running one into another, their skin cleaving by reason thereof to the mats they lie on. When they turn them, a whole side will flay off at once as it were, and they will be all of a gore blood, most fearful to behold. And then being very sore, what with cold and other distempers, they die like rotten sheep.[14]

During these outbreaks of infectious diseases in Native villages, more than half the population succumbed to fevers. With so many people suddenly stricken, there were too few healthy members of families and lineages to hunt and provide animal protein or to cook, fetch drinking water, and nurse the ill. Never before had these groups experienced such widespread and virulent pestilence that overwhelmed their immune systems and their cultural defenses. Many died of dehydration.[15] Bradford continues his doleful description of the smallpox epidemic in 1643:

> The condition of this people was so lamentable and they fell down so generally of this disease as they were in the end not able to help one another, no not to make a fire nor to fetch a little water to drink, nor any to bury the dead. But would strive as long as they could, and

when they could procure no other means to make fire, they would
burn wooden trays and dishes they ate their meat in, and their very
bows and arrows. And some would crawl out on all fours to get a little
water, and sometimes die by the way and not be able to get in again.[16]

Within twenty years, scores of Native communities and bands had simply disappeared. Kinship structures and lineage affiliation collapsed. The organization of political, religious, and cultural authority disintegrated as sachems, shamans, pnieses, and storytellers—the keepers of collective memory, origin myths, and oral traditions—perished.

Survivors formed refugee, amalgamated, and remnant communities allied with chieftains to confront the overwhelming strength of the Narragansetts to the east and the Micmacs and Abenakis to the north. The Pokanoket sachem Massasoit, humbled in tribute to the Narragansetts, abandoned lands around Narragansett Bay and removed inland to the Taunton River. Chickatabut reconstituted Neponset villages along Massachusetts Bay, and Passaconaway assumed the sachemship of the Pennacooks and Pawtuckets along the lower Merrimack River.[17]

Praying towns and the emerging Christian Indian social and religious identity need to be seen as an adaptive response to trauma. Native peoples have suffered massive collective trauma in the process of sudden and protracted depopulation from disease, warfare, ethnocide, and genocide. Trauma also unfolds across the generations when groups are forced onto reservations and their lifeways are suppressed by external colonial authorities. When confronted with collective trauma, groups frequently find that these experiences are inherently incomprehensible. Events overwhelm the ability of cultures to defend them or to offer meaningful explanations. "Traditional, non-industrial societies often sought to collectivize the social injuries of massive trauma. They have created healing rituals, religious ceremonies, communal dances, and revitalization movements . . . as cultural responses to massive trauma."[18] In the face of violence and trauma, groups reshape their cultural identities, retell their narratives, and encode trauma in ways that again renders the world and their fate comprehendible.[19]

Catastrophic or injurious events are not inherently traumatic to indi-

viduals and groups. Only when cultural defenses and symbolic economies cannot explain, justify, and give satisfying rationales for these events do collectivities face the burden of constructing a master narrative and symbolic representations recasting this social suffering as traumatic.[20]

Colonialism produced intergenerational trauma where Natives recount their "unspeakable grief" over lost homelands, lifeways, kinship systems, and village worlds.[21] Ironically, the religious paternalism of the praying town was both an instrument of colonial domination and a vehicle for ethnic group reformation, healing, and regeneration, as praying Indians struggled to rebuild their village worlds.[22]

Protestant theology helped explain Native trauma and render their suffering sustainable. The idea of divine Providence placed all suffering within a comprehensive and meaningful framework, which Weber termed a rational theodicy of misfortune that introduced the notion of redemptive suffering and "furnished suffering with a 'plus' sign, which was originally quite foreign to it."[23] A providential theodicy could account for good and evil by casting events as indicative of God's will, by providing solace in the face of uncertainty, and by positing God as an immanent and active force in the affairs of this world.

Colonists struggled to understand the meaning and significance of the ghastly mortality in the early epidemics that destroyed Native villages. "Powerless to intervene, the colonists must have found solace in seeing the deaths as the will of God, as somehow fulfilling God's purposes. Faith that all things happened in accordance with the will of a loving, but often angry, God, provided comfort and serenity in this bewildering world of observed suffering."[24] Natural events and disasters were not random, accidental, or fortuitous. Adversity, death, and loss were integral to God's plan.

Reformed Protestantism offered many remedies to those Native groups in need of salvation: powerful other-than-human persons (God and Jesus) whose manitou protected believers in this world and promised them a paradise in the next world. The system of divine laws and commandments enveloped believers in a nexus of ethical obligations to self, kindred, coreligionists, and the deity. Acts of submission and obedience brought the neophyte into conformity with godly living and might bring divine favor.

Acts of defiance—sin—angered God and brought human suffering, adversity, and ill fortune.

Christian Indians were equally concerned with failure to adhere to ritual and ceremony that addressed other-than-human persons, and were influenced by informal social control of gossip, ridicule, kinship obligations, and reciprocities that upheld the moral codes of Christian Indian village worlds. Neophytes set their sights on divine and social approbation.[25]

The morphology of conversion required the appropriation of a new religious personality and religious affections of repentance, melancholy, and ecstatic joy that culminated in the realization of rebirth as a child of God. And the providential and rational theodicy of misfortune transvalued human suffering and rendered the world meaningful in the midst of adversity.

The lived religion of praying Indians involved their selective appropriation of religious idioms to find meaning after collective trauma; praying towns provided a refuge from "broken places." In these new congregational communities wounded people seized upon religious ideas to remake their worlds marked by anomie and social upheaval.[26]

Praying Indians embraced elements of Reformed Protestantism: (1) a rational theodicy of misfortune to render the cosmos meaningful; (2) new Christian rituals of fasting and prayer to secure the spiritual powers of God and Christ; (3) a covenant of grace, morphology of conversion, and individuated religious personhood that augured redemption from the travails of this world; and (4) a church covenant with new forms of authority that might mobilize power to contest their powerlessness as colonized peoples.

As an answer to the existential and material needs of refugee populations who attempted to recover from collective trauma, Reformed Protestantism had much to offer those Natives seeking to recast their individual and collectivity identities and to accommodate the new realities of English colonialism. However, from the missionary's point of view, praying Indians and praying towns suggested the fulfillment of entirely different purposes and cultural significance.

Contemporary historians have viewed the praying Indian as a multifaceted social construction that reflected the continuing concerns of colonists after

twenty years of settlement as they reassessed their "errand into the wilderness," and as New Englanders looked to England engulfed in civil strive in the 1640s. The conversion of the praying Indian would serve as a harbinger of the millennial kingdom in America, where a new creation would build a separate utopian Christian commonwealth. The praying Indian also represented the fruits of a charitable missionary enterprise that differentiated the English from the "Spanish cruelties" of conquest, extermination, and enslavement of indigenous peoples. Finally, the new empirical science, as championed by Robert Boyle of the Royal Society, viewed the dynamic of Indian conversion as a unique experiment demonstrating the work of God in the natural world. John Eliot "construct[ed] the Praying Indian as a object of ethnological inquiry with peculiar powers of spiritual discernment."[27]

Native groups evoked a profound sense of pity—the religious obligation to bring the light of the gospel into heathen darkness, consistent with the charter of Massachusetts Bay, where an Indian beckons, "Come over and help us."[28] The published letters and accounts that comprised the Eliot tracts served to build a "transatlantic community of feeling" that fostered an intense emotional connection between England and the colonies.[29] The portrayal of praying Indians cast "Christian conversion as fair compensation for the vast sufferings of America's natives."[30]

The depiction of the praying Indian resulted in a "literature of self-definition." Confronted with the English Civil War in 1642 and the return migration to England, New Englanders made the evangelism of the praying Indians the center of their struggle to forge a collective identity as they reevaluated the errand into the wilderness—to build a "City on a Hill" and "New Jerusalem." The new missionary outreach to remnant Indian groups and the emerging persona of the praying Indian provided a screen upon which to project the insecurities and conflicts of the aging first generation and a focus for the revitalization of a "farther errand into the wilderness."[31]

The controversies associated with the "New England Way"—the Antinomian Crisis and the path to visible sainthood, congregational polity and ministerial authority, the covenants of grace and the church, and the federal-community covenant—were addressed in the Eliot tracts and suc-

cessfully resolved by the incremental spiritual attainments of the praying Indian and the model theocratic polity of the praying town.[32]

Eliot perceived Indians as the objects of a peaceful conquest by Christ through conversion. As sinners living in a state of nature unspoiled by government or religion, the Indian mind and heart were a tabula rasa which evangelism and the work of God's grace would regenerate. The conversion of Natives and the continued presence and persistence of praying Indians augured the fulfillment of God's plan for England and America.[33]

The praying town movement can be largely credited to Eliot's efforts as minister to a congregation in Roxbury, Massachusetts, from 1638 to 1690. He achieved fame as the "Apostle to the Indians" through his accomplishments as a translator, teacher, missionary, and spiritual advisor. Beginning with the settlement of Natick, Massachusetts, in 1651, Eliot helped establish fourteen praying towns. Among them were Punkapoag Hassanamesit, Okommaka- mesit, Nashobah, Musketaquid, Magunkog, Wamesit, Neponset, Pantucket, Weshakim, Quabag, Manchage, and Wabquisset.[34] In 1675, before the start of King Philip's War, praying Indians in Massachusetts numbered two thousand souls, or 350 congregants in six Native congregations.[35] An additional three thousand praying Indians lived in communities on Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. Approximately 10 percent of the Native population in southern New England were affiliated with Eliot's program of Christianization and civility.

Eliot's missionary outreach in 1646 assumed that Native groups would look favorably and longingly at English civil society (civility), admiring their enclosed fields, stone fences, fixed residences, and domesticated plants and animals. In addition, Indians were expected to acknowledge the desir- ability and cultural superiority of Reformed Protestantism and the forms of piety and worship of the one true God. By the power of the colonists' example, Natives would emulate English civility and religion and forsake their traditional seminomadic subsistence lifeways and Native religion. This reflects a mindset that Richard W. Cogley terms "the affective model." In this model, Eliot and other divines believed that Natives yearned to transform themselves and were eager to participate in the English way of life. Natives would ask for missionary instruction after having witnessed

English civility and religion. This transformation would proceed through four stages: (1) reducing Indians to civility; (2) instructing them about Protestantism and eradicating heathen superstition, idolatry, and devil worship; (3) promoting the covenant of grace and conversion; and (4) creating Indian church communities of visible saints who dedicated their lives to sanctification and godly living.[36]

After twenty years of missionary effort, few Indians had adopted this affective model, as evidenced in the correspondence between Richard Baxter and Eliot in 1663. Baxter wrote: "It is a sad and strange thing to or [our] consideration here, y[e]t so few of ye Indians should be wonne to Christ from ye first plantation to this day."[37] Eliot replied: "In the Lord's time what is done is accomplished. For many years together when the Indians resorted to houses of godly people, they saw their manner of life and worship in familys and in public also; where sometimes they would see and observe what they did, but liked off it—yea, so disliked, that if any began to speake of God and heaven and hell and relig[ion] unto them they would p[re]sently be gone."[38]

Eliot continues that it was known to all English that when Indian guests proved burdensome, and should a colonist want them to leave their home, the English would begin speaking of religious matters to be rid of them. Despite the assumptions of the affective model, Eliot recognized that English religion and civility were not immediately and universally attractive to Natives. Missionaries needed to reduce Indians to civility before they would be worthy of Christianization. This reduction required Natives to accept the "yoke of Christ," forsaking sinful pride, heathen freedom, and self-reliance. They were to become docile and utterly dependent children of God who were also submissive to his religious and secular emissaries in New England. In their new status as obedient neophytes, Indians would fulfill what James Axtell describes as the English desire for the "total and uncompromising cultural annihilation" of indigenous societies and lifeways.[39]

Whatever purposes and meanings English divines, magistrates, and colonists might have developed in association with the idea of the praying Indian, actual praying Indians, however, struggled to adapt new cultural

logics of individual and collective identity to more traditional lifeways. They created the congregational community as a revitalized kinship structure of brethren united in faith, new village leadership roles as alternatives to sachemship, and the coexistence of traditional lifeways with English civility.

Christian Indians need to be seen as social actors who attempted to balance their allegiance and participation in Native village worlds with their new identities tied to the emerging colonial social order. As such, praying Indians embraced a multifaceted and not infrequently conflicting series of roles and identities that included pilgrims in search of salvation while practicing Native forms of spirituality (religious identity). The ritual of prayer helped define the religious identity of praying Indian church communities. Eliot's tracts note the enthusiastic participation of young and old, men and women, in the worship services that included catechizing, psalm singing, and prayer. Praying to God offered a medium of collective identity for the new community whose members increasingly referred to one another as brothers and sisters united by faith, as Christian Indians, and less as people bound together by common kinship, linguistic, or cultural traditions.[40]

In addition to their religious identities, praying Indians were subjects of the Crown and petitioners under English law while simultaneously subject to tributary relations in traditional village worlds (political and legal identity). They were also producers and consumers in colonial trade and markets while participating in Native lifeways (economic identity). Finally, praying Indians assumed new social and cultural constructions of gender, family, household, and community (social identity) but could easily revert to traditional social identities.

The praying Indians' political and legal identity included an additional form of subjugation in concert with the submission required of their religious life—their supervision, control, and protection by the political authority of Massachusetts.[41] Here, the English model of hierarchical political authority fostered religious paternalism—blueprints for village life, family, household, gender, and worship. Praying Indians were subjects of the Crown, of colonial authority and control, living in perpetual tutelage, unequal before the law.

The original treaty in 1621 between the Wampanoag chieftain, Massasoit, and the English governor of Plymouth, John Carver, conceived of Natives as friends, allies, and equals.[42] The Wampanoags, devastated by population loss, reached out to the English newcomers who founded their colony on a deserted Indian village. Natives wanted trading partners and allies to resist the threats of the Narragansetts. For their part, the English needed assistance in surviving the first years of settlement. Twenty years later, however, the English numbered more than thirty thousand. Having vanquished the Pequots and established hegemony in southern New England, the United Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut could impose a model of authority on independent tribal groups and praying Indians that was founded upon Native inequality as "children" in submission to English law. Although the Wampanoags under Metacom (King Philip), Massasoit's successor, would resist this structure of authority and domination, oppose missionary outreach, and refuse land transfers to praying towns, praying Indians enjoyed important advantages in tutelage and submission to religious paternalism. Praying towns were free from the political and economic authority of traditional sachems and chieftains.

As Jenny Hale Pulsipher asserts in *Subjects unto the Same King*, Native village worlds were characterized by a model of authority that combined the voluntary consent of peoples united by common language, culture, and descent groups who enjoyed the assurance of protection from outside aggression. Indian villagers submitted to the authority of hereditary sachems and paid tribute in material goods and political allegiance. Sachems needed to redistribute wealth in ceremonies that reflected the key values of reciprocity, generosity, and hospitality. Sachems also incorporated neighboring groups into a network of tributary relations, trade, and military alliances. The English replaced a Native model of authority founded upon voluntarism and consent with one constituted by hierarchy, domination, and formal institutional controls exemplified by submission to colonial law.

When praying Indians and praying towns embraced the English model of authority, they did not pay tribute to sachems or chieftains and did not owe allegiance or consent to traditional forms of Native authority and polity. "The Christian Indians had withdrawn their subjugation to Indian rulers,

placing themselves directly under English rule."[43] Christian Indians enjoyed semiautonomy in electing their own secular and religious leaders, though it was under the protective canopy of submission to colonial authority and the dictates of religious paternalistic community organization. Uncas, the Mohegan chieftain who emerged to lead his confederation of villages as an English ally in the Pequot War, chafed at the guardianship and missionary efforts of the Reverend James Fitch of Norwich. In 1671 Fitch preached to thirty Christian Mohegans who were Pequot refugees living in a village on the periphery of Mohegan influence and recently incorporated into the Mohegan tribe. These Christian Indians sought freedom from paying tribute to Uncas or accepting his sachemship.[44]

According to the English model of authority, Indians lived in disorder and anarchy, without the benefit of civil or church law, orderly social relations, or the social control of the institutions of civil society that imposed obedience to authority and submission to hierarchy.[45] Eliot helped found Natick in 1651, eighteen miles from his congregation in Roxbury. Natick was settled by survivors and remnants of bands broken by disease and depopulation. Here they created a new multiethnic community comprised of Nonantums, Neponsets, Musketquois, Nipmucks, and other Massachusetts peoples.[46]

Eliot reserved six thousand acres for this model Christian commonwealth, a theocracy founded upon the political theory in Exodus, chapter 18, that instituted a comprehensive system of hierarchy and submission to authority. Native leaders would rule over each collectivity of ten, fifty, and one hundred persons, who in turn were also under the immediate supervision of Protestant missionaries and the Indian superintendent appointed by the General Court. The town was organized into orderly streets, surveyed individual household lots, orchards, fields, a meetinghouse, storehouse, and several English-style houses.

The archaeological evidence reveals what was more a traditional Indian village settlement. A protective palisade enclosed Natick, and a footbridge over the Charles River provided easy access for travel and trade. Natick's praying Indians enjoyed access to new technologies and tools, transforming themselves into producers in the colonial economy through the intro-

duction of hogs, cattle, English grains, fruit orchards, spinning and cloth production, woodworking, the craft production of brooms and baskets, and the construction of a sawmill.[47] Ideally, praying Indians would adopt English forms of dress, appearance, and demeanor. In place of traditional male gender roles of hunting, warfare, and diplomacy, praying men needed to adopt settled ways of English farming or apprenticeships in woodcutting, stonewalling, shingle splitting, and craft production.[48] The civil and religious code in this theocratic praying town imposed fines and punishments for infractions such as idleness, drunkenness, gambling, fornication, polygamy, body greasing, lice biting, powwowing, long hair in men, and naked breasts for women.[49] Praying Indians adopted new church practices that included baptism, admonishment, excommunication, Communion, catechism, and special days set aside for fasting and humiliation or feasting and thanksgiving. The seasonal festivals of Native lifeways gave way to the routinized schedule of daily family prayer and the strict adherence to Sabbath-day worship and ritual.[50]

The English demanded that Natives eradicate all vestiges of paganism and heathenism. Natives needed to humble themselves, embrace evangelical humiliation, and accept their status as English subjects. "According to the English, when Indian nations compacted with them and acknowledged themselves subjects of the English king, they placed themselves on the same hierarchical ladder as the English, with the king on top, followed by magistrates, deputies, town selectmen, fathers, mothers, and finally servants and children. . . . Many English believed that the Indians were at a lower level of civilization than themselves and therefore deserved, even needed, subjugation."[51]

Praying towns and praying-to-God Indians enjoyed a special status as subjects within what James D. Drake terms the interdependent, covalent civil society of overlapping political, military, and economic alliances between Natives and English.[52] In 1643–44 the principal Massachusett and Pawtucket sachems, fearing Narragansett reprisals after the murder of their sachem, Miantonomi, at the hands of the Mohegan sachem and English ally, Uncas, formally submitted to English sovereignty as subjects. Pomham, Saconococo, Cutshamekin, the Squaw, Mascononomo, Nashowan,

Wossamegon, and Passaconaway placed their chiefdoms under English law, religious authority, economic cooperation, and political alliance. The signatories pledged mutual defense, exchanged ceremonial gifts of wampum, and formed what the Natives viewed as a protectorate where their remnant communities, decimated by disease and threatened by more powerful Indian rivals, hoped to prosper.[53] The acts of submission satisfied English interests by pacifying Native groups who resided in close proximity to their expanding settlements, extending English law and courts to settle disputes, paving the way for orderly land transfers and legitimating Eliot's first missionary outreach.[54] Finally, the submission, reduction to civility, and conversion of Indians who would forge a Christian commonwealth augured the millennial advent. John Cotton's lectures in Boston from 1638 to 1645 interpreted the Book of Revelation and the Song of Solomon, discerning from recent events "that the prophecies for the destruction of the Antichrist, the redemption of the world's non-Christian peoples, and the millennium were nearing fulfillment in history."[55]

English monarchial culture following the Puritan Revolution stipulated that individuals might voluntarily submit and pledge oaths of fealty as subjects of the Crown.[56] Natives, following the submission of the sachems in 1644, were subject to town magistrates and ordinances, to the General Court in matters of theft and capital crimes, and to special legislation regulating trade in alcohol, guns and ammunition, fur, and land sales.

Before the new Indian history in the 1970s, historians like Alden T. Vaughan emphasized the themes of fairness and impartiality, wherein the five New England colonies developed a consistent and peaceful management of Indian affairs in the decades following the Pequot War until the advent of King Philip's War, 1638–1675.[57] The systems of laws and courts regulated land purchase, boundary disputes, and intergroup affairs. Vaughan credits the colonists with realizing "systematic law, impartially applied and binding even upon its executors."[58]

An alternative view credits the law as an instrument of oppression, an effective tool to subjugate peoples by creating the mechanisms for dispossession and for the erosion of sovereignty and individual liberty in debt peonage and indenture.[59] Native groups and individuals did not enjoy equal

status with colonists, but through guardianship, Indians were accorded the status of dependent children or tutelage. Native offenders frequently received harsher penalties than whites in Plymouth for civil offenses, including sale into slavery for theft or the administration of the lash instead of fines.[60]

Native men and women were not only *subjects* under laws that regulated all aspects of their lives—from family, to trade, to keeping the Sabbath—but also *agents* who assumed limited powers as legal persons under the law. As Ann Marie Plane argues: "Numerous cases in the records allow us to see the law as a potential liberator, as well as a potential oppressor. European style law—whether English common law, New England colonial codes, or the scriptural rules of a John Eliot—proved time and again to be a flexible discourse, a discourse once mastered by Indians and their advocates, might be used to right old wrongs or to protect resources."[61]

Thus, the law and courts need to be viewed as plural, multilayered, and variegated.[62] Despite the persistent inequalities and injustices of the emerging colonial situation, Natives were endowed with a qualified legal personhood—the right to use the law to seek justice and adjudicate disputes. They could select venues, at times appealing to the Crown in charter and land disputes. In the protracted Mohegan land dispute in the eighteenth century, factions within the tribe petitioned the Crown for protection as sovereign nations. As Mark D. Walters asks: "Did the highest court in the British empire recognize in the eighteenth century that native nations residing on reserved lands within North American colonies enjoyed rights of sovereignty?"[63] The petitions suggest that Indian nations enjoyed this recognition and legal redress.

Individuals might petition sachems in their own communities. Praying Indians might seek a favorable ruling by the Indian Court established in praying towns, or they might appeal outside the town to English justice especially in matters of trespass and the destruction of Native cornfields and gardens by English livestock.[64]

Whatever rights Natives enjoyed individually and collectively as petitioners in this emerging legal-administrative colonial order, law created a normative order that redefined many traditional practices as crimes.[65] Traditional Indian tolerance of premarital sexuality now became fornication

and sinful lust. Previously, an enraged husband might beat his wife. Under English law, this became an offense against an orderly family, community standards, and God's will for the proper treatment of a wife. Precolonial practices of polygamy, extramarital sexuality, and easy divorce were transmuted into bigamy, adultery, and sinful disobedience to God.

Benjamin Wadsworth articulated in *The Well-Ordered Family* (1712) a theory of "family government" that was founded upon the authority of scripture and God's will. This manual stipulated the hierarchical and reciprocal relationships between husbands and wives, parents and children, and masters and servants. Each dyad required the dutiful submission and obedience of the subordinate party to patriarchy as made manifest in the roles of husband, father, and master. God enjoined spouses and parents and children to demonstrate "a very great & tender love and affection to one another."[66] Spouses were to cohabit and dwell with one another as helpmates, to offer comfort in sickness and adversity, to demonstrate concern for the spiritual state of the other, and to manifest a "patient, forbearing, and forgiving spirit."[67] A husband's patriarchal government ought to be gentle, and a wife's obedience should be "ready and cheerful."[68] Through family prayer and the practice of piety, by rearing godly children and instructing servants who internalized religious discipline, Wadsworth knew that family government promoted true religion and a well-ordered, hierarchal society. He concludes: "If we would be good Christians, we should obey all the Commands of Christ, and do the Duties of those several Capacities or Relations he has set us in . . . wherein we are called, therein we do abide with God."[69]

Praying Indians embraced new social, religious, and political-legal identities through new forms of marriage, new codes of civility, Christian cosmology, pietist spirituality, and English innovations in economy and polity.[70] Praying Indians attempted to mix Native and English cultures as evidenced in the troubled marriage of William and Sarah Ahhaton, who in 1668 resided in the praying town of Punkapoag west of Boston. After ten years of marriage and four children, this couple came before the Indian Court presided over by the Native leader Waban, who heard complaints of the marital infidelity between Sarah and a married neighbor, Joseph.

In addition, William stood accused of beating his wife. Waban ordered Sarah to refrain from meeting with Joseph. When she failed to comply, Sarah sought refuge at Wamesit, a nearby praying town where her parents resided. Here she reunited with Joseph and engaged in an open adultery before removing to Sowams (Mount Hope), a traditional Wampanoag village under the sachemship of Metacom, who struggled to resist English colonization and the expansion of praying towns. When Sarah later returned to Punkapoag as a contrite and penitent woman pleading for mercy, the English could proclaim, as they jailed her, that she had been redeemed from pagan debauchery to again embrace civility and piety.[71]

Christian Indian lives were ambiguous and fluid in the period before King Philip's War. Praying-to-God neophytes freely left the settled villages to partake in traditional seasonal subsistence lifeways. Within praying towns, many chose to live in wigwams, eat traditional diets, and practice Native burial customs. Many like William and Sarah Ahhaton traveled back and forth from praying villages to traditional villages, alternating their identities and commitments.

Examples such as this suggest that many praying Indians lived at the margins of English civility and Native lifeways. Cognizant of the heightened normative standards of marriage and the ideal role of the good wife and husband, aware of the sin and godly conduct, they were neither "fully 'civilized' nor fully 'savage.'"[72]

Drake has interpreted Indian motives for joining praying towns as a strategy of resistance, as "an opportunity to encapsulate themselves within the expanding realm of English settlement."[73] Thirty percent of Natick's inhabitants were literate and employed these powers to advocate for their community and protect their land from encroachment. Praying towns enjoyed secure land tenure—an ordered social structure in a "plantation" or village settlement with stable boundaries. Land could not be sold or alienated without the approval of the General Court, "to secure unto them and their prosperity places of habitation."[74] The law enacted in 1652 provided that "if, upon good experience, there shall be a competent number of the Indians brought on the civilitie, as to be capable of a township upon their request unto the General Court, they shall have graunt of landes undisposed of, for

a plantation, as the English have."[75] Unlike traditional Native villages where the English perceived inhabitants as "wandering Indians" whose traditional lifeways necessitated seasonal migrations, praying Indians were viewed as settled into permanent residences with collective title to their lands. The neophyte John Speen understood that "If I prayed, English would not take away my ground."[76]

Eliot petitioned the General Court in the 1660s for the annexation of an additional two thousand acres along the Charles River that formerly belonged to the English town of Dedham. Citing recent archaeological evidence, Drake argues that Natick's praying Indians pursued ethnic self-preservation by practicing non-Christian burial rites, living mostly in wigwams, and pursuing their traditional subsistence economy of seasonal migration instead of English sedentary settlement and horticulture.[77]

Christian Indians like Wequash appropriated the yoke of domesticity and civility, and chose the system of religious paternalism in the praying town with the distinct material advantages of land tenure, English agrarian household economy, and access to local markets. Praying Indians enjoyed political and legal advantages in these protectorates. And neophytes found the spiritual answers to the critical questions in their lives: why did adversity afflict me? What must a believer do to secure divine protection and favor?

Christian Indians residing in praying towns constituted a third ethnic category—not English and not traditional Native American—ambiguous and mistrusted by both groups in times of crisis.[78] Raymond D. Fogelson explains that Native American ethnic identity has been founded upon three attributes: blood and descent, relations to land, and village community.[79] Praying Indians made congregational religious brotherhood the functional alternative to kinship. In place of ancestral homelands, praying communities occupied new spaces created by English invention. Finally, theocratic models of village polity and English patriarchal households replaced sachemship and Native household groups. These nascent communities and this ethnic identity, situated between English and Native ethnicities, lasted for approximately twenty-five years (1650–1675), for the founding generation.

This prefatory discussion of social, political, legal, economic, and religious identity of the first generation of praying Indians and the social organiza-

tion of praying towns addressed our initial questions: who was Wequash and how can we explain his life and religious attainments? Why did he find the Indians' new world desirable, proclaiming his willingness to die for his faith? We consider in the next chapter the marrow of their divinity—how affiliation in these village worlds fostered a distinctive piety and religiosity for neophytes as they embraced the ideal of the melancholy saint through the covenant of grace and the church covenant.

TWO

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The Penitential Sense of Life

John Eliot preached to the Wampanoag village of Nonantum in September 1647 and offered pastoral care and admonishment to the Indian congregation. The adolescent son of the sachem Cutshamekin stood charged with drunkenness and disobedience toward his father and mother in violation of the fifth commandment. The son, however, at first resisted and charged his father with like offenses. Eliot writes: "Then, wee turned to his father, and exhorted him to remove that stumbling block out of his sonnes way, by confessing his own sinnes."[1] Cutshamekin confessed before the assembled congregation to drunkenness, lying, filthiness, and false dealing committed before he knew God. "He expressed himself sorrowful, and condemned himself for them: *which example was profitable for all the Indians*"[2] (emphasis added).

After considerable private pastoral work and admonition directed at the son by his father and by other Natives and English pastors, the son asked his father for forgiveness. "His father burst forth into great weeping: hee did also to his mother, who wept also, and so did divers others; and many English being present, they fell a weeping, so that the house was filled with weeping on every side; and then we went to prayer, in all which time Cutshamaquin wept, in so much that when wee had done the board he stood upon was all dropped with his teares."[3]

We need to understand such emotions: a sachem's tears staining the floorboards, plaintive outbursts of sorrow and grief, and demonstrative expressions of contrition and repentance for sin directed to missionaries and kinsmen, and toward an angry God. Sociologists suggest that these emotions are socially constructed from religious beliefs that structure a comprehensive and meaningful worldview (*existence*). "Feeling rules" and "emotional regimes" define how believers should relate to a numinous other, how they should *experience* religious affections, and how they should *express* the authentic modalities of godly sorrow, repentance, and melancholy.[4]

Eliot effectively mediated to neophytes the cultural cues of religious existence, experience, and expression, directing their perception, feeling, belief, and what they should seek to accomplish, hold in awe, and emulate.[5] These conversion narratives need to be understood through the concept of religious melancholy.

We will never know with certainty the emotional economy and feeling rules that characterized Native cultures before the period of contact and colonization. The Eliot tracts, however, suggest that the Indians' new world involved the appropriation of radically altered relationships of men and women to a creator deity. Now, previously unimaginable conceptions of sin and depravity necessitated unending tears of repentance as prefatory to the joyful, ecstatic reception of grace and adoption as a child of God. Cutshamekin recast his biography, looking back to the time before he had encountered the English religion, to repent and seek forgiveness for what he now came to understand was sin.

The eleven Eliot tracts offer abundant evidence that was witnessed, observed, recorded, and translated by English missionaries of Native voices, testimonies, catechistical questions, conversion narratives, and deathbed confessions.[6] A careful review of praying Indian voices, which were meticulously recorded and transcribed in English and recast in the familiar genre of conversion narrative, reveals how Native lives and religious personhood were reconstituted through the crucible of religious melancholy.

Indian agency involved choices that were constrained by the limits and imperatives of English colonialism and the conquest of Native souls—the invasion within. Nevertheless, praying Indians embraced Puritan conversion

as an arduous pilgrimage and the existential reordering of identity, marking their spiritual itineraries with weeping, grieving, and melancholy—the new emotions of the melancholy saint. We will discover how praying Indians combined the teachings of the rational theodicy of misfortune and the Puritan morphology of conversion to form a distinctive "penitential sense of life" that involved three interrelated elements: (1) consciousness of sin; (2) ritualized actions seeking pardon by Jesus and God; (3) an explanatory rationale in the theodicy of misfortune wherein the manitou of divine providence and anger rendered ill fortune and disaster meaningful, especially the individual and collective suffering and death resulting from epidemics and warfare.

Daniel K. Richter's analysis of the Natick conversion narratives will guide us in understanding the emerging penitential sense of life and the tropes of pardon and anger that pervade these Native voices. He argues that

> Words such as these [pardon, anger] emphasize interpersonal relationships among people and between people and their God, rather than creedal belief or abstract faith. The essence of eastern North American Native spirituality was the maintenance of respectful reciprocity in a complicated world of human and other-than-human persons. That essence permeates each of the characteristics that set the Natick narratives apart from their Anglo-American counterparts and from the message that Eliot thought he was conveying to his proselytes.[7]

We will discover how the Natick praying Indians effectively "Indianized" key aspects of Reformed practical divinity by developing new ritual forms that sought to restore balance and reciprocity with the powerful other-than-human persons, Jesus and God, consistent with traditional spirituality and lifeways. This ritualism better resembled the practices prescribed in the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* that Separatists and Puritans so abhorred. And this Indianized piety provided a religious vocabulary for praying-to-God Indians to appeal to the English, the other source of power in their reordered world, for protection and assistance. A careful reading of the tracts will illustrate this emerging piety.

The inner life of the Protestant saint was shaped by melancholy, a concept first identified by Robert Burton in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) as a form of love-melancholy caused by a defect in man's relation to God. As an Anglican divine, Burton discussed the seemingly endless variations of unbelief and non-Christian religion. He intended to expose the errors of "Papism" (Catholicism), paganism, idolatry, and superstition, and argued that these departures from true religion were one manifestation of religious melancholy that was symptomatic of a "cauterized conscience" and alienation from God's love.[8] Burton articulated the Protestant providential worldview shared by New England's English settlers and mediated to Native peoples by missionary teachings. Heathen religion, shamanic healing, ceremonies, and rituals that involved other-than-human persons were the work of Satan, idolatry, superstition, and false religion. These sins resulted in affliction, suffering, and the plagues that God in his anger visited upon Indian village communities and corporate kinship groups. Burton explained: "Because we are superstitious, irreligious, we do not serve God as we ought, all these plagues and miseries come upon us; what can we look for else but mutual wars, slaughters, fearful ends in this life, and in the life to come eternal damnation?"[9] He quoted Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (circa 230) and martyr, who chastises unbelievers: "Tis true, the world is miserably tormented and shaken with wars, death, famine, fire, inundations, plagues, and many feral diseases rage amongst us . . . because you are Idolaters, and do not serve the true God, neither seek him, nor fear him as you ought."[10]

Burton identified a second form of religious melancholy—pathological doubt about salvation—a "salvation panic" that produced an unrelenting despair, "a sickness of the soul without any hope or expectation of amendment."[11] The cure for both forms of religious melancholy (idolatrous superstition or pathological doubt) required conversion and the infusion of God's love to regenerate the heart, mind, and will of each new believer. Ruth A. Fox explains that for Burton, religious melancholy is cured by the redemptive sacrifice of Christ. "All of the abominable unnatural beliefs of which a conscience-stricken man can accuse himself, for all of the fearful misconceptions of Scripture he can devise, Burton gives back one answer,

that to be a man in a universe of love is to be capable of receiving the love of God."[12]

Both forms of religious melancholy provided a medium for the expression of previously unspeakable grief, together with a systematic and rationalized worldview and an ethically determined stance in the face of the world. Burton's Protestant world picture conceived of human societies and human existence as governed by folly, chaos, disorder, excesses, and concupiscence in all things. The ascetic Protestant needed to fashion his or her life as a tool and instrument of divine purpose. The saint might live in the world but would eschew being of the world and worldliness. The twice-born child of God sought, as the highest good, a state of salvation and redemption, as Weber explains, in "liberation from distress, hunger, drought, sickness, and ultimately from suffering and death."[13]

Finally, the religious experiences, expressions, and life order of the praying Indian needs to be viewed through the concept of rationalization.[14] Weber examined how various salvation religions articulated theoretical-intellectual (theological) worldviews and practical-ethical imperatives (ethics) for making a religiously grounded life. In this fashion, the elements of religious belief and practice caused the faithful to remake their lives so as to achieve a distinctive religious personality, religious emotions, and a religious identity through the heroic effort to appropriate ultimate values. For praying Indians, life became a penitential pilgrimage—a journey that was punctuated by episodes of adversity and good fortune, sin and sanctification, defeat and triumph. Each penitent imposed upon himself or herself the obligation to forge a distinctive religious identity as an instrument of God's will, systematically and methodically struggling to bring all thought, agency, and action into conformity with religious values. Weber refers to the inner-worldly asceticism of the Protestant Ethic as the impetus for the rationalization of life in the mundane world.

The rationalization of self and religious identity pertains to the argument advanced by Joel Pfister in *Individuality Incorporated*. English newcomers arrived with a novel, multifaceted social category—"the individual"—that they attempted to impose on Native Americans as a complex of rights and obligations associated with "individual" social identity.[15]

Traditional Native social identity, however, did not structure individuality, as we understand this category in Western history. Modern individuals focus upon self-orientation and engage in goal-directed behaviors intended to fulfill their personal needs and self-interest.[16] Native Americans tend to deemphasize self-orientation and devote themselves to their affiliations within extended kinship groups, bands, and tribal communities. Here social action is motivated by an ethic of obligation to the collective and ritual praxis with the other-than-human persons to maintain cosmic harmony and bring good things for the people. Jace Weaver terms this collective orientation "communitism."[17]

The cycle of calendrical ceremonies and rituals of propitiation and commemoration, performed during seasonal tribal reunions, effectively maintained cosmic harmony with other-than-human persons and reaffirmed social reciprocities. When modern Christian missionaries encountered communitism, they interpreted these peoples as enthralled by fetishes and rituals intended to placate false gods.[18]

Mary Douglas identifies in *Cultural Bias* a structural typology that differentiates (normative) grids and social groups, which she places in a continuum to explain individuation at the one extreme and social insulation and incorporation within the group at the other extreme. Groups are characterized by either strong (high) or weak (low) social bonds that account for social solidarity, the intensity of daily, face-to-face interaction, and the maintenance of boundaries for inclusion and social control. Within all groups, social structures establish grids: rules, classifications, and modes of control. Strong grids provide powerful normative codes for age-graded and gender differentiations. Here participants are enmeshed and insulated within their social worlds that afford minimal opportunities for individuation or personal choice. Alternatively, weak grids are characterized by contractual, open, and competitive social environments consistent with modern, urban, and bureaucratic institutions. Weak grids foster autonomy, mobility, and an individuated identity in dynamic tension with a group's social bonds.[19]

Douglas, working in the spirit of Emile Durkheim, Marcel Mauss, and Henry Sumner Maine, provides analytic typologies to investigate the nature of social identity and group process, which we can apply to praying

Indians in praying towns. To what degree were relationships and identities status-bound, or alternatively, were they organized as a contractual and voluntary association of individuals?

The religious paternalism of praying towns exemplifies a weak group–strong grid configuration.[20] Douglas gives examples of this configuration in the regime of plantation slavery and the condition of a maidservant living in a middle-class English family before World War I. In these cases, participants are subjected to the pervasive constraints of the strong grid where every aspect of daily life is scheduled and regimented with prescribed duties. Codes stipulate appropriate dress, fashion, speech, etiquette, and demeanor, leaving minimal opportunity for individual choice. Whatever social intimacy occurs between masters and slaves and servants and family members, the subordinates never achieve full inclusion or acceptance. So, too, with the voluntary participation of praying Indians in a system of religious paternalism. Praying Indians appropriated a strong grid of civil and godly living, and conducted their daily life and interaction according to an all-enveloping civil and religious code that was imposed by an external colonial and missionary authority. Regardless of the attainment of civility and religious identity, Christian Indians became a separate ethnic group that would never enjoy full inclusion in colonial society.

Although the codes of civility and the Puritan religious ethos constituted a strong grid of elaborate and comprehensive normative regulations, praying towns could not maintain the integration (social insulation) of participants, or strong group boundaries. As a weak group, a praying Indian's life was marked by fluid passages, comings and goings to engage in seasonal activities, outside work in the colonial economy, or temporary reunions with more traditional kin and village settlements.

Christian Indian individual and ethnic group identity (strong grid–weak group) did not fully institutionalize the religious, legal-political, and economic personhood of English settlers. And when praying Indians embraced aspects of religious personhood, the first generation did so within the context of traditional Indian identity. English colonists, however, struggled with the imperatives of individuation within the context of a strong hierarchal group—cohesive villages where distinctions of age and gender roles en-

veloped individuals in a system of rights and obligations in the competing spheres of household, meetinghouse, and countinghouse.

Marcel Mauss's important essay "A Category of the Human Mind: The Notion of Person, the Notion of Self" assists us in understanding the emerging Christian Indian identity and the differing structures of self and identity in Native and Protestant groups. He identifies "archaic" tribal societies organized through associations of clans (corporate kinship groups founded by human and animal ancestors). For Mauss, a clan is comprised of a "certain number of persons"—*personages*, or roles. During ritualized ceremonies—sacred dramas, dances, festivals, and rites of requickening and reincarnation—members of the tribe earn the right to become the masked incarnation of an ancestral spirit, to assume the title, rank, and role of a personage in the corporate kinship group.[21] He explains in an earlier essay: "The number of individuals, names, souls and roles is limited in the clan, and the line [of succession] of the clan is merely a collection (*ensemble*) of rebirths and deaths of individuals who are always the same."[22] In clan-based groups, social identity is centered on ritual praxis, and on the proscriptive and prescriptive actions that recreated and reaffirmed reciprocities between persons related by blood and marriage, and between human beings and other-than-human persons.

In praying towns, smaller family households and extended families replaced clans, and the religious brotherhood of the congregational church community became the functional equivalent of kinship ties. Praying Indian personhood recapitulated the structures of social identity in traditional groups while adding a new dimension, the inward spiritual journey and the methodical application of religious ideals and ethical demands in shaping the life of each believer. And Christian Indians came to see themselves as the children of a jealous God who would protect or punish them depending upon a new ethical relationship between God and His creation. Max Weber terms this the rationalization of self.

The structures of selfhood and modern European individuated personhood found in English settlements included (1) an identity of the "moral person" freed from the collective or status group; (2) religious personhood founded on Reformed Protestantism; (3) legal personhood derived from

English civil law, and (4) the economic and political imperatives of "possessive individualism."[23]

Reformed Protestant theology championed a religious emotional regime mediated to Natives by an educated clergy. The faithful conceived of life as an ethical relationship of believers bound by faith in a transcendent God. "The faith-structure requires that all individuals and groups, however differentiated, are under the obligation to engage in continuous purgation and catharsis of evil thoughts and feelings and to discover a way by which they can appropriately conform to being *informed* by the faith-consciousness [the experience of grace]."[24]

Each person possessed a metaphysical and moral value, a soul. And each person needed to cultivate an inner moral consciousness. The moral person (*personne morale*) was imbued with conscience, self-consciousness, and interiority connected to moral-ethical rules that governed an individual's conduct, thought, and intentionality.[25]

Weber elaborates the inwardness or interiority of the moral person and argues that Reformed Protestantism articulated a distinctive concept of personality or religious personhood through an "ethic of inwardness" (*Gesinnungsethik*) that distinguished each person as a unique individual who needed to fashion his or her life, methodically and consistently, in conformity with God's will, as an instrument of these transcendent values.[26]

Harvey Goldman explicates Weber's concept of the Protestant religious personality, identifying four critical elements: asceticism, the unification of life consistent with a religious ethos, the valorization of God-willed action to transform self and world, and the importance of disciplined work in a calling.[27] Religious personhood demanded that every believer embrace an arduous pilgrimage of conversion, seeking adoption as a child of God and as a participant in the cosmic drama of salvation and damnation that imbued mundane existence with ultimate meaning. Every believer felt the burden of this solitary, individuated existence in the daily struggle (*automachia*) against indwelling sin and worldliness that was revealed through self-examination. The practice of piety—prayer, meditation, careful attention to scripture, and self-examination—produced inward states of self-doubt and self-judgment. Copious tears of repentance and seasons of doubt and

melancholy, punctuated by times of assurance of God's love, marked the emotional economy of Protestant religious personality.

Webb Keane's ethnology of the Indonesian island of Sumba identifies key issues pertinent to our discussion of seventeenth-century New England. He explains that Protestant conversion histories transformed the categories of time (history) and space (place) by situating individuals and congregations as one instantiation among many translocal "imagined communities" of Christendom. Individual conversion signified the changed destiny of each soul, and collectively, new congregations could hasten the end of time through the advent of the millennium.

For Protestants, the dead would no longer return to possess the living as the reincarnation of ancestral spirits. Men and women of faith prayed to God unassisted by powwows or sacramental and magical manipulations of the invisible realm of spirits and other-than-human persons.[28] Prayer and testimonies about the work of grace in renovating each believer's heart received heightened scrutiny for evidence of sincerity or hypocrisy. Calvinists closed their eyes and uttered fervent speech that came from the heart. This fostered a new religious personhood characterized by individualization, interiorization, and inwardness.[29] Religious melancholy and fleeting moments of joy following selfless surrender characterized a new spiritual vocabulary. "Words should emanate from the sincere individual speaker in Protestant prayer," as opposed to the formulaic, ritualized worship of false idols and ancestral-totemic spirits.[30]

The public performances of Natick praying Indians in the 1650s, transcribed in *The Eliot Tracts*, present conversion narratives that required the recognition by English divines in attendance. As James Axtell explains, English ministers dominated the conversion process by "monitoring every stage and guarding the gates of admission."[31] Like the missionaries in Sumba, they determined whether or not these neophytes had fulfilled the requirements of a "performance of sincerity." Did they offer compelling evidence of their spiritual attainments and authentic conversion?[32]

The textures of religious existence, experience, and expression recorded in the Eliot tracts reveal the religious melancholy that shaped the marrow of divinity for the first generation of praying Indians. They recast their lives

as a penitential journey—as pilgrims laboring to expunge a sinful past and propitiate an angry deity. Religious melancholy was inextricably tied to the religious rationalization of personhood.

"The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New-England" (1647) relates the fours visits of John Eliot, Thomas Shepard, and Daniel Gookin to the Native community of Nonantum beginning on October 26, 1646, and ending on December 9. The sachem Waban, "chief minister of Justice among them," assembled the community for three hours of prayer.[33] Eliot, speaking in Algonquian, delivered a sermon on the Ten Commandments and the concept of sin, "shewing the curse and dreadful wrath of God and so applied it unto the condition of the *Indians* present, with much sweet affection."[34] Eliot related the promise of salvation from sin and damnation through the doctrines of faith and grace, the Protestant origin myth, the Fall, and the importance of repentance.

The message of this sermon and the questioning that followed presented a comprehensive and rational account of the natural world, the origin myth, and the obligations that the faithful owed to the creator deity, consistent with the Protestant worldview. Most important was the rational theodicy of misfortune mediated to the assembled Indians in this amalgamated refugee community. Their individual and collective losses—the adversity of plagues, sicknesses, and untimely deaths—represented the unfolding of divine providence and the consequences of sin.

The Protestant God demanded obedience to his law and was quick to anger. One English minister asks: "Doe you beleeve the things that are told you, *viz*, that God is *musquantum*, i.e very angry for the least sinne in your thoughts, or words, or workes?"[35] Here Protestant religious personality required more than correct ritual praxis directed toward the magical manipulation or coercion of a god. The Protestant saint consistently shaped his or her life according to inner ethical principles: to honor and glorify God in all things and to embrace an asceticism of God-willed thought, speech, and conduct. Natives who sought divine blessing and protection in this world and in otherworldly salvation in the Christian paradise of heaven first needed to forge this new religious personality on the smithy of repentance and religious melancholy.

This initial prayer meeting marked the beginning of a decadelong quest by the refugee communities of Nonantum and later Natick to appropriate Protestant religious personality through the cultivation of religious melancholy. They would do this by demonstrating the inward assurance of God's grace and rebirth, and the outward certification of adoption as a child of God, as determined by their conversion testimony, their civility, and adoption of English lifeways. They memorized the following prayers of contrition directed to God, rendered in Algonquian and English:

> *Amanaomen Jehovah tehassen metah*
> Take away Lord my stony heart.
> *Cheehesom Jehovah kekowhogkow*
> Wash Lord my soule.[36]

The description of this first prayer meeting identifies the sweet affection and religious emotions of melancholy, grief, and repentance that Eliot's sermon produced. "When the prayer ended it was a glorious affecting spectacle to see a company of perishing, forlorne outcasts, diligently attending to the blessed word of salvation then delivered . . . in that darke and gloomy habitation of filthinesee and uncleane spirits."[37]

During the second meeting, on November 11, "The Day-Breaking" welcomed an outpouring of "heart-breakings" among the Natives—tears, grief, and sorrow for sin and for provoking God's wrath. Extolling the efficacy of religious melancholy as a "good servant to repentance," the author states, "there is the greater hope of great heart-breakings, if ever God brings them effectually home, for which we affectionately pray."[38]

"The Day-Breaking" provides numerous accounts of the appearance of religious melancholy and depicts these religious affections as sincere and authentic performances produced by God, and not the product of prideful affectations. For example, following a catechism of Indian youth, the "mighty power of the word which visibly appeared especially in one of them, who in hearing these things about sinne and hell, and Jesus Christ, poured out many teares and shewed much affliction without affectation of being seene, desiring rather to conceale his griefe which (as we gather from his carriage) the Lord forced from him."[39]

Another Indian attempted to conceal his grief during the sermons. Words of consolation and pastoral care could not comfort him. "Wee met him coming out of the Wigwam, and there wee spake again to him, and he there fell into a more aboundant renewed weeping, like one deeply and inwardly affected, indeed, which forced us also into such bowels of compassion that we could not forbeare weeping over him also: and so wee parted greatly rejoicing for such sorrowing."[40]

Eliot continued his missionary efforts at Nonantum, adding the pastoral work of the admonition and confession of sin that he strategically addressed to the sachems Wampoowas, for beating his wife, and Cutshamekin and his son, for drunkenness, as discussed in the beginning of this chapter. (When sachems submitted to English religion and law, their corporate kindred would follow in train.)

As reported in a letter of September 1647, and published as the third Eliot tract by Thomas Shepard, titled "The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New-England," Eliot chronicles fresh evidence of "heart-breakings" following public admonitions of sinners who were brought before the nascent Native congregation, "which they submit themselves reverently, and obediently, and some of them penitently confessing their sins with much plainnesse, and without shiftings and excuses."[41]

James Holstun argues that Eliot wanted to fashion a "rational utopia"— Christian Indian commonwealths of praying towns inhabited by a new type of humanity—the praying Indian.[42] Praying Indians were encouraged to weep, openly and without reserve, in response to hearing sermons and the Word. English missionaries expressed their pleasure at such emotions, "greatly rejoicing for such sorrowing." Penitents would succumb to the desired spiritual self-hatred or "Holy Desperation" that was viewed by the colonists as the work of grace in the souls of Indian penitents.[43]

The cultivation of religious melancholy was a crucial stage in "the spiritual itinerary from sin to salvation (ordu salutis) which provided devotional exercises where the faithful would experience initial godly sorrow for sin that progressed in severity by means of the 'inquisition of self-examination' into despair and the desired state of selfless ecstasy—holy desperation."[44] Peter Iver Kaufman explains that this "pious dis-ease" preceded the rapturous

reception of what evidenced the seal of election and salvation. He states: "The pietists wanted to structure character and desire and took a special interest in the therapeutic value of despair."[45] The abundant evidence of holy desperation and the expectation of the therapeutic value of despair to bring penitents from sin to grace augured well for these first fruits and for missionary outreach. Surely, catechism would produce maturing understanding, and the passage of time would bring a harvest of souls in the proper season.

Holstun explains that the religious identity of the new praying Indian was inextricably tied to the production of religious melancholy in neophytes. "Public confession and weeping become signs of regeneracy and so a way to praying-town status."[46] The practice of Puritan piety, the disciplined civility of English lifeways, church discipline, and inner-worldly asceticism in the praying congregational communities elaborated feeling rules and forms of spiritual direction that fostered melancholy. He explains: "This preaching, catechism, encouragement of questioning, and admonition and censure combine to create the melancholic Praying Indian. His appearance is neither incidental nor unexpected, for the Puritan utopist does not just anatomize melancholy—he seeks it out and even produces it."[47]

Native conversion narratives did not simply imitate or replicate the morphology of conversion codified by Thomas Shepard, which emphasized heightened anxiety over the sinner's hypocrisy. Instead, Natick Christian neophytes wept tears of repentance, heartbroken over original sin. Would their sorrow and humiliation afford them assurance of grace and forgiveness?[48]

How ironic that the religious rationalization of Protestant religious personality and feeling rules that enjoined neophytes to participate in auricular confession before the congregation of the ingathered faithful—to weep in open outcries of repentance—also prescribed a second type of rationalization. Neophytes needed to embrace sober, rational orders of civility. The methodical and systematic imposition of inner-worldly asceticism was founded upon the religious regulation of thought and conduct. In this manner, neophytes might escape the irrational "idolatry of the flesh" and devote their time and life to become an instrument or tool of God—what Weber identifies as "the Protestant Ethic."

The religious rationalization of mundane life (civility) required confor-
mity to God-willed laws, orders, and ethical mandates that pertained to
clothing, fashion, and appearance; marriage, gender roles, and sexuality; the
obligation to work each day according to English agrarian lifeways, housing,
and settlements; and the imposition of hierarchical social organizations by
the submission of wives and children to husbands and fathers, the ruled
to rulers, and the laity to the clergy as established in patriarchal families,
English law, the Indian Courts, and the churches.

The new Protestant feeling rules and the making of a life consistent with
the vocational asceticism of the Protestant Ethic reflected individuated social
identity—religious personhood. The inner dimensions of holy desperation
and religious melancholy were externalized in outward expressions of grief,
tears of repentance, and purgation of indwelling sin. The imposition of
English civility through law, town regulations, and proprietorship of family
households reflected the dimensions of legal personhood and possessive
individualism characteristic of individuated social identity.

"The Day-Breaking" reports that the General Court purchased lands to
establish the praying village of Nonantum (Rejoicing). Waban submitted
to ten laws, although only eight could be recalled in the tract. Violators
incurred fines for town ordinances that prohibited idleness, fornication,
domestic violence, failure to create a stable residence, naked breasts and
long hair allowed to hang loose for women, long hair for men, and the
practice of biting off the heads of lice.[49]

"The Clear Sun-shine" recorded an agreement in November 1646 that
contained twenty-nine orders prohibiting and punishing the following
conduct: the use of alcohol, powwowing, lying, stealing, polygamy, failure
to keep the Sabbath, failure to pay one's debts, greasing the skin, gambling,
murder, adultery, traditional ceremonies for mourning and menstruation,
and entering an English house without knocking.[50]

Both sets of orders envisioned that praying Indians would abandon
Native lifeways and adopt English civility—ascetic modes of life regula-
tion, fashion, and settled village farming households—as preparatory to
conversion. As Thomas Flint and Simon Willard would imply in "The Clear
Sun-shine," the acceptance of English civility effectively would domesticate

and pacify these groups. This process would also create the foundation for Indians to lead godly lives and turn their souls to God. They explain: "Immediately after these things are agreed upon, most of the Indians of these parts, set up Prayer morning and evening in their families. . . . They also generally cut their haire, and were more civill in their carriage to the English then [*sic*] formerly."[51]

Strength Out of Weakness, edited by Henry Whitfield, included two letters from Eliot that detail the performance of sincerity as the Natick praying Indians appropriated the many dimensions of individuated social identity and strived to become a community bound by a town covenant, a church covenant, and a covenant of grace. Smallpox afflicted this settlement in 1651–52, prompting a novel response by Natives who eschewed traditional forms of healing and powwows, which in the past had relegated this responsibility to shamans. Now Christian Indians needed to demonstrate caritas imbued by "the exercise of love to such as be in affliction, either by sicknesse or povertie."[52] Writing on February 28, 1651, Eliot views these actions as compelling evidence of the acceptance of divine providence, the rational theodicy of misfortune, and the necessity to submit to God's will, even if this entailed a threat to one's health and safety. He explains:

> I have seen lively Actings of Charitie out of Reverence to the Command of the Lord, when such as had not that principle were farre from such works of mercy, it pleased God to try them in the time of the Pox, for some of them did hazard their own lives (for to them it is very mortall) in obedience to the Command of the Lord, to shew mercy to them that were sicke, and some were infected thereby, and fell sicke, and lay with much chearefullnesse and patience under God's hand.[53]

The deathbed account of Wamporas offers another striking performance of sincerity, a "holy submission to the Lord" that exemplified the abiding faith of one imbued with powers of religious personhood. As he lay dying, surrounded by weeping praying Indians, he exhorted them: "I shall now dye, but Jesus Christ calleth you that live to goe to Naticke, that there the Lord might rule over you, that you might make a Church, and have the Ordinance of God among you, believing in his Word and doe as hee com-

mandeth you."[54] He uttered these dying words: "*Jehova Aninnumak Jesus Christ*, (that is) Oh Lord, give mee Jesus Christ."[55]

Eliot's second letter provides the plan of polity. Having built a palisade fort, home, and other buildings, praying Indians could enter into a civil covenant and prepare for the "church-estate." He explains: "The order of proceeding with them, is first, to gather them together from their scattered course of life, to cohabitation and civill order and Government, and then to forme them (the Lord having fitted them) into visible Church-estate, for the guidance whereof, I have instructed them, that they should looke only into the Scriptures, and out of the word of God fetch all their Wisedome, Lawes, and Government."[56]

Scripture would provide God's blueprint for theocratic self-government as the assembled praying Indians solemnly appointed their Ruler of One Hundred, two Rulers of Fifties, and Rulers of Ten (tithing men) during a praying meeting held on June 6, 1651. They submitted to the civil covenant: "Wee doe give our selves and our Children unto God to be his people, Hee shall rule us in all our affairs, not onely in our Religion, and affairs of the Church . . . but also in all our workes and affairs in this world, God shall rule over us. Isa. 33.22."[57] Here Eliot was eager to demonstrate the spiritual attainments of praying Indians as they struggled with the protracted process of owning the covenant of grace, of demonstrating through performances of sincerity the attainment of religious personhood. He concludes the account of the praying meeting: "I doe therefore exhort them to try their hearts by the word of God to finde out what change the Lord hath wrought in their hearts, and this is the present worke wee have in hand."[58]

Eliot returned to Natick on July 10 to instruct the congregation about acts of repentance. Rituals of evangelical humiliation were conducted by the English during a day of fasting and prayer. These holy days permitted the faithful to own the covenant and to be instructed about the workings of divine providence. When a ship foundered at Conahasset earlier that month, resulting in a loss of goods that were intended for Natick, Eliot viewed these events as indicative of chastisement, as "undoubtedly it was a fruite of sinne, and therefore the Lord called them to repentance, and to make peace with God."[59]

Natick's Ruler of One Hundred, Cutshamekin, had purchased and consumed liquor at Groton Plantation during a recent trip to Narragansett. Eliot viewed this act as scandalous, prompting him, upon the advice of Reverend Cotton, to add a preamble to the Natick covenant suggesting that Natives, as the "sonnes of Adam," would face an even more exacting and prolonged probation period with carefully scrutinized performances of sincerity before they might own the covenant of grace and church-estate.

Praying Indians uttered this confession: "Wee are the sonnes of Adam, wee and our forefathers have a long time been lost in sinnes, but now the mercy of the Lord beginneth to finde us out againe; there fore the grace of Christ helping us, wee doe give ourselves and our Children."[60]

The prayer meetings held on July 7 began with Cutshamekin's confession followed by morning and evening sessions during which six Natives preached from scripture (Luke 7:26, Matthew 7:19, Job 3:16–22, Matthew 13:24–31, and Luke 3–6). Eliot chose Ezra 3 and 9 and Deuteronomy 29:1–16 to depict God's covenant with the Jews. Following a day of prayer and instruction, Eliot explains how first the rulers and then the congregation recited the covenant as "these poore soules solemnely became the people of the Lord."[61]

The final performance of sincerity that Eliot relates pertains to the lecture on October 8 attended by the governor, who "observed the carriage and behaviour of things and men" and requested Eliot to transcribe the preaching and questions and answers related by a Native about Matthew 13:44–46. Here, through careful questions, Eliot, acting as translator, recorded evidence of an unnamed praying Indian whose exegesis of this passage and understanding of the catechism of how a wealthy merchant might gain the kingdom of heaven, offered compelling evidence of the sincerity and authenticity of these religious exercises.

Eliot and Mayhew published *Tears of Repentance* in 1653, presenting the translations and transcriptions of twenty-two conversion narratives from fifteen Natick praying Indians made during a day of fasting and prayer on October 13, 1652. Eliot's prefatory remarks continue the theme introduced by the sons of Adam preface to the covenant, where he explains how the workings of God's grace and the introduction of the word of God initiated

the arduous journey of transforming Natives into a praying people from "the veriest ruines of mankind that are known on earth."[62]

Richard Mather builds upon this theme, speaking of Natives as a people who had previously been "overwhelmed in Pagan blindness and Ignorance," who only recently had begun experiencing the workings of God's grace, which was marked by a clear sense of sinful conduct, the inward corruption of the unredeemed heart, and a knowledge of the doctrines of salvation.[63]

The lack of translators and limited time for Native confessions required that Eliot defer the formation of a Native congregation. Nevertheless, Mather describes the confessions as a "hopeful beginning and preparation to conversion" and offers this account, which he characterized as the work of grace and not motivated by the "Spirit of Satan" or of corrupt human nature. He explains: "To see and to hear Indians opening their mouths, and lifting up their hands and their eyes in solemn Prayer to the Living God, calling on him by his Name JEHOVAH . . . to see and hear them exhorting one another from the Word of God; to see them and hear them confessing the Name of Jesus Christ and their own sinfulness, sure this is more than usual."[64]

Most important is the evidence of the performance of sincerity that Mather provides. "We heard them perform the duties mentioned, with such grave and sober countenances, with such comely reverence in gesture and their whol carriage, and with such plenty of tears trickling down the cheeks of some of them, as did argue to us that they spake with much good affection, and holy fear of God, and it much affected our hearts."[65] Finally, Mather suggested that the reduction to civility would produce a "reformation of their disordered lives" through labor and the construction of the praying town of Natick.

Eliot began the afternoon meeting by reading the confession of Totherswamp that Eliot had recorded and translated earlier that year. Totherswamp then made an extemporaneous confession (simultaneously translated for the English clergy and recorded by Eliot) that was followed by a question by one of the ministers in attendance. Eliot repeated this time-consuming pattern of prepared text and extemporaneous speech for the first five praying Indians until time grew short. The praying Indians, he explained, "were more slow at my request, that I might write what they said; & oft I was forced

to inquire of my interpreter (who sat by me) because I did not perfectly understand some sentences."[66] The translated confessions of the remaining ten Natives, given at earlier meetings that summer, were simply read "into the record" as the prayer meeting was drawing to a close.

Eliot not only recorded and translated these spiritual autobiographies but also imposed a structure of narrative organization and doctrine consistent with the Puritan conversion narrative and morphology of conversion.[67] The experience of inner-worldly salvation—the inward, psychological assurance of conversion (turning away from sin and the carnal dispositions of the "natural man")—and regeneration and rebirth as a saint offered the greatest measure of protection against suffering in this world and the opportunity for a radically transformed religious personhood. Protestant theologians such as Richard Baxter, Lewis Bayly, William Perkins, and others published works of practical divinity that identified the familiar signposts—the outward manifestations and the inner psychological states—of protracted preparations and stages of the pilgrim's progress. This morphology of conversion, or ordu salutis, identifies the stages of the spiritual itinerary from sin to grace, from holy desperation to the infusion of God's love and caress and the experience of agape.

The believer, aided by a prepared heart and the covenant of grace, traveled the spiritual itinerary: first, recognition of original debility and innate depravity, conviction of sin before God's law, terror in the face of divine anger, and godly sorrow and humiliation leading to a state of holy desperation and the collapse of self-will and pride. Second, upon acknowledging one's helplessness before God and submitting wholly to Him, the sinner received adoption as a child of God through the intercession of Christ's mercy. Conversion required turning toward God—the believer experienced rebirth as a restored and renewed person endowed with powers of agency to will, see, reason, and become God's servant and tool, sanctified to do God's will.[68]

Charles L. Cohen explains that the dynamic of conversion entailed a predictable sequence of affective states that began with the intensity of religious melancholy (holy desperation and selfless ecstasy) and culminated in the joyous embrace of God's love. "Infused with love, the newly redeemed

Saint reflects it back to God and humanity, radiating the joy of salvation and the peace 'which passeth all understanding' (Phil. 4:7)."[69] Praying Indians needed to understand Christian doctrine and catechism, appropriate the ordu salutis of practical divinity, and undergo the "psychodynamics of conversion,"[70] from religious melancholy to the rapture of agape.

The praying Indian conversion narrative in *Tears of Repentance* contained the following spiritual itinerary: (1) preliminary indifference or hostility to English religion; (2) initiation of prayer (praying to God); (3) consciousness of sin, depravity, and self-loathing; and (4) repentance and submission to God's law. Although the testimonies all proclaim that salvation and pardon could be accomplished by Christ and faith, the candidates do not indicate that they have traversed this last step in conversion.

Praying Indians forged their newfound social identity and religious personhood in religious melancholy and self-loathing. Through acts of repentance, propitiation, and evangelical humiliation before God, they attempted to win divine favor, reverse ill fortune, and find salvation from suffering in this world and the promise of paradise in the next world. In this manner, the first conversion narratives remain incomplete and imperfect renditions of Protestant religious personhood. Praying-to-God rituals successfully "Indianized" Reformed Protestantism as a ritual praxis that was characteristic of traditional Native social identity and reciprocity with other-than-human persons.

Each of the conversion narratives relates the awakening of the heart to sin, and to the realization that Native ways displeased God and violated his law. Each narrative recounts the sinful, evil doings of the narrator's heathen childhood and youth, including , drunkenness, adultery, lust, gambling, pride, sloth, "Indian marriages" (polygamy), failure to keep the Sabbath, and past ambitions to become a witch and to powwow. Totherswamp reinterprets his biography with Puritan categories, remembering the epidemics, and fearful of his own death from pestilence following a life of heathenism and sin. Humbled before God, he confesses: "I am full of that sin and I break God's Word every day. I see I do not deserve pardon."[71]

Alternating between states of evangelical humiliation before God and pride, Nishohkou tells of "committing filthiness" before prayer by wor-

shipping many gods, through his many lusts, and through adulteries. He exclaims: "I am dead in sin, Oh! That my sins might die, for they cannot give life."[72]

Totherswamp explains that after he began prayer he learned that his sins and evil heart had angered God. He responds to a question about repentance with an expression of self-loathing and religious melancholy: "I am ashamed of all my sins, my heart is broken for them and melth in me, I am angry with my self for my sins, and I pray to Christ to take away my sins, and I desire that they may be pardoned."[73] Monequassun confesses: "my heart is dark dayly in what I should do, and my soul dyeth because of my sins."[74] Nishohkou compounds the expression of religious melancholy with self-accusations of hypocrisy, of pride, renewed sin, and doubt about his sincerity. He states: "I am dead in sin, Oh! That my sins might die, for they cannot give life." But he doubts his faith: "I yet do not truly beleeve in Jesus Christ, nor do what he commandeth, and therefore my heart plays the hypocrite; and now I know what is hypocrisie."[75]

The rite of baptism and the formation of a Native church in Natick were deferred because the confessions failed to persuade the English auditors that praying Indians had successfully completed the morphology of conversion. As Zubeda Jalalzai explains: "The Praying Indian had to express more faith, less sin (original or otherwise), less backsliding, and more Biblical references to support conversion than did their white counterparts. So, while the converts call on Christ as the solution to all their short-comings, Christ's invocation is not enough for the English observers to trust in the Indian's eventual redemption."[76] Indeed, the repeated reliance upon Christ for pardon assumes a ritual stance where Christ serves as an other-than-human person who can be magically coerced to intercede with God.

The early confessions of the Natick Indians connected the deaths resulting from disease to sin, God's anger, and providence. In the spring of 1652, the praying Indians were afflicted with a grievous disease, a "bloody flux, whereof some with great torments in their bowels died, among which there were two little children in extremity of torments the child cried out, 'God and Jesus Christ, God and Jesus Christ help me.'"[77] Robin Speene lost his child to this pestilence, the child uttering these deathbed remarks: "I am

going to God . . . I will leave my Basket behind me, for I am going to God. I will be leaving my Spoon and tray behind me . . . for I am going to God."[78] Robin's recorded confession begins with the centrality of pestilence and the death: "I see God is angry with me for all sin, and he had afflicted me by the death of three of my children, and I fear God is still angry, because great are my sins."[79]

Ponampam's confession, made before the elders at Roxbury on February 15, 1659, and published in 1660 in the Eliot tract *A Further Account of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians of New England*, begins with a childhood remembrance of paternal admonishment and the awareness of sin, followed by God's visitation of a special providence—the pox. Ponampam recalls that as a child of eight, he received his father's invective for idle play: "I wondered at it all, for he said we shall all die. I wondered and sat amazed for half an hour, but soon forgot it. That Winter the Pox came, and almost all our kindred dyed. I and my mother came to the Bay, and there dwelt till we pray'd to God; but I did nothing but sin, as the rest of the world did."[80] In this final version of five confessions, Ponampam offers his interpretation of Matthew 4, battling self-doubt, temptations with Satan, and a desire to escape the burdens of civility and Christianity by fleeing into the wilderness. He employs the Indian Bible and scriptural literacy to examine his spiritual itinerary as he chooses life as a Christian Indian in a praying town. Kristina Bross explains that he has "translated the gospel into his own experiences—and appropriated one of the most cherished English Puritan tropes: New England as Israel in an American wilderness. . . . Like Christ, he has encountered Satan in the wilderness, and like Christ he emerges triumphant."[81] Thus, Ponampam found an authentic religious voice as he reinterpreted his life and spiritual journey and made meaningful the sufferings and adversity that he had suffered.

Nookau explains how five years before praying he fell ill and feared for his death. But God gave him life, sparing him.[82] The theme of disease and untimely death visited upon Native peoples by an angry God informed these narratives of faith.

For more than twenty years, these praying Indians had witnessed the destruction of their natal communities as pervasive and ubiquitous epidem-

ics decimated families and lineage groups. Somehow, in the reconstituted praying towns, they needed to find meaning in their suffering. Sickness, the death of children, and untimely loss were ubiquitous themes in their lives and the practice of the new praying-to-God religion. Meaning-making in the face of ongoing sickness and dying, and ritual propitiations to God to assuage anger and cleanse believers of sin, took precedence over completing the conversion process and becoming a reborn child of God. This shifting emphasis proved essential in pursuing the penitential sense of life.

Eliot published Massachusett translations of the Bible, catechisms, and two Puritan devotional texts—Richard Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted* and Lewis Bayly's *The Practice of Piety*.[83] In a letter to Baxter sent in 1663, Eliot sought advice about which of Baxter's pastoral work should be translated, suggesting that Eliot felt increasing frustration at the slow pace of conversion and the changing nature of Native piety.[84]

Baxter in the *Call to the Unconverted* lessened the severity of Puritan theology with a more inviting prospect of finding salvation. He sought to awaken slumbering sinners besotted with wickedness, worldliness, vanity, and vexation. He exhorted his readers to turn away from "fleshly pleasures" and this deceitful world. Accept God's mercy through the redemptive sacrifice of Christ.[85] "If you turn you may live," reborn as a child of God, seeking protection from sickness, pain, poverty, loss of friends, "and every twig of the chastising God."[86] He reaffirmed that Christ was a physician, a healer of both body and spirit. He cautioned that time grows short. Should one continue to choose sin as a "self-destroyer," Baxter warns, "Thou art fallen under his wrath by sin already; and thou knowest not how long his patience will yet wait."[87]

Bayly provided chapters on household prayer, psalm singing, Sabbath observance, and meditations on sickness and death. It appears that Native neophytes responded to the image of Christ as physician of body and soul and to Bayly's rituals of private and public piety, which informed the Christian Indians' penitential sense of life by prescribing rituals that they believed would secure divine protection and favor.

For a generation of survivors who had witnessed repeated plagues, the willingness to offer mercy to the sick and the understanding that sickness

represented God's chastisement for sin signaled an important victory for evangelical piety. Eliot makes no mention of traditional healing that was previously performed by shamans. Instead, praying Indians manifested humble resignation to divine providence and demonstrated a willingness to suffer sickness or death in compliance with God's command to proffer tender mercy to the afflicted.

The Natick conversion narratives and dying speeches articulated the rational theodicy of misfortune in Native voices as it was mediated to them through Eliot's Reformed Christianity. Here sickness, affliction, and death marked the human condition because God afflicted heathen sinners with special punishments. Only the promise of religious healing in this world and salvation in the world to come could remedy their plight. Indian teachers and preachers like Waban and Piumbukhou repeatedly set forth this worldview. Waban sponsored a fast day in 1658 to prepare the congregation to enter the church covenant in a time of sickness and travail. Preaching from Matthew 9:12–13, he admonished the Native congregation for their idleness, neglect of the Sabbath, and unregulated passion, decrying their "soul-sickness." Waban proclaims in his lecture: "we are all sick of that sickness in our souls, but we do not know it not: we have many at this time sick in body, for which cause we do fast and pray each day, and cry to God; but more are sick in their souls: we have a great many diseases and sicknesses in our souls."[88]

He extolled the power of Jesus as healer for repentant sinners, and explains: "we have many this time sick in body . . . but more are sick in their souls. . . . Therefore what should we doe this day? Goe to Christ the Physitian; for Christ is a Physitian of souls. He healed men's bodies, but he can heale souls also."[89]

Eliot's *A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel* (1655) relates the second examination of the confessions and doctrinal knowledge of Natick Indians held in Roxbury on April 13, 1654. The transcript reveals a series of probative questions about catechism and doctrinal knowledge through which Eliot, Mayhew, and others placed the neophytes under careful scrutiny. In addition, the tract relates the account of how three unnamed Indians purchased liquor and pressured Totherswamp's eleven-year-old son to imbibe. Totherswamp, a Natick schoolmaster who was himself gravely

ill with ulcers in the lung (tuberculosis?), uttered a tear-filled statement of contrition: "I am greatly grieved about these things, and now God tryeth me whether I love Christ or my Child best. . . . God saith to me, onely punish your Child, and How can I love God, if I should refuse to doe that?"[90]

Eliot presented in *A Further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel* (1659) a transcription of the preaching by six Natick Indians on September 15, 1658, a day devoted to fasting and prayer. These exhortations clearly articulate the penitential sense of life as best exemplified by John Speen's commentary on Matthew 9:14–15. He states: "When Christ is with his people, he brings joy and comfort with him and fills their hearts with comfort: but if he be angry, and depart from his people, and leave them to afflictions, then there is sorrow, and mourning, and weeping, and fasting, as it is this day for with us."[91] Speene implies that rituals of fasting, prayer, and repentance will restore the reciprocity and balance with the other-than-human person of Christ, bringing good fortune to the people.

Natick suffered trials and adversity that, according to the logic of a rational theodicy of misfortune, represented the wages of sin that provoked God's anger. Speene continues:

> For we are called to fasting this day, because of the great raine, and great floods, and unseasonable weather, whereby the Lord spoileth our labours: our corne is much spoiled with the wet: so that the Lord doth threaten us with want of food; also our hay is much spoiled, so that God threatneth to starve and kill our Cattel: also we have great sicknesse among us so that many are dead: the burying place of this Town hath many graves, and so it is in all our Towns among the praying *Indians*. Also in our houses are many sick, and a great many are crazy, and weak, and not well.[92]

Eliot compiled instances of Native lectures and sermons that emphasized fasting and repentance, embraced evangelical humiliation, and sought release from suffering (sickness, drought, and want).[93] Wuttasukoopauin's remarks capture the tenor of the call to fasting, repentance, and humiliation: "So let us this day cry to Christ, and worship him, and if we do it in faith then he will heal us."[94]

Speene urges self-examination—"search your hearts for sin"—and repentance, prayer, and fasting as a purification ritual. Likening the heart to a dirty tobacco pipe, he explains that each soul is stinking. "So our hearts our filthy, and unfit for God's use, but cast our hearts into the word, for there the Spirit is, and then the Spirit of God will burn out all our filth and sin, and make it sweet, and fit for the Lords use."[95] In this manner, the practice of piety embraced ritualized days of fasting and prayer and routinized individual acts of piety in self-examination, humiliation, and repentance. Collective and personal misfortune were rendered meaningful through the doctrine of divine providence. Praying-to-God Indians, ever mired in religious melancholy and "tears of repentance," adopted new rituals to appease a wrathful God and to appeal to the tender mercies of Jesus.

Religious personhood for early praying Indians meant the embrace of a penitential sense of life marked by the ceaseless discovery of new sins that required unending acts of repentance. In addition, the faithful needed to internalize the harsh demands of a scrupulous conscience wherein sin provoked episodes of self-judgment and associated feelings of guilt, sorrow, and worthlessness. Last, the penitential sense of life required that each believer would seek external validation by submitting to continual surveillance by English ministers who would pass judgment about a Native's spiritual adequacy from evidence examined regarding faith, knowledge of doctrine, and godly conduct.

The Eliot tracts indicate that after the initial confessions in 1653 and the subsequent transcriptions in 1660, converts exhibited more lengthy and nuanced comprehension of the Bible and the contents of faith such as innate depravity, the intercession of Christ, and the covenant of grace. However, the tracts marked by a penitential sense of life and the rational theodicy of misfortune did not exhibit the expected psychodynamics of conversion—the depths of despair and religious melancholy and the sublime possession of divine love, "God's caress" of the saint. Linguistic evidence from the Eliot Bible supports the preponderance of words that reflect the penitential sense of life and not the centrality of salvation (see Table 1).

The *Natick Dictionary* is derived from John Eliot's translation of the Bible into the language spoken by nineteenth-century Narragansett Indi-

TABLE 1. Selected Massachusett and English words from the *Natick Dictionary*

Penitential sense of life		Salvationist	
Adultery	*Mamussa*	Bless	*Wannántum*
Angry	*Musquantum*	Converted (turned)	*Quinnuppekompau*
Appease	*Mahteânum*	Covenant	*Wunnoowáonk*
Bad (sin)/Good	*Matche*/Wunne	Soul (human being)	*Keteáhogkóu*
Betray	*Wanassooman*		
Blame	*Wutchumonate*		
Condemn	*Pakodchimau*		
Cure (heal)	*Neetskehheau*		
Dirty	*Niskeneukque*		
Drunkard	*Kagkeissippamwa*		
Faith-hearted	*Sohqutteahau*		
Forbid	*Quihtinau*		
Fornication	*Sekeneam*		
Grieve	*Neuantam*		
Pestilence	Enninneáonk		
Repent (sorrowful)	*Nampooham*		
Reprove	*Auuskontem*		
Sacrifice	*Sephausu*		
Sin (evil-doing)	*Matchesook*		
Torment	*Ankepukeneau*		

Source: J. Hammond Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary.*

ans and includes the names of plants, animals, place names, and terms for number, space, time, and the seasons. In addition, Eliot's translation refers to kinship terms, sachem, and the "people" or community of affiliation and reference. The first person pronoun "I" (*neen*) is translated as "this one" and does not refer to the complex of ideas of individuated personhood.[96] Eliot distinguishes the Christian "God Almighty" (*Manit Wame Masugkenuk*) from the idea of a god or other-than-human person (manitou).[97] Heaven (*kesuk*) refers to the visible sky, the heavens above, and not an other-worldly transcendental reality, a paradise or afterlife.[98]

The *Natick Dictionary* has no entries for key concepts such as salvation, rebirth, grace, election, paradise, joyful surrender to Jesus, the experience of forgiveness by God, or spiritual peace. Sin (*matchesook*) is defined as bad conduct and evil-doing and does not reference the idea of each believer's personal relationship with God and the obligation to obey divine commandments and law. The theological concept of sin that implies intentionality

and willful disobedience is absent from the lexicon. The catalog of sins and religious emotions presented below suggests that neophytes focused less on issues of salvation and more on interpersonal misconduct and the feeling states of sorrow, shame, and repentance requisite to repairing broken relationships with villagers, significant kin, members of the congregation, and other-than-human persons.

On February 15, 1659, eight Natick Indians made public confessions and underwent subsequent questioning before receiving full membership in the Roxbury congregation. An Indian congregation was founded in Natick in 1660. After nearly twenty years of missionary contact, after decades of sermons, catechism, and the Natives themselves preaching and teaching the Word, the first visible saints were recognized and authenticated. These conversion narratives were augmented by scripture, edited and recast as well-rehearsed performances of sincerity that reflected the protracted timeline of Puritan preparationism.

One significant theme in these final confessions suggests that only prayers offered by the prepared and "broken" heart would prove efficacious and reach God. Waban made this plea: "Lord break my heart, that I might pray to God alright. My heart was weary of praying quickly . . . and therefore I prayed, Lord help me now pray aright to God." Waban prayed for the assistance of Christ: "I should desire Christ to break my heart by his Spirit, none else in the world could do it."[99]

Monotunkquanit's confession explained how the consciousness of sin and the knowledge of Christ's power of pardon caused his heart to break. He states: "Oh let the Holy Spirit help me, for I am ashamed of my sins; melted is my heart, and I desire pardon of all my sins; now I desire to forsake all my sins, and now I desire dayly to quench lusts, and wash off filth, and cast out all my sins, by the blood of Jesus Christ, and this I do by believing in Jesus Christ."[100]

Not surprisingly, they appear to be formulaic and devoid of the holy desperation, grieving, tears, and outcries that marked the initial religious experiences in "The Day Breaking" in 1647 when they first encountered the penitential sense of life. The first spontaneous religious affections had become institutionalized into rituals of evangelical humiliation. The narratives lacked

inward assurance of faith and grace marked by the ecstatic and joyful reception of grace. They did not express newly found agency to do God's work.

By 1667, after more than twenty years of missionary work, Eliot would express his frustration to Baxter: "Our Indian work yet liveth in these dark times, though it is still a day of small things."[101] Eliot had used the same phrase fifteen years earlier in *Tears of Repentance* when characterizing the first examination of praying Indians. He said: "It is a day of small things with us: and that is God's season to make the single beauty of his humbling Grace, to shine in them, that are the veriest ruines of mankind that are know on earth."[102]

Like the majority of English settlers in New England, few praying Indians ever achieved visible sainthood. Eliot identified six Indian churches in 1673: Natick, Hassunnemesut, Mahshepog, two at Martha's Vineyard, and one at Nantucket.[103] Of the eleven hundred who resided in the fourteen praying towns in 1671, only 119 had received baptism and seventy-four of them were visible saints who enjoyed Communion in these covenanted church communities.[104] After three decades of missionary work, Eliot would reply to the inquiry by Thomas Shepard in 1673 "whether there are daly added to the church new converts?" Eliot wrote of the modest present and his hope for a bountiful future: "We are blind, thin & scattered, wild people. twenty or 30 yeares time have made a visible appearance of a divine work, & I observe a great blessing to follow the labours of theire own countrymen, who labour among them."[105]

Why were there so few conversions? Why did the Natives fail to report the ravishing and joyful release from suffering of the regenerate, the psychological payoff that was the crux of the theodicy of misfortune?

Cohen argues that the psychodynamics found in Puritan conversion narratives in this period were absent from the experiences of praying Indians. Notions of selfless agony or the ravishing of the heart in the infusion of grace and divine love were absent and achieved only a truncated and partial morphology of conversion, falling short of the mark. He explains:

> To be born again, Amerindians had to learn not only the dogmas of
> creation and Fall, Passion and resurrection, but also the behaviors of

grace—piety and godly love. They grasped the former more readily than the latter. Natives understood sin and God's anger, concepts consonant with the morality and experiences of their old faith, yet missed *agape*, a divine emotion pre-contact religion did not conceptualize but Puritanism's psychological payoff.[106]

Richter suggests that the narratives truncate the concluding stage that prescribes the psychological state marked by "the incomprehensible mystery of divine grace, in which the aggrieved party—God—is the one who gives the gift of eternal life."[107]

The limited and incomplete nature of praying Indian conversion experience is also reflected in Eliot's last published work, *The Dying Speeches of Several Indians* (1685). This tract assembled the deathbed speeches of eight converts, spoken in Algonquian to Native preacher Daniel Takawampbait of Natick, conveyed to Daniel Gookin, and translated into English by Eliot. Four speeches uttered by Waban, Piambohou, Old Jacob, and Black James reflect the formulaic genre of the dying Indian saint: rejoicing as the moment of death draws near, confessing sin and seeking repentance, and exhorting and teaching family and friends who surrounded the deathbed. Waban proclaims: "though my body be almost broken with sickness, yet I desire to remember thy name Of my God. . . . My great God hath given me long life, and there after I am now willing to dy."[108] Old Jacob, age ninety, instructs the praying Indians: "be not divided against one another." "I now desire to dy in the presence of Christ, Oh Lord I commit my soul to thee."[109]

John Speene and Anthony confess apostasy—falling away from faith and godly living. Both were Natick teachers and both received repeated admonishment and removal following years of drunkenness. Nehemiah's dying speech proves especially troubling. He uttered these words as he lay mortally wounded after a dispute with a companion while hunting in the woods: "Save my soul in heaven, Oh help me, help me."[110] The speech ends with the ominous sentence: "The wicked murderer is fled." Finally, John Owussumugsen died without having accepted the covenant of grace and without the inward transformation of conversion.

None of the speeches contain the joyful assurance and contemplation of Christ and salvation suggested by Baxter's *Saints' Everlasting Rest*. Eliot began a thirty-year association and friendship in 1656 with Richard Baxter. In his first letter, Eliot extolled the consolation that he received from Baxter's work of practical divinity during Eliot's protracted bodily affliction. He explains: "Oh w[ha]t a sweet refreshing did the Lord make it to be unto me! And especially when I came at the bottom, that blessed point and patterne of holy meditation."[111] None of the dying speeches manifested this "pattern of holy meditation" that characterized the saints' everlasting rest and the distinguishing religious affections associated with visible sainthood. In addition, the conversion narratives of the first generation of praying Indian saints did not express the sublime experience of agape—the rapturous assurance of God's love and release from suffering in this world.

Eliot published *Indian Dialogues* in 1671 as a work that was "partly historical, of some things that were done and said, and partly instructive, to show what might or should have been said, or that may be . . . hereafter done and said."[112] He intended this book first as a devotional manual for lay exhorters and Native preachers who would evangelize traditional Indians, and second as a demonstration of the Calvinist orthodoxy and authentic conversion of praying Indians to Christian publics in Britain and New England.

Eliot wrote a fictional account of the psychodynamics and outward morphology of the conversion of Waban, one of his early converts. Unlike the actual conversion narratives, this account in *Indian Dialogues* portrays a successful, idealized confession filled with self-loathing for past paganism and sublime joy and evangelical fervor after the reception of God's love. Waban states:

> I am a *praying Indian*. I have left our old *Indian* customs, laws, lusts, pauwauings, and whatever else is contrary to the right knowledge of the true God, and of Jesus Christ our redeemer. It repenteth me of all my fore-past life, the lusts, vanities, pleasures and carnal delights that were formerly very sweet and delightful to me, are now bitter as gall unto me. . . . And this way wherein I am now entered is a way of light, life, holiness, peace, and eternal salvation. Therefore I do

earnestly persuade all that I meet with to be wise, and turn from the ways of darkness, and come into this way of light and glory.[113]

Eliot's idealized, fictional praying Indian eagerly embraced the elements of individuated social identity (religious personhood, legal personhood, and possessive individualism) and resided in model praying towns reduced by the yoke of civility. Real praying Indians failed to meet Eliot's description in *Indian Dialogues*.

However, unlike the fictional depictions, the words and confessions of the praying Indians that Eliot recorded provide evidence that they succeeded in "making Indian" selected dimensions of individuated social identity, especially the penitential sense of life and rational theodicy of misfortune that prescribed the weekly rituals and prayers seeking Christ's assistance to promote individual and collective well-being.

Eliot titled the pivotal tract *Tears of Repentance*, not "tears of joy" or some other appellation that emphasized the experience of grace as the reception of God's loving caress. He mediated to the praying Indians through sermons, catechism, and pastoral care the elements of the penitential sense of life: the sons of Adam, who represented the ruins of mankind, were sinful and depraved. They suffered from the chastisement of a wrathful God and needed to respond with religious melancholy and self-abasement. They would reform their lives and submit to God's law by reduction to civility. The consciousness of sin and the ubiquitous tears of repentance formed the foundation for the religious personhood of these early praying Indians. Through the practice of piety and collective rituals of evangelical humiliation (days of fasting and prayer) they might propitiate God, appeal to Jesus to intercede on their behalf, and bring favor to praying-to-God Indians. In this manner, praying Indians might selectively appropriate aspects of Protestant religious personhood to influence God. Through rituals, God might bless and favor His Indian children with health and prosperity.

James Axtell argues in "Were Indian Conversions Bona Fide?" that Puritanism satisfied the emotional needs and intellectual curiosity of praying Indians in their new colonial world born of invasion, disease, and exchange, alliance, and warfare with the newcomers. The Eliot tracts contained nu-

merous accounts of neophytes engaging in insightful questioning of their English catechists about the nature of God, cosmology, good and evil, and thorny theological issues. Axtell affirms the authenticity of conversion and Christian Indians' religiosity and concludes: "For Christianity (and its attendant culture) offered answers to their most urgent questions, balm to their frayed emotions and techniques of prediction and control to replace those they had lost."[114] The religious melancholy and associated rituals of fasting, penance, and humiliation of the penitential sense of life conferred new techniques of control for children of God to bring health and prosperity to the families in these new praying towns.

Daniel Gookin wrote *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England* in 1674, a year before the calamitous events of King Philip's War that would transform New England and effectively end the rational utopian ideals of praying towns. Gookin offers a detailed history of Eliot's mission and explains that of the 147 inhabitants of Natick, only forty to fifty were visible saints:

> There are many Indians that live among those that have subjected to the gospel, that are catechized, do attend publick worship, read the scriptures, pray in their family morning and evening; but being not yet come so far, as to be able or willing to profess their faith in Christ and yield obedience and subjection unto him in his church, are not admitted to partake in the ordinances of God, proper and peculiar to the church of Christ; which is a garden enclosed, as the scripture saith.[115]

Gookin offers the dying testimony of an eleven-year-old Indian boy who requested baptism after hearing Eliot preach. The boy exhorted his parents to join the church as visible saints in order "that he might be marked for one of Christ's lambs before he died." The parents complied; their son received baptism and died shortly thereafter. The boy told his parents, "I am willing to die." Gookin concluded: "so his immortal soul is now in glory, rejoicing in communion with Christ."[116]

Like Eliot, Gookin championed an idealized portrait of Christian Indians—where religion transformed social and collective identity and where

English polity and economy reduced Natives to civility. Praying towns and praying Indians, however, revitalized Native identity and lifeways as a reformed ethnic group by blending the old and the new to make Puritanism an Indian religion.

The Eliot Tracts contain the mission narrative of Thomas Mayhew Jr., who related the conversion of Wampanoag villagers in Martha's Vineyard. Eliot published compilations of correspondence gathered by Henry Whitfield, a minister from Guilford, Connecticut, who visited Martha's Vineyard in 1651. *The Light Appearing* and *Strength Out of Weakness* report Mayhew's accounts of his initiation of a mission to the Indians on Martha's Vineyard in 1643. His early success resulted in the conversion of approximately 25 percent of the resident Native population, Wampanoags, who eagerly joined together in model praying communities and embraced a covenant of grace and a federal or church covenant. By 1652, three hundred converts resided in this praying town, worshipped in an Indian congregation, and educated their children in a mission school.[117] This successful mission inspired Eliot by identifying efficacious methods of bringing Natives to Christ:

1. Converting sachems to ensure that corporate kinship groups and bands would follow. Mayhew observed "that they generally came in by Families, bringing also their Children with them."[118]
2. Discrediting shamans (powwows). This strategy, along with converting sachems, effectively undermined traditional spiritual authority.
3. Preaching to the Wampanoags in their own language and employing Native catechists and preachers who would introduce them to the penitential sense of life and rational theodicy of misfortune.
4. Dispense with prefatory reduction to civility and protracted preparationism (unlike Natick and mainland praying towns) by permitting timely baptisms and formation of Native churches.

Mayhew did not relate the confessions transcribed from Native voices as did Eliot. Instead, Mayhew attested that "all of them came confessing their sinnes, some in special the naughtinesse of their hearts, others in particular, actuall sinnes they had lived in: and also they all desired to be made bet-

ter, and to attend to the Word of God, to that end looking onely to Jesus Christ for salvation."[119]

Mayhew quickly learned the Algonquian language so that he could offer prayer services, sing psalms and hymns, deliver sermons, and proffer individual spiritual direction to those made conscious of their sinful, depraved state. Given the small English presence on the island before the colonial dispossession of Indian land or the destruction of peoples and culture, Mayhew needed to adopt a strategy of Christianization without reduction to civility. With the assistance of his first convert, Hiacoomes, Mayhew effectively undermined the power of shamans (powwows) and brought sachems and the headmen in village lineage groups to Christ. Their kinsmen soon followed and became praying Indians.

Hiacoomes is the central figure in this remarkable story. Without rank, distinction, or prestige in Native social structure, low-born and unassuming, he resided near the English plantation in 1643. Mayhew describes him as "a man of sad and sober spirit" who visited, attended public meetings, and learned of Adam's sins.[120] Hiacoomes enjoyed English sponsorship and protection and quickly gained prominence as a convert, catechist, translator, and mediator between the English and various sachems.

Although the English settlement numbered fewer than one hundred souls and the early colonization had yet not resulted in depopulation or land dispossession, traditional Wampanoag polity and religious praxis showed signs of anomie in 1643. Natives "ran amok" in extreme emotional distress after forsaking traditional rituals, fearful of the retribution they expected after angering many of their thirty-seven deities. Experience Mayhew reports: "There was this year 1643 a very strange Disease among the Indians, they ran up and down as if delirious, till they could run no longer; they would make their Faces as black as Coal, and snatch up any Weapons tho they would do Mischief with it, and speak great swelling words, but yet they did no Harm."[121]

The sachem Pakeponesso was angered by a violation of etiquette and resentful of the upstart Hiacoomes, who appeared before him with a company of English in 1643. The sachem struck Hiacoomes across the face with his hand and mocked the turn to Christianity, inquiring about the

risks of forsaking shamanic protection and rituals of health and healing. Pakeponesso asked: "I wonder that you that are a young man, having a wife and two children, should love the English and their wayes, and forsake the Pawwawes; what would you do if any of you should be sick? Whither would you go for help? I say, if I were in your case there should be nothing draw me from our gods and Pawwawes."[122] Soon after this encounter, Pakeponesso was injured by lightning as he sat in his wigwam. Experience Mayhew attributed this event to the providence and vengeance of God.

Mayhew usurped the shaman's powers to inflict injury from sorcery and to employ magic to ward off sickness, ill fortune, and evil. When various powwows attempted to kill Hiacoomes by sorcery, he asked: "Who is there that doth not fear the Pawwawes?"[123] He answered that the shamans had repeatedly tried and failed to injure and kill Hiacoomes with their magic. They had failed because of the convert's belief in God, who protected him from devilish adversaries and evil.

Experience Mayhew recalls how a converted sachem chided a shaman for having failed to defeat Hiacoomes. The newly converted shaman now disavowed devilish rites and pledged to forsake other gods and to worship the one true Christian God. The sachem described the actions of the repentant powwow: "That having often employed his God, which appeared to him in the Form of a Snake, to kill, wound, or lame such as he intended Mischief to, he employed the said Snake to kill, and that failing, to wound or lame Hiacoomes . . . all which prov'd ineffectual. And that, having seriously considered the said Hiacoomes Assertion, that none of the Pawwaws could hurt him, since the God whom he now served was the great God to whom theirs was subservient, he resolved to worship the true God."[124]

Experience Mayhew observed that God protected the faithful but afflicted the obstinate, those who continued to live in heathen sin and darkness. One such Indian man lost two sons to sickness and "feels the wrath of God, being stricken with a dead Palsie, alone side of him, his eyes and eare . . . he is at this day a living and a dead monument of the Lord's displeasure."[125] For almost a decade, God protected the praying congregation from sickness and death until the newborn child of Hiacoomes died. Mayhew writes: "I have observed the wise and disposing hand of God in another Providence

of his; there have as I have known, any man, woman, or child died at the meeting Indians since the meeting began, until now of late the Lord took away Hiacoomes child which was about five days old; he was able to make good use of it."[126] He made good use of this special providence that God afflicted upon the saints by exhorting the congregation to requicken their faith during a solemn English burial.

In 1651 the praying Indians requested that Mayhew write a covenant so that they might formally submit to God and his magistrates and ministers, pledging: "[to] chuse JEHOVAH to be our God in Christ Jesus, our Teacher, our Law-giver in his Word, our King, our Judg, our Ruler by his Magistrates and Minister."[127] John Eliot and John Cotton officiated on August 22, 1670, at the establishment of the first Native congregational church at Chappaquid-dick with the installation of Hiacoomes and Momatchegen as ministers. Within a year the church divided into a second congregation at Martha's Vineyard led by Tackannash and Nahnoso. Japheth Hannit succeeded Hiacoomes in 1684 and served this church until Hannit's death in 1712.[128]

The island Wampanoags, like their mainland counterparts, embraced an amalgam of old and new logics where praying-to-God Indians created new rituals to propitiate and coerce the powerful manitou of the English other-than-human persons, God and his son, Jesus. This accommodation reordered their world and afforded praying Indians access to new forms of spirit power and support from the political and economic resources of the powerful English settlers on the island. Praying Indians embraced the rationalization of religious personhood, experiencing their lives as a spiritual pilgrimage, a penitential journey, and as an examined life founded upon ultimate religious values and concerns. From their confessions and testimonies, in their own voices, we hear them speak of their lives as an arduous existence informed by the normative demands of civility as they struggled to overcome the sinfulness of the natural man, and the methodical practice of self-examination, repentance of sin, and humiliation before God through fasting and prayer as they sought to bring divine favor to the people. Forged in religious melancholy, Christian Indians helped reconstitute an ethnic identity in village settlements at the margins between traditional Native and English communities.

The Pattern of Religious Paternalism in Eighteenth-Century Christian Indian Communities

The seventeenth-century idea of the praying town as a rational religious utopia and semiautonomous political enclave was a casualty of King Philip's War and gave way to a new expression of religious paternalism—the mission and missionary as an instrument of the colonial administration of Native peoples, who were perceived to be a declining or vanishing race. In this chapter we will consider the transformation of Natick from a Native church community to an English settlement. Next we will examine Experience Mayhew's *Indian Converts* (1727), which provides an extensive consideration of the vicissitudes of Christian Indian identity and the character of religious experience and expression for the first three generations of Christian Indians on Martha's Vineyard. Finally, we recount the efforts by John Cotton Jr. and Josiah Cotton to minister to their Indian charges who lived and labored on the Cotton Plain Dealing Farm, and the story of Gideon Hawley's mission to the Mashpee.

Religious paternalism espoused a system of Protestant moralism—a rigorous code of ethics and sanctions designed to promote godly living, ascetic self-control, temperance, and industry. In the 1740s many Christian Indian groups on Cape Cod and the Islands were unaffected by the awakening of evangelical pietism, New Light theology, and the expectation that

their communities would receive a visitation and awakening from the Holy Spirit. Instead of a vital experimental piety that augured new birth, Christian Indians embraced Protestant moralism that was intended to counter the disorientation and anomie of reservation life that was frequently characterized by alcoholism, the incremental dispossession of tribal lands to satisfy debt, indenture and debt peonage, and despair.

Religious paternalism granted Natives the unenviable status of "children" in perpetual tutelage to colonial authority. The missionary functioned as a spiritual "father" to the tribe, assuming the powers of the justice of the peace to settle intratribal disputes and adjudicate misconduct by imposing fines and sanctions. In addition, the missionary assumed political and legal powers as guardian granted by the colonial legislature. Guardians could lease or sell tribal lands and exploit fishing and timbers rights, distribute charity, and disperse tribal funds. Thus, religious paternalism served the purpose of the spiritual, political, legal, and economic administration of a colonized people who were increasingly impoverished and confined to a limited reservation land base. The transformation of Natick from praying town to English village provides the first example of eighteenth-century religious paternalism.

King Philip's War began with the attack on Swansea, Rhode Island, on June 24, 1675, and escalated to encompass northern settlements along the Connecticut River, and northwest to Mohawk lands along the Hudson River. By the end in August 1676 of fourteen months of brutal hostilities, approximately 40 percent of Native populations had been killed or removed, and thirteen English settlements had been destroyed with a loss of 5 percent of prewar English population.[1] James D. Drake maintains that this conflict was a civil war initiated by Philip (Metacom), a Wampanoag sachem who created a loose alliance of Nipmucks, Narragansetts, Pocumtucks, and others in protest against the failure of Plymouth Colony to protect their villages and land base from the expansion of colonial settlements and the extension of the Massachusetts' praying towns into dwindling Wampanoag homelands in Rhode Island. With Metacom's back to the Narragansett Bay and surrounded by a honeycomb pattern of new colonial settlements, the creation of new praying towns created an unacceptable threat to his

remaining lands and the declining numbers who lived in traditional villages. These events signaled the failure of Metacom's strategy of ethnic self-preservation—submission to English sovereignty in exchange for the benefits of secure land tenure and trade.[2]

The depredations committed by Philip and his allies, who had previously submitted to English sovereignty and had repeatedly sworn oaths of fealty and friendship, shattered the colonial civil society. The English had coexisted in peace with traditional Native and praying Indian communities in southeastern New England in the four decades following the Pequot War.[3] The colonists condemned Philip's rebellion as treason and treachery, as expressed in Increase Mather's account of the "cruel habitations" and atrocities of war, which reflected the escalating public outrage against all Indians. Despite Natick's early attempts at neutrality and alliance with the colonists, the public turned against them. Mather lamented in *So Dreadfull a Judgment*, "how many with us have condemned all *Praying Indians*, crying out, they are all nought, there is not one good amongst them? And what thought some of them may be Hypocrites."[4]

Benjamin Church described the killing of cattle, the destruction of property, and the escalating thirst for English blood. When Philip killed eight men at Mattapoiset, Church wrote about the killer's "brutish barbarities; beheading, dismembering and mangling them, and exposing them in the most inhumane manner, which gash'd and ghostly objects struck a damp on all beholders."[5]

During the assault and burning of Swansea, Middlebury, and Dartmouth in Plymouth Colony in July 1675, according to Mather's history, the Indians "barbarously murthered both men and women in those places, stripping the slain whether men or women, and leaving them in the open field as naked as the day they were born. Such also is the inhumanity as that they flay of[f] the skin from their faces and heads of those they get into their hands, and go away with the hairy Scalp of their enemyes."[6]

Captain Samuel Moseley, renowned for his hatred of Indians and cruelty, conducted his militia and arrested fourteen praying Indians at Marlborough in August 1675. He brought them to Boston for trial, falsely accusing them of the murder of seven colonists earlier that month in Lancaster. The accused

were acquitted in September, but enraged townspeople threatened to lynch the praying Indians. Only the intercession of John Eliot and Daniel Gookin, who were themselves threatened, prevented this extralegal violence.[7]

Colonists could no longer distinguish between friendly and hostile Indians when in October 1675 domesticated tribes like the Agawams and Nipmucks residing near Springfield, "who professed nothing but Friendship towards the English, . . . treacherously [broke] in upon the Town. . . . They killed several, amongst others their Lieutenant Cooper was most perfidiously Murthered by them, without the least occasion or Provocation given."[8]

Natick and other praying towns faced an impossible situation. In the early months of the insurrection, Nipmucks attacked praying towns and coerced many to take up arms against the English upon pain of death. Should praying Indians flee, they encountered growing English hostility and mistrust. Even those Christian Indians who actively joined with colonists to fight Metacom encountered criticism suggesting "those Indians that are caled praying Indians never shut at the other Indians, but up at the tops of trees or into the ground; and when they make shew of going first into swamp they comonly give the Indians noatis how to escape the English."[9] Jill Lepore explains that the panic over Indian treachery, disloyalty, and barbarity transformed English perceptions. "To punning Puritans, praying Indians had now become 'preying Indians.'"[10]

Following the Springfield attack, and fearful that previously friendly Indians might suddenly revert to savagery and become treacherous foes, the General Court on October 13 ordered the internment of all praying Indians from Natick onto Deer Island in Boston Harbor. The approximately five hundred Indians imprisoned on the island faced a harsh winter without adequate shelter, clothing, and food. Nearly half perished from disease and exposure before their release in May 1676.

Daniel Gookin argued that internment had protected praying Indians from the murderous retaliation of the English and their hatred of all Indians.[11] However, the accommodation wherein Natives formed a Christian commonwealth as a protected and encapsulated community founded upon principles of civility and as the voluntary congregation of saints was a casualty

of King Philip's War as were hundreds of Christian Indians. Neal Salisbury writes: "The earlier hostility of many colonists toward praying Indians was compounded and broadened to a mass hatred that branded all natives as traitors, with 'praying Indians' the most deceitful and treacherous of all."[12]

Gookin documents this hatred by reporting instances of vigilante attacks and murder of innocent Christian Indians like the massacre at Huttleberry Hill on August 9, 1676, when two Indian women and their children were murdered by Englishmen while berry-picking.[13]

After Metacom's death in August 1676, enemy Indians received English "mercy": trial and execution for treason and bondage by sale into West Indian slavery. An estimated 60–80 percent of Wampanoags, Narragansetts, Nipmucks, Agawams, and other groups allied to Metacom were killed, executed, or deported. James D. Drake explains: "In 1670 Indians constituted nearly 25 percent of New England's inhabitants, by 1680 they made up 8–12 percent."[14]

Praying Indians were designated as "Friend Indians" and afforded special legal status and protection after the war. Reduced in number from 1,110 to 567 and facing Mohawk raids, many of the remaining Christianized Indians returned as refugees under English supervision to four defended, settled towns: Natick, Punkapoag, Hassanamisco, and Wamesit.[15] Others fled to northern New England, New France, or west to Albany to join multiethnic refugee enclaves.

The idea of an Indian congregation led by Native ministers and deacons continued at Natick with Daniel Takawampbait, who served as pastor from 1683 until his death in 1716. He was succeeded by John Neesnumin, who died in 1719.[16] However, despite this ministerial leadership, the death of John Eliot in 1690 marked the decline of the Natick church. With the death of the first generation of praying Indians, the second generation largely abandoned Eliot's religion. In 1698 the church comprised less than 10 percent of the town's adults. It listed ten members (seven men and three women) drawn from a population of 110 adults and seventy children under the age of sixteen.[17]

The New England Company in 1721 appointed a young English minister, a recent and impoverished Harvard graduate, Oliver Peabody, who served

until his death in 1752. He preached in English in a learned, didactic style that alienated Indians but attracted English listeners: fifty-three English proprietors joined the church from 1729 to 1740 while only nineteen Natives joined during this period.[18] Under this new system of religious paternalism, religious and political authority was concentrated in the hands of English ministers and missionaries, proprietors and selectman.

How can we account for the withering of the Indian commitment to Christianity? Eliot's letter to Thomas Shepard in 1673 expressed Indian concerns on the eve of war, and these concerns continued throughout the eighteenth century. Eliot posed the question: "how do the converted Indians stand affected toward the English, by means of whom they have received the gospel? A. they have great reverence & esteeme of them & ordinaryly in theire prayers they thank God for them, & pray for them, as instruments of God, for theire good. but the busyness about lands, giveth them no small matter of stumbling."[19]

"The busyness about lands"—the orderly, legal, incremental dispossession of tribal lands that was informed by the terminal narrative of inevitable extinction—proved central to the political economy of colonialism and the waning of Christian Indian identity. After 1715 the General Court ended collective tribal landownership and instituted individual proprietorship that exacerbated social and economic divisions between impoverished, landless Indians and wealthier Indian proprietor families. Land became a commodity that individuals liquidated to pay debts, legal expenses to fight trespass, medical costs in sickness and disability, or to raise capital to build houses, purchase cattle, and make improvements in their homesteads.[20]

Thus, the conditions of colonialism—individual proprietorship, debt, incremental land dispossession, powerlessness, and a declining population wherein deaths exceeded births—transformed Natick from an Indian community modeled on the theocracy of a Christian commonwealth to an incorporated English town (1781) that marginalized Indians. By 1740 Natick's Indians had sold 1,739 acres, or one-third of their land base. An epidemic in 1745–46 claimed fifty-one Indians, or 25 percent of the remaining tribe. A second epidemic in 1759 killed an additional 15 percent of the tribe.[21]

Given the preponderance of English congregants, ministers, and dea-

cons, the Natick church did not continue as an Indian congregation, a source of collective identity and power. Colin G. Calloway characterizes the postwar era as a "dark age" for southern New England Algonquian groups, marked by the awareness that Indians had no place in colonial society. The Nipmucks, Wampanoags, and Narragansetts—once powerful and numerous—no longer existed as autonomous bands who occupied extensive homelands. An emerging categorization of Indians as racial others, combined with declining numbers of marriageable Native men, who left to pursue seafaring and transient labor, and who suffered frightful mortality rates as English allies in colonial wars, resulted in the growing intermarriage of Native women with African American men. The children of these multiracial unions were not considered Indian, thus contributing to the terminal narrative of "invisibility" and the myth of disappearance.[22]

The Natick "tribe" of praying Indians did not survive this dark age. From its inception, praying Indians formed refugee, amalgamated, multiethnic communities bound by new cultural affinities: civility, the religious brotherhood of conversion (metaphorical kinship), and Christian mythology.[23] Natick never formed a traditional Indian band based upon the common language, traditional lifeways, or ties of blood and marriage of extended kinship groups. Those who resettled in Natick after the war—refugees from the fourteen praying villages—did not successfully reinvent themselves as a Christian Indian tribe or reconstitute themselves as a traditional enclave. During the eighteenth century, as they suffered "dispossession by degrees" and progressive psychological and physical abandonment of what was becoming an English village, the Natick Indians dispersed into the regional ethnic kinship networks, vanishing from English view.

Reverend Samson Occom, a Mohegan and ordained Presbyterian missionary and itinerant preacher, visited Natick in September 1773. He would observe: "I preached at Natick in the fore noon to a large Auditory, [of white congregants] for a Short-Notice, the Indians there are almost extinct."[24]

The fate of Christian Indians and their village communities on Martha's Vineyard in the period from the end of King Philip's War until the Great Awakening in the middle of the eighteenth century differed from those in Natick and the Massachusetts Colony praying towns. Daniel Gookin reports

in 1677 that the Christian Indians of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard "have felt very little of this war comparatively; for the English that dwell upon those Islands have held a good correspondency with those Indians all of time of the war, as they did before the war began."[25] Dwelling, toiling, and worshipping together with English settlers, many of whom spoke Wampanoag, the first two generations of Christian Indians were perceived as a loyal, domestic, and pacified group.

Experience Mayhew published *Indian Converts* as a historical essay in 1727, examining the work of three generations of missionaries and their Indian converts on Martha's Vineyard and investigating the fate of praying Indians. He provided evidence from Indian dialogues, letters, historical and ethnographic accounts, conversion narratives, and deathbed confessions in reconstructing their extraordinary biographies as *exempla fidei*.[26] Unlike the accounts of "preying Indians" and the "perfidious" rebellion of some praying Indians who allied with Metacom, Mayhew works to restore the reputation of Vineyard Christian Indians in the spiritual biographies of more than one hundred cases, organized as chapters devoted to "Godly Ministers," "Godly Men," "Religious Women," and "Pious Children."

Experience Mayhew (1673–1758) was the son of John Mayhew, the grandson of Thomas Mayhew Jr., and the third generation of a ministerial elite who appropriated religious and political authority on the island and worked to bring Puritan religion and civility to the Wampanoag. Experience was fluent in the Native dialect and had an intimate knowledge of their six villages and congregational communities, laboring as a religious teacher in 1694 before he began his work as minister and missionary in 1705.[27]

Writing in 1720 "A Brief Account of the State of the Indians on Martha's Vineyard," he reports a Native population of eight hundred Indians living in 155 family households, which represented approximately half the population that had existed before English settlement. Each small village was organized as a congregational community, headed by an Indian preacher who conducted two services each Sabbath comprised of prayer, psalm singing, a sermon, and the reading of a portion of the Bible, followed by additional praying and singing. One hundred and ten saints or communicants had owned the covenant of grace, joined the church as full communicants, and

enjoyed the Lord's Supper that was administered seven or eight times a year.[28]

Cotton Mather's *India Christiana* (1721) identified "ten little congregations" on Martha's Vineyard, and he laments that Natives demonstrated slow progress toward civility and were entangled in debt. He decried "the Vile Things have been done to them upon their insolvencies."[29] Like the elegiac *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), Mather reports that "religion is under decay" when measured against the accomplishments of John Eliot, apostle to the Indians, who labored ceaselessly to "humanize these miserable animals" and bring them into obedience of the only true God and savior of mankind.[30]

For Cotton Mather, the Indian piety recorded in *Tears of Repentance* in the 1650s formed the basis for judging the spiritual attainments of Indian converts. Unlike in Mather's time, Eliot's praying Indians were observed "opening their Mouths, lifting up their Hands an Eyes in Prayer to the Living God, calling on Him by His Name JEHOVAH, in the mediation of JESUS CHRIST and in this for a good while together; to see and hear them exhorting one another from the Word of GOD."[31]

Mather indentified a theme in early eighteenth-century religious paternalism—the hagiography of John Eliot—in which Natives were reminded of the debt that Christian Indians owed to their departed Christian minister and "father." The Reverend Josiah Cotton (1680–1756) adopted this theme in his ministry. Like Experience Mayhew, Cotton was a third-generation minister and missionary to the Indians in Plymouth. Fluent in Massachusett, he transcribed an "Indian Sermon" (1710) in both English and the Native dialect. He acknowledged the ubiquity of sin in their community and lamented: "our purr hearts have bled with pity over you, when we have Seen How horribly the Devil oppresses you in this World & Destroyed you in another 1: Pet. 5:8."[32]

Cotton admonished Christian Indians to work in an honest calling, submit to God's ordinances and commandments, and avoid a catalog of sins that included drunkenness, lying, stealing, neglect of prayer, fornication, and uncleanness. Escape the vengeance of eternal fire, he exhorted: "Friends, my hearts desire & Prayer is that you may be Saved. Now you

can't be Saved if you go on in sin."[33] He pleaded with his congregation to find righteousness in the name of John Eliot, as he will be there to confront you and hold you accountable for your life on judgment day. He explained: "I am to tell you that if you don't become real & holy Christians you shall never have a Comfortable Sight of him [Eliot] any more."[34]

Although Mather noted the absence of the religious affections of the melancholy saint recorded in the conversion narratives of the first generation of praying Indians, he did record the importance of hymnody and the singing of psalms in their worship services, observing, "the Indians are notable singers."[35] Mather championed psalm singing and hymns in Puritan worship and provided the rationale in *The Accomplished Singer* that prayer services should include singing as it had been practiced by the first Christians. In addition, the Hebrew Bible and New Testament prescribed singing, and singing brought fervency to scriptural passages and psalms.[36]

Writing *A Letter, about the present state of Christianity, among the Christianized Indians of New-England*" (1705), Mather includes a statement from Reverend Josiah Torrey, another English minister on Martha's Vineyard. Torrey explains that the third and fourth generation of praying Indians remembered and reverenced Eliot by honoring his prescriptions for twice-daily family prayer, strict adherence to church discipline, and singing psalms in Sabbath worship. Torrey writes of "Grave, Serious Attentive Deportment, in their Exercises, and their Excellent singing of psalms, with most ravishing Melody. They begin their Exercises with Prayer; Then Sing a Psalm; then Preach; and so conclude with a Prayer."[37] Singing dramatically represented and enacted the idealized social harmonies of the congregation who joined together in worship by adopting a Christianized version of traditional Indian singing. In this manner, singing provided a cathartic expression of religious affections—joy and sorrow and a weaning of worldly concerns for these colonized Christian Indian congregations.

Laura Arnold Leibman inquires why Calvinism appealed to the Vineyard Wampanoags in the period from the first praying towns founded by Thomas Mayhew Jr. through the congregational communities of the middle of the eighteenth century before the Great Awakening: "Why was it that a highly segregated, nonenthusiastic, imported European religion prospered on the

Vineyard during the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries?"[38] She explains that Reformed Protestantism facilitated an emergent hybrid religion that assisted the Wampanoags in meeting the challenges of their new world and in finding an alternative path to modernity.

By the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Native groups on Martha's Vineyard had become a colonized people who experienced population decline as a result of disease, low fertility, and out-migration. An expanding and land-hungry English population meant increasing land dispossession, debt peonage, and debt servitude for Indian men, women, and children, and continual conflicts over land tenure. The Wampanoags reconstituted themselves after King Philip's War into four amalgamated praying villages: Chilmark (Gayhead), Christiantown, Edgartown, and Chappaquiddick.[39] These Native churches served as the locus of political organization and action to resist the powerlessness and dependency of the colonial situation and as centers of tribal association and solidarity. For the third generation, Christian Indian identity emphasized the individual and collective rights of legal personhood, creating religious and ethnic boundaries between Indians and Americans and enabling them to confront dispossession.

Rapid economic change meant the end of subsistence lifeways and the implementation of agrarian households that produced agricultural surpluses and adopted animal husbandry employing "teams of oxen, horses, cows, sheep and swine."[40] Natives became producers of agricultural commodities, and they entered the bottom of the colonial division of labor as agricultural day laborers, indentured servants, whalers, and fisherman. They adopted English crafts as weavers, carpenters, wheelwrights, tailors, shoemakers, and blacksmiths.[41]

Leibman embraces Max Weber's Protestant Ethic thesis, arguing that the inner-worldly vocational asceticism of Puritanism helped Christian Indians adjust to a new market economy. The religious ethos and personality of the saint valued sober, methodical work in a mundane calling, weaning neophytes from worldliness and directing their attention to the promises of salvation and to the importance of obeying God's law and submission to his will.[42]

The political structure was transformed from the noncoercive voluntarism

of hereditary sachemships to the hierarchical and coercive institutions of church and state in a colonial theocracy. Before English settlement, the Wampanoags divided the island into six hereditary sachemships, solidifying alliances through exchange and intermarriage among the royal families. Sachems needed to embody the important values of reciprocity, generosity, and hospitality in the redistribution of goods through ceremonial gift exchange. Through persuasion and consensus they made policy guided by shamans (*powwows*), councilors (*pneises*), and an advisory council (*athaskeaog*). Sachems would arbitrate disputes, enter into alliances, and strive to maintain the social balance and harmony marked by the high social density of village life.

The colonial institutions of the church, local government, and the Indian Court and General Court usurped the rights of sachems. Sachems and members of their lineage groups responded by assuming new administrative and spiritual power as ministers, deacons, and leaders of the village that was recast as a congregational community of brethren united in faith.

Missionaries schooled children and adults with catechisms, devotional texts, the Eliot Bible, and Mayhew's *Indian Primer*, which emphasized the importance of literacy for each saint. The ability to read and write also empowered Natives to write letters, petition the courts and legislature, and write personal and family histories on the margins of Bibles.[43] Literacy allowed the Wampanoags to reconstruct their social identities and pursue individual and collective religious, economic, and political interests, at times preserving old lifeways or pursing opportunities in the colonial social order.[44]

Since few individual Indian proprietors satisfied the property qualifications requisite to voting in elections, they were disenfranchised. Indians suffered under a legal-political administration that relegated them to the status of minor children in perpetual tutelage to guardians, supervisors, or missionaries who acted in their "best interests."

Leibman identifies three other groups of Wampanoags who represented the diversity and "varieties of religious experience" on Martha's Vineyard. These included the traditionalist villages whose shamans and pnieses, through ritual and ceremony, propitiated thirty-six manitous; the Bap-

tist community in Gayhead; and the "Goats," or irreligious outliers, who reportedly engaged in intemperate alcohol use, illicit sexual unions, and were marked by single women with out-of-wedlock children.

Mayhew repeatedly emphasized how he and Native religious leaders employed religious measures that included pastoral care, sermons, and church discipline that were intended to differentiate Christian Indians from others and to prevent disorder and drunken frolics. He notes that even "Members of the Indian Church have been found faulty on this account. . . . And tho' some have fallen quite away, and so have been cut off by the Sword of Discipline; yet others thro' the Grace of GOD, have been so far recovered out of the Sins into which they have fallen."[45]

Mayhew championed civility and the godly living of a sober, industrious Indian householder, as evidenced in his language book and sermons delivered to the Native congregations. He left notations on the Wampanoag dialect in a ledger book with two majors headings: "imperatives" and "subjunctives." The ledger recorded the following imperative phrases: save me, hear me, have mercy on me, stand in awe, sin not ye, and lift thou upon me. The subjunctive expressions were: those who are ungodly, those that sin, those that are righteous, and those who trouble me.[46]

In 1720 Mayhew and the Native pastor Joash Panu, "who is a very serious prudent & pious Man, of a good Conversation, and one who drinks no strong drink,"[47] dedicated a day of fasting, prayer, and repentance where the congregation renewed their covenant with God. In this exercise of covenant renewal an additional thirty joined as communicants. Mayhew explains: "It was then frequent to see Persons at the Hearing of Sermons, very much affected, and some times as soon as Sermon was ended, there would stand up several, one after another, and make very Penitential Confessions of their Sins, with Promises to endeavour to Live new Lives, desiring also the Prayers of the People of GOD for them."[48]

In his beginning work as a missionary, Mayhew wanted to foment a spiritual hothouse to restore the fervor of the first generation of praying Indians by covenant renewal and pastoral measures for the sick and dying. In times of sickness, Indians frequently asked for ministers and coreligionists to visit with them and offer prayers. He observes how the ill became dying

saints, observing: "I have sometimes been with them on such occasions, and heard them profess a great concern about their Souls; declaring that they did not regard anything in this World, so they might obtain an interest in God's Favour."[49]

A decade later Mayhew changed his focus from promoting piety and conversion to a Protestant moralism that prescribed a regimen of godly conduct for colonized peoples concentrated on a residual reservation land base. He delivered a series of sermons in English and Wampanoag from May through October 1714 on the theme of righteousness or godly living that deemphasized the experience of inner piety and grace and instructed a domesticated, colonized community about the regimen of life regulation best suited to their circumstances. Supported by scriptural authority, he instructed Indians to avoid profane, wicked, and idolatrous conversation, obey God's law, and pray with reverence and sincerity. God enjoins his Indian children to be righteous to one another, to deal honestly in commerce, and to demonstrate mercy to strangers and the distressed. Righteousness and temperance bring health, "drinking too much *shortens* mans days & makes ye very Sickly But ye righteous precepts of God teach us to live Soberly & Godly in this present evil World."[50]

Mayhew mediated to the Christian Indians on Martha's Vineyard a piety in daily living, what Calvin referred to as a "perpetual fast" of self-sacrifice and discipline marked by the way of duty to self and village congregational community.[51] Mayhew instructed Christian Indians how best to adjust to the political and economic conditions of reservation life: through sober work and orderly conduct within the family household and by acts of charity and worship. He offered a religious prescription requisite to maintain solidarity in Indian communities.

Mayhew at the end of his career served as a guardian and distributed poor relief to the old, infirm, and lame, to single mothers and dependent children, to widows and widowers, and to the blind. According to the 1755 account book, "Disbursements to the Indian Poor," he spent approximately £265 in clothing and grants-in-aid, detailed in more than one hundred entries, with some Indians receiving aid numerous times throughout the year.[52] Given the debt peonage, indenture, and chronic poverty of many

inhabitants, Mayhew wanted to inculcate an ascetic ethic so that Indians might avoid dissipating their meager resources. In his estimation, only the deserving and worthy indigent might seek assistance. The worthy poor embraced a Protestant ethic to regulate their lives, but due to old age, accident, ill fortune, and sickness—contingencies outside their control—they required missionary charity.[53]

Religious personhood was increasingly linked to the imposition of strict rules for godly living. Absent an experiential piety or contemplative inwardness that connected the believer to the numinous presence of God, Protestant moralism constituted an ethos and system of the regulation of life designed to counter the demoralization, disorientation, and anomie of the reservation. Moralism was intended to combat the widespread alcohol abuse that further exacerbated the problems of debt, poverty, and despair.

The stridency of church discipline administered by Indian ministers and elders, and the imposition of civil penalties meted out by Indian magistrates through the Indian court system, attests to the doleful effects of alcohol abuse and the obsession with order. Mayhew would extol the harsh moralism of Joshua Momatchegin of Chappaquiddick (d. 1703), who refused all strong drink, "tho there was such a Flood of strong Drink, as drowned most of the People in the Place where he lived."[54] Given this context of declension and cultural disorientation, Mayhew wrote in the preface: "It must indeed be granted, that the Indians are generally a very sinful People: Iniquity does abound among them, and the Love of many waxeth cold."[55]

Like the Eliot tracts, Mayhew's *Indian Converts* captures Native voices, experiences, and the common themes for the succeeding generations of Christian Indians: (1) the *exempla fidei* of the first generation who embraced a rational theodicy of misfortune to explain God's providence and the afflictions of epidemics, poverty, and misfortune; (2) the travails of making a Christian life characterized by youthful sin followed by reform and redemption for men; (3) Native representations of the special plight of the Native goodwife as she struggles to reform her husband and create the family household as a center of worship, godly living, and orderly domesticity, and finally, (4) the lives and early deaths of spiritually precocious children, the fourth generation of Christian Indians.

Traditional Wampanoag spirituality was an oral genre, a *memorate*, or personal encounter with a numinous other in a dream or vision following an ordeal of fasting, sleep deprivation, or ingestion of hallucinatory drugs. Hobbamock, the manitou associated with death, night, black, and cold, desolate places—who might appear in many animal and human forms— conferred special powers upon the initiate.[56] Like the Puritan conversion narrative, the *memorate* provided oral or written accounts that certified each candidate as traversing a spiritual itinerary and rite of passage into adulthood and subsequently endowed with special power and agency to heal, lead, or work for the good of the people.[57] The Indian voices recorded by Mayhew in *Indian Converts* suggests a convergence of Puritan and Wampanoag encounters with numinous others from both traditions.[58]

Mayhew begins with celebratory accounts of the spiritual attainments and exemplary dying of the first generation of converts (1643–1690). He recounts the formulaic obituaries of scores of Indian ministers, ruling elders, deacons, and godly men and women in hagiographies that reveal the "Efficacy of God's Grace on the Hearts of our Indians; by which it appeareth, that they have such Knowledge, Convictions, Faith, Repentance, and other Graces of the HOLY SPIRIT, as do accompany Salvation, and which may be found among other sincere professors of Religion."[59] The religious personhood of the founding generation embraced a penitential sense of life, a rational theodicy of misfortune, and the ritualized piety of fast days and evangelical humiliation intended to bring health and good fortune to the people.

Exemplary men in these accounts had forsaken heathenism and turned in conversion to worship the one true God, attaining literacy in order to read daily from the Bible, singing psalms in family worship, and engaging in fraternal correction as a "zealous reprover of sin" and a "terror to evil doers."[60] Mayhew described these saints as sober, prudent, and honest men who were blameless in conversation and who imposed severe forms of church discipline upon wayward congregants. William Lay, alias Panunnut, served as a magistrate in the Indian Court system and prided himself for his zeal in reforming obstinate sinners by "Making them know what *Stripes for the Backs of Fools* do intend."[61] Mayhew explains that Panunnut established a

stern regime of family government as he ruled over his wife and children. "He kept his Children in Subjection with all Gravity, while they dwelt at home with him. He prayed constantly every Evening and Morning in his House, and seldom fail'd of reading a Chapter, and singing a Psalm before he went to Prayer; and al[l] that belonged to the House were obliged to attend soberly on those Exercises."[62]

Mayhew's formulaic representation of these grave and serious fellows, who exhorted and reproved their brethren and presided over well-ordered families, also included the ubiquitous theme of submission to the workings of divine providence in times of epidemic or personal adversity. The sachem Miohqsoo of Edgartown had converted in 1646 when "a sore distemper which God sent among them, and made mortal to many of them, but apparently less so to those who had given any Countenance to the great Truths that had been proffered to them."[63] During the epidemic of 1690, Noquittompany of Christiantown lay dying. Mayhew provides this account of the final exhortations to family and friends: "When the Epidemical Fever began to rage, which swept away many of our Indians in and about the Year 1690, the good Man observing it, said, *That he hoped the time was then drawing on, when he should leave this Troublesome World, and go to the Lord his God. O Death where is then thy Sting! O Grave, where is thy Victory!*"[64]

Mayhew continues the theme of the special afflictions of providence with the case of Japhet Hannit, whose parents had "buried the first five children successively, every one of them within ten days of Birth, notwithstanding all there Use of Pawwaws and Medicines to preserve them." Fearing that she would lose her sixth child, Hannit's mother fled to the fields in sorrow, beseeching God's mercy and pledging her infant son to God. "But while she was there musing on the Insufficiency of human Help, she found it powerfully suggested to her Mind, that there is one *Almighty God* who is to be prayed to; that *this* God hath created all things that we see; and that the *God* who had given Being to herself and all other People, and who had given her Child to her, was able to preserve and continue his Life."[65]

So many of these exemplary Indian saints endured the tragic loss of their children from childhood diseases, accidental death, and violence associated with intoxication. When Stephen Shihkau (d. 1713) lost several children to

disease and sudden violent deaths, Mayhew could report: "God gave him Grace to behave himself well under his afflictive Providences."[66]

Mayhew was well acquainted with the persons, families, and church communities that he detailed in the narratives of the lives and in the obituaries of the aging second and youthful third generations who lived in the early eighteenth century. Many of the published exemplars were members of families (husbands, wives, children) and lineage groups related through intermarriage among the principal extended families of the four praying Indian towns on Martha's Vineyard.

These exemplars of piety also reveal new dimensions of making a Christian life, as depicted in Mayhew's account of Jonathan Amos, deacon at Japhet Hannit's church. Amos writes about a fast day devoted to prayer and humiliation to beseech God to end a drought. Speaking with fervency, Amos introduces the themes for these generations: fragility of belief, backsliding, intemperance, and anomie. He confesses: "We Indians are poor miserable Creatures, and our Faith is exceeding weak; if therefore thou shouldest long delay to answer us, we should be apt to be stumbled and discouraged: we therefore entreat thee to answer us speedily."[67] Amos himself, as a deacon, succumbed to public drunkenness, received admonishment for his sin, and made a public confession before the congregation.

Most of the published examples of pious men born in the 1680s include descriptions of youthful alcohol use and abuse, and many include accounts of dissipation and formal charges of fornication. Samuel Coomes, the youngest son of Hiacoomes, became an Indian magistrate in Chilmark. During his youth he faced numerous charges of drunkenness and he "fell also into the Sin of Fornication, with a white Woman living in the town where he dwelt."[68] Yonohyhyumuh (d. 1698) served as a counselor to the Gayhead sachem Mittark, a first-generation convert who brought his tribe into the fold of praying Indians and later accepted the heterodoxy of Baptist belief. Yonohyhyumuh submitted his adult son to the Indian Court, charging him with the sin of fornication. After the son was found guilty and received a public whipping as punishment, Yonohyhyumuh thanked the magistrate.[69]

The chapter devoted to the lives of religious women presented them as identical to the idealized images of English goodwives that equated adult-

hood with a woman's roles and responsibilities in marriage and family life. Only two of thirty published examples were unmarried. Mayhew describes the first generation of praying Indians as model Indian goodwives who abandoned "Indian marriage" and the traditional practices of polygamy, casual premarital unions, easy separation and divorce, and submitted to the reciprocal rights and responsibilities of English civility of a well-ordered family. Indian goodwives devoted themselves to their roles as a loving and dutiful wife (helpmate, consort), mother, neighbor, and Christian. Repeatedly, Mayhew praises these women for their Christian virtues: charity, hospitality, compassion for the poor, and piety in the constant worship of God.[70]

Many of the women of the second and third generation were literate, having been educated by their parents. The women of these later generations followed a familiar pattern: early marriage, widowhood, and remarriage. Often they endured relationships with drunken, reprobate husbands whom each long-suffering wife attempted to reform. Others, like Hannah Nohnosoo of Tisbury (d. 1716), the daughter of a petty sachem, practiced traditional herbal healing by treating infertile English and Indian women and helping them to conceive. Hannah also embraced Christian doctrine, uttering this phrase of evangelical humility as she practiced the daily piety of self-examination and repentance of sin: "I am a very filthy Creature; yet Jesus Christ my only Redeemer can, if he pleaseath, save me from my Sins."[71]

As a young woman, Alanchachannum of Edgartown (d. 1720) was given to "lust and corruption of an evil heart." In the reversal of the motif of the pious woman seeking to reform a reprobate man, she married a Native pastor who brought her to God. Mayhew explains that she engaged in a combat between flesh and spirit. "Sin and the World on the one hand, being presented with all their Charms to her; and on the other hand, Life and Death, Blessing and Cursing, Heaven and Hell being set before her, with the absolute necessity of chusing the one, and flying from the other."[72]

Mayhew's chapter devoted to the lives of pious Indian children focuses upon the contemporary third generation, who lived in families marked by poverty, consumption, and disruptions caused by the death of siblings and the untimely death of one or both parents. Five of the twenty-four examples

presented were young, preadolescent children who manifested precocious piety. The remaining nineteen cases reflect children age twelve to twenty who perished on the cusp of adulthood. Mayhew adopts a formulaic account of these representative lives. The children were taught to read and write English and devoted themselves to "the Book" (the Bible and catechism). They frequently engaged in secret prayer in their households and willingly attended meetings and public worship. One young man, Tobit Potter of Christiantown (d. 1722, age thirteen), was placed in service in an English household at age nine and remained until his death. He was literate and had learned the catechism and verses for children such as "I may sin as others do / Lest I lie down in Sorrow too."[73] Tobit was fearful that his impoverished parents could not provide for him and that without English care, he would have no place to live. The catechism reassured him that "If my Father and Mother forsake me, the Lord will take me up." Mayhew explains: "He was often affected, and would weep when he was catechiz'd, and when any good Instructions were given to him."[74]

Each pious youth abstained from sin and reproved others for sin and "miscarriages of conduct." In a reversal of hierarchy, youths instructed adults, servants admonished their mistresses, and children taught their parents the important lessons of piety and faith. Elizabeth Pattompan (d. 1710) of Tisbury was placed into service in an English household at age ten and remained there for six years until the death of her mistress forced her return to her family of origin shortly before her own death. Mayhew writes: "all that belonged to the House [where she lived] stood in Aw of her, even her Parents as well as well as others, she having the Courage to let them know that she was grieved at such Miscarriages as she saw in them, or otherwise knew that they were guilty of."[75] Elizabeth's instructions to her father on her deathbed beseeched him to consider the state of his soul and refrain from strong drink.

Eleazar Ohhumuh (d. 1698, age sixteen) of Gayhead used similar moral suasion to reform his alcoholic father and bring him to Christ. Mayhew explains, "the pious Youth laid grievously to heart his [father's] Sin and Error therein, and did divers times go to the Places where his Father was drinking, and with such Earnestness, and so many Tears, intreat him to leave

his drinking Company and go home to his own House, that he was not able to withstand the Importunity of his afflicted Child, but at his Desire left the Drinking Tribe; and when he came home, owned the Victory which his Son had obtained over him."[76]

Abigail Kenump (d. 1710, age sixteen) of Chilmark provides another example of exemplary dying. Described as an observant, dutiful daughter who loved to read scripture and attend meetings, "she had an Awe of God in her Heart."[77] After a long decline from consumption, she offered deathbed instructions to her peers and her mother. Abigail expressed sorrow for her sins and hope of God's mercy and the saints' everlasting rest. At the moment of death, she raised one hand to heaven and uttered these words of supplication: "Oh! My gracious Saviour, have Mercy on me a miserable Sinner, who am but Dust and Ashes; which having said, her Hand dropped down, and she immediately expired."[78]

Throughout *Indian Converts*, Mayhew depicts praying Indians—ministers, pious men, women, and children—as persons who were obsessed with sin and devoted to the enforcement of religious moralism by the practice of admonishment, fraternal correction, and church discipline in the face of the ubiquity of alcohol abuse, carnal sin, and declension into worldliness. The penitential sense of life required this consciousness of sin, as well as tears of repentance to expiate sinners from the wrath of God, codes of religious moralism, and rituals of fasting and prayer to bring divine favor.

Some of the first- and second-generation converts eulogized by Mayhew did demonstrate the exemplary piety and sanctified lives reduced to civility that were consistent with individuated identity. However, like the accounts of Natick converts in the Eliot tracts, most praying Indians of Martha's Vineyard did not complete the morphology of conversion of visible sainthood. Religious moralism and the penitential sense of life infused their experience of religious personhood. Here religious personhood functioned as a defensive response to the deleterious impact of the colonial situation by imposing order on disordered lives.

During the first three decades of the eighteenth century, the Native population of Martha's Vineyard decreased from approximately one thousand to between five hundred and six hundred. Four Indian churches (including

one Baptist church) listed thirty to forty members in each congregation—a small remnant of the many hundreds of first-generation praying Indians who pursued the utopian ideal of praying towns.[79] By the middle of the eighteenth century, the colonial situation had relegated Native communities behind the frontier to economically, socially, and politically marginalized enclaves, "Indiantowns," with declining land bases and populations.[80] (See Appendix B.)

Americans increasingly viewed Natives as racial others excluded from white colonial society and perceived Indians "like the snow against the sun," destined to vanish as European Americans witnessed this "spectacle of indigenous peoples passing away."[81] The powers of agency associated with legal personhood and collective self-determination faded in the face of colonial guardianship and powerlessness. Possessive individualism did not bring freedom and prosperity but peonage, poverty, debt, and dissipation. The rational utopian ideals first annunciated by Eliot about praying-to-God Indians and praying towns could not overcome the constraints of the colonial situation.

Reverend Gideon Hawley (1727–1807) best articulated the spirit of eighteenth-century religious paternalism that characterized Natick, Stockbridge, and other missionary settlements. Hawley graduated from Yale College in 1749, received ordination in 1755, and began his service as missionary and schoolteacher at Stockbridge in 1752, under the guidance of Jonathan Edwards through the auspices of the Society for Propagating the Gospel. He initiated an unsuccessful mission to the Iroquois at Onohoghgwage (Broome County, New York) in 1753. Hawley was assigned to the Mashpee Plantation in 1757 and continued in this role as religious leader and principal guardian supervising the political and economic affairs of the tribe until his death in 1807. In a letter written in 1782 to the London sponsors of the New England Company, Hawley proclaims:

> Being their Spiritual father I beg leave in the name of all the Indians inhabiting N. England, and especially of the inhabitants of this Plantation which is the largest of this Country . . . to thank the honorable Company for the benefit of their fund which hath by the blessing of

Heaven upon the Labors of pious men in the service of Rel[igion] been the happy means of planting Christianity here and of keeping it alive to this day. And hath likeness under God been the salvation of them as a people by serving their civil rights & properties which . . . would long since have been alienated and themselves extinct had your Company never been instituted.[82]

As an agent of a missionary society, the missionary resided on the tribal reservation, an internal colony and declining ancestral land base. Here he attempted to direct and control the Native church, school, and religious education. The missionary also wielded political and economic power as a guardian-overseer. Late in his career, after the state imposed a paternalism and guardianship on the tribe (1788), Hawley's service as a minister-guardian was an attempt to monopolize religious, political, and economic authority. In his estimation, he struggled to preserve the tribe from extinction and dispossession, claiming credit for a this-worldly salvation of their civil rights and land. He authorized cutting tribal woodlands, selling the firewood, and using the proceeds for the benefit of the indigent in the tribe. Hawley attempted to control Indian proprietorship, inheritance, debt peonage, and African Indian marriages.[83]

The interpersonal etiquette of religious paternalism cast the Indian as a child, an inferior racial other in perpetual tutelage. Hawley would repeatedly voice this opinion of "my Indians" as he did in a petition to the General Court in May 1795: "They are easily led astray and enticed from their duty. . . . I am very rarely mistaken in my judgement of them."[84] Or in a letter to Governor Hancock on July 8, 1791, Hawley explained that his charges lacked any ability to defer gratification or plan for the future. Left alone they would squander their assets and become destitute as wards of the state. He argues, "Indians left to themselves, as appears, from their conduct in every instance in such a case, will get rid of their lands and spend their capital. At the same time they will be very artful, cunning and sly, and over-reach in small maters. They cannot look forward to remote consequences."[85]

Finally, Hawley was convinced after nearly forty years of service to the tribe that the Mashpees lacked sufficient virtue and knowledge and could

not safely exercise liberty in democratic self-rule. He explains: "But if I mistake not a people similar to the Mashpee Indians will enslave themselves and very soon get rid of their lands and every interest as Indians ever have done unless the Government had a watchful Eye over them and [place] them under a very vigilant and able Guardianship."[86] Thus, Natives required constant supervision, surveillance, and control by a minister-guardian who offered education and wise leadership as their "spiritual father."[87] The missionary assumed the mantle of religious, political, and economic authority.

The Mashpee tribe, in the throes of religious paternalism, produced their own Native ministers, deacons, and schoolteachers, and welcomed the democratic appeal of Baptist and Methodist groups after the American Revolution. The tribal council, chafing at this insufferable paternalistic etiquette of hierarchy and deferential subordination, petitioned the Massachusetts legislature for Hawley's removal in January 1796. "We do not acknowledge the Rev. Mr. Hawley as our Minister, we not chusing his ways of Worship, we do not hear him."[88] Thus, religious paternalism would attempt to impose a system of colonial administration on Native peoples who themselves adopted strategies of accommodation and resistance as they struggled to remain free. Native churches and congregations functioned as centers for tribal social and political organization from which to resist the political economy of colonialism and the strictures of religious paternalism.

Eighteenth-century tribal congregations that emerged after King Philip's War and before the onset of the Great Awakening in the 1740s should be seen in the context of, and as a response to, the fully institutionalized colonial political economy and an emerging racialism that designated Native Americans as marginalized peoples. Remnant populations of once-great confederacies—Wampanoags, Narragansetts, Niantics, Pequots, Mohegans, and other tribal village communities in southern New England—were now concentrated on drastically reduced allocations of their ancestral lands— protected reservations—under the control of guardians and overseers. They mediated between sachems and colonial legislatures and courts to control land sales and supervise tribal financial affairs. Orderly and incremental land dispossession marked each generation of sachems as tribes used declining landholdings as a bank to subsidize their chronic poverty, debt peonage, and

the erosion of traditional lifeways. Tribes explored their options regarding reservation lands within the system of political paternalism by petition to general courts, colonial legislatures, and appeal to the Crown in London.

No longer capable of earning a livelihood through the fur trade, or by the seasonal migration of hunting and fishing, or by small-scale gardens, Natives worked at the bottom of the colonial economic hierarchy as day laborers, servants, whalers and fisherman, and soldiers. Few Native households enjoyed the status of prosperous freeholders or proprietors. Most Indians participated in the market and consumer economy of European manufactured goods, foods, clothing, and housing. But the Indian's new world proved to be a life of material deprivations, as they succumbed to debt as a result of illness, alcoholism, and ill fortune. Indian debtors were forced to settle their debt peonage by indenture, laboring outside their communities, and through land sale.[89]

Colin G. Calloway's interpretative essay *New Worlds for All* maintains that Christian Indian communities and religious identities in the eighteenth century were constituted by hybrid, blended, and innovative expressions of Native belief, ceremony, and folk religion intermixed with a variety of Protestant forms.[90] Daniel R. Mandell argues in *Behind the Frontier* that Christian Indian religious societies in southeastern Massachusetts and the islands, despite their reduced numbers, forged a regional ethnic community by exchanging preachers, establishing summer reunions for prayer and ethnic celebration, and creating distinctive preaching, singing, and praying styles in their Native languages that distinguished them from their English neighbors. "Many Indian congregations insisted on public confession and conversion narrative from prospective members; while this custom seemed quite 'primitive' (and admirable) to Puritan visitors, its persistence drew strength from roots in the aboriginal oral culture."[91] In addition, these churches continued the use of tobacco and the retelling of folk stories, and they maintained their belief in manitou and sacred places.

Within the political economy of colonialism, tribal churches and congregations offered the possibility of an additional source of spiritual power, serving as a tribal center for Christian worship, traditional ceremonies, and social gatherings, and as the locus of political activism. Despite the pres-

ence of European American missionaries, Indian congregations were led by Native preachers and lay elders who preached in their Native language. Jason Edward Eden suggests that "Indians in Southeastern Massachusetts sought spiritual and political power through Christianity simultaneously."[92] Churches served as centers for revitalized, clan-based tribal political action and advocacy, and as tribal meetinghouses where a hybrid religiosity emerged: Reformed Protestantism blended with traditional ceremonial life, healing (powwowing), funeral rites, storytelling, and oral tradition.[93]

The information provided in Table 2 suggests that Wampanoag communities on Cape Cod served as the modern equivalent of a benefice to resident missionaries and their families. In exchange for services rendered, these tribes gave the minister land, which formed the basis for the minister's permanent settlement on a family estate and the apparent hereditary succession of the mission. John Cotton Jr. (d. 1699) was succeeded by his son Roland (d. 1722), who was then followed by his son Josiah. This was true for the Tupper family in Sandwich, and for John Sergeant and his son in the Stockbridge praying town in western Massachusetts.

For three generations, members of the Paupmunnuck family served in various roles as sachem, minister, schoolteacher, and tribal elder. Mashpee appointed a Native minister, Simon Popmonet, son of their principal sachem Paupmunnuck, who himself had served as a lay "co-minister" with Richard Bourne. Simon's son Isaac Popmonet (1675–1758) served as a tribal elder. Josiah Popmonet (1685–1770), Simon's nephew, taught school at Mashpee.[94] Thus, the conditions of religious paternalism changed the nature of sachemship, which now combined traditional forms of authority with Christian ministerial authority. Hereditary sachems frequently assumed ministerial roles and worked with missionaries. Solomon Briant later worked as an ordained co-minister with Gideon Hawley. Because Mashpee was a decentralized settlement, lacking a central village, families resided in clusters largely in the southern part of the reserve, in the villages of Aquauhnut, Cedar Swamp, Cotuit, and Ceraumit.[95] Religious and political authority was distributed among ministers qua Mashpee tribal elders such as Joseph Briant at Pokanet, Deacon Joseph Papenah at Saukaunesset, John and Elisha Ralph at Portnumicut, and Isaac Jeffry at Monument Ponds.[96]

TABLE 2. Selected Cape Cod missions funded by the New England Company

Locality	Missionary	Years of service
Plymouth	John Cotton Jr. (Plain Dealing Farm)	1663–1699
	Roland Cotton (son)	1699–1722
	Josiah Cotton (son)	1722–1744
Sandwich	Capt. Thomas Tupper	1685–1706
	Eldad Tupper (son)	1706–1736
	Elisha Tupper (son)	1736–1786
Mashpee	Richard Bourne	1658–1682
	Simon Popmonet (Native minister)	1682–1720
	Joseph Bourne (great-grandson) Dismissed and jailed for liquor sales to Natives	1726–1740
	Solomon Briant (Native minister)	1740–1775
	Gideon Hawley	1757–1807

Source: Derived from Kellaway, *The New England Company, 1649–1776,* 246–48.

John Cotton Jr. served as proprietor of the "Plain Dealing" farm and employed resident Indian families in a form of economic and religious paternalism, his "Indian Business," ensuring that Native bodies, labor, and souls would be put to a higher purpose. From 1705 through 1744 Josiah Cotton, a salaried agent of the New England Company, labored as a school-teacher and missionary to the Indians. He reflected upon his career and the ending of this benefice as most of the domestic Indians of Plain Dealing had abandoned the plantation. Only a few aged, blind, and infirm widows remain. Cotton writes in his memoirs:

When I first began to keep School at Plymouth, my care & inspection over them extended first to Mattakees, besides ye Plymouth Indians, & has yielded me a constant income when other business failed; (but alas how little good have I done as to the main design of my engagement) which now wholly ceases: And moreover ye Indians, that have dwelt upon our farm, one or another for 40 or 50, years or more are now wholly gone off this year which upon some Accounts I may perhaps acknowledge a favor, rather than a judgment.[97]

Douglas Winiarski identifies the diversity of religious practices and experiences—the Christian piety of some contrasted with the covert resistance of others—and a middle ground that attempted to blend Christian and native religiosity. He explains:

> Most families were affiliated with a local church, but this apparent Christian identity masked dramatic variations. During a 1726 "General Visitation" of Wampanoag families who lived in scattered pockets throughout Plymouth County, Cotton discovered deeply pious Native Christians who studied their Bibles assiduously, meditated in secret, prayed with their families, and joined Indian Churches in full membership; others shied away from Sabbath meetings and clung tenaciously to covert forms of ancestral worship.[98]

Josiah Cotton preached biweekly bilingual sermons to small congregational enclaves on his plantation and in the adjacent villages of Bridgewater, Duxbury, Kingston, and Pembroke. The Native congregations were comprised of extended family groups related to Francis Ned, Nathan Hood, and Daniel Robin, who had first converted in family groups between 1670 and 1678, the fruits of the evangelization of John Cotton Jr.[99]

Like the prevailing English folk religion that included magic, cunning men, and the belief in the invisible world of preternatural beings, forces, and events, Indian "lived religion" blended elements of Reformed Protestantism—pastoral care, a providential worldview, and the life regulation of the Protestant Ethic—with traditional feasts, fasts, dream interpretation, "sacrifice rocks," and herbal-shamanistic cures provided by conjurers.[100]

Cotton preached that God punished sinners and visited his children with personal misfortunes, illness, poor harvests, financial reverses, and adversity. Only prayer, repentance, and godly living would ensure health, prosperity, and a promise of salvation in the saints' everlasting rest. As Winiarski explains: "The Wampanoags also performed collective rituals that were analogous to Puritan days of fasting and thanksgiving. . . . a female sachem appointed a special day during which the Indians from across the region assembled to feast, dance, and listen to speeches describing her 'former

Calamity.' Together, the rituals formed a collective appeal to supernatural powers for the great woman's 'future Prosperity.'"[101]

We cannot oversimplify the meanings of lived religion for members of tribal congregations in the colonial content. Christian Indians might embrace the penitential sense of life and demonstrate exemplary piety as communicants while simultaneously seeking out Native forms of popular religion for healing, community ceremonies, and festivals. Wampanoag Christians in the Old Colony and Martha's Vineyard created an Indianized Christianity that assisted them in making the transition as colonized peoples living on reservations. This new religion emphasized leadership roles for men and women in their churches and hoped that church members would embrace a religious asceticism to regulate conduct and to "provide solace and support as their island society threatened to unravel amid alcoholism and violence."[102]

For some, congregations served as a center of political power by providing opportunities for leadership, or as an institution that advocated for tribal survival while resisting the practice of piety, the narrative of salvation, and the theodicy of misfortune consistent with the Reformed worldview. Wampanoag churches served as the key institution to reorganize and successfully defend the three tribal communities of Martha's Vineyard (Chappaquidick, Aquinnah, and Christiantown) against dispossession and encroachment. As David J. Silverman discovered, churches functioned as centers for political action, self-determination, and tribal collective identification for declining populations who intermarried African Americans and reconstituted themselves as a racially separate people (African Indian) in the context of colonialism. He summarizes the political, social, and cultural contributions of the Native church as a meetinghouse and tribal center:

> For over two hundred years, churches drew the people together when disease, poverty, land loss, and the sachems' decline threatened to scatter them in all directions. Churches recruited the Wampanoags' candidates for leadership, and developed their literary and oratorical skills, and provided them with titles that commanded public respect. In courtrooms and on the ground, churchmen led the Indians' battles

against English encroachment and the sachem's abuse of power. When the sachems fell, Wampanoag congregations supplied the prototype for the town meeting government that replaced them. In the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth centuries, when exogamous marriages were on the rise, churches helped introduce newcomers to Wampanoag ways. Christianity, in short, bound the Wampanoags together and helped sustain them as a people.[103]

The history of the Mashpee Wampanoags reads like a twice-told tale of early seventeenth-century virgin soil epidemics that depleted Wampanoag village worlds on Cape Cod and the subsequent ethnogenesis as Christian Indian communities with a distinctive form of religious paternalism. From 1658 until his death in 1682, Richard Bourne, a farmer and lay minister in Sandwich, administered the Mashpee tribe (called South Sea Indians) and their Indian district as a plantation—a joint ownership of Native proprietors.[104] Bourne allied with Paupmunnuck, the principal sachem, to hold Mashpee lands in trust, which conveyed secure land tenure in return for Native submission to colonial authority and acceptance of Christianity and civility. By 1674 Bourne had baptized ninety Indians and had admitted twenty-seven as full communicants.[105]

Mashpee avoided the hostilities of King Philip's War and became the most populous Indian enclave in Massachusetts in the eighteenth century, with an average population of 250 in the first fifty years that grew to nearly 350 in the second half of the century.[106] Gideon Hawley recorded vital statistics of births, deaths, and newcomers from 1758 through 1785. In this period, Mashpee became a multiethnic enclave, an amalgamated Indian colony that attracted newcomers from Mohegan, Mashantucket, Narragansett, Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Block Island.[107] He would write on March 18, 1787: "Mashpee is an asylum for the poor natives and their connections which are become exceedingly various and mixed . . . native Bombay married to one of our females and another from Mexico beside several Dutchmen from general Boiurgoyne's army who have formed connections with our women . . . From Mohegan & other places in Connecticut and Narragansett & other places in Rhode Island (and various towns in Mass)."[108]

The Mashpees lost an estimated 50 percent of their adult men as casualties in the Revolution, dividing the tribe between Tory and Republican factions. In addition, many boys and youth died at sea during extended whaling voyages. Hawley records an epidemic of an unspecified fever that killed 5 percent of the tribe in January 1777.[109] Despite these sources of mortality, the influx of freed Africans and other groups who intermarried widows and available Indian women created a stable or growing population characterized by African Indian and multiracial intermixtures.[110] Hawley, a Tory who decried the loss of colonial hierarchies and the new liberty of the Republic, also embraced a familiar racial ideology that extolled the racial purity of the savage destined to extinction, and condemned this emerging multiracial identity. He refers to "persons of colour" as "mongrels" and explains in 1793: "I may first observe that the Indians at this place are completely commixed with foreign blood and daily growing more so . . . Africans, Germans, native of GB, white Americans By which marriages the Indians have deteriorated their breed."[111]

He would write repeatedly about the decline in religion (morality) that resulted from the influx of African Indians and Baptists. "Our young women are loose in their morals; and wives have often been found with child when their husbands came from their long voyages. Since Thomas Jeffry and John Freeman set up a Baptist meeting here it has hurt religion. Several of my Church were traduced and led away by the artifices of those men and by a Deac. Hammer and his wife (both of them mongrels) who came from Montauge on Long Island."[112]

"The business of land" and the controversies surrounding tribal self-government provide the key to understanding how Hawley developed this system of religious paternalism. In 1698 the Mashpee Plantation controlled more than twelve thousand acres of woods, farmland, and salt marsh that supported 263 persons living in fifty-seven households. They fished, trapped, hunted, and farmed, combining traditional lifeways with work and debt peonage in a colonial economy. Plymouth Court granted the tribe protection in 1685, prohibiting land sales without the consent of the tribe.[113] Mashpee proprietors enjoyed ownership in fee simple under colonial law together with collective tribal ownership and secure land tenure as a reservation.

In the first decades of the eighteenth century, the tribe repeatedly petitioned the General Court in Barnstable in protest against trespass and unauthorized cutting of tribal woodlots. The Massachusetts General Assembly enacted, in 1746, a guardianship system that attempted to control tribal resources by leasing land, and fishing and timber rights, to whites. For nearly two decades the tribe protested their loss of autonomy and the encroachment on their land. In 1753 Reuben Cognehew, a Mohegan schoolteacher representing the Mashpees, was granted a hearing in London by the Royal Council, and sought the authority of the Crown to redress their grievances. Lisa Brooks explains: "After enduring two years of indifference from the Massachusetts government and direct opposition from their guardians, the Mashpees sent Cognehew and the 'Indian pastor' Solomon Briant to protest this inaction directly to the General Court at Boston."[114] Unlike the incremental decline of Natick as an Indian town and church community in the eighteenth century, Mashpee would mobilize religious and political authority within the structure of religious paternalism to promote Native interests and persistence. Literate Christian Indian leaders used religious and political authority to ensure tribal autonomy and protect their common lands.

The Mashpee Act of 1763 created an autonomous district under the direction of five overseers elected by the tribe. The law stipulated that two of the overseers, the town clerk and treasurer, were to be English. However, the majority—three overseers—were Native. Overseers appointed two wardens and constables and worked with tribal proprietors and church leaders in leasing land, and woodcutting and fishing rights, and distributing these funds to provide for the indigent and widows and orphans. Mashpee functioned as a participatory democracy in which Native overseers issued writs of ejection and trespass, called district meetings, and formally admitted other Indians and mulattos as inhabitants and proprietors.[115]

Gideon Hawley entered Mashpee during this period of turmoil, visiting the tribe and preaching during the summer of 1757. On August 4, 1757, twenty-four Indian proprietors signed a lengthy petition listing their many grievances to the Commissioner of Indians Affairs in Boston. The document concluded with an invitation to Hawley and Solomon Briant to serve together as their ministers.[116]

Hawley received a modest salary from the New England Company and advanced £50 to Briant for "bread and clothing" and to support his preaching at the outlying churches in Portnumicut and Herring Pond.[117] Hawley expressed respect and admiration for his co-minister, who preached in the Native language. Writing in his journal on the Lord's Day, April 2, 1758, he remarked, "heard Solomon preach [to the] Indians. Seemed to have a very serious deliberate Way."[118]

By December 1758 the tribe had erected a new meetinghouse paid for by missionary funds, and Hawley received donations of blankets, Bibles, prayer books, devotional texts, school supplies, stationery, and monies to support the poor. Hawley would report to Andrew Oliver in October 1762 that the assistance of the New England Company had brought important benefits. "We have tranquility, have no quarrels, nor law suits; and at present our Indians seem to have enough credit."[119] At the annual meeting, the Mashpees elected Hawley as overseer-treasurer to disperse funds and material assistance to the poor.

Hawley enjoyed popular acceptance and the respect of his Native congregants during the first years of this mission. Working in effective collaboration with Briant, securing economic resources for the people, and advocating Native political autonomy, Hawley protested the system of indebtedness, indenture, and resulting debt peonage that supplied the whaling and fishing industry with seamen and removed young men from the community. Solomon Briant suffered an indenture, spending a year on a Greenland whaling voyage in separation from the congregation. "And when he was at home he kept hid in a Cave on every day of the week, but the Sabbath, for fear of his creditors."[120] Hawley explains in 1760 how colonial neighbors use Native "vices and infirmities in such a manner as to keep the Indians perpetually embarrassed."

> Their neighbors find means to involve the Indians so deeply in debts they are obliged to make over [these] boys, if they have any, for security till payment. The case is thus, an Indian having got into debt he hardly knows how obliged himself to go a whaling till he answers it; and because life is uncertain, his master obliges him in his Covenant

or Indenture to include his Boy, who is bound to serve in case he should die or should not take up the Indenture by [illegible] a term or should be farther into debt to him. The Indian faithful serves his master; every season for whaling, as long as he is fit for such a service, (for the longer he serves the more he is embarrassed;) till finally being worn out he is homed off and becomes an object of Charity. And as to the boy, he is forfeited, because his Father, tho he had earned his Master thousands, never was out of debt.[121]

During the first year of his mission, Hawley presented himself as a humble servant of the Lord. Reflecting on January 7, 1758, he writes in his journal: "My heart pities my poor People, O that my Heart has always been [MS torn] touched with the worth of Souls."[122] Hawley's journals from 1756 through 1758 chronicled an inward spiritual pilgrimage of a melancholy saint that resembled the published diary of David Brainerd's mission at Crossweeksung among the Delaware in New Jersey.[123] As a young man approaching thirty, single and unsettled after leaving his mission in Broome County because of the danger posed by King George's War, Hawley resided with Samuel Hopkins in West Springfield, Massachusetts, for the winter of 1758. Would he return to the Iroquois mission? The diaries recount the practice of piety: meditation and prayer, self-examination, repentance of sin, and evangelical humiliation before divine law and providence. Melancholy, gloom, and heaviness sink his spirits and reveal a tender conscience. Writing on February 16, 1757, he has found spiritual direction, discerning God's purpose: "My spirits are down. . . . I have observed the conduct of Divine Providence respecting my mission and I think that a multitude of coincident circumstances conspired to give me sufficient sight to quit it."[124]

Hawley brought this evangelical piety into the first efforts at Mashpee on September 24, 1757, beginning a new folio for his journal: "Time is short and uncertain, now I am beginning a New Paper I may never live to finish it.—My mind is serene. O Lord if my heart may be fixed in trusting God."[125] The diaries and letters do not suggest that Hawley anticipated that his efforts would result in revivals of religion, evangelical religious fervor, and new birth among his congregation. This third-generation Christian

Indian community, like the accounts in *Indian Converts*, understood that religion provided an ethos of life regulation, a Protestant moralism that deemphasized the practice of piety. Neither the tribal community nor their ministers expected a special visitation by the Holy Spirit, an awakening to bring a harvest of souls. His eulogy for Joseph Papenah, a deacon who preached at two outlying congregations, commemorated a dedication to "honesty, integrity, temperance and frugality."[126]

The eulogy of Mary Simon, the mother of fifteen children, who lived to be more than one hundred years old, extolled her sober and moral character. He stated, "I suppose she made a profession of Christianity when young and she regard[ed] it[s] precepts & instructions thro life. . . . She was a person of singular temperance and thirty years before her death never drank any spirits, and I never heard it intimated that she was intoxicated in all her life or was at all the worse for strong drink—She was remarkable for her industry and frugality and keeping a little store of the necessities and Comforts of life."[127]

By July 1759 Hawley had married Lucy Fessenden, who would bear him five children. In assuming the roles as householder and missionary-overseer, he stopped keeping diaries, and his correspondence lost any reference to evangelical piety or the inward struggles of religious melancholy. The business of colonial administrator and minister fully occupied his concern, as Hawley and Briant shared the labors of preaching and pastoral care that necessitated riding many miles each day.

Hawley produced an enumeration of Mashpee households in a census taken in 1776.[128] Table 3 presents information about selected demographic issues confronting the tribe at the beginning of the Revolution. Forty percent ($N = 34$) of all households (84) were headed by widows or contained a widow. This suggests poverty and dependency. In addition, eight vagrant or homeless Natives resided on the reserve but not in a domicile. This issue of families disrupted by the death of the male householder and extreme poverty emerged before the casualties from war, seafaring, and the epidemic of 1777 reached their full effect. Of the 81 domiciles, 42 were shingled structures and 39 were traditional wigwams, indicative of acculturation and a widening social class division within the tribe.

TABLE 3. Mashpee households in the census of 1776

Type of household	Number of households
Households with widows	
Solitary individuals	11
Widows with minor children	13
Two widows	3
Two widows with minor children	3
Stem family*	4
Total households with widows	**34 (40% of all households)**
Households with minor children	
Married couple with minor children (generative households)	30
Two married couples sharing household with minor children	7
Total generative households (excluding stem families)	**37 (44% of all households)**
Other households	
Two married couples sharing household, no children	1
Married couple, no children	12
TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	84

Source: Gideon Hawley, June 24, 1776, Letters, 1745–1807, MHS.
*A stem family is a three-generational household that includes a conjugal couple, their dependent children, and an aged widow residing in the household.

Forty-four percent of households (37) were generative—a conjugal couple and their minor children. The mean household size of generative families was 4.7, indicting small numbers of children and a mean household size less than the 5.7 recorded for laboring-class European American families in 1790.[129] Minor children accounted for 47 percent of the population (159 of 341).

Solomon Briant died in 1775, ending his and Hawley's successful co-ministry and marking the beginning of Hawley's alienation from "his people." He responded to the economic and political transformation of the Revolution by a conservative appeal to the past and support of the 1788 law that restored guardianship and plantation status. The tribe formally protested in November 1789 against Hawley: "We do not want his Conduct in our affairs."[130]

Thus, his mature voice of religious paternalism—the missionary as colonial administrator who alone might save them from extinction, who

employed the racial etiquette of the Indian in perpetual tutelage—emerged in the later years of his service to the tribe. Writing to Governor Hancock from the Mashpee Plantation in 1791, he explains the plight of his people:

> Our poor are numerous, our widows thirty, our fatherless many and of both sexes some aged and infirm persons, who required our particular attention. A few of these have been entirely supported by the Guardians. At times all these Indians need relief. One week's sickness will impoverish the greatest part of them, and exhaust their stores so as to render them destitute of every comfort. Their stores are generally very small, as an Indian depends for his daily bread, upon his daily success.[131]

Natives openly resisted this system of religious paternalism by mobilizing Native ministers and congregants in political protest to effect legislative reform and judicial relief. However, as we will consider next, new forms of evangelical religion, personhood, and collective identity in the era of awakenings gave Christian Indians the sublime hope that through new birth they might enjoy human rights and transcend the colonial situation with its ideologies of racism and conquest.

Samson Occom and Evangelical Christian Indian Identity

For Native American communities in southern New England, situated within long-settled English colonies behind the frontier, the era known as the Great Awakening (1740–1760) was an epitomizing event—a religious and social movement that championed, through conversion and church building, new models of Christian Indian identity for individuals and communities.[1] The Great Awakening provided one possible resolution to their plight as colonized peoples. As an emergent ethnic group, Christian Indians were offered the promise of redemption if they would fulfill the highest cultural ideals of "civilized" colonial society. New Lights believed that the evangelical measures of the awakening, allied with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, fostered new birth for Natives who would subsequently reconstitute their tribes as church communities governed by Native ministers in conjunction with sachems and councils. Although missionaries and colonial administrators looked to religious conversion and education as a method to pacify and domesticate Native groups, Christian Indians like Samson Occom perceived new birth as a promise of otherworldly salvation and this-worldly possibilities for human dignity and power over their affairs. Occom wanted to be redeemed from the pernicious effects of colonialism: land dispossession, powerlessness, poverty and

economic dependency, and the racist designation of the Indian as a tawny savage.

Amy E. Den Ouden in *Beyond Conquest* provides an insightful discussion of the colonial situation for eighteenth-century tribal communities, with special focus on the Mohegans and Mashantucket Pequots of Connecticut. These tribes tenaciously resisted the unrelenting pressures of colonization by local encroachers in Groton and New London, who through trespass, pillaging, and crop destruction on Indian lands, and intimidation and death threats, exerted continuous pressure to acquire reservation land. In addition, the pernicious system of state-appointed guardians accelerated the sale of tribal lands. Successive government officials developed a "discourse of conquest" that effectively negated Native claims that they enjoyed a legitimate collective identity and status as peoples—distinct political entities—who possessed inherent and enduring rights to land reserved for them in perpetuity by state law in 1680.[2] The discourse of conquest denied tribes their history by disputing Mohegan claims of alliance with the English in the Pequot War and by relegating them to the status of conquered and surrendered people who were subject to state administration, surveillance, and control. Finally, this discourse questioned the legitimacy of Indian identity by casting them as savage and as racialized others, unequal before whites, and destined to vanish before the advance of civilization. Den Ouden argues that "Mohegan 'extinction'" was the prerequisite to free the remaining fragment of their reservation for colonial appropriation, the unfolding of that legislated Indian destiny—the imminent 'degeneration' that would culminate in the 'disappearance' of reservation communities from the colonial landscape."[3]

Mohegan sachems prosecuted seven decades of legal struggle to save their ancestral lands and prevent dispossession, beginning with Owaneco in a petition in 1704 to Queen Anne, and continuing in successive petitions for protection from the Connecticut legislature in 1721, 1736, and 1773.[4] Intertribal networks were formed among the Mohegans; the Mashantucket Pequots at Noank, Ledyard, and Groton; the Eastern Pequots at Stonington; and the Niantics at Lyme, who shared common kinship through intermarriage and formed alliances as part of the political and legal strategy of resistance to

colonization. A dramatic example of resistance was enacted in September 1736 through an intertribal ceremonial dance and harvest festival at Mohegan where the tribe rejected the state-appointed sachemship of Uncas II in favor of Mahomet II in an act of open defiance of the colonial situation.

In addition to the powers of agency and resistance represented by legal personhood and political action exemplified by this defiant dance, evangelical religious personhood provided a powerful avenue of resistance. Evangelical Christian Indians contested the discourse of conquest by asserting that newly born Indians possessed spiritual attainments and powers and could offer public testimony about how the Holy Spirit had regenerated them into authentic and legitimate children of God. New Light Indian preachers, teachers, and tribal leaders emerged, including the Mohegans Samson Occom, Samuel Ashpo, Henry Quapuaquid, and Joseph Johnson, Montauketts Jacob and David Fowler, and Narragansett Samuel Niles. They organized Indian-led congregations in reservation communities to advocate for the persistence of Indian peoples and their enduring political rights to land and self-government. As Christian Indians, they made claim to the realization of the highest cultural ideal—religious conversion. Here Native communities would persist with a renewed collective identity that emphasized their attainments as Christians while preserving their ethnicity as Indians. They protested racial marginalization by arguing that as Christians, they and the emerging mixed-racial category of African Indians deserved to live as coequals among whites.

Evangelical religious personhood emerged in the Great Awakening in response to the colonial situation with promises of individual and collective redemption, promises that were largely unrealized, given the limitations and failures of political and religious resistance for Native peoples in southern New England. Samson Occom (1723–1792) articulated and championed this vision of redemption for Christian Indians through his exemplary piety, his labors as a minister and missionary to the Montaukett and Oneida tribes, and his writings and advocacy for his "poor Indian brethren." Occom believed that education, conversion, and the formation of Christian Indian communities would transform colonized peoples. Christian Indians, who as twice-born evangelicals received direct and immediate inspiration from

the Holy Spirit, gained new powers of agency, new voices to speak, and new powers to write, so that they might demand their liberty from colonial hierarchy. Christian Indians could join together as free men in reconstituted tribal communities, duty bound to promote public virtue and the commonweal. Occom and other evangelical Indians fulfilled the missionary ideals of the seventeenth-century praying Indians: a vital experiential piety, hearts reborn in grace, and completion of the morphology of conversion. They championed their ethnicity as Christian Indians who might dwell together in religious brotherhoods and congregational communities in political self-determination as distinct peoples, freed from the onerous paternalism of guardianship and the colonial situation.

Joanna Brooks implores us to reconsider Samson Occom as a Mohegan, above all, and as a man who incorporated and "Indianized" critical elements of European American culture into "This Indian World," a phrase that he used in his spiritual autobiography. Brooks emphasizes Occom's "thought-world" which "was rooted in tribal territories, tribal histories, kin networks, political responsibilities and obligations, ceremonial and planting cycles, and understandings of space, time, and personhood he learned first from his father Joshua; his mother Sarah; their relatives and their broader tribal community."[5] This interpretation imagines Occom as fashioning an Indian ethnic identity.

Brooks correctly asserts that Occom was immersed in "This Indian World" as a Mohegan leader who married Mary Fowler, a Montaukett. He effectively "Indianized" aspects of evangelical pietism by adopting Native styles to hymn singing, picture cards and catechism, plain speech in itinerant preaching, and dream work and pastoral care. However, Occom was a protégé of the New Light minister Eleazar Wheelock and an epigone of Wheelock's "Grand Design" for the conversion of Native peoples. Occom graduated from Moor's Charity School (1748), served as a missionary and schoolteacher to the Montauketts, received ordination as a Presbyterian minister (1759), and worked for the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge on a mission to the Oneidas (1760). He accompanied George Whitefield on a preaching tour in New England and received an appointment as a missionary to the Niantic and Mohegan tribes (1764)

and embarked with Nathaniel Whitaker on a fund-raising tour in England (1765–68).[6] Throughout his career, Occom labored ceaselessly as an itinerant preacher, exhorting and serving both European and Native communities.

This evidence suggests that in balance, Occom struggled to fulfill the demands of evangelical religious personhood as a Christian and child of God. He advocated for the necessity of new birth and, through Protestant moralism, the revitalization of his poor Indian brethren who would refashion identity by appropriating European American lifeways. In the context of the colonial situation and the discourse of conquest, Occom understood that tribal groups could persevere as peoples only if they embraced Christianity and enjoyed cultural legitimacy as children of God. Occom embraced the emerging ethnicity of Christian Indian identity.

Jon Butler asserts in *Becoming America* that between 1680 and 1770, the English colonies were transformed into a modernizing society characterized by an ethnically and racially diverse heterogeneity of peoples and nationalities that included Native peoples, African Americans, English, Scots, Germans, Dutch, Swiss, and French. America participated in a transatlantic and international economy, and developed a representative, democratic polity in which the concept of power resided in the people, endowed with aspirations of self-determination. Last, becoming America involved the efflorescence of religious diversity and pluralism: Baptists, Methodists, Quakers, Dutch Reformed, Moravians, Anglicans, Catholics, and Jews. Congregational and Presbyterian orthodoxy splintered in the Great Awakening into New Light and Old Light factions. "American Indians underwent their own awakenings, some turning to Christianity, some turning against it with violence."[7] Occom wanted remnant tribal groups, who resided on reservations on remaining parcels of their ancestral homelands, to benefit from the transformation of America as Christian Indian peoples, endowed with rights of autonomy and self-determination. Evangelical religion and Christian Indian ethnicity would legitimate Native claims to peoplehood.

In 1784, at age sixty-one, Occom delivered the sermon "To All the Indians in this Boundless Continent," expressing the idea of pan-Indian identity. "This Indian World" was not limited to the Mohegans or associated tribal groups in southern New England. Occom advocated that Indians, as ethnic

and racial peoples, needed to unite through the ethnic affinity of Christian Indian brotherhood, where regenerate believers lived in congregational communities that transcended the particularism of locality, kinship group, and tribe. He begins: "I am an Indian also, your Brother and you are my Brethren the bone of my bone and Flesh of my Flesh."[8] Occom here proclaims the existence of a single creator deity and recounts the charter myth from Hebrew scripture—Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, the temptations of Satan, the Fall into original sin—and the story of the savior prophet, Jesus, whose life and sacrifice might redeem all humanity. New birth and evangelical piety set the foundation that ensured the salvation of all Indians in this world and the next.

Occom's hope turned to religious melancholy, cynicism, and anger with the realization that monied colonial interests relentlessly employed political power to dispossess remnant tribal groups of their land. In the end, Occom came to the bitter realization that white colonial society had imposed a new racialism and racial terminology, designating Native Americans as "Black," "tawny," "mustee," or "mulatto." Jack D. Forbes argues that these terms were used to "identify, limit, control and to exclude" peoples of African descent, African Indian descent, and Native Americans.[9] After the Revolutionary War and near the end of his life, Occom recognized that Native groups, despite their spiritual attainments and civilized ways, had no place within the new nation. As Daniel K. Richter writes in *Facing East from Indian Country*, "Perhaps the strangest lesson of all was that in the new nation Whites were the ones entitled to be called 'Americans.' Indians bizarrely became something else."[10] Occom, together with his son-in-law Joseph Johnson and other tribal leaders, helped seven remnant southern New England tribes remove to Oneida lands near Syracuse to create Brothertown, a utopian Christian Indian community modeled upon the apostolic church in separation from American society.

For Occom and other evangelical Christian Indians in this period, religious melancholy provides a key to the understanding of their sublime aspirations for redemption. Their experience was unlike previous generations of praying Indians for whom religious melancholy served as integral to the penitential sense of life—holy desperation and tears of repentance

of sin. Ritual praxis fostered a sacramental and magical coercion of the other-than-human persons, Jesus and God, to bring good fortune to the people. The penitential sense of life and the rational theodicy of misfortune were largely absent from evangelical Native communities.

In the context of the eighteenth-century awakening, religious melancholy assumed new forms. First, the experience of spiritual despondency marked the saint's passage from the corruption of the unregenerate "natural man" to the infusion of the Holy Spirit and the moment of grace in new birth. Without self-loathing and evangelical humiliation, the seeker could not attain the selfless ecstasy that preceded rebirth. Religious melancholy was indispensable in the morphology of conversion requisite to forging a distinctive religious personality—a life shaped by the methodical practice of piety, godly conduct, a democratic voice of advocacy, and a predisposition to benevolence. Second, episodes of religious melancholy punctuated the spiritual journey of saints in this world as they labored to fulfill God's plan while they anticipated their everlasting rest. In times of backsliding, apostasy, and yielding to worldly or carnal temptations, saints were beset with an overwhelming and immobilizing consciousness of sin, pollution, guilt, and shame. In times of life crises, God seemingly had withdrawn his countenance and left the saint feeling perplexed, abandoned, and unloved by God. Here, melancholy prompted a spiritual requickening, maturation, and rededication to the ceaseless task of finding anew the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, making a godly life, and submitting to God's will. Third, Christian Indians like Occom suffered profound melancholy after the realization of the hopelessness of their colonial subjugation, betrayal by white friends of the Indian, and the pernicious effects of racialism. Here, the resolution to despondency involved more than personal spiritual growth and occasioned public outcries of injustice and demands for spiritual and political liberty. Religious personhood acquired a decidedly political dimension.

In this chapter, we will recount the formation of Occom's Christian Indian ethnic identity during the period of the Great Awakening until the American Revolution—the foundation for his plan of removal from white colonial society into the Brothertown resettlement on the frontier as a separatist congregational community. To understand Occom's spiritual

pilgrimage, we must first analyze the strains of Wesleyan piety, evangelical pietism, and religious melancholy that provided the foundation for Occom's vision of individual and collective redemption for Native peoples caught in the throes of colonial oppression.

In 1740 George Whitefield (1714–1770) published accounts of his religious conversion and triumph as a transatlantic revivalist. His spiritual biography, written at age twenty-six, provided an early model of new birth and evangelical religious identity during the Great Awakening. Whitefield's *Journals* revealed the spiritual landmarks of authentic pietist and Calvinist rebirth that, when appropriated by Americans during his itinerant campaigns, inspired the newly converted to invert social hierarchies and challenge colonial structures of authority. In the crucible of revivals, sinners found redemption and rebirth. The reception of the Holy Spirit in their hearts gave the converted new powers of public speech and agency, thus transforming individual identity. Now, even lowly servants and African Americans prayed for and exhorted their masters, the young instructed their elders, and women testified before fathers and husbands about the ecstatic reception of saving grace.

The impetus for these transformations of identity stemmed from the unique power and legitimacy that God's grace conferred upon the new creation. The key to understanding Samson Occom's remarkable life and his vocation to help the "poor Indian brethren" can be found in Whitefield's example of making a Christian life that Occom appropriated and extolled as a model for all Indians to emulate. Whitefield's widely read spiritual biography rendered his personal journey into a universal model for all Christians to emulate.

Whitefield's spiritual journey began in 1732 at the age of eighteen when he entered Pembroke College at Oxford University as a servitor. He attended classes tuition-free while serving the needs of gentleman students and college masters.[11] Whitefield joined an association of pious students, the "Holy Club," began a methodical study of Puritan and Pietist devotional theology, and placed himself under the spiritual direction of Calvinistic Methodists, John and Charles Wesley.[12]

John Wesley directed Whitefield's religious education and spiritual

guidance. He read Wesley's translation of Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, Fr. Lorenzo Scupoli's *Spiritual Combat*, and William Law's *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* and *Christian Perfection*. Following Wesley's recommendations, and guided by these devotional works, Whitefield began "spiritual combat" by conducting a war against the self in search of perfection—freedom from the inclination to sin. Scupoli explains that the essence of Christian perfection lies in the inward pilgrimage that vanquishes the sinful self. He urges believers to prepare for a battle against the self, to distrust the self, and reflect upon one's vileness, nothingness, and inability to do good. Each seeker must practice methodical self-examination to uncover his or her depravity and sins. In search of Christian perfection, one must trust in God, adopt a regimen of rigorous asceticism, prayer, and meditation, and contemplate the passion of Christ. By embracing suffering, doing battle with Satan, and vanquishing the carnal self, the spiritual pilgrim could find God's peace.[13]

William Law's *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, published in 1726, profoundly shaped Whitefield's spiritual combat and quest for Christian perfection. Law called upon all believers to fashion a devout life organized around the fulfillment of the central principles of glorifying God and serving as an instrument of divine purpose. The devout appropriated the ethos of "godly discipline," seeking renunciation of the world and worldliness in order to fashion a life of godliness. Max Weber termed this inner-worldly asceticism—a religious ethic that prohibited a sensuous surrender to pleasures of the body. The inner-worldly ascetic eschewed all ostentation and frivolous leisure. The godly would eat, drink, and sleep in moderation in order to promote the values of moderation, sobriety, industry, and perseverance, applied single-mindedly to the ethical maxim "live totally for God."[14]

Law's variation of spiritual combat also prescribed self-examination, in which the believer searched his or her heart for manifestations of sin, temptation, and depravity. Once confronted with this evidence, the logic of inward spiritual warfare required renewed efforts at repentance through the exercise of self-denial, mortification, and evangelical humiliation. The goal of this warfare was the death of the self. Emulating the example of the early Christians in the apostolic church, Law explains: "When there is the

same spirit in us that was there in the apostles and early Christians, when we feel the profoundness of religion as they did . . . we shall take up our cross, deny ourselves, and live in such paths, dying to self as they did."[15] Spiritual combat necessitated "infinite humiliation" and the expectation of suffering in the imitation of Christ, "that by so suffering with Christ in this life they might reign with him hereafter."[16]

Whitefield embraced this spiritual combat and the call for devotion to God characteristic of early Methodism at Oxford, forsaking worldly entertainments and his love of the theater. With unrelenting determination, he became a penitent, renouncing worldliness and seeking the experience of grace and regeneration. He donned shabby, soiled clothing, inviting the ridicule and ostracism of former friends at the college. Following Law, he adopted a regimen three times each day of prayers, singing the psalms, meditation, and Bible reading.[17] Through heroic devotional piety, he struggled to extinguish his prideful, carnal self by imposing ceaseless repentance and self-mortification. Throughout these early spiritual trials of the conversion process, Whitefield suffered nervous ailments, insomnia, night sweats, disorientation, and immobilizing anxiety. His journal recounts the passage into religious melancholy akin to the plight of Christian in *Pilgrim's Progress*. Whitefield explains:

> All my inward sufferings were of a more uncommon nature. All my power of meditating, or even thinking, was taken from me. My memory quite failed me. My whole soul was barren and dry, and I could fancy myself to be like nothing so much as a man locked up in iron armour.
>
> Whenever I kneeled down, I felt great pressures both in soul and body, and have often prayed under the weight of them till the sweat came through me. God only knows how many nights I have lain upon my bed groaning under the weight I felt. Whole days and weeks have been spent in lying prostrate upon the ground in silent or vocal prayer.[18]

In the course of Whitefield's spiritual pilgrimage, he faced vexing questions and impediments to the reception of saving grace. How could he know with certainty that God had bestowed grace upon him as a member

of the elect? What assurance could he receive of God's plan for him? Was he guilty of self-delusion or hypocrisy when he proclaimed the death of the natural man as he sought the inward psychological assurance of God's love and the evidence of rebirth? Pietist theology helped Whitefield address these perplexities.

August Herman Francke's Pietist doctrines outlined the morphology of conversion that began with (1) spiritual warfare (*Busskampf*), (2) religious melancholy in the trials of faith (*Anfechtungen*), (3) cross-bearing and embracing redemptive suffering in the imitation of Christ, (4) obedience to God's law, (5) trust in God, and (6) joy. Joy occurred in the ravishing psychological union with God, the inner-worldly mystical experience of the "bride of the lamb."[19] In this manner, each new creation resolved doubt and spiritual crisis upon receiving a radical transformation of heart, mind, and identity through possession of the "indwelling of Christ" as a seal of election.

Whitefield accepted the Calvinist notion of predestination—a particularism of grace wherein new birth was bestowed upon a minority of God's elect. The assurance of election and salvation required the experiential infusion of the Holy Spirit that transformed the heart. From the depths of warfare with the self and in a moment of selfless ecstasy, the believer found the inner-worldly mystical union with God and the new birth. Whitefield understood that "true religion was a union of soul with God, and Christ formed within us. A ray of divine light was instantaneously darted in upon my soul, and from that moment, but not till then, did I know that I must be a new creature."[20]

New birth proved elusive for Whitefield, and he increased his penitential efforts in the ensuing months by imposing upon himself progressively severe evangelical humiliation. He strived to augment the fervency and efficacy of his devotions through fasting, redoubling the warfare against the carnal self, "fighting my corruptions," feeling "a heavy pressure upon my body as well as an unspeakable oppression of mind."[21] "I thought to get peace and purity by outward austerities."[22] Beset at times by the temptations of Satan, he remained secluded in his study, abandoning the company of Christian friends and the pleasure he found in charitable works. John Wesley

provided spiritual direction, guided him in devotional reading, and urged him to return to college life. Whitefield explains: "Every day God made me willing to renew the combat, and though my soul, when quite empty of God, was very prone to seek satisfaction in the creature, and sometimes I fell into sensuality, yet I was generally enabled to wait in silence for the salvation of God, or to persist in prayer, till some beams of spiritual light and comfort were vouchsafed me from on high."[23]

Whitefield began a near-fatal bout of fasting during Lent, hoping again to find peace and purity. He recounts that "with my continued abstinence and inward conflicts, at length so emaciated my body, that at Passion week, finding I could scarce creep up the stairs, I was obliged to inform my kind tutor of my condition, who immediately sent for a physician."[24]

Whitefield failed to receive the rapturous contemplation of God that would irradiate his heart with the Holy Spirit or the abiding assurance of divine love. He languished in doubt, self-loathing, and religious melancholy. In this state of extremity, Whitefield succumbed to "evangelical anorexia nervosa" where he employed excessive fasting "as part of a directed spiritual exercise that was to purify sin in a moment when God had withdrawn his love. The Protestant mystic fully expected that these obsessive trials of purification would lead the soul through the inward progression of stages culminating in the state of mystical union."[25]

For seven weeks he languished with this spiritual affliction that was the culmination of protracted "buffetings by Satan," trials "day and night under the spirit of bondage."[26] Finally, Whitefield experienced forgiveness, adoption as a child of God, and the seal of salvation. He exclaims in his journal: "But oh! With what joy—joy unspeakable—even joy that was full of, and big with glory, was my soul filled, when the weight of sin went off, and an abiding sense of the pardoning love of God and a full assurance of faith broke in upon my disconsolate soul! Surely it was my wedding day."[27]

Whitefield's charismatic conversion was retold and published for publics in Europe and America as a heroic, inner spiritual journey marked by opposition and adversity. Only after he had overcome the resistance of scoffers, the torments of Satan, religious melancholy, and physical collapse did he ultimately receive the seal of election. Suffering, evangelical humiliation,

and spiritual warfare against the self that nearly destroyed his body and extinguished the "natural man" constituted this spiritual itinerary. Only following the death of the self through suffering did the newly regenerate self find healing and gain the power to dedicate life to God's purpose and guide others in godly ways. From the depths of suffering, religious melancholy, and self-abasement came the path of self-enlargement—the new creation in communion with the Holy Spirit—and the duty of public speech.[28]

Nancy Ruttenburg maintains in *Democratic Personality* that Whitefield's model of conversion constituted an epochal self, showing the path of authentic personhood for a generation caught in the cultural strains of an emerging market economy and modern civil society. Whitefield mediated to mass publics in the transatlantic revival the landmarks of the soul's passage from sin and depravity into new birth. He provided an exemplar for a distinctive religiously grounded personhood and the beginnings of an individuated, democratic identity. Here, the renovated heart opened to the irradiations of the Holy Spirit transformed each believer into an instrument of God's will, duty bound to speak in public, to testify about God's glory, and to exhort.

What were the distinguishing elements of an evangelical democratic personality? First, the regenerate relied upon their individual conscience to interpret the Word, to discern the meaning of divine law in shaping their conduct, and to remain open to the leadings of the Spirit to guide and direct them. Thus, the newly born fostered a transmoral conscience that required that each believer follow the dictates of his or her conscience as the locus of authority that transcended the normative codes of existing social institutions.[29] Not infrequently the newly born questioned or opposed ecclesiastical, political, or traditional (familial or tribal) authority as they struggled for a new synthesis of received authority and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

Second, this type of religious personality appropriated the methodical practice of piety that prescribed a ritual of humiliation that was centered on self-examination. This resulted in an unending cycle in which believers identified their sins and then experienced the emotional states of repentance, melancholy, and joyful assurance. Ideally, rituals of piety and

humiliation produced progressive sanctification and increasing godliness. Not infrequently, the evangelical democratic personality, ever the child of God, manifested a semiautonomy and experienced difficulty in making adult, autonomous decisions.[30]

Third, as was the case with Occom, when confronted with adversity, he succumbed to episodes of protracted religious melancholy. In 1741–42 and again in 1768–71, Occom experienced religious melancholy, first during conversion and later as a spiritual quickening following a crisis in his vocation. In each crisis, supernatural inspiration by the Holy Spirit assisted him in finding resolution and a voice that enunciated divine mandate. These episodes of spiritual crisis that transpired in the midst of religious revivals afforded opportunities for Occom to achieve new integrations of religious personhood and public ascendancy as an Indian leader and "cultural mediator" between Indian and white worlds. As Margaret Connell Szasz has argued, "Twice in Occom's life, therefore, a religious awakening had become a catalyst for change. The first Great Awakening led him to schooling and career; the second local revival, three decades later, led him to the climax of his role as a spiritual intermediary."[31]

The conversion narrative marked the beginning of making a Christian life for the newly born, who as children of God, needed to pursue godly lives of progressive sanctification. They faced the burdens of making a life dedicated to deepening their relationship with God, ascertaining his will and purpose, and submitting in obedience to divine law. They needed to enhance their understanding of scripture and doctrine. Evangelical selves practiced daily piety through private prayer, meditation, and methodical self-examination, seeking direct inspiration from the Holy Spirit to guide them in life's decisions. In addition, the godly voluntarily placed their innermost thoughts, emotions, and actions under judgment when the newborn Christian examined his or her life for evidence of indwelling sin or sinful conduct. The discovery of sin prompted the cycle of repentance, humiliation, and petitions for forgiveness marked by the experience of grace. Each pilgrim repeated the spiritual itinerary by experiencing anew the religious affections of abhorrent self-hatred for sin, holy despair, and renewed joyous assurance.

Joanna Brooks explains that Separatist Native communities in southern New England developed "worship traditions centered around cycles of departure, return, and forgiveness . . . to foster a greater sense of assurance for besieged Native communities of their connection to God."[32] Backsliding and declension promoted rituals of collective confession and reconciliation before the assembled congregation, which characterized the distinctive piety of New Light Christian Indian church communities.

Evangelical selves like Occom were in part colonized and contained by white religious, political, and cultural elites who articulated what was best for Indian souls and lands. In the context of the colonial situation and the internal factionalism in tribal communities, how could Occom ascertain God's will and act as a tool for the divine? What conduct would fulfill God's purpose? How could the newly born escape pride, sin, and backsliding and pursue a course of progressive sanctification and universal disinterested benevolence? Not infrequently, Occom, like other evangelicals, encountered external conflict and experienced inner distress about the casuistry of applying a religious ethos to the situation at hand. Thus, Occom's religiously grounded personality always carried the imprint of religious melancholy. For example, writing in 1767 from London in the middle of a successful fund-raising tour on behalf of Eleazar Wheelock and Moor's Charity School, after twenty years as a missionary, preacher, and teacher, he lamented, "It has been my Lot for a long time to have Sorrow of Heart."[33] While reaffirming his mission to evangelize the bodies and souls of "my poor Indian brethren," Occom accuses himself of cruelly neglecting his wife and twelve children. His faith abides and he takes comfort in his willingness to act the "fool for Christ's sake."[34] Occom acknowledges that "this Elevates my heart amidst all my Burdens, and Balances all my Sorrows at Times, or Enables me to bear my Trials, that I am in the way of my Duty and the Lord Uses me in any Shape to promote his Kingdom in the World."[35]

Whitefield promoted an international revival of religion that spread through Wales, Scotland, England, and the American colonies. He systematized the techniques of evangelicalism such as itinerancy and the open field sermon that was delivered extemporaneously and with dramatic fervor, designed to prick the cold hearts of sinners and excite their religious

affections. An account of Whitefield's preaching at Northampton in 1741 during his first American tour reports the expressions of religious fervor by sinners whose hearts had been awakened to their sin and dire condition. "The whole room was full of nothing but outcries, faintings and the like. . . . Some were struck as pale as death, others wringing their hands, others lying on the ground, others sinking into the arms of their friends."[36]

Whitefield was a master of self-promotion, contracting with Benjamin Franklin in 1738 to print news accounts of earlier revivals, sermons, and excerpts from his journals in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. From his arrival in Delaware on October 30, 1739, until his return to England in January, 1741, the grand itinerant swept through cities and local parishes from the middle Atlantic and north to New England, praying for a special visitation of the Spirit to awaken experimental religion, pricking the hearts of slumbering sinners in field sermons, exhorting the anxious in private meetings, and exulting in the men and women brought into conversion. As Timothy D. Hall argues, Whitefield's revival campaigns "provided personal, representative contact with what was soon to become a vast 'imagined community' of saints that transcended geographical and denominational lines through a common experience of the New Birth."[37] The Great Awakening was a transatlantic, cross-denominational religious movement that affected the British Atlantic world. The awakening inspired believers, including Native Americans, to view themselves as participating in the momentous events of conversion, church building, and the spread of evangelical pietism within a united international Protestant community.[38]

The morphology of religious revival, written in narrative form and printed in newspapers and *The Christian History*, sustained the impression that each American locality was indeed participating in a transatlantic work of the Holy Spirit.[39] Correspondents from the field proclaimed the wondrous work of the Spirit, the sinners brought through the morphology of conversion and into the new birth.[40] Thomas Prince offers this account of Whitefield's labors in Boston in September 1740. "He distinctly applied his exhortations to the elderly people, to the middle aged, the young, the Indians and Negroes; and had a most winning way of addressing them."[41] Itinerants, imitators, and other New Lights emulated Whitefield, chief among them

was Gilbert Tennent, whom Whitefield designated to prosecute the revival following his return to England.

Tennent preached a farewell sermon in Boston on March 2, 1741, before sixty people who included boys and girls, young men and women, Indians, African Americans, heads of families, aged persons, those in full communion, and the unchurched. Prince recorded this revival narrative of Tennent's masterful power in exciting the religious affections: "Some under slight, others under strong convictions of their sins and sinfulness, guilt and condemnation, the wrath and cures of God upon them, their impotence and misery; some for a long time, even for several months under these convictions: some fearing lest the Holy Spirit should withdraw; others having quenched His operations, were in great distress lest he should leave them for ever."[42]

During March, Tennent arrived in Lyme, Connecticut, and fostered an awakening in the congregation of the Reverend Jonathan Parsons. The revivalist opened the cold hearts of sinners to the terrors of the Lord, to a true and awful sense of the enormity of their sins, and the wrath of a "sin-hating God." Parsons marveled at the work of the Spirit and wrote: "I observed many of the assembly in tears, and heard many crying out in very great bitterness of soul . . . Alas! I am undone! I'm undone! O my sins!"[43]

Following Tennent's itinerancy, Parsons continued the work of the local revival for two months with fire-and-brimstone preaching, night meetings, prayer concerts, private exhortations, and pastoral care for those in the throes of spiritual desolation, anxious about what must they do to be saved. Preaching on May 14, 1741, in an Election Day sermon, Parsons reaped a harvest of souls as the anxious manifested the work of the Holy Spirit by sighing, groaning, fainting, and crying out in terror of being cast forever into the pit. "Great numbers cried aloud in the anguish of their souls. Several stout men fell as though a cannon had been discharged, and a ball had made its way through their hearts. Some young women were thrown into hysteric fits."[44]

James Davenport of Southold, Long Island, evangelized New London in July 1741, extending the work of Whitefield, Tennent, and Parsons into the white-hot crucible of enthusiasm.[45] Preaching about the dangers of an

unconverted ministry and everywhere challenging ministerial authority, Davenport combined the histrionics of extemporaneous field preaching in plain and common language with singing. Following his exhortation to "Come to Christ, Come away!" chaos ensued.[46] Men and women began exhorting, testifying, speaking, and singing. "Some singing, some screaming, some crying, some laughing and some scolding, made the most amazing Confusion that was ever heard."[47]

Samson Occom was sixteen years old when he participated in Davenport's awakening and was transformed by this religious experience. Written in 1768 during a spiritual and personal crisis, he provided a brief account of his conversion, twenty-seven years earlier. He began, "I was Born a Heathen and Brought up in Heathenism" in Mohegan, New London, Connecticut.[48] He lived with his parents, separate from the colonists, securing a subsistence livelihood by hunting, fishing, and fowling. Until adolescence, Occom had little interest in Christianity and was not literate. However, in the summer of 1741,

> Some Ministers began to visit us and Preach the Word of God; and the Common People all Came frequently and exhorted us to the things of God, which pleased it the Lord, as I humbly hope, to Bless and accompany with Divine Influence to the Conviction and Saving Conversion of a Number of us; amongst whom I was one that was Imprest with the things we had heard. . . . After I was awakened & converted, I went to all the meetings, I could come at; & Continued under Trouble of Mind about 6 months; at which time I began to Learn the English Letters.[49]

Occom does not elucidate the apparent religious melancholy that he suffered during his six months' "trouble of mind." If his morphology of conversion resembled the published exemplars of Whitefield and Nathan Cole, himself a participant in Whitefield's revival in 1740, Occom would have traversed a spiritual itinerary of alternating seasons of assurance and doubt. Satan would have assailed him with doubt, accusations of hypocrisy, and temptations to commit the unpardonable sin of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit.[50]

He found the assurance of God's election. "From this Time the Distress and Burden of my mind was removed, and I found Serenity and Pleasure of Soul in Serving God."[51] The Reverend Eliphant Adams baptized Occom on October 31, 1742.[52] Fashioned in the smithy of Davenport's revival, Occom received the inspiration of the Holy Spirit that enabled him to speak in public, to act as a democratic personality with an authoritative voice, and participate in new soteriological communities that challenged the received traditions and inequalities of colonial society. As Harry S. Stout and Peter Onuf argue, for those with new identities following their new birth, "The right to speak was a gift of the Holy Spirit, dispensed without regard to social position, sex, or age. . . . These New Lights created a new kind of community in their shared experience and in their contempt for the pretensions of temporal authority. This community rested on its own rhetorical foundation, a revolutionary new language of worship."[53]

Although we may never know the nuances of this evangelical pietist conversion experience, Occom's new birth was a transformative breakthrough. From the crucible of spiritual crisis he forged a new religious and personal identity—a Christian Indian, a democratic personality called by God to a higher purpose.[54]

The Great Awakening touched many Indian lives and resulted in the formation of tribal church communities and an intertribal network of regenerate Christian Indians from the Pequots, Mohegans, Farmingtons, Montauketts, and other groups in southern New England.[55] The Reverend Joseph Park promoted a revival among the Narragansett-Niantic Indians living in Westerly and Charlestown, Rhode Island. With the help of Pequot converts from Stonington, Connecticut, and acting as an instrument of the Holy Spirit, he harvested fifty Indian souls who found new birth and joined his church. Park wrote this revival narrative in 1743: "The Indians continued together all Night and spent the most of the next Day and Night together: And it continued a wonderful Time of GOD's Power. And from that Time the Indians were generally stirred up to seek after eternal Life. They flocked more to the House and Worship of GOD, than they were wont to do to their Frolicks; They remain earnestly enquiring after God: and appear many of them hopefully to have found the Lord."[56]

By 1745 the Narragansett communicants in Park's church that bordered their reservation left to form a new Separatist Baptist congregation under the leadership of a Narragansett minister, the Reverend Samuel Niles. Unable to read or write English, he relied upon the infusion of the Holy Spirit and the immediacy of this personal revelation as the basis for his exhortation and preaching. The reliance upon the "new light" and "inward witness" characterized the pietistic fervor of Separatist and Baptist religious experience in the Great Awakening.[57] William G. McLoughlin captures the textures of religious ecstasy in the immediate apprehension of the divine for New Lights. He writes, "In the beginning was the experience—the explosive, power-full, transforming experience of a direct confrontation with Divine Truth."[58] Believers who were transformed by this new birth demanded a church that was pure, where membership was permitted only to the regenerate who led godly lives, where only regenerate ministers preached extemporaneous sermons inspired by the leadings of the Holy Spirit. New Lights separated from established parishes and rejected Old Light ministers in order to build new, voluntary "believer's churches." By the 1750s more than 125 Separatist churches were founded in New England in the wake of this religious revitalization.[59]

Old Lights claimed that lay exhorters like Niles, illiterate and untutored in divinity, promoted religious enthusiasm and false religious doctrine. One critic, the Reverend Joseph Fish, wrote the following in his diary: "He is in imminent danger of leaving *The Word*, for the Guidance of *Feelings, Impressions, Visions, Appearances and Directions* of Angels and of Christ himself in a Visionary Way."[60] Given to religious exercises marked by the "heartwork" of the ecstatic possession of pneuma, the rapturous contemplation of Christ, tearful outbursts, trances, visions, and guidance by angels and other spectral evidence, Niles combined traditional shamanism with evangelical pietism to appeal to Natives. In addition, he conducted annual harvest festivals on the second Sunday in August, combining the open field revival with the powwow. The tribal church community spent days together in thanksgiving to dance, feast, and ensure the health of individuals and the prosperity of the community.[61]

Although this syncreticism of evangelical pietism and traditional spiritual-

ity attracted many Narragansetts who experienced new birth and founded a distinctly Indian church, Niles's religiosity—exhortation and ranting visions—appeared to New Lights and Separatists in Park's church as heretical religious enthusiasm.

Ezra Stiles visited the early Shaker settlement in New Lebanon in 1786 and witnessed the religious ecstasy of their dancing and singing. Stiles wrote that "I pitied their Delusion,"[62] but he was struck by the resemblance of this new religion to the religious exercises and enthusiasm of the Narragansett Baptists, presumably Niles's Indian congregation. He observed: "I find these Shakers are almost to a man Converts fr. The Rh. Isld. & Narragansett Baptists called there New Lights & Separates—accustomed in their Narrg. Meetings to work themselves up to a high Enthusiasm, so as in Worship all the Congregation to get to Speak[ing], pray[ing] & singing all at the same time."[63]

Ezra Stiles reflected in 1743 that none of the Separatist elders would ordain Niles, choosing instead a Pequot, James Simon, to lead this new Indian congregation. Stiles writes: "There was an Indian from Groton of the Remnants of the *Pequot* Tribe, who came and preached at Narragansett; and he was by the Laying of hands of Elder Babcock and others ordained Elder of this Indian Church. . . . But about a half dozen Brethren adhering to him, he and his Adherents met in a private house; to those he administered Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for 3 or 4 years and then removed."[64]

By the 1750s Niles had consolidated the Narragansett congregation, built a small meetinghouse, and arranged for his ordination to be performed by three Native members of the church. Stiles reports that the ceremony began at the meetinghouse at noon and lasted until sunset. "The 3 Brethren laid their Hands on Samuel Niles, and one of them . . . gave him the charge of that Flock: during which such a Spirit was outpoured and fell upon them . . . that many others of the Congregation prayed aloud and lifted up their hearts with prayers and Tears to God. This continued for a long Time above half an hour or nearer an hour;—the white people present taking this for Confusion were disgusted and went away."[65]

During the summer of 1768, David McClure, a Yale student and New Light follower of Eleazar Wheelock attended worship services with Niles's Indian congregation. McClure was struck by the din of English and Indian

language intermixed in the hymn singing, praying, individual testimonies and altar calls, exhortations, stories of mystical and magical events, and emotionally cathartic confessions of sin and salvation. He writes with disdain: "They were all very earnest in voice and gesture, so much so that some of them foamed at the mouth and seemed transported with a kind of enthusiasm."[66]

Keeping the believers' church pure meant that each brother and sister in faith was required to keep a close watch over the conduct of others and to admonish sinning and backsliding. Fraternal correction and church discipline necessitated admonishment and subsequent expulsion of the offending member who refused to reform. One observer notes the heightened emotions of the congregation who mourned as though the sinner had died. Believers "will mourn over them as though their hearts would break: that if their backsliding brethren repent of their sin, and manifest a desire to walk again with the church, their rejoicing is equal to their former mourning."[67]

New Light and Separatist Indian churches constituted an institutional setting for the poor, the dispossessed, and those unconnected to hereditary sachems and political power to contest the abuses of colonial authority and tribal government involving land title.[68] John Wood Sweet argues that the religious experience of these Narragansett Baptists "captured the essential vacillation of New Light Christian Indians between the suffering of those doubting their salvation and the joy of those assured of their salvation."[69] Christian Indians like Niles, who had traversed the spiritual itinerary from religious melancholy through new birth, cultivated democratic personalities and spoke their conscience in public. He opposed the hereditary sachemship of Thomas Ninigret, who like his predecessors, had used the proceeds from the sale, rental, and lease of reservation land to live in comfort while most of the Narragansetts endured indentured servitude to repay debt, worked on English farms and households, or eked out a subsistence living through farming, crafts, and fishing. In 1784 Isaac Backus reported that Niles's church had approximately fifty members. Niles and his extended family emigrated to Brothertown, along with most of his congregation by the early nineteenth century.[70]

The Reverend Azariah Horton, Presbyterian minister and missionary to the Montauketts from 1741 to 1749, was instrumental in the transformation of the tribe into a Christian Indian enclave. Horton was born in 1715, educated at Yale, and converted during the Great Awakening. Commissioned in 1741 by the Society in Scotland for the Propagating of Christian Knowledge, he published his experiences among the Indians, recounting his successes in winning the souls of perishing heathens in the cause of this transatlantic revival. Ever the paragon of new birth, Horton paradoxically portrayed himself in self-aggrandizing terms as a poor instrument of divine purpose, a man filled with evangelical humility. He wrote on August 16, 1741, "Oh that God would direct and strengthen a poor worthless Worm in this difficult Work before him."[71] Yet he would also express the joyous contemplation of God's love for these poor despised people, praising God above all else. Writing from Shinnecock on September 7, 1742, he exclaims: "O my soul, how astonishingly great are the Wonders of free Grace and Redeeming Love, and how remarkable and illustrious are the Instances, among these once poor despised Ones of the Earth; Not to me, not to me, but to the Name of the Lord, be all the Praise and all the Glory."[72]

Horton was indefatigable in his travels throughout the Indian towns and villages on Long Island: preaching, exhorting, conducting evening meetings, visiting the sick, consoling the dying, conversing with those awakened, and offering pastoral care and spiritual direction to Natives anxious about salvation. He begins his first journal with a statement of New Light doctrine and the measures that he would employ to awaken the souls of slumbering sinners and win them for Christ. He explains:

> I endeavored to make them sensible, that there was a God, a Being on whom they were dependent; that he was holy, and would punish the Wicked. To set before them the Sin of their Natures, that this exposed them to God's Anger and eternal Displeasure. And, briefly to show them the Way of Reconciliation by Jesus Christ; then let them know, that my Endeavors would prove ineffectual without the Blessing of God, and that it was a Duty to pray for his Blessing; and then prayed with them.[73]

Like Jonathan Edwards's *Faithful Narrative*, Horton recounts the spiritual itineraries of Indian converts, describing in precise detail, noting first the anxiety and dreaded consciousness of sin awakened in their hearts. Then the awakened experienced repentance followed by enmity and resistance to the prospect of eternal damnation and divine justice. Next, the Native convert accepted the fact of human inability and insufficiency to save oneself; only the free grace proffered by Christ can redeem humanity. With this realization, in a moment of selfless ecstasy and abject surrender to God, the religious affections were transformed. Contemplation of God and the Savior appeared lovely to the penitent, and in the case of one woman, Horton writes, "I could not but hope the Lord had wrought in her Heart a saving Change."[74]

One woman who was desperate to experience the saving light of the Holy Spirit pleaded before the exhorter and assembled Native congregation: "Lord Jesus, take away my stony Heart."[75] Horton records the religious experience of another woman during a revival on August 19, 1742. "One Squaw particularly, who spoke of Christ, in adoring and exalting Terms, and of herself, in the most abasing and Self-abhorring Language. One Expression, among many, came from her Mouth, which I shall note, *viz. O that I had Wings to fly from my filthy Self.*"[76]

The outpouring of God's Spirit affected individuals in markedly different ways. Some participants in the revival quickly traversed the morphology of conversion and "were ravished with a Sense of the Love of Jesus to their Souls; free Grace, free Grace! Was the Burden of the Song; and in a word, it seemed like a little Heaven here upon Earth."[77] While others languished for months in religious melancholy, burdened by guilt and immobilizing anxiety about salvation, the revival resembled their own quarter acre of hell on earth. During the spring of 1742, which for the Montauketts was marked by hunger and prevailing sickness, Horton encountered a "sin-sick" Native woman in the throes of religious melancholy. He wrote on March 26, "Conversed with a sick *Squaw*, who has been concerned for some Months, who appeared now to be Sin-sick; she said, She could scarce breathe by reason of Heaviness of Heart, and Sorrow for her Sins; she wanted Christ, and was resolved to beg the Lord as long as her Breath continued."[78]

The experience of evangelical piety, replete with humiliation and repentance, resulted in religious melancholy for the sin-sick who languished for weeks in anxiety and dread. Although many would ultimately achieve the selfless ecstasy of the newly born, who felt ravished by the Holy Spirit and transported by the contemplation of God's love, all would embrace evangelical humiliation and religious melancholy to repent for their sin. Horton's accounts of Montaukett Indian conversions suggest that religious melancholy constituted an authentic religious affection as the heart turned away from carnality and worldliness and toward grace. Through the crucible of pious emotions, the penitent melancholy saint would find transformation as a newly born child of God.

Horton designated Occom as his successor as missionary to the Montauketts in 1749. Occom knew that many of the tribe had become Christian Indians through new birth during the awakening in 1741. He states that "In the year 1741 there was a general reformation among these Indians, and [they] renounced all their heathenish idolatry and superstition, and many of them became true christians, in a judgment of charity. Many of them can read, write, and cypher well; and they have had gospel ministers to teach them from that time to this; but they are not so zealous in religion now, as they were some years ago."[79]

As a result of the Great Awakening in southern New England, an intertribal network of Christian Indian ministers, missionaries, and believers was created as the Pequot, Narragansett, Mohegan, Montaukett, and Farmington tribes became Christian enclaves. Niles conducted services at Native congregations in Groton, Mohegan, Niantic, and Montauk. By the 1770s Mohegans Samson Occom, Joseph Johnson, John Cooper, John Nanepone, and Henry Quaquaquid, Montauketts David and Jacob Fowler, Narragansett Elijah Wampy, Niantic Philip Cuish, and Pequot Sampson Popquiantup constituted this intertribal Christian Indian network.[80] Unlike Occom and Niles, most Native New Light religious leaders were not ordained but preached as unlicensed lay ministers.[81] Throughout the era after the awakening, Christian Indians from neighboring tribes frequently worshipped together. Occom records in his diary for September 6, 1760, traveling from Mr. Wheelock's school to Farmington with his brother-in-law

David Fowler: "We got there about Just after Sun Set and there we found our Friends Some from Mohegan Some from Nahantick and Some from Groton and we held a Meeting at One Solomon's House."[82]

Bernhard Adam Grube, a Moravian missionary to the Mahican mission at Pachgatgoch (near Kent, Connecticut), provides this account of the visit of Occom and a delegation of sixteen other Indians on September 7, the day following Occom's visit to Farmington: "Seventeen Indians from New London and Farmington came for a visit; they were 6 men, among whom was a preacher, and the others were women, all dressed well in English style. They all came to me first and each one said: *Do You Love Jesus Christ, who deyed for us, he is a lovely Savior and loves poor Sinners.*"[83] They received permission to conduct a religious meeting where Occom preached in both English and Indian. During their two-day visit, he conducted numerous prayer meetings. Grube explains: "Our people were their attentive hearers and were frequently brought to tears by the preacher's *motus* [Latin: emotion]."[84]

Occom provides this summary of his visits and sermons to Indian groups in Natick, Montauk, and Charlestown in the summer and fall of 1773: "And the Indians are very Eager to hear the Word [of] God, where ever I have been this Year and the Word has taken good effect upon many, & as I pass and repass I have preached a good deal to the White People, and the Word has taken Saving effect upon many of them as I have been informed."[85]

Occom served as an exhorter and itinerant evangelist traveling in New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, preaching "among the Iroquois, Lenape, Stockbridge-Mahican, Pequot, Montaukett, and Shinnecock nations, to urban whites, blacks and Indians; to Anglicans, Presbyterians, Baptists, Seventh-Day Baptists, Free Will Baptists, Moravians, Shakers and Methodists, as well as the unchurched and the unbelieving."[86] In the course of Occom's three decades as an itinerant preacher and his unwavering commitment to evangelical values, he helped solidify tribal congregations and augment the growing numbers of newly born Christian Indian men and women.

Occom believed that Christian Indians, in their work as educators and missionaries, could redeem Mohegans and other remnant groups in south-

ern New England from colonialism. From 1743, when Occom first attended school with Wheelock, until 1768, when Occom returned from England and wrote his autobiographical narrative, he remained an instrument for and exemplar of Wheelock's Grand Design for Native Americans.[87]

Occom followed the familiar pattern that young men in the colonies pursued in preparation for admission to Harvard or Yale College. He studied and lived with private tutors, and exchanged household and farm labor for instruction in English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and other academic subjects. Occom studied with Wheelock until the winter of 1747. He then taught school for one term in New London and spent a year in tutelage with the Reverend Benjamin Pomeroy in Hebron. However, ill health, problems with his eyesight, and financial difficulties ended his formal education, despite the fact that he was academically prepared to enter Yale College as a second-year student.[88] In 1749, with Wheelock's approval and funded by the New England Company, Occom began his work among the Montaukett Indians on Long Island.

Encouraged by Occom's success, Wheelock founded Moor's Charity School for Indians in Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1754. Writing "A Plain and Faithful Narrative" and five "Continuations" of the narrative from 1763 until 1775, Wheelock presented his vision of the Indian boarding school as an effective agent for the colonization and missionary conversion of Native peoples. Intended as a pamphlet for charitable solicitations, Wheelock appealed to English colonists as God's "Covenant People," who in the name of honor and duty to God must show charity to these poor creatures, consistent with the "high Profession of Love to Christ."[89]

Wheelock envisioned that educated Christian Indians, graduates of Moor's school, would labor as missionaries, schoolteachers, and female mistresses (seamstresses, tailors, and weavers) to New England tribes. Citing Occom's accomplishments as a schoolteacher to the Montaukett tribe, his ordination as a minister by the Suffolk County Presbytery, Long Island, and missionary work with the Oneidas in New York, Wheelock extolled the superiority of Indian missionaries. Indians like Occom cost less than half the expenses needed to support an Englishman. Indians adjusted well to living in other indigenous cultures and exerted consider-

able influence as "Native Sons" who championed the ideals of civility and Christianity.

Moor's Charity School assembled Indian youth by removing them far from their natal communities. Divorced from the forest, the hunt, warfare, pagan religious ceremonies, and seminomadic seasonal migrations, Indian youth entered an institution that would systematically eradicate the vices of indigenous culture, reduce them to English civility, and inculcate evangelical pietist values and religious personhood. In this manner, Wheelock proposed to "cure them of savage and sordid practices, as they have been inured to from their Mother's Womb, and form their Minds and Manners to proper Rules of Virtue, Decency, and Humanity."[90]

Occom spent eleven years with the Montaukett Indians, from 1749 until 1760. He worked as a schoolmaster, minister, healer, scribe, counselor, and mortician, combining elements of the traditional role of spiritual leader (powwow) with that of a Christian Indian minister.[91] He married Mary Fowler in 1751, and together they raised twelve children. Through marriage and community service, Occom gained prominence within the corporate kinship structure of the Montaukett tribe.

The Montauketts and Shinnecocks lived on the south fork of eastern Long Island. A century after English settlement, their numbers were reduced to thirty-three households with a population of 162 souls, according to Occom's ethnography of the tribe, written in 1761.[92] The East Hampton Town Trustees prevented the creation of a permanent reservation or land trust, anticipating the eventual extinction of the Montauketts. To this end, in 1754 the trustees devised a population restriction agreement. Low birthrates and high male mortality rates from disease and service in the French and Indian War meant fewer families formed and fewer children were born. The trustees moved to prevent possible population growth and revitalization by prohibiting intermarriage with "foreign Indians" from other tribes or with African Americans (mulattos and mustees). Women who entered into exogenous unions faced arrest and prosecution with the threat of forfeiture of lands, the loss of inheritance rights for the children of these unions, and expulsion from Montaukett.[93]

Occom speaks of the Montauketts' culture and traditions in the past

tense, as a declining and impoverished tribe with only a remnant of the extended kinship groups extant. Reminiscent of the salvage anthropology of Franz Boas and Alfred Kroeber in the early twentieth century, Occom hastens to record marriage, naming, burial, mourning, healing, and other beliefs and rituals of a dying culture. "I shall give you the best account of some of the ancient customs and ways of the Montauk Indians, as memory will inform us at present."[94] These beliefs and practices had become museum artifacts—preserved by ethnography—but no longer practiced by Native peoples. The oral tradition (myth of creation and sacred narratives and songs) and collective memories of the tribe would no longer be remembered after the passing of the present generation.

Occom labored among the Montauketts, continuing Horton's work, as a tireless advocate of evangelical religion. He converted his wife's kinship group and sent her brothers David and Jacob Fowler to Wheelock to receive education and training as missionaries in this Grand Design. Many have observed that Occom successfully syncretized indigenous culture and spirituality with Christianity. His practices resonated with traditional elements from Native culture and spirituality.[95] For example, Occom fostered an active participation in worship and meditation through singing and hymns that was analogous to traditional chanting and singing. He delivered sermons replete with masterful storytelling, devised a pictorial alphabet to instruct children, and relied upon dreams as prophetic omens for guidance. However, Occom's purpose was not to preserve or revitalize traditional cultures and groups. Instead, he selected effective methods to make Christianity appealing to Indians. Thus, he labored as a missionary, an instrument of Wheelock's Grand Design and of divine will, to evangelize the unconverted and foster new church communities of reborn Christian Indians.

Like Wheelock, Occom viewed traditional Indian culture and lifeways as an anachronism that must give way to civility and civilization. He did not valorize the economically marginal subsistence existence that he was forced to endure in the poverty that he shared with many other Montauketts. The meager wage that he received as a missionary and the pressing demands of a growing family necessitated that he live simply, in a wigwam. He supplemented his earnings by farming, food gathering, craft production,

and other odd jobs common to Montauketts and Mohegans. However, as soon as circumstances permitted, after he retired from missionary service in the late 1760s, he built a fine two-story colonial home for his family in Mohegan.

Occom remained ambivalent about Native forms of spiritual guidance and healing—shamanism, divination, and the dream cure. Although he worked as a mediator, herbalist, and healer by adopting many of the tasks of a powwow, he steadfastly rejected shamanism. According to Occom, powwows received their extraordinary powers from Satan. He writes: "As for Powaws, they say they get their art from dreams; and one has told me they get their art from the devil, but then partly by dreams or night visions, and partly by the devil's immediate appearance to them by various shapes; sometimes in the shape of one creature, sometimes in another, sometimes by a voice, &c."[96]

Powwows practiced folk healing and magic. Through shamanic ceremonies, visions, and ecstatic trances, according to Occom, powwows assumed the role of oracles—foretelling the future, locating lost objects, and interpreting dreams and portents. Shamans were ritual specialists who communicated with numinous spirit forces by burning tobacco and invoking sacred images and totemic icons. During the ritualized trance induced by drumming, singing, and dancing, the shaman's soul left the body in order to "know the minds of their gods; for they pretend these images tell what the people should do to the gods, either to make a dance or a feast, or give something to old people, or sacrifice to the gods."[97]

However devilish and seemingly irrational the powwow appeared to Occom, he acknowledged that traditional healing cured the bewitched and those who suffered from magical poisoning. The enchanted landscape of Native spirituality resembled the folk magic of English colonists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As David D. Hall explains in *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment*, "The people of seventeenth-century New England lived in an enchanted universe. Theirs was a world of wonders. Ghosts came to people in the night, and trumpets blared, though no one saw the trumpeters."[98] The ubiquity of supernatural and magical forces—monstrous births, storms, apparitions, witchcraft, spectral evidence, and miracles—

captured the popular imagination. According to Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*, these instances of "wonder-working" made manifest either the special providence of God or the diabolical presence of Satan.[99] Occom internalized the colonial worldview that embraced supernaturalism as a cosmic drama and as admonition of divine judgment or as providential signs. He rejected Native shamanism as a diabolical "great mystery of darkness." Occom concludes, "And I don't see for my part, why it is not as true, as the English or other nation's witchcraft, but is a great mystery of darkness. &c."[100]

Although Occom expressed ambivalence about folk healing, he championed an evangelical pietist cure of souls and spiritual direction that measured health by new birth and progressive sanctification. Christian Indians needed to lead godly lives and traverse a spiritual itinerary culminating in the saints' everlasting rest. Believers who set out on this inner spiritual pilgrimage needed to practice vital, daily piety by methodical self-examination, meditation, reading scripture, and vanquishing the prideful, carnal self. Throughout his ministerial career, Occom labored to win souls and to guide, sustain, and console Christian Indians who fell into sin, doubt, and despondency. He instructed his congregations in the practice of piety, the cultivation of religious affections, and the continued search for the inward assurance of God's love and grace through evidence of the reception of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of the faithful. Nearly twenty unpublished sermons survive from the period 1760–66, the end of his ministry to the Montauketts and his fund-raising tour in England. These sermons instruct congregations on the evangelical plan of salvation, exemplified by the appeal delivered in Goshen in 1765 offering an exegesis of Ezekiel 33:4. "The Whole Design of the word of God is to turn sinners from Satan to God, from sin to holiness, from the Kingdom of Satan to the Kingdom of God."[101]

Through his sermons, pastoral visits, and correspondence, Occom promoted an evangelical pietist pastoral care. A letter from Sarah Wyacks, a Mohegan, sent on August 2, 1763, exemplifies Occom's cure of souls. Wyacks explains: "As for my Self I am as well as I am ordinarily. I came from the [illegible] 3 weeks agoe, & I was well at Mr. Wheelock's. I have been much troubled last Spring in my mind as to my Spiritual State. But is a little easier,

my burden is not quite removed. I dear Brother desire yr prayers for me. Be earnest at a throne of grace, that I may bear up under my afflictions."[102]

Occom faithfully records the spiritual travail of Temperance Hannabal as she struggles with the odiousness of sin and seeks Occom's assistance in accomplishing the "heart work" requisite to new birth. She recounts falling faint and receiving spectral evidence of grace—vaulting over an abyss. Hannabal confesses:

> I found my Self a great Sinner and an undone Creature before god, yea Saw myself fit for nothing but Hell and everlasting Distruction—and as I was at one meeting and as I was amusing and considering my State & Condition, it threw me into Such Horror and guilt of Concience and Confusion of face, I fell into a Swoun, and immediately I found my Self into great Darkness, and while I was there I heard a voice before me, Saying follow me, and I went that way, and Immediately found my Self upon Something, I Can't Compared to nothing but to a Pole, Put over a Deep hole.[103]

During his ministry with the Montauketts, Occom held Wednesday evening praying meetings and Sabbath worship. Hymn singing formed an integral part of worship and fervent evangelical devotion in Occom's mission among the Montauketts through which preacher and congregation forged a Christian Indian identity. He recounts: "My Method in a Religious Meeting was thus, Sabbath Morning we assembled together about 10:00 o.c. And begin with singing Dr. Watt's Psalms or Hymns . . . then proceed to read some suitable portion of Scripture, and to just give the plain sense of it."[104]

Occom published *A Choice Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs* in 1774, excerpted from the hymnals and psalmody of Isaac Watts, Charles and John Wesley, and others. Occom explains his obligation to promote psalmody, combining spirit-filled religious affections with rational understanding. With hymns selected to awaken and alarm the conscience, to foster a penitential attitude, and to console and comfort the afflicted, he advocated communal singing and worship to promote vital piety and comfort for believers in their "weary pilgrimage." He writes, "The songs of

Zion, when they are sung with the Spirit of the Gospel are very comforting, to God and destructive to the Kingdom of Satan."[105]

Joanna Brooks argues in *American Lazarus* that Occom's six original hymns are the work of an emerging Native American poet who combined Protestant divinity with traditional Mohegan tropes (the trail of life, ravens, and dreamscapes). Through group singing and sacred music, he hoped to create and reanimate community bonds among Christian Indians. His compositions facilitated protracted communal singing meetings with antiphonal call-and-response verses that were informed by the guiding motifs of a spiritual journey.[106] Brooks explains: "What matters is that the community breathes life into its religious practices. What matters is the presence of the Holy Spirit commingling with the breath of the singer."[107]

Occom is credited with writing several hymns in this collection, including "Now the Shades of Night Are Gone," and adapting the verses to traditional tunes like "Vienna." This hymn begins with an appeal to God to aid the faithful in driving away sin, cleansing their souls, and rededicating their lives to the service of the Lord. Stanzas 3 and 4 repeat this trope and conclude with the promise of salvation.

3. Keep our haughty passions bound,
Save us from our foes around;
Going out and coming in,
Keep us safe from every sin.

4. When our work of life is past;
Oh, receive us then at last!
Night of sin will be no more
When we reach the heavenly shore.[108]

Occom's hymn "The New Birth" ranks among the best-remembered works among Native congregations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Themes of awakened sin, religious melancholy, and the reaffirmation of grace and joy relate the soul's itinerary.

Awak'd by Sinai's awful sound
My soul in guilt & thrall I found

And knew not where to go:
O'erwhelm'd with sin, anguish slain,
The sinner must be born again,
Or sink to endless woe.[109]

This hymn, like many collected in the psalmody, reflects Occom's hard-won spiritual accomplishments and his recurring pilgrimage from despondency to assurance.

If traditional Indian identity, community, and culture were no longer possible, Occom would employ evangelical piety, including hymns, to reconstitute a Christian Indian identity, community, and culture that might survive within, and be protected from, colonial social structure.

As an alternative to the waning of traditional Indian community, culture, and identity, conversion and evangelical religion created the possibility of revitalization. As pious individuals embraced a Christian Indian identity, they appropriated a life of hope, activism, and renewed personal agency. Occom preached the message of new birth—of progressive sanctification as the instrument of divine purpose. Instead of despair marked by alcoholism, violence, and the hopelessness of a marginalized minority, the Christian Indian convert fulfilled the highest vocation of evangelical pietism while simultaneously satisfying Indian cultural obligations of hospitality and reciprocity within extended families and the Indian church community. Christian Indians "owned" and embraced a church covenant wherein the congregation formed the revitalized center of Indian community and collective identity. Adherence to Christianity as a cultural system and affiliation with the church community as a model for social organization allowed detribalized individuals to join congregations of Christian Indians and remnant bands and tribes to form amalgamated and revitalized Christian Indian communities.

Occom reported his success: "There has been a remarkable revival of religion among these Indians and many have hopefully been converted to the saving knowledge of Jesus."[110] Until his alienation from Wheelock's Grand Design following his return from England in 1768, Occom believed that saving souls and adding new members to Indian congregations offered

a model of Indian identity and community that could withstand the assault of colonialism.

During three summer visits in 1761–63, sponsored by the Scottish Society, Occom would prosecute the next phase of Wheelock's Grand Design by beginning a mission to the Oneidas in New York. Iroquois resistance, Pontiac's Rebellion, and failure to secure funding ended this initiative by September 1764.[111] In this endeavor, Occom willingly accepted Wheelock's tutelage and labored as Wheelock's emissary as a self-effacing instrument of God's purpose through the Grand Design.

Wheelock writes to George Whitefield on November 25, 1761, after Occom's return from his first mission, referring to his charge by the racial distinction "My black Son Mr Occom."[112] Wheelock recounts the progress of the first mission undertaken by Occom and his brother-in-law and graduate of Moor's school, David Fowler. Occom employed a translator and learned to speak and preach in Iroquois. The mission hoped to convert the Oneidas to Christianity, eradicate Native culture, reduce them to English civility, and introduce colonial agriculture. In a ceremonial gift exchange and feast held on the eve of his departure on September 19, 1761, the Oneida chief Connoquies presented Occom with a fathom of wampum to "bind us fast together in perpetual Love and Friendship."[113] Connoquies reportedly asked the missionaries for assistance in the protection of their lands, in prohibiting the liquor trade, and the construction of a school. Occom records Connoquies's pledge that "by the help of God to repent of all our sines and all our heathenish ways & customs. We will put them all behind our Backs, and will never look on them again but will look strait forward and run after Christianity."[114] Occom opened the way for Samuel Kirkland's subsequent mission to the Iroquois.

Following his return to Mohegan, Occom secured employment by the Boston Commissioners to evangelize the Niantics and serve the Mohegans and neighboring tribes. However, Wheelock convinced Occom to accept an offer to establish a western mission among the Mohawks under the auspices of the Scottish Society. The Boston Commissioners released Occom in July, and in August Occom and Fowler traveled to New York with the intent to secure financial support from George Whitefield, who

was in the midst of an evangelical tour of the colonies. When Whitefield refused to fund Wheelock's new venture, Occom returned to Mohegan without employment in a mission or Native congregation.[115]

Occom assumed his role as a tribal councilor and became embroiled in the bitter factionalism of the Mason land controversy.[116] Sachem Ben Uncas III, Robert Clelland, the appointed schoolmaster, and the Reverend David Jewett, minister to the North Church of New London supported the anti-Mason faction of the tribe, who accepted the land dispossession supervised by the colony. Occom petitioned King George III to place tribal lands under the protection of the Crown, championed the Mason faction, questioned the competence of Clelland's teaching, and conducted religious services in the schoolhouse in direct challenge to Jewett.[117]

Jewett brought charges against Occom for misconduct before the Connecticut Board of Correspondents, who convened a trial on March 12, 1765, at Reverend Wheelock's home in Lebanon. Occom stood charged with threatening to bring Episcopalian ritual to the Mohegans, for promoting the Mason controversy, and for conduct that was unbecoming to his status as an ordained minister. The tribunal acquitted him of all charges except for promoting the Mason dispute. In actuality, Occom had acted as an independent Indian leader—as an advocate for Mohegan land rights and education—and as a charismatic minister to his people. Occom was no longer the docile and compliant instrument of Wheelock's Grand Design. Occom's actions threatened the material interests and political legitimacy of paternalistic Indian landholders like Jewett and Clelland, and the co-opted sachemship of Uncas, who served the interests of the colony.

Although acquitted of all misconduct charges, Occom submitted a letter of apology, renouncing his public, democratic voice and newfound political independence. He returned to his familiar role as instrument of God's purpose as mediated by Wheelock's Grand Design. Occom writes:

> Although, as a Member of the Mohegan tribe and, for many years, one of their Council, I thought I had not only a natural & civil Right but that it was my Duty to acquaint myself with their temporal affairs; Yet I am upon serious and close Reflexion, convinced, that as

there was no absolute Necessity for it, it was very imprudent in me, and offensive to the Public that I should so far engage as of late I have done, in the Mason Controversy: which has injured my Ministerial Character, hurt my Usefulness, and brought Dishonor upon Mr Wheelock's School and the Correspondents. For this imprudent, rash, and offensive Conduct of mine, I am heartily sorry, and beg forgiveness of God—of this honorable Board of Correspondents, of whom I ought to have asked farther Advice—and of the Public.[118]

In the fall of 1765 the New England Company appointed the Reverend Nathaniel Whitaker and Samson Occom to travel to England to solicit funds for Wheelock's school. They arrived on February 2, 1766, and spent two years in England sponsored by George Whitefield and other friends. Occom's few surviving letters and journal from this period reveal his reluctance to leave his family in Mohegan. However, his resistance was overcome by a dutiful obedience to Wheelock and "obedience to the Strange Call of Providence."[119] His letters to his wife, Mary, relate to practical matters—sending money, clothing, broadcloth, and presents to the family, and expressing concern over his "wayward" son Aaron, whom Wheelock agreed to take in and instruct in the charity school.[120] Occom wrote a plaintive letter to Wheelock on February 2, 1767, marking the first year away, relating his "sorrow of heart," lamenting his neglect of the bodies and souls of his poor Indian brethren and the duress that he caused his wife and large family. He writes, "I am ready to say I am a Cruel Husband and father."[121] Declaring his willingness to be a fool for Christ's sake, Occom explains, "this Elevates my Heart amidst all my Burdens and Balances all my Sorrows at Times, or Enables me to bear my Trials, that I am in the way of Duty, and the Lord uses me in any Shape to promote his Kingdom in the World."[122]

Although Wheelock had promised to support and provide for Occom's family, Mary Occom had occasion to write to their benefactor on July 15, 1767, informing him of their poverty and distress: "These may inform you that I am out of Corn, and have no Money to buy any with, and I am afraid we Shall Suffer for want and see if you will be pleased to help me in my distress."[123] Occom returned from a successful fund-raising trip to England

in 1768 only to find himself unemployed and unable to provide for his family. Wheelock had planned for him to serve as a missionary of the New England Company to the Iroquois. When Occom refused and desired to remain with his family in Connecticut and work as an itinerant preacher, the New England Company refused to fund him. He learned that during his absence, Wheelock had not honored his promise to support Occom's wife and children. Poverty and economic duress had plagued him throughout his missionary career, especially after he married and needed to support a large family. This theme pervades the autobiographical fragment that he penned in this time of adversity, written in September 1768 and intended for publication. After recounting his conversion during Davenport's revival, his sketch moves "abruptly into an angry denunciation of racial discrimination within the missionary field that has . . . no precedent in conventional salvationist texts."[124] Forged in religious melancholy and divine inspiration, Occom's democratic personality was again transformed by melancholy. From being Wheelock's disciple in perpetual tutelage and employee of the Boston Commissioners, whose missionary vocation was determined by colonial interests, Occom struggled to free himself. He discovered an "authentic voice" and enunciated his anger.

For eleven years he had kept a school among the Montauketts and served as interpreter and translator, jurist, and preacher to this congregation. The Boston Commissioners paid him £15 each year, which proved inadequate to support his family. He explains, "I Dwelt in a Wigwam, a Small Hutt with Small Poles and Covered with Matts made of Flags. . . . I was obliged to contrive every way to Support my family; I took all opportunities to get Some thing to feed my Family Daily. I planted my own Corn, Potatoes, and Beans."[125] Living a hand-to-mouth existence, he raised livestock, hunted and fished, bound books, and manufactured wooden spoons, pails, and churns. Occom's *Narrative* recounts a bitter lamentation of the unjust treatment by the Boston Commissioners during his service to the Montaukett tribe. He explains that they paid two white employees—a missionary and an interpreter—a total of £180 for one year, the same amount that he had received for twelve years of this combined employment. "I Can't Conceive how these gentlemen would have me Live. I am ready to [forgive] their

Ignorance, and I would wish they had Changed Circumstances with me but one month, that they may know, by experience what my case really was; but I am now fully convinced, that it was not Ignorance."[126] Occom believed that racism motivated his employers and benefactors. "They have used me thus . . . because I am a poor Indian."[127]

Occom's autobiography, written between 1765 and 1768, articulated his identity as a Christian Indian in relation to corporate kinship networks that bridged his natal community at Mohegan and his community through marriage at Montauk. In addition, he increasingly conceived of Christian Indians everywhere as part of an imagined salvation community made up of regenerated godly men and women who enjoyed the privileges and burdens of evangelical pietist religious personhood. Universally, all newly born men and men might claim their rights as citizens, as members of a church community, and as children of God without racial distinctions or exclusions. Pan-Indian Christian identity and ethnogenesis might reverse the decline of the Mohegans and other tribal communities.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the number of Mohegan men continued to decline as a result of their combat in colonial wars and their exodus to work as day laborers, whalers, fishermen, and transient seasonal laborers.[128] Mohegan men were replaced, in part, by African American servants who married available Indian women, creating mixed-blood mustees and mulattos. However, these "strangers" and "foreigners" further exacerbated tribal divisions and conflicts over hereditary claims to land and resources. When the last hereditary sachem, Ben Uncas III, died in 1769, the tribe openly split over the legitimacy of mixed-blood rights to property and status. As Daniel R. Mandell explains: "On May 12, 1773, forty-four men and women led by Occom signed an agreement requiring any of their daughters marrying 'strangers' to leave the tribe and mandating that the children of those who married 'Negroes' would have no rights in Mohegan. The agreement seemed driven by a heightened insecurity about the tribe's right to community land and other resources."[129]

The Connecticut census enumerated 206 Mohegans in 1774, which represented less than one-sixth of the 1,363 Indians living in the colony.[130] Clearly, political and racial factionalism, out-migration resulting from pov-

TABLE 4. Mohegan census, 1782

Household type	Number of household type	Average number of children	Number of people	Percentage of population
Two parents with children	13	3.6	71	53
Single parent with children	11	2.4	35	25
9 widows				
1 widower				
1 divorced woman				
Married couple with no children	4		8	6
Solitary individuals, no household listed			22	16

erty, and declining marriage and birth rates had contributed to population decline. After Occom led the removal to Oneida, New York, to form the Brothertown Indians in 1786, the Mohegan tribe numbered less than one hundred persons.

On August 5, 1782, a census of the Mohegan tribe was sent to the Connecticut Legislature, the "List of the Mohegan Indians" (see Table 4). It enumerated 136 persons living in twenty-eight identifiable households with eighteen distinct surnames.[131] Only five of the surnames—Uncas, Occom, Cooper, Ashpo, and Johnson—were listed two or more times, indicating the existence of a functioning extended family or lineage group. There were no identified clans in the census. The 1782 census data reveal a large number of single-parent households created by the death of the husband in the Revolution, low birthrates, and an aging population with large numbers of elderly persons. Mohegan was a dying tribal community.[132]

Mark A. Noll, in *America's God*, argues that from 1790 to 1865 a distinctly American theology developed that combined the concepts of evangelical Protestantism, republican political ideology, and Scottish moralism and commonsense reasoning. Born of Whitefield's innovations in the awakening, this "American Synthesis" fostered an evangelical quest for spiritual liberty that coalesced with ideas of political liberty and liberalism, promoting life,

liberty, and property for white men.[133] In the white heat of the awakening, Whitefield undermined established colonial hierarchies, auguring the transcendence of Native peoples over them. Occom internalized Whitefield's message and championed this emerging American Synthesis in the late 1760s on the eve of the American Revolution. Buoyed by the promise of religious and political liberty, Occom protests and inverts the injustice and racial paternalism of Wheelock's Grand Design.[134]

Wheelock pressured Occom to accept a missionary commission to the Iroquois, but Occom refused, writing to Wheelock on July 1, 1769: "I have nothing to cary me up into the Wilderness neither Money nor Horse & I have got nothing to Leave with my Family to Live on—and I have got a Lame Shoulder besides, it Broke Since I was at your House."[135] Wheelock interpreted Occom's newfound assertiveness as evidence of pride, a sinful Indian "distemper." Writing in 1768, he asserts, "I fear his Tour to England and the great Respect Shewn him there will have the Sad Effect to make him aspire after Grandeur & ease, and prevent his future usefulness, at least in a great Measure."[136] Rather than grandeur and ease, Occom faced poverty. The Boston Commissioners controlled missionary activities in Connecticut, and they were not inclined to employ him as a preacher to the Mohegans or other Connecticut Indians. Wheelock's funds could be spent on frontier missions to the Iroquois, but given Occom's age, infirmity, and inclination to settle in Mohegan among his people, he resisted this employment and lived in poverty as an itinerant preacher, ever dependent upon the gifts of friends and patrons.

Mohegan sachem Ben Uncas III died in 1769, which set into motion a succession crisis that divided the tribe and resulted in the extinction of the sachem's office. These controversies added to Occom's burdens. Troubled in 1769 by a "very gloomy and despairing frame of mind,"[137] he began drinking and faced the charge of intemperance by the Suffolk Presbytery. Following an investigation, they exonerated him and explained this intoxication was the result of drinking alcohol after having not eaten food for an entire day. Nevertheless, Occom openly confessed to his sin and used this disgrace as an opportunity for evangelical humiliation. He admits: "I have been shamefully overtaken with strong drink, by which I have greatly wounded

the cause of God, blemished the pure religion of Jesus Christ, blackened my own character and hurt my own soul."[138]

Occom's confession and apology need to be understood in the context of the pastoral care that Wheelock offered to Christian Indians. Acting as a director of conscience, Wheelock encouraged his Indian pupils at Moor's Charity School and his former students, who remained under his tutelage, to correspond with him. These letters were spiritual documents intended to reveal the Christian Indian's progressive sanctification, successes at godly living, and devotion to an inner-worldly Protestant asceticism. Current students and graduates who labored among the tribes as teachers and missionaries told Wheelock of their piety and adherence to Protestant moralism: industry, temperance, and frugality.[139] Not infrequently, however, Wheelock's adult Indian charges wrote confessions lamenting their sins of intemperance, carnal indecency, and backsliding into pagan ways.

Wheelock educated eighty-nine Indian youth at Moor's school from 1754 until 1771, with few successes when measured by the exacting standards of New Light pietism and the development of Protestant ascetic character.[140] James Dow McCallum characterizes many of these students not as "noble savages" but what we would today term "ignoble savages." McCallum writes: "He is a dullard, a drunkard, an unwilling pupil separated by hundreds of miles from his parents, a consumptive, simple and simple-minded."[141]

During the period 1767–69, in what Wheelock viewed as an "Indian disability" and plague that threatened his Grand Design, four graduates employed as teachers, preachers, and missionaries succumbed to intemperance. Samson Occom, Samuel Ashpo (Mohegan), Joseph Johnson (Mohegan), and Hezekiah Calvin (Delaware) humbled themselves before Wheelock with accounts of their sin and backsliding. In addition, two of the four Indian women at Wheelock's school, Hannah Nonesuch (Mohegan) and Mary Secutur (Narragansett), confessed to intemperance during this period. Hannah Nonesuch writes:

> I Hannah Nonesuch do with shamefacedness acknowledge that on the Evening of the 8th Inst I was . . . Guilty of being at the tavern and tarrying there with a company of Indian boys & girls, for (what is

commonly called) a frolick. Where was much spirituous liquor drank, & much dancing & rude conduct & tarrying to an unseasonable time of night, with much rude & vain company—all which conduct I am fully sensable is much to the dishonour of god & very prejudicial to the design & Reputation of this school & to ye good of my own soul. . . . I am heartily sorry, & desire to lie low in the dust & do now beg forgiveness of God, the Revd & worthy Doctor Wheelock, his family, & school, and all whom I have hereby offended.[142]

Wheelock viewed Occom's intemperance through the stereotype of the drunken Indian. By the late eighteenth century this stereotype pervaded colonial attitudes, attributing to Indians an unalterable racial inferiority. The stereotype held that Indians abused alcohol through heroic bouts of binge drinking. Drinking only to get drunk, they fell into the throes of Bacchanalian excess and irrationality. Drunken Indians succumbed to licentiousness, violence, and barbarity.[143] This stereotype created a double standard. Taverns and alcohol consumption were a ubiquitous and accepted part of colonial life. Native Americans, however, were held to a strict standard of temperance lest they fall into uncontrolled and irrational bouts of drunkenness.

Peter C. Mancall's *Deadly Medicine* examines how the rum trade linked slave-produced sugar from the West Indies to the distilleries in colonial towns that manufactured rum. Native groups then exchanged spirits for furs, and later, land for spirits. The alcohol trade integrated Indians within an international mercantilist market economy and brought calamitous consequences for indigenous communities. Poverty, domestic violence, and an "erosion of civility" transformed Indian villages from orderly, harmonious settlements that fostered goodwill among residents into maelstroms of grotesque chaos.[144] Mancall states: "the liquor trade joined with the growing colonial population and recurring epidemics to destabilize Indian villages, and perhaps contributed to the decision of countless Indians to sell their land to colonists and move westward, beyond colonial settlements."[145]

Wheelock termed this episode Occom's "fall into intemperance"[146] and reported in a letter on June 20, 1771, a second fall "into the Sin of Drunken-

ness in a public & very aggravated Manner. In his Drunken fit he got into an affray and fought with a Man of the Company and got much bruised and wounded in so much that he was confin'd & concealed in his House for some time. . . . It is said that he humbles himself and walks softly."[147]

Despite Occom's confession, contrition, and subsequent exoneration for the charge of drunkenness, he continually encountered solemn denunciations of his character from Wheelock and others. Occom states, "I don't remember that I have been overtaken with strong drink this winter, but many white people make no bones to call me a drunkard."[148]

During these times of tribulation and growing despair, from 1768 to 1772, Occom embraced a vital, experiential piety, seeking the illumination of the Holy Spirit. Through the exercise of self-examination and evangelical humiliation, he suffered a spiritual travail that resulted in the reanimation of his experience of rebirth. The assurance of God's love gave Occom the powers of agency to end his discipleship with Wheelock and to write an autobiography that indicted the paternalism and racism directed toward Indians.

When the newly assertive Occom confronted Wheelock, the former devotee could no longer be persuaded to abandon his family to poverty or to accept Wheelock's direction as though it were the authoritative rendering of God's plan or special providence mediated by a colonial superior to a dutiful, obedient Native American inferior. The appeal to duty, obedient service to God, and vocation rang hollow. Wheelock charged Occom with pride and recoiled in anger, stating: "He has appeared exceedingly proud & haughty, his Sail was too high for him in London. I feared he would be wholly useless & nothing better than a Thorn to me & this School as he has appeared rather as a Dictator and Supervisor to me & my affairs than as a Brother, Companion & Helper in them."[149]

To compound Occom's anger, Wheelock was determined to use the monies donated by English patrons for Indian scholars toward the founding of a white college, Dartmouth, in Hanover, New Hampshire. Occom now chafed at the burdens of discipleship under Wheelock—the condescension and childlike treatment that he received from his patron—and the betrayal of his efforts to promote Indian education. He ended his thirty-year associa-

tion with Wheelock. Occom wrote a lengthy and caustic denunciation to Wheelock in the summer of 1771. Recounting the racial characterizations of Indians as "Tawnee Brethren" who were unfit to attend a white institution, he recounted a conversation with George Whitefield during the trip to England in which Whitefield had warned him of Wheelock's deceit. Occom explains: "Says him you have been a fine Tool to get Money for them, but when you get home, they wont Regard you, they'll set you a Drift,—I am ready to believe it Now—I am going to Say Something further, which is very Disagreeable. . . . Many gentlemen in England and in this Country too, Say if you had not this Indian Buck you would not Collected a quarter of the Money you did."[150]

Occom renounced his perpetual tutelage to Wheelock as an instrument of the grand missionary design following Occom's final crisis of religious melancholy and intemperance. Emerging from despond, he forged an autonomous Christian Indian identity. He delivered the execution sermon of Moses Paul in New Haven on September 2, 1772, which brought Occom renown through its subsequent publication and reprinting. In 1774 Occom published *A Choice Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs*. As William De-Loss Love argues in Occom's biography, "All of his hymns must be assigned to that period of despondency which followed his return from England. He has wrought his experience into them."[151]

Samson Occom needs to be seen as a Christian Indian. From his conversion in 1743 in Davenport's revival, his ordination as a Presbyterian minister, his nearly three decades as Wheelock's pupil and emissary of the Grand Design and as an itinerant preacher and exhorter, through his work as a missionary and fund-raiser, Occom devoted his life to evangelical values and purposes. And throughout his life, the experience of religious melancholy afflicted his conscience with the weight of sin and prompted him to seek repentance, assurance that God's love abides, and divine inspiration and direction. Christian Indian identity empowered Occom to contest the discourse of conquest and the colonial situation. However, by the 1770s he acknowledged that Native Christian spiritual attainments had failed to stop the material and demographic decline of impoverished and powerless peoples. He wrote to his friend the Reverend Samuel Buell in 1773: "I am

afraid the Poor Indians will never Stand a good Chance with the English, in their Land Controversies because they are very Poor they have no Money, Money is almighty now a Days, and the Indians have no Learning, no Wit nor Counting the English have all."[152]

As the 1784 sermon attests, "To All the Indians in this Boundless Continent," Occom completed his mature, pan-Indian vision of the redemption of all Indian peoples and embraced an American Synthesis of evangelical Protestantism and republican values of liberty and civic virtue.[153] He asserted that Christian Indians were twice-born children of God who enjoyed the inalienable right to life, liberty, and property. The emigration to Brothertown in the 1780s would be a utopian experiment in altruistic communalism to fulfill Occom's vision of salvation for his poor Indian brethren. Throughout his remarkable career as a charismatic Christian Indian leader, the travail of making a Christian life, the passages of religious melancholy, and the spiritual reaffirmation of his vocation afforded him the high moral authority to speak and write with a democratic voice on behalf of his poor Indian brethren. He dreamt of an Indian Canaan and devoted himself tirelessly to this cause, as "a fool for Christ's sake."

The Stockbridge and New Jersey Brotherton Tribes

In the eighteenth century, two forms of religious paternalism championed by missionary and colonial authorities resonated with the interests of two Native groups. The first emerged from the remnants of the Mahican confederation in western Massachusetts, and the second from the Leni Lenapes and Munsees (the Delaware confederation) in New Jersey.

The ethnogenesis of these new tribes represented the struggle to fulfill divergent religious ideals: the institution of a "praying town" in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, among the Mahicans by John Sergeant and Jonathan Edwards, who succeeded him; and David Brainerd's quest to build a "mountain of holiness"—an evangelical Christian Indian commonwealth—forged in the religious excitement of the Great Awakening among the Delawares in New Jersey at Crossweeksung and Bethel. After Brainerd's death, his brother John served this mission at Bethel and Brotherton. The unfolding of each respective experiment in Christian Indian community reads like a twice-told tale in which the formation of these tribes, in separation from colonial society, succumbed to the cant of conquest and the unrelenting dynamic of the colonial situation. Each tribal community embraced the Christian mission, seeking new avenues of spirit power, cultural legitimacy and favor by English colonists, and access to political and economic resources. And

each experiment in Christian Indian community failed to secure economic self-sufficiency, secure land tenure, political autonomy or full citizenship under the law, or ethnic-cultural self-preservation on their ancestral lands.

One marvels at Brainerd's transcriptions of the conversion narratives of "his people" (1744–46) in the epicenter of the awakening as they traversed the spiritual itinerary from sin to repentance, religious melancholy, and the experience of grace as the Holy Spirit ravished their hearts in mystical transport. This religious ideal of evangelical Christian Indian ethnic identity promised to bring newly born Indians into the imagined community of believers united by faith in New England and in the Atlantic world. The ideal quickly foundered in Bethel and Brotherton as the social disorientation of poverty and alcoholism overwhelmed them. And as we have seen with the Mohegans and Samson Occom, the legitimacy of Christian Indian ethnic identity and the emergence of Native leaders who advocated for their people could not successfully reverse the dynamic of colonization and dispossession.

The early Stockbridge tribe, paradoxically, never adopted an evangelical New Light identity despite their location in the middle of the Great Awakening in Massachusetts and the missionary guidance of Jonathan Edwards from 1751 to 1757. Instead, Stockbridge became a mission dedicated to reducing Indians to civility, instructing children in literacy, and transforming adults through English-style housing, dress, and agriculture. The Mahicans of Stockbridge forged a Christian Indian village, a revitalized collective identity that blended their traditional beliefs, ceremonies, and lifeways with English forms of authority, law, religion, and life regulation.

Ultimately, after the American Revolution, these newly formed tribes would abandon their homelands in New England and New Jersey to make an exodus to another promised land, the New Stockbridge settlement on Oneida lands adjacent to Brothertown. In this frontier rendezvous, the New Jersey Brotherton tribe and the Stockbridge Mahicans would form yet another amalgamated tribe, continuing their experiment in ethnogenesis as a Christian Indian community in separation from America.

The Mahican confederacy (from Muh-he-con-ne-ok, "People of the Waters That Are Never Still") numbered between four thousand and five

thousand people in 1600. They occupied lands in New York on the northern Hudson River centered in Schodac, near Albany, and they also settled in a network of villages along the Housatonic River in western Massachusetts and Connecticut and in southern Vermont.[1] From the early seventeenth century until their defeat by the Mohawks in 1628, the Mahicans controlled an important trading channel from Albany north to the Saint Lawrence River, exacting tribute from Mohawks and managing the trade of furs and European manufactured goods between New France and New Netherlands.[2]

By the early 1700s the Mahican population had dwindled to five hundred as a result of warfare with the Iroquois and other groups during the Beaver Wars. Out-migration in the 1730s to the Saint Francis Abenakis and to Wyoming, Pennsylvania, in addition to virgin soil epidemics, tuberculosis, and a declining birthrate, reduced this population.[3] With increasing dependency on European goods, chronic alcohol abuse among many in the tribe, declining peltry, and consumer debt, Mahicans sold large tracts of land to Dutch and English settlers.[4] Facing unrelenting poverty and unable to secure blankets, clothing, tools, alcohol, and guns, Mahican women worked as servants in whites' homes and peddled brooms, baskets, and handicrafts that they manufactured. Men earned money by killing wolves for cash bounties and as farm day-laborers.[5] In the context of the colonial situation—decline and cultural disorientation—sachems John Konkapot and Umpachanee accepted the Reverend Samuel Hopkins's proposal in 1734 to establish a school and mission to the Housatonic Mahicans. Governor Jonathan Belcher of Massachusetts wanted to establish an alliance with the Mahicans to counter the threat of the French, Iroquois, and Jesuits missions to the New England frontier. The Mahicans viewed literacy, civility, and Christianity as a means to secure a better life and a better future for their children. The ordination of John Sergeant in Deerfield, Massachusetts, in August 1735 suggests the negotiations and motivations for the mission by Mahican leaders who requested schoolteachers and literacy.[6] As Rachel Wheeler observes, instruction in English proved a powerful draw for new Indian settlers, predominantly young men, who increasingly understood that the ability to read and write English was a qualification for leadership. "Literacy had clearly come to be seen as a necessary skill for the survival of the community."[7]

The founding of the town of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in 1736 was a reiteration of the idea of the seventeenth-century praying town as a model of Indian–white collaboration that would reduce Mahicans to civility and transform them into Christian Indians.[8] Solomon Stoddard's sermon "Question Whether God Is Not Angry with the Country for Doing So Little toward the Conversion of the Indians?," published in 1723, assumes a rationale for missionary action reminiscent of John Eliot and the creation of Natick. Writing a providential history and jeremiad, he attributes the affliction of Indian warfare and raiding to the failure to bring civility and conversion to these peoples.[9]

Absent was the first generation's millennial fervor for a rational utopia. We have no Eliot tracts to capture Mahican morphologies of conversion and religious experience, the confessions that testified how Natives embraced a rational theodicy of misfortune and a penitential sense of life, which had Indianized Protestantism by blending faith with rituals of repentance to propitiate the new gods, restore harmony, and bring good things to the people. Instead, we have accounts of the founding of the village of Stockbridge, Massachusetts—a newly formed village world, an amalgamation of the remnants of a defeated Mahican confederation and tributary local tribes, now under missionary and political surveillance and supervision. Like the seventeenth-century praying towns, Stockbridge adopted a Christian Indian identity created in response to a regime of religious paternalism. And the story of the newly created Stockbridge tribe repeats the themes of Natick after King Philip's War—a too-familiar narrative of dispossession and "disappearance" culminating after the American Revolution with the exodus to the New York lands of the Oneidas, their reconstitution as the New Stockbridge Tribe, and a frontier rendezvous with other displaced New England Christian Indians in a settlement adjacent to Brothertown.

The four small bands of Mahicans who settled along the Housatonic River sold a tract of land to the General Court in 1724, providing for the settlement of Great Barrington and Sheffield. The Indians reserved for themselves a portion of land at Skatekook and Wnahktkook, or the Great Meadow, in Stockbridge.[10]

The Reverend Stephen Williams and Nehemiah Bull met with John

Sergeant (1710–1749) in New Haven in September 1734. Sergeant, a native of New Jersey, had entered Yale College in 1725 and had completed his master of divinity in 1732. He continued at Yale as a tutor. Sergeant agreed to accept a commission as a part-time missionary to the Mahicans until he could devote himself fully to this service in July 1735. He anticipated that missionary service would bring many privations and hardships when contrasted with his comfortable life in New Haven. Despite these travails, he remarked: "Indeed I should be ashamed to own myself a *Christian*, or even a *man*, and yet utterly refuse doing what lay in my power to cultivate humanity, and promote the salvation of souls."[11] Sergeant pledged "to promote the Salvation of Souls perishing in the Dark when the Light of Life is so near them."[12]

In addition to Sergeant, the Reverend Stephen Williams, acting under the authority of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, hired Timothy Woodbridge to serve as a teacher. The Mahicans granted Sergeant and Woodbridge two hundred acres of land each to settle, and land upon which to build a school and meetinghouse.

During late August 1735, Governor Belcher, together with the Massachusetts Commissioners for Indian Affairs and other religious and political notables, convened in Deerfield, Massachusetts, with the sachems and Housatonic Mahicans to polish the chains of friendship and confer a military commission upon Captain Umpachanee. On the Lord's Day, August 31, Sergeant was ordained as a preacher and missionary. Six months later, in February 1736, the Mahicans had agreed to remove to one amalgamated settlement in Stockbridge, opening the remaining townships for sale and white settlement.

The town of Stockbridge received a charter in May 1737 and was incorporated in 1739. The town survey created thirty-two intervale, or meadow lots, of two to ten acres granted to Native proprietors. Only six English proprietors were listed in this first survey. They included Ephraim Williams, Josiah Jones, Ephraim Brown, and Joseph Woodbridge, brother of Timothy Woodbridge.[13] None received the meadowlands that the Mahicans most desired for farming.[14] The praying town of Stockbridge began with secure Indian land tenure and autonomous town government under the control

of Indian proprietors. Stockbridge held the promise of secular and religious redemption for the amalgamated Native settlers.

Like the Jesuits missions to the Montagnais and Hurons in seventeenth-century New France, Sergeant adopted measures that would produce a harvest of souls without forcing the Mahicans to abandon their traditional lifeways. With the support of sachem John Konkapot, the tribe allocated land and built a large wigwam to accommodate a mission church and school in October 1734.[15] Sergeant created a ritualized public celebration for his first convert, his interpreter Ebenezer Poohpoonus, who proclaimed the following confession of faith: "Through the goodness of God towards me, in bringing me into the Way of Knowledge of the Gospel, I am convinced of the Truth of the Christian Religion and that it is the only Way that leads to Salvation and Happiness. I Therefore freely, and heartily, forsake Heathen Darkness and Embrace the Light of the Gospel, and the Way of Holiness."[16]

Most important, from March through November 1735, Sergeant evangelized and converted Konkapot, his wife, Mary, and daughter Katherine and son Robert in addition to the sachem's extended family. Sachem Aaron Umpachanee, his wife, Hannah, and son Jonas also received baptism. Sergeant also baptized Ebenezer Poohpoonus's wife and remarried them and the Konkapots in a Christian ceremony.[17] Forty Indians were converted by the end of the year. When the principal sachems and elders converted (including the Yokun and Mtohksin lineage groups in the 1740s), the remainder of the tribe sought baptism and conversion as an act of fealty toward local leaders and the protectorate formed with Governor Belcher and the Massachusetts colonial authorities.

Conversion and Christian Indian identity at Stockbridge offered the promise of secure land tenure, political representation, and protection by colonial law. This ethnic identity appealed to the Mahicans during Sergeant's mission as a means to acquire schooling and literacy, as an effective system of moralism to regulate the use of alcohol, and as a political-religious protectorate to forge a new community from the remnants of Housatonic and Mahican settlements.[18] By accepting the tenets of civilization and Christianization, this new Christian Indian community adopted a strategy of cultural

self-preservation after a century of depopulation, depletion of game, and a crisis in traditional lifeways and beliefs.

As Rachel M. Wheeler argues, the Stockbridge praying Indians, who were increasingly surrounded by colonial farmsteads, now sought refuge within their encapsulated community and prayed for health and prosperity like that enjoyed by their English and Dutch neighbors. She writes: "To a community that had borne the loss of the majority of its population to out-migration, disease, and the ravages of alcohol, the prosperity of the English settlers on Housatonic soil must have suggested even greater shifts in the cosmic ordering of the world."[19]

In addition, Christian Indians could expect financial and material assistance from Massachusetts to build a meetinghouse, and from the New England Company and generous English philanthropists to educate Indian youth or offer assistance in hard times. The Society in Scotland for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) provided £300 in 1637 to purchase tools and agricultural implements.[20] Following the failure of the corn harvest in the fall of 1740, the Mahicans faced hunger the next spring. Sergeant warned the commissioners of the New England Company on April 3, 1741, that without emergency assistance, the Stockbridge settlement "must certainly disperse and breakup and proposing that some of the Bounty granted them, be employed to purchase food for them. Voted Sixty pounds out of the extraordinary supply be sent to Mr. Sergeant to be by him laid out in grain for their present subsistence."[21]

Sergeant writes in May 1746 about the fruits of the first eleven years of the Stockbridge mission. The Mahicans had built seventeen English houses that sheltered fifty people in unusually small households by colonial standards. The mission church claimed thirty-five members—thirteen males and twenty-two females. However, infectious disease decimated this Indian settlement and prevented the population from growing into a viable community. Hannah Umpachanee and Mary Konkopot, the pious wives of the two principal sachems, succumbed to tuberculosis.[22] Sergeant explains: "Near half that are born die in Infancy or Childhood, which I attribute to their Manner of Living, and want of suitable Medicines in Time of Sickness. The grown People abundantly die with Consumptions, begun with violent colds."[23]

In the face of this population decline caused by disease and a low birth-rate, by the time of Sergeant's death in 1749, Stockbridge had grown into a Christian Indian town of 218 by incorporating new immigrants from other remnant groups: Wappingers, Shawnees, and Mahicans from Housatonic villages (Wyoghtonok, Wechquadnach, Skatekook, Weatauk, Pontoonsuc, Scaticook, Kaunaumeek).[24] Throughout his fifteen-year career as a missionary, Sergeant maintained an open door to "strangers," as he called the Mahicans from outlying villages. He preached to them at Stockbridge or traveled to villages in New York and Connecticut in outreach.

From September 1737 through March 1744, Sergeant worked to establish a mission to the Mahican village of Kaunaumeek, eighteen miles east of Stockbridge. He converted the principal sachem, Aunauwaukeekhheek, in January 1738, giving him the Christian name Jeremiah. Sergeant converted the subsachem Wautaukummet in April of 1738.[25] Sergeant sent Jeremiah to the Shawnees in the spring of 1739, and he returned with wampum belts and the beginning of an alliance that would bring the Shawnees into the Stockbridge multiethnic Indian community.[26] In addition, Sergeant petitioned the Scottish Society and secured the services of David Brainerd in 1743. He worked as a missionary for one year until he was reassigned to the Delawares, and the Kaunaumeek village emigrated to Stockbridge in 1744.

David Brainerd (1718–1747) was born in Haddam, Connecticut, entered Yale College in 1739, and experienced new birth in 1740 during a college revival. He was expelled from Yale in 1742 for questioning the grace of a college tutor. In 1749, two years after Brainerd's death at age twenty-nine from tuberculosis, Jonathan Edwards published Brainerd's spiritual diaries and letters. For Edwards, *The Life of David Brainerd* represented an enduring model of the spiritual itinerary of conversion, the inward journey of the soul's ceaseless striving to forge an authentic Christian life, and the operation of the religious affections—repentance for sin, "love to God," and rejoicing to Christ.[27]

Brainerd's mission to Kaunaumeek did not succeed in winning converts or building a church. Accepting his first mission posting before his ordination, Brainerd was young, inexperienced, unable to speak Mahican, and

resided at a distance from Kaunaumeek. Brainerd explains to his brother John at the start of the mission on April 30, 1743: "The Indians seem generally kind and well disposed towards me, and are mostly very attentive to my instructions, and seem willing to be taught further . . . but there seems to be little of the special workings of the divine Spirit among them yet; which gives me many a heart-sinking hour."[28]

Brainerd devoted much of his energy to the relentless, seemingly obsessive practice of devotional piety. He turned inward to attend to his spiritual needs rather than turning outward to catechize and evangelize the Mahicans. Brainerd's spiritual diary recounts the daily reading of scripture, secret prayer, meditation in the woods, and endless self-accusations of pride, inattention to religion, and a catalog of vileness and sins. Repeatedly, he devoted days to fasting and prayer, self-examination, and evangelical humiliation. Brainerd frequently succumbed to religious melancholy, "melancholy damps" as he termed the sadness of feeling forsaken by God when the assurance of grace and faith did not abide. Writing to his brother John on December 27, 1743, after spending the fall beset by "inward trials and spiritual conflicts," he recounts his unrelenting religious melancholy: "The whole world appears to me like a huge vacuum, a vast empty space, whence nothing desirable, or at least satisfactory, can possibly be derived; and I long daily to die more and more to it; even though I obtain not that comfort from spiritual things which I earnestly desire."[29]

Brainerd likened his missionary labors to exile in the desert where he became a melancholy saint searching in vain for the mystical contemplation of Christ that would fill his heart with the ravishing joy of divine love. He writes to John Brainerd:

> I live in the most lonely, melancholy desert, about 18 miles from Albany. . . . I board with a poor Scotchman: His wife can talk scarce any English. My diet consists mostly of hasty pudding, boiled corn, and baked bread in the ashes, and sometimes a little meat and butter. My lodging is a little heap of straw, laid upon some boards, a little way from the ground: for it is a log room without any floor that I lodge in. My work is exceedingly hard and difficult. . . . Let us run, wrestle, and

fight, that we may win the prize and obtain that complete happiness, to be "holy as God is holy."[30]

At the conclusion of his year with the Mahicans, Brainerd continued to hope that his future labors might contribute to Indian conversions, which he viewed as glorious work and an instrument that advanced the Redeemer's kingdom. However, after his mission to the Mahicans, he questioned the efficacy of missionary outreach. Writing on June 24, 1744, he lamented: "To an eye of reason, everything that respects the conversion of the heathen is as dark as midnight."[31] A year later, while residing at Crossweeksung among a Munsee-speaking remnant band of Lenapes (Delaware Indians) living in New Jersey, Brainerd would lead a religious awakening and record many of the most remarkable Native conversions of the Great Awakening. In the next section, we will examine David Brainerd's mission, the founding of the Brotherton community in southern New Jersey (1762) by John Brainerd—the Christian Indian tribe that emigrated to New Stockbridge in 1802.

During his fifteen years as a missionary, Sergeant baptized 182 Mahicans and built a Native church comprised of forty-two communicants.[32] Although Sergeant considered Native beliefs to be "sundry childish and ridiculous things," he did not attempt to prohibit Mahican rituals and ceremonies.[33] Stockbridge Christian Indians continued to practice their traditional ceremonial life. In January 1735, as a result of a meeting of Samuel Hopkins and other notables with 250 River Indians (settled along the Hudson) and the Housatonic Mahicans, the River Indians dropped their opposition to the proposed mission and school at Stockbridge. Following the meeting, the reunited Mahican bands celebrated with feasting, dancing, and drinking. Two Housatonic men died during the ceremonial dance and sweat. The survivors later employed four powwows or shamans, who divined that the deaths were caused by poisoning and evil magic. Forty Natives gathered inside a large a wigwam where the powwows employed rapping sticks, singing, chanting, dancing, drumming, smoking, and burning tobacco offerings in curing rituals. Sergeant chastised them for heathen practices that were sinful and displeasing to God. The Indians replied that they saw no harm in this ceremony.[34]

Later that year, in November, the Mahicans asked for permission to conduct the *Keutekaw*, a reunion of families who dance, feast, exchange gifts, and offer speeches to commemorate the dead at the conclusion of the prescribed period of mourning. Sergeant permitted this ritual provided that no alcohol was consumed.[35] Natives continued seasonal migrations to fish and hunt. They conducting a deer sacrifice ritual to appease the spirit of the slain animal.[36]

Christian Indians in Stockbridge continued to speak their Native language, although Dutch and English increasingly dominated the language of trade, religion, and diplomacy. Sergeant accommodated to the tribe by employing a translator to deliver his first sermons in Dutch and Mahican. By 1736 Sergeant was fluent in Mahican and had translated Isaac Watts's *First Catechism*.[37]

The Stockbridge tribe largely continued their traditional forms of agriculture, planting, and hunting and gathering. Only seventeen Indian households (with a combined population of fifty of the more than two hundred in the village in 1747) had built English-style homes and had adopted more settled agriculture and animal husbandry.[38] Most families and extended kin groups left the settlement each spring as part of the seasonal migration for maple sugaring. Sergeant and Woodbridge, like the earlier Jesuit "flying missions,"[39] accompanied the tribe into the woods in 1736 for six weeks, living as Natives and preaching the gospel.

The Stockbridge mission had little success in motivating Natives to appropriate an individuated social identity of Protestant religious personhood and possessive individualism. Sergeant continually fought unsuccessfully to instill an ethic of vocational asceticism and life regulation exemplified by the moralism of temperance, the duty to labor, and Sabbath keeping.

Sergeant married Abigail Williams, daughter of Ephraim Williams, on August 16, 1739. Before his marriage, he had lived in a small house in the Indian meadows adjacent to Mahican homesteads. His home had always been open to the tribe for visiting, and he provided hospitality to strangers, visitors, and neighboring Mahicans. After marriage, Sergeant built a more elaborate house away from the Mahicans in the Hill and English section of town. He incurred a substantial debt of £700 to build and furnish this home

to support his wife and the three children she would bear him. Indians were no longer welcome in this home, as Abigail maintained social distance from the Mahican mission.[40] Abigail, like others in the Williams family, regarded Stockbridge less as a praying town intended for the benefit of Natives and more like a frontier settlement with opportunities for land, power, and profits. Sergeant's opinion and attitude toward the Mahicans changed following his marriage. His hope turned to cynicism as he began to doubt the success of Christianizing and civilizing the Mahicans. He expressed doubts concerning the adult members of the tribe and their capacity for authentic conversion, temperance, industry, and civility. Possibly, Sergeant experienced divided loyalties, finding himself caught between supporting the colonizing interests of the Williams family and other English proprietors, and promoting the interests of the tribe.

Sergeant was always troubled that the Natives had converted too quickly, becoming Christians in name only and without sufficient knowledge of their adopted religion. To build his Indian congregation, he baptized Natives and admitted them to the church if they would accept the teachings of the Westminster Confession and live in a sober, industrious, and civil manner. This measure did not require the conversion experience of new birth.[41] In a November 1735 letter to the New England Company, Sergeant reports his progress in converting the sachem's extended family. The commissioners noted that "his conscience was not altogether easy about this—he feared it might have been too soon, but pleaded that the Indians were set on it."[42] Sergeant writes of the first converts: "Their whole hearts seem'd to be engaged in the matter, and I have reason to think that the imperfection of their knowledge is made up by their zeal and integrity. Those who have been baptiz'd have behav'd very well, tho' they have several times been tempted to exceed the rules of temperance. They seem surpriz'd with the change they find in themselves; expressing the difference between their former state and the present by infancy and manhood."[43]

Ending the sale and consumption of rum and removing alcohol from secular festivities like New Year's and from Native religious ceremonies became an unending struggle for Sergeant. He proudly recounts the reformation and conversion of a stranger, Maumauntisshum, whose vision

led him to settle in Stockbridge and seek religious instruction. During a
drunken sleep, he dreamt that he was

> lost and could not find his way to the companions; but presently
> heard a noise like the pumping of water, and saw a great number of
> Indians lying drunk and naked, and nasty water pumping on them,
> while they were not able to get out of the way and were in great dis-
> tress; and heard a voice which said to him that he must take notice
> of, & avoid such wickedness. This vision—for he called it, or dream
> perhaps, continued for some time, with a strong light shinning about
> him. Then he heard a noise like the blowing of a pair of bellows which
> was followed by a violent blast of wind dispersed the Indians into
> the air. From that time he entertained serious thots of religion and
> it made such an impression on him that he broke off from drinking
> and had been drunk but once since, which was about a year ago.[44]

Sergeant might win small victories, but ultimately he lost this war against
tavern keepers and the longstanding traditions of drinking associated with
trade with Dutch and English merchants. He would preach and admonish
on October 28, 1738, "with severity on what had happened lately & presented
to my auditory the dreadful consequences of apostasy from the Christian
faith."[45] Nevertheless, many Natives strayed from sobriety, industry, and
civility.

Throughout his ministry, Sergeant witnessed the frequent backsliding
and apostasy of these converts, charging that "their greatest National and
fundamental Vices are Idleness and Drunkenness."[46] Not infrequently,
English ministers adopted the rhetoric of the jeremiad and admonished
their English congregations for declension, immorality, and worldliness.
Paradoxically, Christian Indians were held to a higher standard, as we have
seen in the case of Occom and his episodes of intemperance. And Ser-
geant's racialism viewed Indians as prone to vice as a consequence of their
national character, which proved resistant to change by cultural, religious,
or educational means.

Sergeant noted on August 5, 1739, the apostasy and militant defiance of
a former communicant and ally, Lieutenant Toukeweuaukhheek, against

the demands of English civility and religion. He writes: "Administered the communion of the Lord's Supper. The Lieut. Toukeweuaukhheek absented himself on account of having lately drunk a little to excess. This was the beginning of his defection from his steadfastness, which he has since carried to a great & unhappy length; and I fear will not end short of total and absolute apostasy."[47]

In 1743, after a decade of work among the tribe, Sergeant pronounced the Natives "a base and ungrateful people," likening the mission to a garden "overrun with hateful Weeds and pricking Thorns."[48] He acknowledged with disappointment that so many of the promising early converts failed to attain the distinguishing attributes of new birth—a regenerate heart infused with religious affections, marked by "all that Rain of Thoughts, inward Feelings of Heart, in the Exercise of the several Passions and Affections, which proceed and accompany the effectual Acceptance of Christ and the Gospel of Salvation."[49] A genuine conversion necessitated a turning toward godliness, wherein the newly born manifested a love to God and scripture and renounced heathen practices and savage lifeways. However, in a lament to Thomas Coram, Sergeant feared that the Mahicans lacked depth in their commitment to Christianity or English civility. "The Indians are, perhaps, as fickle and irresolute in their Determinations as many People in the World: And when they seem to be wholly recovered from Vice, easily relapse into their foolish and wicked National habits."[50]

When adult converts continually disappointed Sergeant and undermined his confidence in the mission, he redoubled his efforts to educate children and youth. Instead of catechism and preaching directed toward adults, who remained indifferent or resistant to his efforts, Sergeant focused upon education after his initial success with Indian youth. He recounted one notable case in 1740 when he baptized John Wauwaumpequunaut,

a Lad of about 17 years of Age, of Superior abilities, an innocent behaviour and as appears of a religious disposition. His family has been here, but about two years. This Lad had a strong inclination to learn before his parents came to live here, and his Father was somewhat prejudiced against Christianity. But the boy, even against his parents'

consent used sometimes to Steal away and come to Mr. Woodbridge's school and would even come to tarry here. . . . His application to learning has been unwearied.[51]

Sergeant and Woodbridge hoped to educate Mahican children, wean them from their traditions and language, catechize them in English, and thereby produce the future generations of Christian Indians who were stripped of "foolish and wicked national habits." Charitable donations by Isaac Hollis, a London minister, provided lodging and support for twelve Indian scholars each year. Sergeant boarded twelve boys in his home in 1738 but later boarded out boys and girls to local English families.[52] Sergeant wrote in his journal that "Mr. Woodbridge has a large and constant school—Several young ones are able to recite by heart Dr. Watts first set of Catechisms. . . . Several of the Boys write a good hand and the foremost Class has read the Bible thro two or three times."[53]

Based upon these early successes, Sergeant proposed the creation of an Indian boarding school for Mahican, Iroquois, and other boys and girls. "By 1741 Sergeant realized that the placement of Indian children in a variety of unsupervised English families might not improve the natives' moral or social fortunes as much as their language."[54] In a letter to Benjamin Coleman in 1743, Sergeant promoted the idea of removing children to a mission boarding school. The Mahicans would become a civil and industrious people only after their children learned English and had appropriated, in their hearts and minds, the principles of industry, sobriety, piety, and virtue. He explains: "That the Indians, in general, are a People *difficult* to be reformed from their own *foolish*, barbarous, and wicked Customs, the *Unsuccessfulness* of Attempts upon them for this Purpose is a melancholy *Proof*, which, though it may appear *discouraging in further* Endeavours; yet I think, to a generous Mind, it should be rather improved as *an Argument to force and execute new Projections* for this Purpose."[55]

The travails of King George's War (1744–48) and difficulties in fundraising delayed the construction of the boarding school until the summer of 1749, days before Sergeant's untimely death at age thirty-nine. During the hostilities, when the frontier settlement of Stockbridge proved unsafe,

Sergeant sent his students, who were supported by the Hollis fund, to Newington, Connecticut, to be instructed by Martin Kellogg, a retired army captain and farmer who was fluent in Mohawk. Kellogg was barely literate in English and unqualified to head the new boarding school, but Sergeant appointed him to this position. Kellogg mismanaged the school and Hollis fund and proved to be an incompetent educator. "A number of Mohawk children—and their adult relatives—eventually moved to Stockbridge to board on the Hollis bounty, but the pedagogical incompetence of Kellogg and the internecine infighting of the English over control of the town's various Indian schools soon drove them away."[56]

Following Sergeant's death, his widow, Abigail, secured funding in 1750 from the New England Company to keep an Indian girls' boarding school. Allied in 1752 with her new husband, Joseph Dwight, they controlled funding from the Hollis foundation and the New England Company, turning public money intended for Indian education into opportunities for private profit.

Sergeant's successor, Jonathan Edwards, exposed the Dwights' motives and activities, and convinced the New England Company to replace Kellogg in 1752 and to appoint a twenty-four-year-old Yale graduate, Gideon Hawley, who served as schoolmaster until the building burned and the school closed in 1753.

By placing his hope for the future of the Stockbridge tribe in an educational plan that ultimately failed, Sergeant rejected evangelical measures and the opportunities for conversion and revitalization presented by the Great Awakening. Stockbridge was near the epicenter of the religious effervescence of the awakening that swept through Northampton, the Connecticut River valley, and the southeastern coast of Connecticut from 1737 to 1743. However, the Stockbridge mission shows no evidence of this outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Sergeant did not employ extemporaneous, fire-and—brimstone preaching; he did not conduct open field revivals or invite itinerants to preach Wesleyan strains of evangelical pietism. Sergeant appears to have rejected New Light theology and revivalistic methods in favor of an Arminian emphasis upon obedience to God's law and individual virtue founded upon the tenets of Protestant moralism.[57] George M. Marsden

explains that "Sergeant became an Old Light during the awakening, one of the subscribers to Charles Chauncey's *Seasonable Thoughts*, and he had shocked some of his Williams relatives by questioning some traditional Calvinist doctrines."[58]

Sergeant preached "The Causes and Danger of Delusions in the Affairs of Religion" before a Springfield congregation in 1743. Here he reiterated the morphology of conversion of the sinner awakened to the habitual, reigning power of sin and rebellion against God. Recoiling in terror and filled with guilt, the now-penitent sinner seeks repentance mindful of his or her inability to atone for depravity by good works. Only through evangelical humiliation and a selfless surrender to God—a willingness to suffer hell—can the penitent find pardon and comfort in the contemplation of Christ and the experience of grace as the Holy Spirit ravishes and regenerates the sinner's heart. Sergeant cautioned that this spiritual itinerary was fraught with hypocrisy from "religious pretenders"—those who delude themselves, mistaking the "*Heat of Youth* when the Passions of Nature are *vigorous*" for genuine Christian experience where the soul is humbled before God.[59] He concludes with this exhortation: "Do not *resist* the Strivings of the *Holy Ghost*, for fear of being led away with a *Spirit of Delusion*. Let the Awakening of others *awaken* you. Let the Cry of others for the Grace of God in Christ, *stir you up* to accept the offer'd Mercy."[60]

Sergeant appeared distrustful of the evangelical measures that produced religious affections bordering on enthusiasm, and newly born men and women broke with Old Light ministers, creating schisms and social division. However, without the white-hot crucible of experiential religion, and absent the mass appeal of open field revivals, Sergeant failed to build the mission church. Unlike the revivalistic religion of the Mohegan, Narragansett, Pequot, Tunxis, and Montaukett tribes, the Stockbridge Mahicans produced no Native ministers, missionaries, or charismatic visionaries. No religiously grounded democratic personalities like Occom, Fowler, or Johnson would emerge, inspired by the Holy Spirit, to challenge the paternalism of the colonial situation or offer a coherent vision of Mahican revitalization.

The Stockbridge mission and Native congregation would never assume

a predominant place in tribal society. Rachel Wheeler identifies 1739 as the high point of Sergeant's ministry, when he provided spiritual leadership to twenty-five resident Indian families who lived in English houses, fenced in their individual lots, planted gardens of corn and beans, kept livestock, accepted English gendered work for men and women, and enrolled their children in school.[61] Only a minority of the tribe would adopt colonial civility and farmsteads, experience conversion, and attain status as Christian Indians and communicants. Most of the tribe continued to practice vestiges of their traditional lifeways, subsistence economy, and seasonal migration in the context of the progressive dispossession of their Mahican homelands.

Following Sergeant's death, the problem of who would succeed him as missionary created controversy. His widow and the Williams family promoted the candidacy of a young Yale tutor, Ezra Stiles. Timothy Woodbridge and his kin objected to Stiles, who lacked experience and the knowledge of the Mahican language. Alternatively, Woodbridge promoted Jonathan Edwards, who had recently been dismissed by the Northampton congregation and who had fallen into disfavor among many of the powerful Williams clan who resided in the Connecticut River valley. They objected to his theology, advanced years, and displeasing personality. When Woodbridge warned the tribe that the youthful Stiles might marry into the Williams family and, like Sergeant, promote English interests, the congregation voted in February 1751 to employ Edwards, who served as missionary until 1757.[62]

Few records survive to document Edwards's missionary service. His sermons preached to the Indian congregation and some brief notes offer important clues about Edwards's thought rather than about the fate of his Indian charges. As Gerald R. McDermott explains, Edwards summarily rejected Indian religion as one example among many of heathenism. In his estimation, Native religion shared a deep affinity with Satan. Preaching in 1729, Edwards proclaimed that heathens were destined for hell: "The Devil sucks their blood."[63] The wondrous events of the Great Awakening provided compelling evidence that those who had previously entertained Satan now turned away from sin and darkness and demonstrated "an inclination to be instructed in the Christian religion," requisite to conversion and new birth.[64]

Edwards had edited and published David Brainerd's public mission journal and private spiritual diary and was profoundly influenced by Brainerd's account of the marvelous awakening and harvest of souls in 1745 among a remnant band of Munsee-speaking Lenapes at the New Jersey mission of Crossweeksung. Like Brainerd, Edwards referred to the Indians with affection as "my people" and preached a practical divinity that stressed divine invitation and abiding love through which they were beckoned to struggle for salvation and be adopted as children of God. Rachel Wheeler has analyzed the 190 sermons that Edwards delivered, and notes his propensity to relate dramatic biblical stories and introduce images from nature that appealed to the sensibilities of the Native congregation.[65] Unlike Brainerd, Edwards does not report that the Holy Spirit deluged the Mahican congregation with a general awakening and revival.

Edwards never developed close personal ties or friendships with the tribe, and he did not excel in pastoral care and visiting his Indian congregation to console, sustain, or offer spiritual direction in times of sickness and adversity.[66] When confronted with religious competition from the Moravian mission at Pachgatgoch, which proffered an evangelical pietist theology of universal grace and redemption for Indian and English alike made possible by the blood of Jesus, Edwards softened his Calvinist message. In a powerful sermon following the death of Umpachanee in 1751, Edwards invokes the free-flowing blood of the savior, Christ's grace, and the conditions for salvation in this world and in the paradise to come.[67] Most important, the newly formed Indian congregation of Stockbridge lacked any connection to a federal covenant promoting the expectation that, in periods of declension and spiritual coldness, the Holy Spirit would visit them and create the conditions for a revival of religion. For these reasons, Edwards never encouraged a revival of religion in his preaching and work with the Stockbridge congregation.

Edwards advocated for the education of Mahican children, seeking funds from the Boston Commissioners to feed, clothe, and board impoverished scholars. He demanded damages from whites who had assaulted an Indian youth, and he demanded that restitution be paid to an Indian family whose father was murdered by two whites.[68] McDermott concludes: "Those

American heathens he had once lumped together as 'beasts' had become souls with names—and parishioners whose interests he protected against those who would exploit them."[69]

Although Edwards might humanize his Indian charges, the striking absence of an Indian religious awakening among the Stockbridge tribe had important consequences. As a consequence of the Great Awakening, Samson Occom and other leaders of the Mohegans, Pequots, and Montauketts in coastal southern New England promoted a new Christian Indian ethnicity founded upon the embrace of evangelical religious personhood and democratic personality to contest the colonial situation and discourse of conquest. Emerging Indian religious and tribal leaders formed intertribal networks to defend ancestral lands reduced to reservations and to advocate for the collective political, cultural, and ethnic interests of the "poor Indian brethren." The "Old Light" Stockbridge Christian Indians languished under the regime of religious paternalism, and in comparison, did not participate in the white heat of the Indian awakening. They resembled the Natick praying Indians at the end of the seventeenth century. The Stockbridge tribe was powerless to contest the unfolding colonial situation as Stockbridge was transformed from an Indian village to an English settlement.

The fate of Stockbridge as a mission and Indian town, thus, needs to be viewed against the backdrop of the efforts by the English proprietors, notably Ephraim Williams, his son Elijah, and their supporters, to wrest political control of the town from the Mahicans and acquire Indian lands. Sergeant had proposed that English settlers might set a proper example of civility and Christianity for the Indians. However, in 1740 Williams and Timothy Woodbridge, the teacher and patron of the Indians, purchased 790 acres of timber and valuable land from the tribe without the consent of the General Court. Following King George's War, English proprietors claimed seven-and-a-half square miles (forty-eight hundred acres), twice their original allotment. In 1748 the court sent Oliver Partridge to investigate the resulting Indian land crisis. Following his recommendation, the town was surveyed to create a second land allotment that divided the settlement along an east–west boundary line with the English confined to the east and the Mahicans assigned to twenty thousand acres reserved for them in

perpetuity. Fifty-five Mahican proprietors received lots that ranged from ten to eighty acres, with twenty-seven lots located on the main street and sixteen lots situated along the meadows of the Housatonic River, for a total allotment of 2,990 acres. Half of the remaining Indian land was reserved for later distribution to remnant Indians who might join the tribe.[70]

The division of the town into an English precinct and Indian settlement was formalized in 1752, creating the condition for the English usurpation of town government and Mahican lands.

During this time, the General Court conferred upon the Mahicans the right to establish a record-keeping proprietary of individual allotments not to exceed one hundred acres that were subject to inalienable land tenure and tribal common lands that might be sold for the benefit of the tribe.[71] However, by 1755, one thousand English tenant farmers had settled on Mahican lands from the Hudson to the Housatonic Rivers.[72] A decade later, more than one-third of Indian land in Stockbridge had been sold to English households to pay off debt. The English settlers dispossessed the tribe through other legal manipulations such as issuing a five-hundred-year lease and the default on "security" loans that used Indian land as collateral. While the Mahican town population stagnated at two hundred, the colonial population had grown to more than one thousand persons, in large part due to high fertility rates, wherein households averaged five children.[73]

Elijah Williams purchased his father's landholdings in Stockbridge in 1752. A Princeton College graduate, lawyer, entrepreneur, and sheriff in Berkshire country, Williams contrived to remove Mahicans from political office in 1763 by holding elections for selectmen without sufficient notice, electing an all-white slate of candidates, and conducting meetings in English without translation.

The Mahicans complained to the General Court, asserting: "Williams and a party he had made in the town are endeavouring To get all the power but our lands too into their hands."[74] Lion G. Miles writes: "The single largest purchaser of Indian land and the largest taxpayer in West Stockbridge, Williams became a very wealthy man. By 1781 he owned several houses, a forge, a sawmill, 35 acres of improved land, and 546 acres of unimproved land. In 1795 his farm covered 1,000 acres with five house and three barns.

From 1763 he had purchased or leased 1,288 acres from the Indians, all apparently transferred in discharge of debts."[75]

Unlike the ideal of an autonomous Christian Indian community, Stockbridge became an English colonial town that subjected the tribe to the worst aspects of the colonial situation. The English prospered and built roads, businesses, and farms. They established a separate residential precinct and separate schools and churches. The English proprietors treated the Stockbridge Indians as racialized others—marginalizing them through separate institutions and reducing the tribe to the status of a colonized people who were powerless, dispossessed, and poor. The Mahicans used their lands as a bank and resource that they quickly liquidated to maintain their families and the tribe. By the 1770s they had sold off most of their homelands, and in 1783 they petitioned the Continental Congress to secure Mahican homelands in Vermont. The state legislatures of New York and Vermont refused to adjudicate this claim. Finally, the Brothertown Indians secured a tract of Oneida land in the former village of Tuscarora adjacent to the Brothertown settlement in central New York.[76] From 1783 to 1788, the Stockbridge Mahicans removed to New Stockbridge along the banks of the Oriskany Creek, leaving the Reverend John Sergeant Jr. to act as their fiduciary in disposing of their remaining land.[77]

While the majority of the tribe migrated to the frontier of New Stockbridge to pursue their lives as Christian Indians, remnant Mahicans retreated to the Berkshire Mountains where they lived as "invisible" Indians who rejected Christianity and civility and pursued traditional lifeways. Timothy Woodbridge's boyhood recollections written about the decade of the 1790s offer a glimpse of these Mahicans. He writes: "Bands of thirty or forty Indians, men and women, were accustomed to come down to Stockbridge and spend the winter. They loved to rekindle the fire upon the old hearthstones, and linger about the ancient cemetery. They constructed wigwams on the slopes of the mountains, and occupied themselves in making baskets and brooms for a subsistence, as their hunting-grounds were spoiled by the axe of the woodman. They strolled about every day, more or less, in their wild Indian costume . . . to peddle their fabrics among the families of the town."[78]

Consistent with the discourse of conquest, and Jean M. O'Brien's concept of "lasting," the last surviving members of the Stockbridge tribe "disappeared" from western Massachusetts, no longer a "people" who could claim lands in perpetuity, and unable to maintain a presence as an "authentic" cultural group.[79] As we will discover in the next chapter, those who migrated to the "new Eden" in central New York formed yet another amalgamated refugee community of Mahicans, Munsees, and Lenapes from the Brotherton settlement in southern New Jersey, seeking to reconstitute themselves on the periphery of white civilization as the New Stockbridge tribe. We now turn to Brainerd's mission to Crossweeksung and Bethel, and the creation of the Brotherton Indians of New Jersey.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the pressure of Quaker settlement and land cession had forced many Lenape villages to relocate from their ancestral homelands in the Hudson and Delaware River valleys inland to the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Rivers. As a consequence of disease, depopulation, and warfare, the Lenapes reorganized, merged villages, and reconstituted communities with Nanticoke, Saponi, Tuscarora, and Conoy peoples. The new Indian towns of Conestoga, Conoy, and Paxtang acquired secure land tenure on reserved land in exchange for further land cessations.[80]

These new village worlds were small settlements comprised of matrilineal households led by sachems who struggled to maintain seasonal migration and traditional lifeways in the face of declining land base.[81] Increasingly dependent upon European trade goods, subject to English laws and land dispossession, and forced into tributary status by the Iroquois, this Native population was fluid and transient, consisting of extended family groups and remnant subtribal bands whose members moved easily back and forth from east of the Delaware to coastal New Jersey or west into Pennsylvania and New York. Brainerd built his cabin in the woods and ventured forth to villages scattered along the Delaware and Susquehanna Rivers, where he encountered remnant Lenape groups, although most of the bands had begun emigrating to western Pennsylvania and Ohio.[82] Like colonized Indians in New England, those remnant families who remained "no longer resided in villages but were scattered in rural areas, a few families here,

others there, usually housed in wretched cabins. These families had their own cornfield and vegetable patches."[83] They fished and hunted in season and manufactured Native crafts—baskets, brooms, cornhusk mats—that they peddled door to door to eke out a subsistence existence.

David Brainerd left Kaunaumeek and was ordained by the presbytery in Newark, New Jersey, on June 11, 1744. He received a commission by the Scottish Society to conduct a mission among the Delaware Indians (Leni Lenapes, Munsee speakers) at Forks of the Delaware near Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.[84]

Brainerd's mission at Forks of the Delaware (near present-day Easton, Pennsylvania) proved frustrating, and he redirected his efforts, in July 1745, to a band eighty miles to the southeast at Crossweeksung on the Delaware River near Trenton. The Scottish Society published Brainerd's mission journal at Crossweeksung in 1746 under the title *Mirabila Dei inter Indicos*, chronicling his astounding success in promoting a religious awakening and the conversion of perishing heathens that, in the Society's estimation, "must be acknowledged as a wonderful Work of divine grace."[85]

Frank Lambert's *Inventing the "Great Awakening"* helps explain why Native and white communities along the Hudson or Housatonic River, like Brainerd's mission to Kaunaumeek, proved immune to this wondrous work of God while other localities became epicenters in this spiritual earthquake. Solomon Stoddard and Jonathan Edwards successfully promoted awakenings in the Connecticut River valley, and Gilbert, John, and William Tennent championed the awakening through the Log College in Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, and along the Raritan River in New Jersey. Most important, Edwards published his account of the Northampton revival as *A Faithful Narrative* (1737) in Boston and later London, proclaiming that God had wrought an intercolonial and transatlantic revival that presaged an extraordinary moment in Christendom like the Pentecost or the Reformation. According to Lambert, promoters like Edwards and Thomas Prince's *Christian History* (1743) "invented" the Great Awakening. Here invention refers to the discovery of a hidden phenomenon and the formulation of new measures to promote conversion. Through open field meetings before crowds that exceeded one thousand people, and by inventing new forms of

extemporaneous fire-and-brimstone preaching, itinerants prosecuted the awakening.[86] New Lights publicized and promoted their invention through newspapers, broadsides, pamphlets, and tracts. Evangelists acted as mediatorial elites by articulating and transmitting an "evangelical culture" to the faithful.[87] They explained how churches had languished, and how the godly had grown cold-hearted in apostasy and backsliding. They instructed the laity to expect periodic awakenings and to welcome the special measures designed to hasten the work of the Holy Spirit. The faithful who were enmeshed in this invented tradition of evangelical culture felt the need for a revival, anxiously participating in new measures. They believed that the work in their local communities contributed to the awakening of many imagined communities of the newly born in America and throughout the British Empire.

Crossweeksung Natives appropriated this evangelical culture, and the Lenapes eagerly embraced the sublime expectations of the awakening. Edwards published *The Life of David Brainerd*, and the posthumous publication by the Scottish mission society of Brainerd's mission journal, *Mirabila Dei inter Indicos*, contributed to this unending chain of religious intelligence. Both works offered attestations of the authenticity of the awakening and compelling evidence of the conversion of heathens. Brainerd's chronicle of the awakening among the Crossweeksung Indians demonstrated how a community appropriated evangelical culture and how individuals made the successful passage to new birth. Native conversion brought renewed hope that these Christian Indians, who had recently turned from heathenism and pagan religion to Christ, would hasten the advent of the millennial day.

During July, Brainerd and William Tennent, the New Light itinerant minister who lived in nearby Freehold, preached, exhorted, and conducted evening meetings. Brainerd employed the Munsee elder and convert Moses Tunda Tatamy as interpreter. Tatamy's own religious fervor enhanced the emotive power of Brainerd's preaching and exhorting. In the late summer of 1744 the awakened Lenapes pleaded, in public outcry and private conversations, what they should do to be saved.

Tatamy's spiritual journey, as recounted by Brainerd, included a protracted preparationism—the conviction of sin followed by a prolonged inner

struggle—wherein Tatamy experienced evangelical humiliation and prayed to receive the assurance of grace. Like Brainerd, his disciple experienced the resolution of this conversion crisis in a dream or vision of his inability to traverse a mountain, a metaphor for human inability to secure salvation by one's own actions and the utter dependency and reliance upon God's grace. Following the vision, Tatamy reported that he had become a new man.[88]

Brainerd repeatedly stated in his journal that his preaching and catechizing emphasized divine love and the tender mercy of the savior, who invited all to seek repentance and a new birth. He explains that despite this loving appeal and without a word of terror spoken,

> There was scarce Three in Forty that could refrain from Tears and bitter Cries. They all, as one, seem'd in an Agony of Soul to obtain an Interest in Christ, and the more I discours'd of the Love and Compassion of God in sending his Son to suffer for the Sins of Men; and the more I invited them to come and partake of his Love, the more their Distress was aggravated, because they felt themselves unable to come. . . . It was surprising to see how their Hearts seem'd to be pierced with the tender and melting Invitations of the Gospel, when their was not a Word of Terror spoken to them.[89]

Brainerd attests to the authenticity of the religious affections and experiences of the Indians that he began referring to as "my people." Throughout his private spiritual diary and public journal, he documents how the Indians under his ministry demonstrated true and authentic religion: repentance and humiliation for sin and depravity, the doleful realization of the inability of the carnal self to find grace, selfless dependency upon the mercy of Christ, the "spirit of adoption" as a child of God, and the fruits of new birth—love to God and concern with godly living and progressive sanctification.

"Guttummaukalummeh," these awakened souls exclaimed in tears of agony, "Have Mercy upon Me."[90] Next, Brainerd recounts the preparatory work of the soul before the reception of the Holy Spirit. He explains: "reduc'd almost to extremity; being in great Measure convinced of the Impossibility of their helping themselves, or of mending their own Hearts; and seem'd

to be upon the Point of giving up all Hope in themselves, and if venturing upon Christ as naked, helpless and undone. And yet were in Distress and anguish because they saw no safety in so doing, unless they could do something towards saving themselves."[91]

However, he reports that no one succumbed to enthusiasm. Convulsions, bodily agonies, "frightful screamings," and swoonings were not evident in this revival. "Nor has there been any Appearance of mental Disorders here, such as Visions, Trances, Imaginations of being under prophetick Inspiration."[92]

During the August awakening, a triumphant Brainerd proclaimed that old men and women who had been drunken wretches now lived as sober newly born Christians. Young children, youth, and even a man notorious for his past life as a conjurer, murderer, and drunkard accepted the gospel invitation. "Some few could neither go nor stand, but lay flat on the ground, as if pierced at the heart, crying incessantly for mercy."[93] Likening the outpouring of the Holy Spirit to a flood that swept away everything in its path, Brainerd recounts the baptism of twenty-five Indians (fifteen adults and ten children), one quarter of the remnant group. He writes on August 8: "I stood amazed at the influence that seiz'd the Audience almost universally, and could compare it to nothing more aptly, than the irresistible Force of a mighty Torrent, or swelling Deluge that with its insupportable Weight and Pressure, bears down and sweeps before it whatever is in its Way! Almost all Persons of all Ages were bow'd down with Concern together, and scarce one was able to withstand the Shock of this surprising Operation."[94]

The awakening and conversions created the possibility for a new evangelical Christian Indian ethnicity that Brainerd describes as ruled by love, with hearts knit together by tenderness and affection.[95] In addition to this sentimental portrait of loving unity founded upon new birth, the Crossweeksung mission sought to educate and catechize children and adults in literacy and doctrinal orthodoxy, enforce strict rules of Protestant morality and sobriety, and regulate Native family life to prevent abusive practices of husbands toward wives and children.[96]

Perhaps Brainerd's most significant contribution was the publication of the conversion experience of an unnamed Delaware woman. Her conver-

sion narrative served as an exemplar of the authenticity of religious affections and conversion for the many who found new birth in the awakening. Brainerd first encountered her as a stranger who visited his lodgings with other curious Indians during the August revival. She seemed to laugh at his words and mock his concern when he informed her that she possessed a soul that was in peril. The woman attended his worship service that day, acknowledged her depravity, and cried out in distress. "She could neither go nor stand, nor sit on her seat without being held up. After public service was over, she lay flat on the ground praying earnestly, and would take no notice of, nor give any answer to any that spoke to her."[97] She prayed incessantly for many hours, beseeching God for mercy.

During the late summer and fall she languished in religious melancholy, repentant but unable to find the assurance of salvation in her heart. Brainerd next writes about this woman in December, when she attended worship and manifested great "inward anguish of her heart." Despite the cold temperatures, sweat ran off her face, reflecting her agony and distress for her soul.[98] A week later, on the Lord's Day, December 22, Brainerd notes that the woman "appeared in a heavenly frame of mind."[99] He offered her pastoral care and asked her how she had achieved this sense of peace and assurance. He records her replies in broken English: "Me try, me try, save myself, last my strength be all gone couldn't me stir bit further. Den last, me forced let Jesus Christ alone, send me hell if he please."[100] Brainerd translates this in proper English in a footnote: "I tried to save myself till at last my strength was all gone and I could not stir any further. Then at last I was forced to let Jesus Christ alone, to send me to hell if he pleased."[101]

He asked her if she were willing to go to hell should it please God. The woman replied, "Could not me help it. My heart would wicked for all Could not make him good." Brainerd's note translates her words: "I could not help it. My heart would be wicked for all what I could do. I could not make it good."[102]

He inquired how she overcame this sense of inability and desperation. "She replied, 'Grant my heart Jesus Christ do what he please with me. Den me tink, grant my heart Jesus Christ send me hell. Didn't me care where he put me, me lobe him for all.'" Brainerd translated this as "My heart was

glad that Jesus Christ would do with me what he pleased. Then I thought my heart would be glad, although Christ would send me to hell. I did not care where he put me, I should love him for all; i.e. do what he would with me."[103]

The woman spent Christmas Eve with some pious friends, devoting her time to serious conversation and prayer. She fell upon a bed and experienced a vision or dream. As she told Brainerd, she came upon two paths. One was broad and crooked and turned to the left. The second path was straight and narrow on the right. When she awoke, she stated that "her Soul was extremely distress'd apprehending she how now turned back and forsaken Christ, and that there was therefore no Hope of any Mercy for her."[104] Brainerd attempted to console her and reassure her of the promise of salvation. However, her reply demonstrated that extensive and protracted time spent in preparation marked these conversions.

Indian converts did not quickly or easily find the assurance of divine love or new birth. Religious melancholy afflicted the faithful in their spiritual journey. She laments: "Ay, but I can't come, my wicked Heart won't come to Christ: I don't know how to come, &. And this she spoke in anguish of Spirit, striking her Breast, with Tears in her Eyes, and with such Earnestness in her looks as was indeed piteous and affecting."[105]

After nearly six months of preparation and struggle, Brainerd baptized her on January 10, 1746, following her testimonial of religious experience and having successfully answered his probing inquiries. Would she accept God's will if this required that her husband and infant son die and were sent to hell? Despite her deep love for her family, she answered Brainerd: "That God had made her feel that 'twas right for him to do what he pleased with all things'; and that 'would be right if she should cast her Husband and Son both into Hell'; and she saw 'twas so right for God to do what he pleased with them,' that she could not but rejoice if God should send them to Hell."[106]

Brainerd provides a final journal entry for this new child of God. On the Lord's Day, March 9, following worship, many Indians, including the Indian woman convert, came to his house for singing and fellowship. During the singing, she took leave of herself and enjoyed "a sweet and surprising

ecstasy" in the contemplation of the "glory, ravishing beauty, and excellency of Christ."[107] Like Brainerd, who was her pastoral guide, she also longed for mystical transport. Crying, shouting, and singing praises to God in English and Indian, her bliss continued for more than two hours. Brainerd recorded many of her expressions, including the following rapture: "O blessed Lord, do come, do come! O do take me away do let me die and go to Jesus Christ! I am afraid if I live I shall Sin again! O do let me die now! O dear Jesus do come! I can't stay! I can't stay! O how can I live in this World! Do take my Soul away from this Sinful Place! O let me never sin anymore! O what shall I do, what shall I do! Dear Jesus, O dear Jesus, &c."[108]

The published conversion narrative of this young woman, one among many in his journal, provided a compelling demonstration that New Light evangelical measures and missions were an instrument of divine purpose that assisted the work of the Holy Spirit in converting the heathen. From heathen ignorance and contempt for the truths of the gospel, she completed the arduous spiritual passage to new birth. In this pilgrimage, she suffered anguish for the state of her soul, humiliation and repentance for sin, an aversion to surrendering her self utterly to God, and religious melancholy and doubt. Her lasting victory over the carnal self required that she submit to God's will, even if it meant that her most beloved husband and son might perish and suffer damnation, should God require this sacrifice. As a newly born child of God, she redoubled her daily practice of piety, praying, meditating, and contemplating Jesus. This humble and submissive soul attained a state of joyful ecstasy—selfless rapture as a Native Protestant mystic transported from this world and possessed by the ravishing love of the savior.

Brainerd's model of evangelical conversion resonated with Delaware culture. His long speeches and sermons resembled traditional rhetoric and public speech. The emphasis upon a protracted spiritual journey from sin to new birth paralleled the rites of passage of the vision quest. The depiction of a loving God who initiated this morphology of conversion with his creation, and the legitimation of dreams and visions as evidence of divine illuminations and visitations by the Holy Spirit, resonated with traditional spirituality—the Great Spirit's relationship with his people.[109] John A. Grigg

argues that "there can be little doubt that many of the Delawares to whom Brainerd preached themselves believed they had entered a new spiritual dynamic. The willingness of Crossweeksung converts to accompany Brainerd on trips to the Forks and to the Susquehanna in order to preach to other Indians offers proof that they had discovered a new truth."[110]

The Crossweeksung Christian Indian congregation numbered forty-seven communicants (twenty-three adults and twenty-four children) in November 1745.[111] When Brainerd celebrated his final Communion with his congregation on October 5, 1746, the congregation had nearly doubled in size to eighty-five Indians—forty-three adults and forty-two children.[112] Reflecting upon the first anniversary of the mission, he proclaimed: "What amazing things has God wrought in this space of time for these poor people! What a surprising change appears in their tempers and behavior! How are morose and savage pagans in this short space of time transformed into agreeable, affectionate, and humble Christians! And their drunken and pagan howlings turned into devout and fervent prayers and praises to God!"[113]

Brainerd engaged a schoolmaster in January 1746 and provided thirty primers for children. Literacy proved essential for children and adults who needed to read scripture, psalters, the catechism, and other pious works as they prepared for conversion and Christian living.[114] In addition to his efforts to catechize and evangelize the Indian, Brainerd offered pastoral care. He resided with the Indians and opened his house for singing, fellowship meetings, and private conversations regarding sickness, death, and adversity. He routinely visited his congregants, stopping by house to house to exchange news and share hospitality. For example, on April 26 he prayed with a dying child and used this opportunity to exhort others to prepare for death. That evening he catechized those who would take the Lord's Supper the following day. He explained the fruits of this pastoral care and spiritual direction: "In singing and prayer, after catechizing, there appeared an agreeable tenderness and melting among them, and such token of brotherly love and affection.[115] Following Communion the next day, Brainerd explained: "I walked from house to house, and conversed particularly with most of the communicants, and found they had been almost universally refreshed at the Lord's table."[116]

Although the Crossweeksung mission prospered, most of the Lenapes lived in isolated households or extended family clusters scattered in the vicinity of the mission. In March 1746 the band, now numbering approximately 150 persons, began clearing fields and building the Bethel Christian Indian community near Cranberry, New Jersey, fifteen miles from the mission. Brainerd maintained that a concentrated Native settlement would facilitate the work of the church and school, and provide excellent land for planting and farming.[117] He writes: "After the Indians had gone to their work, to clear their lands, I got alone and poured out my soul to God, that he would smile upon these feeble beginnings, and that he would settle an Indian town that might be a 'mountain of holiness.'"[118] The band removed to Bethel on May 4 with the intention of living in "a more compact settlement in order to their more convenient enjoyment of the Gospel and other means of instruction, as well as the comforts of life."[119]

Brainerd boarded with a nearby English family when he visited Bethel. However, he was dying of tuberculosis, and in the fall of 1746 Brainerd's wasted body was wracked with fever and debilitating headaches. His lungs hemorrhaged and he could no longer minister to the Bethel congregation. Writing on the Lord's Day, November 2, he laments, "Unable to preach, and scarcely able to sit up, the whole day. Was grieved and almost sunk to see my poor people destitute of the means of grace; especially considering they could not read and so were under great disadvantages for spending the Sabbath comfortably."[120]

Brainerd departed Bethel the next day. Before leaving, he went from house to house to bid farewell to his people. He writes: "I scarcely left one house but some were in tears; and many were not only affected with my being about to leave them, but with the solemn addresses I made them upon divine things; for I was helped to be 'fervent in spirit' [Acts 18:25; Rom. 12:11] while I discoursed with them."[121]

Despite his illness and untimely death, Brainerd succeeded in creating a nascent Christian Indian church community founded upon the principles of English civilization and New Light theology. However paternalistic his writings appear to contemporary sensibilities, he showered love and affection upon "his people." Unlike Sergeant, who built a house on a hill removed

from the Stockbridge mission following his marriage in 1739, Brainerd did not maintain social distance from the Natives. Lenape villagers frequented his house to share hospitality, singing, fellowship, and pastoral care. In his teachings and conduct, Brainerd fostered the Native values of hospitality, generosity, and the reciprocity of gift exchange. He promoted an experiential heart religion that valorized powerful religious affections and the selflessness of religious ecstasy that resembled shamanic healing of Native lifeways.

After Brainerd left Bethel, he spent the winter in New Jersey and assisted in the examination and ordination of his brother John on April 13, 1747, by the New York Presbytery. The next day, David Brainerd wrote in his diary: "This day my brother went to my people."[122]

David Brainerd traveled to New England in May 1747 and eventually resided in Jonathan Edwards's home in Northampton, where he would pass his final months until his death on October 9. In an undated letter to John, he stated that "I am now just on the verge of eternity," and he charged his brother to suppress heathen religion among his people at Bethel.[123] "Charge my people in the name of their dying minister . . . to live and walk as becomes the Gospel. Tell them how great the expectations of God and his people are for them, and how awfully they will wound God's cause if they fall into vice; as well as fatally prejudice other poor Indians."[124]

John Brainerd (1720–1781) was twenty-seven and a recent Yale gradu-ate when he accepted his brother's charge and the support of the Scottish Society to take over the mission at Bethel. Subject to bouts of hypochon-dria and religious melancholy throughout his life, lacking experience as a minister and missionary, and unfamiliar with Native lifeways and language, he never succeeded in this work.[125] Writing to Ebenezer Pemberton, chief correspondent of the Scottish Society on June 23, 1747, three months after beginning his work at Bethel, John reports that one hundred Indians settled there, and thirty-seven were admitted to the sacraments. The settlement had declined by one-third in the interim following his brother's departure. He reports that fifty-three children attend the school: twenty-seven can read scripture and know the Assembly's Shorter Catechism by heart. The settlement had planted forty acres of "English grain" and an equal amount of Indian corn.[126]

David Brainerd had devoted nearly two years in his mission to the Christian Indians at Crossweeksung and Bethel. Although he might have envisioned a mountain of holiness, two years proved insufficient to establish an Indian village world that would achieve prosperity and economic self-sufficiency, or that could act as a semiautonomous polity and ensure land tenure for its inhabitants. In addition, revivals are by their nature transient episodes where evangelicals receive the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and encounter the sacred. The white heat of preaching, evening meetings, and religious activities, where the community focuses principally on saving souls, finding converts, and seeking new birth, soon gives way to times of spiritual coldness. In the return to normalcy and to mundane secular living, the intensity of the sacred cannot be sustained. In addition, Bethel Christian Indians encountered the deleterious forces of the colonial situation that would reduce them to an impoverished and powerless remnant group. Without the advocacy of indigenous religious and secular leaders, like Mohegan and Pequot evangelicals, Bethel's Christian Indians did not successfully counter the paternalistic administration of missionaries and New Jersey authorities.

Evangelical Christian Indian religious personhood represented the attainment of a lofty cultural ideal—new birth and a sanctified life devoted to godly living and universal disinterested benevolence. Progressive sanctification necessitated that the new men and women would deepen their relationship with God, demonstrate a maturing understanding of scripture and doctrine, and live in obedience to God's law. Evangelical Indians embraced a system of religious ethics and life regulation that resisted the disorienting impact of alcoholism, poverty, and anomie at the loss of traditional lifeways. In addition, democratic selves could find new voices to advocate, contest, and resist colonial powers. Newly born men and women could also attain powers of agency as legal persons, as we have seen among the Mohegans, Montauketts, Pequots, and other tribes in this period. Finally, evangelical religious persons could successfully counter the discourse of conquest and claim their rightful place as a distinct people with an authentic culture. However, none of this transpired at Bethel. We have no accounts of literate and educated evangelical Natives who assumed positions of religious

and political leadership and who documented their struggles or religious experiences.

Bethel, like many eighteenth-century Indian towns, did not prosper. The relentless forces of colonialism undermined this village world and Christian Indian community. Continued pressure from white settlement, contested land tenure, and dispossession from the sale of land to pay off debt, as well as poverty, characterized this mission. Chief Justice Robert Morris of New Jersey prosecuted a plan to nullify existing Indian land titles and drive out the Bethel settlers.[127]

Furthermore, John Brainerd did not succeed as an evangelist. His diary entry for September 26, 1749, stated that he "called my people together; exhorted as usual, and afterwards made some practical suggestions."[128] Nevertheless, in a published letter in 1752, after nearly five years at the mission, John would report no growth in the settlement and a stagnant church and school.[129] The Natives were farmers "off and on" but relied upon traditional hunting and gathering practices. In his private journal, Brainerd lamented that many of his brother's converts had "grievously backslidden."[130] In addition, he charged many with the sins of maintaining indolent, wandering habits and drunkenness. "This sin of drunkenness and the effects of it have given me inexpressible trouble and anxiety of soul."[131] Absent the charismatic leadership of David Brainerd and the continued cultivation of evangelical religious personhood, Lenape villagers at Bethel adopted the familiar social and cultural disorientation of colonized peoples.

By 1753 the erosion of the mission from land dispossession and apostasy forced Brainerd to search for alternative sites to relocate. Working with Jonathan Edwards and the Scottish Society, Brainerd explored proposals to join the Stockbridge mission, relocate to the upper Susquehanna in New York at Onohguanga, or purchase four thousand acres of land near New Brunswick. When no remedy proved possible, and with his people landless and scattered, the Society dismissed Brainerd in 1755, ended the mission, and hired William Tennent to visit the remaining Indians.[132]

Some disaffected and dispossessed Lenapes had joined with the Minisink and Pompon bands of the Delawares to attack English settlements on the Delaware River during the French and Indian War, from 1755 to 1758. Twenty-

seven white settlers were killed in these Indian depredations. In an effort to placate the Delawares and end these hostilities, the Treaty of Easton of 1758 stipulated that if Indians would abandon all land claims in the state, the New Jersey legislature would appropriate £1,600 in settlement. New Jersey governor Francis Bernard sponsored the Treaty of Crosswicks in June 1758 and secured 3,044 acres of pine barren and swamp at Edgepillock near Indian Mills in Burlington County, which he named "Brotherton."[133] Writing to the Lords of Trade, Governor Bernard explains about the creation of the only Indian reservation in the state:

> June 15, 1759. I went to Burlington County to lay out the Indian Town there, I have before informed your Lordships that by agreement with the Indians south of Raritan They released all their claims in the province, in consideration of a tract of 3000 Acres to be purchased for their use. This purchase was made & the Indians are removed to the place. . . . To this place I went with 3 of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs, where we laid out the plan of a town, to which I gave the Name of Brotherton . . . & afterwards ordered lots of land to be laid for the Indians to clear and till, the land already cleared being to remain in common till they have acquired themselves private property by their own industry.[134]

John Brainerd again received a legislative commission, funded by the synods of New Jersey and Philadelphia, to evangelize the former Bethel mission now relocated to Brotherton, which numbered one hundred souls in 1759. He remained until his retirement in 1777. The mission erected a log meetinghouse in 1760, and by 1762 the Natives had a school, trading store, gristmill, and blacksmith shop.

Brainerd's journal for 1761 notes a second Christian Indiantown called Wepink in Burlington County, where he preached, mediated disputes, and lectured on the perils of idleness and the virtues of hard work, industry, and frugality.[135] Brainerd ministered to mixed congregations of white settlers and Lenapes, which necessitated that he conduct separate services in Munsee and English.

The gristmill burned down in 1762, and whites encroached upon Broth-

erton and used the pine barrens as unfenced pastures to graze their live-stock. Indians fell into debt to white traders. Farming and other enterprises failed to bring material comfort or self-sufficiency, and the tribe petitioned without success for state economic support in 1762. Neither the state, the missionary society, nor the local synods could aid Brotherton. Many Natives left the reservation to work in local farms and factories. Thus, the colonial conditions of poverty, powerlessness, and depopulation that characterized Stockbridge and other New England tribes also afflicted the Brotherton group. Herbert C. Kraft explains: "In 1774 there were approximately sixty adults living on the reservation. Some Indians worked at Atsion Forge making iron bars from pig iron. . . . Others were laborers on farms owned by the settlers."[136] In 1801 the Brotherton group agreed to join the Mahican tribe and relocate to New Stockbridge. The New Jersey state legislature sold their lands and used this money to relocate the tribe in May 1802.

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The Moravian Missions to Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch

The United Brethren, or Unitas Fratrum, who were known colloquially as the Moravians from their country of origin, received the sponsorship of Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf in 1722 and established the community of Herrnhutt in Saxony. From this base Moravians aggressively proselytized through foreign missions, including a foray into Georgia in 1730–39 and the creation of a community in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1741. From 1740 to 1746, Moravians established mission communities among the Mahicans in Dutchess County, New York, at Shekomeko, and in Connecticut at Pachgatgoch (Skaticoke) in Kent and Wechquadnach in Sharon.

As part of the evangelical revival in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Moravians combined strains of German pietism that prescribed each believer to seek a Christ-centered devotionalism with the Wesleyan Methodist injunction that newly born souls must craft a religious identity through the methodical obedience to God's law. The foundation of Moravian divinity rested upon a distinctive religious stance toward self and world—the childlike believer who embraced the inner-worldly mystical contemplation of Christ—flooded with religious affections of acosmic love, thankful for the blood of the lamb and the side-hole wound symbolizing the crucifixion and redeeming suffering of the savior.

The Moravian mission to Pachgatgoch created a system of religious paternalism and ethnogenesis reminiscent of Eliot's praying towns: a penitential sense of life, rituals of evangelical humiliation and repentance that required believers to undergo periodic purgation of sin to seek spirit power from Jesus as an other-than-human person, and an ethical code to promote godly living, order, and village unity as newly born brothers and sisters united by faith. What was the fate of this experiment in Christian Indian identity and community formation? How are we to understand the goals and tactics of Moravian missionaries, self-proclaimed "pilgrims" in their missions to Natives? What was the nature of Christian religious identity and spirituality for the Native people at Pachgatgoch?

Zinzendorf articulated a missionary theology in the 1740s and 1750s that stipulated how each neophyte would surrender to the Holy Spirit following a personal and emotional encounter with Christ. To ascertain the authenticity of this conversion, Moravians instituted *das Sprechen* (the Speaking) wherein communicants engaged in auricular confession. Rowena McClinton explains: "Failure to succumb to the demands of the Speaking resulted in severe admonishments. In the case of a heathen convert, the punishment of the first offense was reproof; the second, suspension from Communion; the third, expulsion from the congregation. These Speakings promoted a stern system of moral discipline over the community by monitoring the membership's behavior."[1]

Missionaries routinized a system of pastoral care founded upon Speaking encounters during weekly visits to the Indian huts and in confessional preparation for Communion at Sunday worship. The Moravian brother or sister questioned and examined the spiritual state of each convert. Did he or she manifest a seriousness of purpose, a rejection of worldliness, and surrender to Jesus? Was Christ the new center of life? Native converts needed to develop a new dimension of inwardness, interiority, and introspection as the Speaking necessitated ceaseless self-examination.

The distinctive features of Moravian doctrine and spirituality explain the rapid acceptance of this variant of Christianity and the success of their missions. Moravian pietism envisioned a universalism of grace in which salvation was available to all men and women through the sacrifice of Je-

sus, whose death by crucifixion rescued all of humanity from "the yoke of Satan" and the finality of death.[2] This belief in the sufficiency of Christ's atonement (*Versöhuungeslehre*) provided an "all sufficient propitiation at the judgment and feet of God" for each sinner that ensured salvation.[3] Each believer needed to contemplate the suffering, wounds, and blood of Christ to foster an intense emotional connection with God.

August Gottlieb Spangenberg explained how Moravian doctrine entailed a spiritual journey which each believer began with the realization of innate depravity and sinful alienation from God and proceeded with the contemplation of Christ's sacrifice that ended in adoption as a child of God. Christ constituted the center of this pilgrimage. He writes: "The dam is now broken down by Christ, which prevented the stream of the loving-kindness and grace of God from being poured out upon us."[4] Mahican neophytes perceived the rite of baptism as a momentous and transformative event that transferred, through the blood of Christ, his manitou, or spirit force, to the newly converted. Neophytes now possessed new spiritual powers to regulate their conduct and lead godly lives.[5] In place of Indian names, Moravians gave each neophyte a biblical Christian name, designating each newly born as "brother" and "sister."

Moravian doctrine articulated by Zinzendorf in 1743 placed increased emphasis upon the "Blood Theology," with constant, seemingly obsessive references to the suffering of Christ on the cross, the side-hole wound, his nail wounds, and his blood, which reminded believers of the sacrifice that would redeem humanity. Believers embraced a daily, inward fellowship with Christ, who was viewed as a loving and compassionate friend and anticipated a life order of *Lebensgefühl*—a joyful feeling for life and bliss.[6]

This Christ-centered conversion experience softened the idea of conversion as a wrenching or protracted inward struggle (*Busskampf*) in which each believer needed to confront his or her wretchedness through the methodical practice of self-examination, resulting in the confession of a seemingly endless catalog of sin.[7] Zinzendorf's theology of the heart proclaimed a "blessed happiness" (*Glückseligkeit*) for the childlike neophyte whose heart was daily refilled with the love for Christ, who successfully traversed the

spiritual itinerary of shame and sorrow, a broken and shattered heart made anew by the contemplation of Christ.[8]

Spangenberg writes that even the most depraved heathen could meditate upon the bleeding and wounded savior—the dead body of Christ and his redeeming sacrifice—and quickly apprehend the assurance of grace and the realization that God's love abides. The most depraved heathen, he explains, "is conscious of his deep corruption and sin, is grieved and distressed on account of it, looks upon himself as a lost and condemned man, trembles at the judgment of God, and cried out, from the very bottom of his heart, 'Who shall deliver me from the punishment I have so many thousand times deserved?'—There is ground to hope that he will soon be relieved."[9]

Moravian missionary enclaves emulated the religious community at Herrnhutt or Bethlehem by seeking to establish a Brüdergemeine (congregational community of brothers and sisters united by faith). The circulating group of missionary men and women, the Pilgergemeinen, or "Pilgrims," based in Bethlehem, directed the Indian missions and promoted the religious ideal that when united, the congregational community became a vessel to receive the Holy Spirit. Missionary brothers and sisters together with their Indian charges, viewed each convert as a child of God who accepted fraternal correction and mutual edification. All hearts, thoughts, desires, and actions needed to be united in love to Jesus, a Christocentric fusion of souls, that submitted to the leadings of the Holy Spirit as mediated to the faithful by Moravian and Native spiritual elders.[10]

Moravian evangelical piety encouraged meditation, prayer, and forms of communal worship with a loving and compassionate God and a savior-prophet who had redeemed humanity by his suffering and sacrifice. The United Brethren practiced a public and communal auricular confession of sin that cleansed communicants of sin, healed social divisions, and unified the congregation before they celebrated Communion. In addition, rites of baptism, foot washing, and love feasts—ceremonial and celebratory meals—created joyful and vital religious exercises that characterized this new Christian tribalism and blended the traditional practices of gift exchange and hospitality into a "Mahicanized Christianity."[11]

Moravian missionary David Zeisberger developed a systematic ethos of

life regulation intended to create an orderly Brüdergemeine and institute a new form of Christian communalism and civility. Those awakened in the Native village that was reconstituted as a congregational church community needed to observe the Sabbath and to embrace monogamy, rejecting Indian "heathen marriage" in favor of "apostolic marriage" in which only baptized men and women with the permission of the community could marry. Respect for and obedience to elders, parents, and teachers created the basis for traditional authority. The "captain," or headman, also served as the steward conducting pastoral visits and as the "Servant of the Word," interpreting scripture and serving as language interpreter in leading twice-daily quarter-hour services. As at Mashpee, Pachgatgoch sachemship conflated secular and religious authority.

Helper's Conferences were comprised of Servants and leading Native communicants who in consultation with missionaries and schoolteachers adjudicated disputes and expelled persons who committed violations by failing to abstain from alcohol or who were found guilty of public drunkenness, violence against persons, murder, stealing, adultery, and prostitution. Believers needed to receive permission to leave the village before hunting and travel for work or trade. Finally, believers were prohibited from going to war or enlisting as soldiers.[12]

The Herrnhutt and Bethlehem communities developed as lay religious brotherhoods of the redeemed who practiced a communal economy or community of goods. In addition to kin-based households, these communities were also structured by eight age-graded, sex-segregated choirs (*Banden*) that included small boys and small girls, older boys and older girls, single men and single women, married people, and widowed brethren. Choirs constituted sodalities that met for prayer, mutual edification, and singing, and fostered piety, emotional surrender to Jesus, and godly living.

Moravian missionaries provided a model of spiritual identity, a system of godly personal conduct and life regulation, and a model of economy that combined patriarchal agrarian households with communal gardens and mutual aid. They brought economic resources—monies to build gristmills, kilns, meetinghouses, roads, and other improvements. They built schools and supplied teachers to catechize Indian children and produce a generation

of literate Christian Indians. However, these pilgrims were not acquisitive and did not seek tracts of Indian land or timber for personal gain.[13]

As pacifists, Moravians steadfastly opposed military participation or warfare and advocated neutrality and noninvolvement in colonial campaigns. In matters of commerce, Katherine Carté Engel argues: "The missionaries tried to teach Native Americans what they considered to be moral trading practices."[14] Missionaries acted as intermediaries and advocates in political negotiations with local and state officials and in settling land, trade, debt, and labor disputes with white neighbors.

Moravians surrendered to the leadings of the Holy Spirit as reflected in their drawing lots to determine important decisions or to ascertain which neophytes might receive baptism or Communion and be granted admission into the *gemeine*. Their prime directive was to secure Indian souls for Jesus and to reject the fallen world in favor of creating a spiritual hothouse—a pietist enclave that celebrated the *communitas* of the Brüdergemeine and enjoyed rituals that promoted an ecstatic mystical contemplation of Christ.

Engel explains the broader significance of the Moravian missionary initiative in North America that was centered at Bethlehem in the middle of the eighteenth century. She states: "They occupied a particular moment in time: the rise of an expansive evangelical revivalism within Protestantism; the growth of an Atlantic community of religiously minded individuals who sought to spread and create a sense of spiritual rebirth; the presence of an Atlantic economy capable of supporting the nearly constant crossings of migrants, missionaries, ministers, publications and letters."[15] Given these geopolitical, economic, and religious developments, what types of Christian Indian communities and spiritual identities resulted from this unprecedented outpouring of evangelical zeal?

Wherever Moravian missions developed as the basis for the ethnogenesis of remnant, refugee groups (e.g., Pachgatgoch, Gnadenhütten, Pennsylvania, and New Fairfield, Ontario), Moravians attempted to institutionalize regimented and authoritarian forms of life regulation and religious practice.[16] Here we encounter the unbrotherly consequences of the religious brotherhood, the Brüdergemeine, in coercion, the disruption of families

through the exclusion and disfellowship of sinners, and patterns of fraternal correction.

Wherever Moravians established mission stations (self-sufficient communities and farms) as guests within cohesive Indian nations, missionaries adopted a more pragmatic approach. They deemphasized issues of church discipline and the eradication of Native ways, and they accommodated to Native demands for schooling for Indian children or opportunities for trade and hospitality (e.g., the Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees in Georgia, 1805–21). Native communities reanimated and reaffirmed their own sense of collective identity in response to Moravian initiatives.

Moravian missionary Christian Henry Rauch happened upon two drunken Mahican headmen, Shabash and Wassamapah, in New York City in the summer of 1740. Once sober, they invited Rauch to return with them to their village of Shekomeko in Dutchess County, New York. Shekomeko was a remnant village of fewer than one hundred Mahicans who resided in sixteen households that were affiliated with two lineage groups. After more than a century of colonization, they faced poverty, chronic alcohol abuse, cultural disorientation, and the imminent loss of their homelands. The Shekomeko villagers had resisted Sergeant's missionary outreach from Stockbridge and remained antagonistic to Christianity.

Local Dutch traders discredited Rauch by suggesting that he intended to enslave Mahican children. Others feared that the missionary would divide the tribe into traditional and Christian factions. Wassamapah threatened to shoot Rauch, and another drunken villager attacked him with a hatchet. Instead of extending hospitality and showing generosity to their guest, villagers drove him away to the nearby farm of Palatinate immigrant Johannes Rau.[17]

Wassamapah, lame and disabled from a life of hard drinking, finally accepted Rauch when, as Moravian historian George Henry Loskiel relates the story, the headman observed the visiting missionary asleep in a wigwam. Wassamapah remarked, "This man cannot be a bad man, for he fears no evil, not even from us, who are so savage, but sleeps comfortably and places his life in our hands."[18]

Moravian missionaries were instructed to gain acceptance by leading

exemplary lives as gentle, loving men and women of faith, "to be in love, peace and fellowship of heart and spirit with all the children of God."[19] Instead of engaging in doctrinal disputes about the true or authentic forms of Christian religion, they conducted their lives in the imitation of Christ, as pacifists. They defined their lives and mission through acts of kindness, generosity, and sincere concern for the well-being of the Mahicans. Without designs on land or other material self-interest, Moravians lived selflessly among the villagers, cultivating gardens, planting crops, and sharing food. In this manner they would "lead all souls to Christ, not with words only, but also by their lives and conversation."[20] Rachel Wheeler describes the Moravians as adopting a strategy of nonaggressive proselytizing, bringing Natives to Christ by living simply among them, providing free care to the sick and dying, encouraging deathbed conversions, and crafting a mission that resonated with traditional lifeways of hospitality and reciprocity.[21]

Aaron Spencer Fogelman maintains in *Jesus Is Female: Moravians and the Challenge of Radical Religion in Early America* that Zinzendorf's evangelical theology challenged the established gender order by feminizing the idea of God with the concept of the "motherhood of the Holy Spirit," the icon of Christ bleeding from his wounds on the cross, and depictions of a vagina-like side hole in the Crucifixion. Here Jesus became a mother responsible for spiritual new birth, as believers could find nurturance, protection, and joy by living in the side hole. In addition, the inner-worldly mystical contemplation of Christ was frequently expressed in erotic, sensual language of spiritual marriage of the believer with God.[22]

Moravians translated at least thirty hymns into the Algonquian dialect of the Mahican Indians that celebrated the wounds and blood as hot, sweet, and beautiful. During daily, Sabbath, and festival prayers, Indians sang these hymns. We know that Moravian pilgrims hungered for a nonrational, mystical transport, intoxicated by religious emotions of joyous self-release into the side hole, in rapture as they enjoyed union with the godhead. They mediated these spiritual ideals to the Indian neophytes under their direction.

Did Mahican women embrace this radical theology? What did it mean to them? Wheeler suggests a parallelism between blood-wound theology and Mahican traditional beliefs and rituals of menstrual blood. However,

the evidence written by Moravian observers does not directly substantiate these inferences.

Wheeler documents the life of a Pachgatgoch woman, born Amanari-achque and baptized in February 1743 as Rachel. Fleeing from a troubled Indian marriage, she married the missionary Christian Friedrich Post later that year, although she refused to live with him in Shekomeko or consummate their union until December. Nine months later she gave birth to her first child, a boy named Ludwig Johannes (Hannes) who died at eight months of age in 1744. That year she also lost three siblings. Following a stillbirth, she gave birth to a daughter, Maria, who died in 1747. Throughout all this adversity—the difficulty in loving and submitting to Indian and Moravian husbands and the untimely deaths of her children and kindred—she embraced what Wheeler terms an indigenized feminine Christianity, seeking spiritual direction from Mother Spangenberg and her new spiritual family in Bethlehem.[23] Above all, she credited the life-giving properties of Christ's blood and the experiential nearness of Christ, transforming the language of inner-worldly mysticism into a spirit force to sustain self, family, and community.[24] Rachel explains: "When I give my child suck and I think about the blood and wounds of our Savior I feel my heart sometimes very wet and so I think my child sucks the blood of our Savior and I feel the angels look after me and my child."[25]

In January 1742 Gottlieb Büttner and his wife joined the mission, followed in February by Martin Mack. That month Rauch traveled to Bethlehem to receive formal ordination as a deacon and to baptize the mission's first converts. Shabash was baptized as Abraham, followed by Seim and Kiop, who were baptized as Isaac and Jacob, respectively. In April Wassamapah, now known as Tschoop (Job), received baptism as Johannes. Once these village headmen accepted baptism, their wives, children, and kindred embraced Christianity, paving the way for the formation of the Mahican congregation at Shekomeko. On August 16, 1742, Count von Zinzendorf arrived with his daughter to baptize six villagers and establish this Native Moravian church community.[26] By the fall of 1743, approximately half the village had accepted baptism—forty-seven of ninety inhabitants.[27] A year later twenty-five Mahicans were communicants (fifteen men and ten women).[28]

From 1742 until the termination of the mission in 1746, Moravians and Mahicans worked together to prevent alcohol use and abuse and to prohibit Natives from incurring new debts through trade with English and Dutch merchants. In addition, Moravians built a church, mission house, bake oven, grain storage "barrack," stable, and schoolhouse, and they established a Christian cemetery. They planted fields of hay and grain and cultivated a garden that included turnips, cabbage, and other European vegetables. By 1745 the village was transformed into a colonial settlement with seventeen European-style houses built by Christian Mahicans.[29]

The congregation at Shekomeko celebrated their first Communion and love feast on March 3, 1743, emulating the apostolic church when at the conclusion of the ceremony the brothers and sisters embraced one another with a kiss of peace. Their "hearts were filled with love and awe; all were melted into tears. . . . We were overcome with weeping."[30]

New converts experienced the religious affections of joy, ecstasy, and rapture. Loskiel captures the tenor of these religious affections in his account of Delaware converts in Bethlehem in 1741. He writes: "Their hearts were filled with such rapture, that they could not keep silence, but made known to all the white people who came into their hut, what great favour had been bestowed upon them."[31]

Brother Mack reports his visit to Pachgatgoch in January 1741, where he encountered a Mahican family who had recently been awakened by a New Light itinerant. The father expressed his religious anxiety at the prospect of an angry, wrathful God who would condemn unredeemed sinners to hell. This Mahican lamented that "God was exceedingly wroth with them and would send them all to Hell."[32] Loskiel describes how, with the assistance of Brother Mack's preaching and pastoral care, the villagers rejected the religious melancholy that characterized the evangelical pietism of the awakening in favor of the Moravian doctrine of happiness and assurance guaranteed by the sacrifice of Christ:

> The poor heathen, who was already convinced of, and alarmed at, their wretched and forlorn estate by Nature could no longer find comfort in this doctrine, but came to Br. Mack to desire that he would preach

to them. . . . When Br. Mack began to speak of the happiness of those who believe in the Lord Jesus, and by him are redeemed from the power of sin and its condemnation, there was a great emotion among themselves, how happy they should be, if the Lord be as gracious to them, as he had been to their countrymen at Shekomeko.[33]

Traditional Mahican lifeways at Shekomeko proved difficult to sustain in the context of the colonial situation, with populations depleted by disease, the encroachment of white settlers, the destructive forces of alcohol abuse, and their marginal place in the market economy. The loss of their ancestral lands, the depletion of game, and their inability to provide for the community through hunting, gathering, traditional agriculture, or seasonal migrations meant poverty, scarcity, and hunger, especially in the winter months. The once familiar roles for men as warriors, hunters, and diplomats were no longer possible.

Wheeler's study of the Shekomeko mission identifies the formation of a Mahican Christianity that helped the villagers accommodate to the new colonial order. Moravians fostered a social intimacy in the mission, utilized Native preachers—Johannes, Isaac, and Jonathan—to proselytize and operate the church. The missionaries incorporated singing, ritualized foot washing, and love feasts as Christian equivalents of Native patterns of reciprocity and hospitality.[34] In her estimation, "To accept native modes of hospitality—lodging in Mahican homes, sharing in meals and in labor, selecting and appointing neophytes to serves as missionaries—was an implicit affirmation of the legitimacy of Mahican identity."[35]

Moravian theology and ritual praxis shared an affinity with Mahican lifeways and provided the foundation for renewal and revitalization of a Christian Indian ethnic identity with Jesus as an other-than-human person, a powerful manitou who cleansed believers of sin, protected his children from adversity, and provided good fortune for the people (salvation). "All life was to be lived for the Savior."[36] Believers embraced a Christocentric life through surrender to Jesus, attended worship each day, followed the sober, industrious ethos of Moravian teachings, and found renewed access to spirit power in love feasts and feasting on the body and blood of the savior during

Communion. This Christian Indian ethnic identity in the Brüdergemeine constituted a village united in loving fellowship with a renewed and revitalized reciprocity and harmony between the other-than-human person, Jesus, and his children. "The Moravians' distinctive mission facilitated the indigenization of Christianity at Shekomeko and the surrounding Mohican communities. Native men and women found new sources of spiritual power in the blood and wounds of Christ and creatively adapted Christian practice to meet the particular challenges of colonialism."[37]

Critics of Moravian devotional theology, like Samuel Finley, denounced the United Brethren as false apostles and purveyors of attractive delusions who corrupted the truth and, like Satan, corrupted the hearts and minds of believers. Heaping condemnation upon Moravians in *Satan strip'd of his angelick robe*, he explains how Brethren deemphasize the idea of a conscience burdened by the realization of depravity and sinful alienation from God's law. Without methodical self-examination and self-abasing repentance and humiliation before God, new birth was not possible. In place of religious melancholy and the inward struggle with sin and doubt, Finley charges that the Moravian morphology of conversion created a facile sense of assurance and a false happiness. He identifies a crucial error of this doctrine: "That a true Christian, who lives near the Saviour has no Heart-Condemnings or down castings thro' Challenges of Conscience, or Sorrow, Darkness, or Desertion, but constant Peace and Comfort."[38]

Moravian doctrine, according to Finley, fostered a "deluded conscience" that "makes a person frothy, light and unafraid." A believer "has much more Peace and Comfort than either it can give satisfying Reason for, or yet can be warranted from Scripture."[39] Finally, Brethren stood accused of encouraging an irrational enthusiasm and overreliance on religious affections at the expense of a sober and rational use of judgment to ascertain the dictates of God's law, the path of duty, and the ubiquity of sin. Likening Brethren to frightful heathens—warring Indians who ravaged English settlements in King Philip's War—Moravians captivated the weak who could not resist this assault. Finley excoriates Moravian proselytizing: "Thus they go ravening after Souls, as Wolves, and use cunning like Foxes. They take sculking Methods, creeping into Houses, *and lead Captive silly Women*."[40]

Moravians established four classes of religious status and identity among the tribe: (1) "New People" or catechumens who receive religious instruction as they are weaned from heathenism, (2) candidates for baptism, (3) baptized neophytes, and (4) communicants admitted to full liturgical privileges including those selected by the missionaries to serve as Native lay preachers and teachers. Moravians designated the baptized Mahican headmen Abraham and Johannes as lay preachers, thus joining traditional sachemship with Christian spiritual power and ensuring the rapid conversion of Mahican lineage groups.[41] The opportunities for Native Christian leadership, however, were constrained by the power exercised by lay Moravian brothers who never allowed independent Native leaders to emerge and to contest missionary authority in religious or temporal matters. Native assistants and helpers assisted in the work of the mission through pastoral care, visiting the sick, conducting meetings to instruct neophytes, and preaching during daily worship.

Moravian belief and practice forged a religion of brotherliness.[42] Here brothers and sisters united by faith created a new salvation (soteriological) community. The remnant Mahican village of Shekomeko, which included representatives of two lineage groups, reconstituted themselves as a Christian Indian ethnic community dedicated to the fulfillment of the ethical mandates of the Sermon on the Mount, and were bound together by acosmic love that overflowed traditional social boundaries of lineage, tribe, or race to include all of God's children. As Max Weber explains, for these new church communities (Gemeinde): "The more comprehensive and the more inward the aim of salvation has been, the more it has been taken for granted that the faithful should ultimately stand closer to the savior, the prophet, the priest, the father confessor than to natural relations and to the matrimonial community."[43]

This religion of love and brotherliness envisioned the creation of a joyful salvation community founded upon the belief that converts were children of God who would spontaneously achieve a "unity in the Spirit." "It is highly necessary for the members of Jesus to be collectively of one mind, and to remain in peace, provided they be only faithful and obedient."[44] However, the European leaders largely determined the nature and content of this

unity in the Spirit and decided who could join, who deserved to remain, and who would be excluded from Communion or receive a total separation from the community as a consequence of sin or rule breaking. Congregants accepted these rules and the decisions of their superiors, and struggled to achieve the unity and single-mindedness required of the faithful.

One drunken communicant at Shekomeko received exclusion from the community and separation from his family until he could repent of this sin and reform his conduct. After a tearful confession and plea before the congregation, the repentant man was readmitted. "The whole congregation was grieved on this account; but the Brethren were desired in the public meeting not to treat their brother harshly, but rather to recommend him in prayer to the pardon and mercy of Jesus, as he most sincerely repented of his fault."[45]

Examples of church discipline from the mission journal of the New Fairfield community on the Thames River in Ontario (1792–1813) offer a glimpse into the inner workings of this joyful community. Repeatedly, Moravian brethren recounted their struggle to suppress the persistent problems of alcohol abuse and the practice of heathenism—powwows, dances, feasts, curing ceremonies, and the use of sacred amulets. When the Indian baptized as Zachaeus left the congregation to seek a pagan doctor for treatment for an injured leg that would not heal, he received the following admonition: "He was strongly rebuked for his faithlessness and told that unbelief leads to all sorts of fears that are nothing but the devil's lies and obfuscations. Satan's work thrives in children of unbelief. Whoever does what he did is not a child of God and has no part in His Kingdom. He is a child of the devil because he calls to him for help instead of God who has given him life, and what is more, eternal life."[46]

When Anna Helena admitted having a "Beson"—a sacred talisman that she believed possessed the power to ensure health, prosperity, and good fortune—the missionaries confiscated this "vile thing, a lying and deceitful work of the devil. . . . In her presence we threw it into the fire. We have had to do this many times before."[47]

Not infrequently, missionaries excluded the wayward or unconverted adult children of communicants, which resulted in the disruption of ex-

tended kinship groups. The widow Sabria faced a difficult choice after the expulsion of her sinful children. "We told her that if she could part with her children who loved sin, we would not send her away. So it is that many get a rude awakening and come to their senses."[48] Brother Zeisberger admonished Bill Henry that his son would receive exclusion if he did not repent and reform. Bill Henry replied that "if his son did not change, he would send him away himself. His son would see how wretched and dangerous life is among the wild Indians, something he never experienced. Perhaps then he would come to his senses. It is hard to send one's own children into heathenism where their spiritual and physical life is threatened."[49]

The pain of separation proved unbearable for many Christian Indians. Despite the obligation to grow in piety by surrendering to the mercy of Christ, and contrary to the idea that one's commitment to God and the congregation must supersede their bonds to kin, many Indians violated the missionaries' dictates and the rule of unity by surreptitiously retrieving their kin.

> The brethren lure their misguided [adult] children who have either been sent away or have left of their own accord back into the community. Some of them do this in secret. [The missionaries asked that parents stop this practice.] "Rather, they should wait until the children return of their own accord at which time we would ask them of their intentions and see if the Holy Ghost has awakened them from their sinner's sleep. . . . we summoned all the mothers and fathers to the schoolhouse for a meeting which did not go entirely to our satisfaction."[50]

The Moravian ethic of brotherliness had unbrotherly consequences for the Indians who attempted to fulfill the demands of total unity and total religious commitment. Here Christian Indians confronted an unyielding moral absolutism and coercive church discipline that was administered by missionary stewards who relentlessly worked to eradicate the last vestiges of traditional religion and the kin-based values of reciprocity, hospitality, and gift exchange. Instead of a kin-based social world, the community of the ingathered faithful needed to devote their lives to the sodalities of the

church community through communal work, worship, and choral singing. In place of obligations to clan and tribe, Christian Indians strived for the fulfillment of the elevated values of the church community as directed by the Moravian stewards. Only those persons who conformed to the ethos of the brethren's religious identity and godly conduct could remain in New Fairfield.

When put into practice, the Brüdergemeine could not maintain the illusive ideal of unity through common belief and purpose without recourse to unbrotherly and authoritarian methods. These church communities did not encourage free and open debate as part of the dynamic and protracted social process of striving toward consensus. Instead, a religious aristocracy or elite formulated a single belief system and employed coercive church discipline to enforce unity. The system of exclusion and expulsion forced the wayward into exile, thus creating family disruption. The undemocratic rule of a spiritual elite of Moravian missionaries and their Indian helpers dominated these brotherhoods.

The undemocratic fate of the religion of brotherliness contrasts markedly with the ideals of brotherliness and the unified church community. The idea of a church community bound together in unanimity and devoid of factionalism, where all members spontaneously merged into a unified "we," where the mysteries of the Holy Spirit produced this undivided community, "is one of the most important culturally supported 'illusions' in Judeo-Christian thought. The organic community founded upon a single-belief system, total unity, and fusion into the collective implies the existence of an illusory pre-established harmony of interests . . . or undivided oneness."[51]

External forces doomed the Shekomeko mission from its inception. This mission was short-lived, lasting only six years, and ending too soon to evaluate how effective Moravian practices might have been in revitalizing a people, and in battling alcohol abuse and the demoralizing effects of colonialism. Would the more coercive and unbrotherly aspects of this joyful community come into play as the Brüdergemeine struggled to maintain unity, church discipline, and adherence to Moravian ideals?

Abraham, one of the two principal sachems, sold the land tract associated with Shekomeko to Dutch and English proprietors in 1720, reserving

a portion for Mahican use and deferring payment that was never received. Despite protests and petitions sent by the tribe and the missionaries to the governor and Indian Superintendent William Johnson, the proprietors surveyed the village from 1740 to 1743, evicted the Mahicans and mission in 1746, and demolished all buildings by 1748.[52] Without secure land tenure, white proprietors appropriated the village. Moravian advocacy and Christian Indian identity did not protect the Mahicans from the resulting loss of their homelands.

The established Congregational ministry and standing order falsely accused the Moravians of committing papist doctrinal errors of enthusiasm and of questionable loyalty, as evidenced by Moravian pacifism in response to the hostilities with the French and their Indian allies during King George's War. Gilbert Tennent, George Whitefield, Samuel Finley, and Jonathan Edwards, among others, found Moravian doctrine and practical piety unacceptable.[53] In September 1744, after several years of persecution, arrests, and trials, New York Governor George Clinton (1686–1761) signed "An Act for Securing His Majesty's Government in New York" that directly targeted Moravians. This law prohibited unlicensed preaching and effectively closed their missions to the Mahicans.[54] Connecticut officials feared that Moravians secretly intended to convert Natives to Catholicism, ally with the French, and threaten the precarious military, religious, and political positions of Connecticut and New York settlements during a decade of warfare between imperial powers.[55]

As a consequence of eviction and land dispossession in Shekomeko, the suppression of Moravian heterodoxy by colonial political and religious authorities in New York, and the ambiguities associated with Moravian-Mahican pacifism and neutrality during King George's War, the mission was abandoned in April 1746. Ten Mahican families who numbered forty-three persons accepted the promise of religious toleration proffered by Governor George Thomas of Pennsylvania. They settled near Bethlehem in the temporary community of Friedenshutten (Tents of Peace), and later that year the Moravians purchased two hundred acres to build the Mahican-Delaware mission of Gnadenhütten (Tents of Grace) thirty miles from Bethlehem.[56] In addition, Moravians established a similar multiethnic mis-

sion at Meniolagomekah in 1749. Jane T. Merritt argues that the religious fervor of Indian converts was unabated. "Delawares and Mahicans expressed a deep longing to partake in the Moravian rituals of blood—baptism in the wounds of Christ and Communion. When the newly baptized Indians of Meniolagomekah visited Gnadenhütten in the summer of 1749, they all expressed their spiritual condition in terms of blood. 'My Heart hungers very much after the Flesh & Blood of our Savr.,'"[57] explained one convert.

Moravian Christian Indians in the Brüdergemeine anticipated important spiritual benefits—the guarantee of this-worldly salvation as experienced in the joyful life (*Lebensgefühl*) and the blessed happiness (*Glückseligkeit*) that accompanied the inner-worldly mysticism of the contemplation of Christ, the inner bliss of receiving the Holy Spirit in their hearts, washed clean of sin by the blood of the Lamb and living in the side-hole wound. The mutual edification of brothers and sisters enforced a moral code of godly, sober, industrious conduct that promoted domestic order in the congregational community. Rituals of community integration included worship and hymn singing, love feasts, Communion, and sacred festivals. Mutual aid in times of adversity, as well as pastoral care and visiting the sick, helped unite the religious brotherhood. In addition, Moravians provided important mundane benefits by schooling children, assisting in economic development, and mediating political, land, and trade issues with colonial groups. However, what has been overlooked is the other side of joy, the severe costs of living in a congregational brotherhood.

The sad irony is that Moravian Christian Indian enclaves were regimes of religious paternalism under the direction of Moravians and their loyal Native helpers, who at times instituted coercive church discipline that was deemed necessary to keep the Brüdergemeine purified of sin. Only then could the congregational community become a vessel to capture the Holy Spirit, which was requisite to the joyful, bliss-filled experience of the godhead. Paradoxically, Moravian pilgrims on mission felt less committed to winning Native souls to Christ and more devoted to taking whatever measures were required to ensure the daily practice of piety to satisfy their own need for mystical transport.

The village community of Pachgatgoch was established in 1736 on a

tract on the west side of the Housatonic River near Kent, Connecticut, to serve as the ethnogenesis and amalgamation of the Paugausetts, Mahicans, Potatucks, and others who removed from Weantincok in New Milford and from Westenhook.[58] Mauwesean (Mauwee), a village captain, and his son were baptized as Gideon and Joshua in February 1743.[59] Martin and Jeanette Mack formally opened their mission in April of that year. Gideon's people numbered approximately one hundred souls, including his household and extended family, villagers from Weantinock, and Christian Indians from the nearby Moravian settlements of Shekomeko and Wechquadnach.[60] Gideon and other male householders petitioned the Connecticut General Assembly in 1752 for the secure rights to 120 acres, and in 1757 Gideon received the title of captain under a system of state guardianship of this enclave.

Linford D. Fisher argues that when Gideon invited the Moravian pilgrims to open a mission, he acted with strategic self-interest in assessing the religious, political, and military challenges in western Connecticut. "The Pachgatgoch Indians, meanwhile, had refused to play into the hands of the colonists and to fulfill their prescribed role as human buffers between English settlement and feared French encroachment. Instead they invited seemingly dangerous and suspicious persons onto their lands. In doing so, they pursued their own self-interests in the battle for empire."[61] Certainly the mission solidified Gideon's political and spiritual authority. The Moravians also brought the promise of economic resources, a school for children, and assistance in political negotiations with local and state officials, and they promoted fair commerce and the avoidance of debt in relationships with white traders.

Pachgatgoch was a Moravian enclave established within the Native settlement of Schaghticoke, a consolidated Indian community of Paugusetts and Potatucks, which had been in existence for twenty years before the emigration of Gideon's people.[62] In the period 1680–1736, these peoples removed from the "shores of Long Island Sound up the Housatonic River to New Milford and finally to Scatacook where they had gathered largely before the year 1710."[63] By the 1740s they numbered one hundred warriors and several hundred other persons.[64]

Corinna Dally-Starna and William A. Starna have translated the Pachgat-

goch mission journals, which provide a continuous record of this community from 1747 to 1763. These twenty-three diaries, written by a succession of Moravian missionaries who circulated from Bethlehem to Indian missions, record significant religious events, including worship, pastoral care, fraternal correction, and apostasy, and capture aspects of the daily life in the Christian Indian enclave. Mission records reveal what Moravians perceived to be the progress and travail of the Holy Spirit in religious and spiritual events. All aspects of their radical evangelical religion are recorded as they prosecuted a spirituality founded on the theology of the heart. Fogelman maintains "the Indians and missionaries at Pachgatgoch experienced much of the religious enthusiasm and its consequences that was associated with the Moravian movement as a whole in the mid-eighteenth century."[65]

These accounts were intended for Christians in Bethlehem and in the Atlantic world who were seeking religious intelligence about the progress of the evangelical awakening. Moravians captured Christian aspects of this village world, and so did not record and, selectively, did not perceive distinctly Indian culture. Missionaries spoke German and some English but were not fluent in the dialect spoken at Schaghticoke and may not have understood or witnessed key aspects of the Native village world where they established their mission.[66] Thus, the diaries are largely silent regarding dress and appearance, traditional healing, herbalism, oral tradition, and ceremonial life. "The brethren did not have a lot to say about native kinship and marriage, leadership and status, religion and ideology, ceremony and ritual, medicine and curing, or death and mourning."[67]

However, the diaries inadvertently chronicle many key features of being Indian in colonial New England: the itinerancy and seasonal migrations of Gideon's people and the visiting and intermarriage of Natives from surrounding Mahican communities and Stockbridge. Interspersed in the entries, we read about the importance of dreams as a medium of contact with numinous forces, the visitation of spirits and ghosts, native doctoring, and feasting, dancing, and frolics. The persistence of Algonquian language and Mahican lifeways in the context and efflorescence of an evangelical pietist mission supports the idea of Pachgatgoch as a blended Christian and Indian village world.

Moravians articulated a distinctive religious paternalism and lovingly referred to their Mahican charges as "our Brown Hearts" or "our Brown Assembly."[68] An examination of the mission diaries, recorded by Moravians, reveals the textures of religious experience and expression for these Christian Indians.

Pachgatgoch was organized as two permanent residential settlements located two miles apart and known as the Winter Huts and the Summer Huts. By 1752 the mission included a meetinghouse and school, pigsty, bake oven, cow barn, and cemetery. Gideon's people—his household and extended family—constituted the critical inhabitants of Pachgatgoch, which was organized as a traditional village world with an age-graded and gendered division of labor into men's work and women's work.[69]

The Starnas have written a sympathetic depiction of Moravian-Mahican relations by emphasizing the affinity and mutual cooperation between missionary and Indian while minimizing areas of cultural difference, coercion, and conflict. The authors describe the social intimacy of this relationship of the mission family living alongside their "Brown" charges, tending gardens and livestock, sharing game and fish, as well as scarce corn in the late winter, assisting with the provision of firewood, and visiting and doctoring the sick.[70] They have captured a central aspect of the Brüdergemeine: the religious brotherhood, unity, and joyful participation in a salvation community. Native brethren and sisters celebrated the unity of brethren and sisters united in faith in the evening "singing service," which combined Native and Moravian verses, and in the frequent sweathouse ceremonies that took the place of Christian worship, where men and women go to their separate lodges for purification, healing, and celebration of their unity. For example, on October 25, 1750, Brother Abraham Büninger initiated the Helper's Conference that included Gideon and his wife, Martha, Gideon's sons, Martin and Joshua, and daughter-in-law, Elizabeth, and brother-in-law, Samuel. These Sunday conferences would discuss secular and religious matters. At the conclusion of the worship, Büninger reaffirmed their common bond as children of God and their love for one another by remarking "how closely we are related to the Savior and how he looks upon us . . . and it was for this reason that we called ourselves brethren and sisters and kissed one another."[71]

Gideon's house burned down in February 1751. Brother Joachim Heinrich Sensemann wrote: "the brown heartsd had almost finished building another house for Gideon. I was not able to watch it without weeping, that is how much it delighted me."[72] Five days later Gideon and Martha hosted a love feast for the enclave, feasting and singing sacred verses. Sensemann explains how Martha contrasted the Christian Indian celebration with the past when "we came together to drink, to dance, to fight, and for all sorts of indecent ways of life." He concludes: "They were grateful to the Savior that he has delivered them from this and brought them to His wounds."[73]

The Pachgatgoch mission reopened in 1747, as the religious repression subsided, and continued until 1770. The two decades of mission diaries provide answers to questions that remain unanswerable regarding Shekomeko: Did the implementation of Moravian belief, social organization, and ceremony successfully revitalize a people? Would the unbrotherly aspects of this congregation of brethren and sisters emerge as the Brüdergemeine struggled to maintain unity, church discipline, and adherence to Moravian ideals?

Moravian theology, worship, and pastoral care at Pachgatgoch created a penitential sense of life reminiscent of the first praying towns. Through self-examination occasioned by pastoral visits, preparation for Communion, and ritualized "Speaking" events, neophytes wept tears of repentance. This ritual of humiliation, meditating on "the poverty of their hearts," transvalued the adversity that they suffered from material deprivation, sickness, and ill fortune into a spiritual exercise of growing faith in the promise that Jesus would provide a source of sacred power to redeem them from suffering. The ritualized contrition followed the immediacy of the godhead, fleeing into the side hole, and the joy and bliss of *Lebensgefühl*. Tears of repentance changed to elation, as Gideon would exclaim, "Brethren, my eyes were filled throughout this entire occasion and the tears kept running down my face."[74]

David Bruce records this diary entry for Tuesday, March 21, 1749, following a pastoral visit to Brother Gideon's household, where he conversed with Gideon's sons, Joshua and Martin, and his daughters-in-law Elisabeth and Justina. Bruce relates the problems with conflict and disunity and debt and poverty that were resolved by Moravian belief and ritual.

Some small matters had gotten in the way of several [of the Indians]. Yet the Dear Lambd bestowed upon us the grace to prevent further harm, so that they were once again shown the path of the blessed blood and the side hole, causing all hearts to be very happy and revived in regard to them. Elisabeth was very blissful, and [so were] Andreas, Martin, and Justina. He has only one complaint; he was troubled that he [has] some debts here and there that amounted to nearly 20 pounds New England money. I consoled him about it and said he should not torment himself over it; the Savior would assist him.[75]

Bruce relates how Justina combined traditional dream interpretation with Christian belief. In the past, she was guided in her decision making by discerning the dictates of her dreams. "Now she is the same way with the Savior; she was occupied with His wounds and blood by day and night and in her dreams."[76]

The Christian Indian enclave at Pachgatgoch gathered together to worship, summoned by the blowing of a horn each morning and evening for quarter-hour services conducted by the Moravian missionary with the assistance of an Indian Servant, helpers, and a language interpreter. The liturgy introduced a biblical passage or watchword (*Loosungen*) followed by a short sermon. The congregation continued with a singing service, adding music to the sacred lyrics of the watchword and performing Native-language songs and German hymns. "Evenings usually concluded with the singing hour, a time of song and spiritual reflection."[77] Twice each day the congregation prayed, sang, and received spiritual direction, reaffirming their unity and their faith commitment.

Sunday worship followed this pattern, with the addition of children's meetings and instruction by conferences of the choirs, or *banden*, where spiritual and temporal matters were discussed. In his diary entry for Sunday, November 1, 1750, Büninger describes the spiritual fervor, the immediacy of the godhead, and the blissful release from all sorrow that he experienced and hoped to mediate to the Mahican Christians.

During our meetings our faithful and merciful Lambd of God was intimately and tenderly near us, so that one was able to tangibly feel

how closely the side holed is able to approach the brown heartsd and set their hearts afire, and that all their weak ideas and their shy dispositions are, by nature, not able to avert this. . . . The Lambd invigorated me, and all at once freed me from all the sorrow that I had felt, so that throughout the entire day I had a light, joyous, and confident heart toward everything that came before me. . . . During our Sunday conference we remembered all the circumstances concerning this assembly. I told them that the Savior has bestowed joyousness upon me; they too should take heart and believe the Savior.[78]

Christian burial services and interment in the God's Acre cemetery also afford a glimpse of ritual and Christian Indian religiosity. Brother Büninger's eulogy of Sister Rachel commemorated the passing of the founder's generation at Pachgatgoch. The mother of Jeremias and Samuel, two important members of the congregation, they bore witness to Rachel's faith. Despite her blindness, she was honest and hard-working, earning her livelihood making brooms and baskets and as a midwife for Natives and whites. The mission brother describes how the village assembled for her burial and rejoiced that Rachel had died as a sister sustained by her faith. He wrote "of her blissfulness near the side holed while alive, and about the state of blissfulness when one sees the Lambd and is able to greet and kiss the visible [nail] marks in [His] hands and feet. It was a blissful occasion for all of us."[79]

Gideon's people asked the Moravian missionaries to baptize their infants and children, as well as adolescents and young adults, as a rite of passage that would permit apostolic marriage and ensure the salvation of the elderly and infirm as they faced death. Unless both parents of an infant or child enjoyed the status of baptized members of the congregation in good standing, the Moravian brothers refused the rite of baptism. Should either parent reject the continuous spiritual direction of *das Sprechen* (the Speaking), avoid worship, or backslide in the injunction to live godly, orderly lives, the brothers withheld the rite of infant baptism, arguing that parents would not responsibly rear the child as a Christian Indian child of God.

This rule even applied to Gideon's extended family. In June 1753 his son Joshua left his wife, Elisabeth, after he had fallen into the sin of dis-

unity. Joshua had recently objected to the removal of Mahican families from Wechquadnach to Gnadenhütten, arguing that these families should join Pachgatgoch. When Joshua asked Brother Sensemann on June 17 to baptize his daughter, the missionary related Joshua's angry opposition to the Moravian executive decision to transfer Indians to the Pennsylvania mission. Joshua "expressed himself harshly against us on that account. I asked him about his heart—how it presently stood with the Savior."[80] Not satisfied with his answer, the missionary explained to him that "when we baptized children, we first had to know that the parents themselves were on proper terms with the Savior. If they themselves were not on proper terms with the dear Savior, and were unable to deal faithfully with the grace that the Savior bestowed on them, how could they preserve their children? He said nothing further and went home."[81] Apparently, remaining "faithful in the grace of the Savior" necessitated that the neophyte avoid unbrotherly disagreement and confrontations regarding mission policy. When Joshua disagreed with a proposal made by a leading brother like Sensemann, the Indian brother needed to begin "heart work" to find the humility to accept this ruling and return to the unity of the Brüdergemeine. Joshua could not accept this religious paternalism, and frequently failed to remain in good standing as a baptized member of the congregation and communicant.

A month later, Brother Sensemann explains in this entry for July 16: "Elisabeth was sad that her little daughterd was not being baptized, and that her husband Joshua had often been irritable for some time now. Apparently, she was not staying with her husband, but her heart grew sad when she thought about her child. My wife said that she [Elisabeth] knew only too well the circumstances concerning the child's baptism, because in his heart Joshua was not on proper terms with the Savior."[82]

In 1754 Brothers Büninger and Rauch, who directed the mission, refused to baptize infants, accusing the parents of "soul murder." "The baptized children in Pachgatgoch were godlessly ruined by their parents and kin, yes, as if murdered with respect to their tender hearts, and dragged into every vice and abomination. For that reason I had scruples baptizing any children here."[83] Brother Mack repeated this theme in 1761, reporting how at a Helper's Conference, he directed the leading brethren (Martin, Joshua,

Jeremias, Samuel, and Gottlieb) "about the corrupting and good-for-nothing people here and how all of the children of this place were being drawn into the[ir] sins and abominations."[84]

Moravian brethren imposed a considerable probationary period for candidates seeking adult baptism to certify a sincere and convincing testimony of their transformed heart, the willingness to submit to spiritual direction and fraternal correction, and the steadfast determination to abide by orderly, godly living. Not infrequently, Natives seeking baptism repeatedly asked for and were denied this rite. For example, Schyri came from Shekomeko in 1746 and first requested baptism on December 26, 1751.[85] Gideon interceded with Brother Sensemann, who explains on March 1, 1752: "I did not know what was wrong with Schyri, he did not behave as before. . . . I told Gideon to visit him and talk with him about his heart, so that he [would] look to himself as the cause, because the brethren loved him and have wished for a long time for Schyri to be baptized with the Savior's blood."[86] He made three additional requests and remained on probation for nearly five years until his baptism as Solomon on January 11, 1755.[87] Despite a theology that proclaimed a universalism of grace and the availability of the savior's blood and redemption, Moravians limited baptism to about half of the one hundred souls residing in the village who demonstrated their spiritual attainments and religious qualifications.

Moravians at Pachgatgoch hoped that the religious emotions and experiences they routinized in prayer services, the spiritual direction of the Speaking offered during pastoral visits, and the enforcement of godly conduct would create a joyful community. They longed for a Brüdergemeine of brother and sisters sharing love and unity in childlike surrender to Jesus. Moravian pilgrims fervently desired that this Mahican village world would become a spiritual hothouse, an enclave restricted to the ingathered faithful, and a vessel to capture the Holy Spirit. Only then would the Brüdergemeine facilitate bliss-filled mystical experiences of the wounds, blood, and side hole. This ideal religious community proved illusive, prompting the pilgrims to impose fraternal correction and church discipline to defend against the ever-present inroads of sin that would destroy the purity of their religious enterprise.

Missionaries required permanent and stable residence patterns to ensure that neophytes attended daily worship and immersed themselves in the spiritual exercises and system of life regulation of godly living. Christian Indians needed to view their life as a cosmic battle with the choice between a Christ-centered life contained within the Moravian enclave, or surrender to worldliness outside the confines of the mission, resulting in a sin-filled victory for Satan.

However, many factors forced neophytes to leave the village for extended absences, frustrating missionary efforts to implement a Christian Indian enclave as a bounded and total community in separation from the wider society. Poverty, hunger, the inability to feed and sustain themselves, and debt peonage forced men and boys into indenture and necessitated that Indians leave the community without seeking or receiving permission. Others worked as day laborers on neighboring white farms, at times receiving rum, hard cider, and food in payment.

Men traveled downriver to build canoes and collect wood and rush. Women manufactured baskets, brooms, and crafts and left the village to sell their wares. They abandoned the village on autumn and winter hunts for deer and bear, and during the spring seasonal migration to fish on the seashore or the New Milford falls for shad. Residence patterns and inclement weather prevented outliers on the mountain and in the winter huts from attending worship. Finally, neophytes left to visit kin and friends in neighboring Mahican settlements at Stockbridge, Wechquadnach, and Shekomeko.

Brother Jungmann admonished the conference brethren and sisters at Sunday worship on March 28, 1757, "concerning the frequent leaving and long absences of the brethren and sisters [from the community], that it was harmful to them and their children, and advised them *to clear more land* on which they could plant enough Welsh corn and would not be forced to work for corn at the white people's."[88] Despite repeated pleas for increased cultivation and self-sufficiency throughout the fifteen years of the mission journals, residents of Pachgatgoch continued the familiar pattern of comings and goings necessitated by economic hardship and traditional lifeways of visiting and subsistence.

Brother Nicholas Heinrich Eberhardt spoke to the conference on Sunday, May 23, of how their frequent leaving resulted in spiritual damage because believers became estranged from the Savior and exposed themselves to the snares of the enemy—Satan. "When they stayed home they were as if enclosed by a wall, but when they were outside, the enemy had them in the open and sought to lure them into many bad affairs."[89]

He pleaded with the assembled brethren and sisters to again embrace the penitential sense of life: tears of repentance, evangelical humiliation, and the promise of the reception of forgiveness and salvation. And Eberhardt warned them that failure to do so would result in disfellowship and expulsion even though he did not have the authority to enforce this church discipline.

> He advised those who have returned from there [Poughkeepsie] that they ask the Savior for forgiveness with all their hearts, and entreat Him for an obedient heart. He pointed out to them that if we could not delight in feeling and seeing that they loved the Savior with all their hearts and lived as blessed sinners inside His wounds, then we have nothing in return for all of our troubles, and the congregation [Moravians] nothing for all its costs that it incurs on their account. . . . He who desires to act in accordance with his own mind and does not take our good advice, but instead takes pleasure in roaming about and wallowing in all sorts of sin, we could not recognize as our brother or sister. He who wants to be our brother or sister would have to wholly give himself up to the Savior and find his sole joy in occupying himself with Him.[90]

Mission brothers had difficulty enforcing apostolic marriage, as baptized married sisters reverted to Indian marriage patterns of separating and "divorcing" their spouse in favor of a new man. Brother Sensemann admonished Leah at a conference before Sunday worship and "pointed out to her," on August 20, 1752, "that she had been told enough when she sent away her husband Johannes—that if she took Gottlob to be her husband, she should know that she could no longer have any *connection* with us or with the Savior."[91] Another example of Indian marriage practice and church

discipline pertains to Christoph, whose wife returned to her natal village in Potatuck in 1757. Reportedly, she took lovers during her husband's absence, consistent with traditional matrilineal Indian marriage customs. "She had been told by several brethren and sisters that she could no longer stay here, because it was noticed that she tried a number of times to seduce the young menfolk."[92]

Moravians always struggled with and opposed proposed marriages between a baptized and unbaptized villager. By 1760 Brother Mack lamented how respectable baptized members of the congregation saw nothing wrong with "heathenish matchmaking" that tolerated such unions and informal divorce. "Situations of this sort are causing us much sorrow, because things are still proceeding in such a heathenish manner, and these poor people are in this respect as if struck with blindness and will hear nothing of order and decency."[93]

Another fault line that shattered the unity of this enclave involved the generational divide between the aging founder's generation and their adult children and grandchildren, who frequently were not members in good standing. Time and again the Moravians urged their "Brown assembly" to rededicate themselves to orderly and decent childrearing practices, teaching children obedience and a work ethic so that the children would engage in productive labor in place of disorderly "light-minded frolics" that created discord in the community. Moravians encouraged young children and adult children to contribute to the support of their parents' household.[94] Brother Mack convened a congregation council of married people, widows, and widowers—the aging founder's generation—to offer a final lament on May 12, 1762. "With a sorrowful heart, they were put in mind of the bad conduct of the young people and of the children, and how the parents themselves are mostly at fault for allowing their children their own free will and by living in quite a heathenish manner, which is why the children have lost all respect for their parents."[95]

The mission diaries recount the destructive impact of alcohol abuse for this Christian Indian enclave. White neighbors provided copious amounts of hard cider and rum during militia days, elections, Thanksgiving feasts, and in payment for harvesting crops. Soldiers returning home from military

service engaged in nights of drinking, dancing, brawling, and mayhem. Even serious-minded candidates for baptism and baptized brethren and sisters succumbed to backsliding when they left the village to peddle their goods or when kin provided them with strong drink.

Six months before his baptism, Schyri appeared in a drunken rage at Brother Rauch's door, at daybreak on July 26, 1754. When Rauch refused to open the door, Schyri threatened to break it down and strike him dead. Rauch then dressed, admitted the drunken man, and offered pastoral care. Schyri "stumbled back into his house and soon after went out for more *romm* [rum]. He has made up his mind to drink for 14 days at a stretch." Later that day Rauch was informed of the all-night drinking and dancing of five members of the congregation. "Oh, yes! Poor Pachgatgoch is a sad deplorable place."[96]

The missionaries could admonish, discipline, and even seek to remove and prosecute those who violated the prohibition against alcohol, but the intemperate use of rum and cider among the baptized and ungodly alike by Gideon's adult children and his people persisted in the village throughout their tenure and long after the mission closed in 1770. Alcohol abuse proved antithetical to the idealized image of the Brüdergemeine and the loving unity of brethren and sisters united by faith. Instead of the kiss of peace and foot washing following the love feast and Communion, intemperance promoted internecine violence and murder. In May 1759 Paulus, a soldier from Pachgatgoch, traveled to Albany with his pregnant wife to report for duty in his regiment. They both became intoxicated on this journey, and in an ensuing quarrel, he beat her to death.[97]

At periodic intervals, Sunday service added a love feast for all baptized brethren and sisters—a meal of fresh-baked bread, butter, and tea. The numbers admitted to Communion afterward ranged from four to twenty-two Natives in good standing who enjoyed the status of communicants. From 1750 to 1755, resident missionaries did not take the initiative in preparing for and conducting this rite. Rather, they waited for periodic visits from Moravian brothers from Bethlehem, including David Zeisberger in 1752 and 1755. As missionary Carl Gottfried Runtd explains, Brother Joseph Spangenberg visited in April 1752 to ascertain the spiritual state of the con-

gregation and to determine if they merited Communion. "He would look upon all of the brethren and sisters here to be sure, and speak with them, because *this* was indeed the main reason why a visit by the brethren and sisters was taking place; namely, that it could be learned how much they loved the Savior and if their hearts nicely lived and burned in His blood."[98]

Communion intensified the feelings of loving unity with the congregation and inner-worldly mystical unity with the godhead, wherein the religious aristocracy of the congregation, those with the most elevated spiritual attainments of baptism and communicant status, wept tears of repentance and tears of joy. Brother Sensemann captures this experience: "Our Husband spread out His body over each heartd in such a way that I cannot describe the feeling. Everyone was absorbed and melted to tears, and with that, each one retired to his housed blissfully and in a happy state. . . . And so we closed this day with a heart melted to tears for our precious Husband for the grace that we enjoyed from Him during these days, and especially today."[99]

Christian Indian communicants could not partake of Communion who refused spiritual direction of *Das Sprechen* and auricular confession to prepare for the ritual, who would not submit to the regime of Moravian order and moralism, who quarreled and caused disunity and disorder, or who left the village without permission. Those communicants in conflict or disunity with one another and who could not settle their differences could not participate. Brother Mack records these exclusions for Sunday, May 17, 1760: "Samuel had recently gotten into a quarrel with Joshua while making canoe[s] up [the river], and the matter between the two is not settled. In addition, his [Samuel's] wife Lucia was harboring some dissatisfaction toward her husband [so] that both were obliged to stay away from Communion."[100]

Frequently, the apostasy and disorder in the congregation prompted the missionaries to suspend this ritual despite the repeated requests by communicants and their statements of spiritual hunger and thirst for the sacred power and collective psychological assurance and catharsis following the purgation of sin in group confession, the unity of the love feast, and the seal of salvation in the Eucharist.[101] On June 10, 1753, Brother Martin

TABLE 5. Rites of Communion at Pachgatgoch

Year	Number of rites of Communion	Average number of communicants
1750	2	NA
1751	1	NA
1752	3	21
1753	2	17
1754	2	18
1755	1	11
1756	3	11
1757	4	14
1758	8	14
1759	3	9
1760	2	14
1761	3	13

NA = not available.

arrived from Gnadenhütten and informed the assembled believers that the Moravian congregation decided to suspend Communion at both enclaves "because it cannot go on like this, with the excesses [committed] by some of the brethren and sisters."[102] Communion did not resume for six months, until December.[103]

Table 5 details the frequency and average number of communicants recorded in the Pachgatgoch mission diaries from 1750 to 1761. With the exception of 1757–58, this rite was celebrated infrequently. If the enclave of one hundred souls included approximately forty baptized adults, then on average, less than half of them achieved communicant status in this religious hierarchy. Communicants were comprised entirely of the founding, aging generation: Gideon's extended family, the Helper's Conference and their spouses, and seven widows and widowers. The succeeding generation— the adult children of the founders, their spouses, the unmarried, and the baptized young adults—never achieved the religious fervor or standing of their parents' generation. This generational divide, with the passing of the founder's generation in 1760–1770, undermined the success of the mission.

Brother Eberhard in 1757 admonished the aging founders, who had en-

joyed Communion the week before, "and asked them how they thought it would end with them and their children if they continued the way they started to [behave] awhile ago. We told them we were filled with sorrow over them and over their children, because their children were learning drinking and fighting from them. They recognized their transgressions and were broken because of them."[104]

Why the anomaly for 1757–58? The Moravian diarists do not provide an explicit rationale for the increase in the frequency of this ritual. However, the ceremony functioned to revivify and reanimate the unity of the Brüdergemeine. Preparations conducted a week before Communion included a Sunday conference meeting attended by Helpers, leading Native brothers, and other baptized members of the congregation. Here, through auricular confession and discussion of issues, the brethren sought to mend the grievances that divided them. A prefatory love feast and foot washing intensified the religious affections of brotherly love and "love to God" that marked Communion. The missionaries understood how this ceremony functioned as a ritual of community integration and a religious and social process to heal divisions.

Brother Eberhardt, who was largely responsible for the increase in Communion rituals, explains their meaning. He writes on March 3, 1756: "Each time when we feel an everlasting hunger and thirst for His blood, it is a sure sign that we are healthy in faith and love. If, on the other hand, we do not feel a real appetite for the blood and wounds, we ourselves have reason to be alarmed and to tearfully appeal to the Savior that He restore our hearts to health by means of His blood and wounds."[105]

What issues divided the brethren and caused grievances and disunity in this village world? Interestingly, Eberhardt observes in the succeeding paragraph of the diary: "Today, a *lieutenant* was here and tried to enlist several of our Indians to go on the *battoes*."[106] Evidence suggests that Gideon undermined his religious and political authority and lost his legitimacy due to his actions during the French and Indian War. And neither his repeated confessions nor increasing the number of rituals of integration would heal these divisions among his people.

The Brüdergemeine foundered on the religiopolitical authority of Mora-

vians and their designated Native Servants and Helpers. This new form of legitimate authority seemingly created divisive factionalism despite the requirement that brothers and sister achieve undivided unity in their thoughts, desires, beliefs, and actions.

Traditionally a sachem's authority necessitated the time-consuming process of working toward consensus in the village community regarding mundane matters and, in consultations with powwows and pnieses, facilitating harmony with other-than-human persons. The Moravian enclave dispensed with this model of authority—sachemship and powwows—and replaced it with a system of religious paternalism and authoritarianism. Moravian brothers, guided by their theology and religious ethos of decent and orderly living, and in frequent consultation with the directors at Bethlehem, promulgated rules, guidelines, and decisions that they mediated to Gideon, Servant of the Word and village captain, and to his extended family, who functioned as a Helper's Conference of congregational leadership.

Moravians understood that they alone controlled institutional access to salvation by virtue of their superior knowledge and control over baptism and Communion. They advanced this religious paternalism to the "Brown hearts" in the "Brown assembly" by giving directives about surrendering one's life to Jesus, establishing a blueprint for village life, and offering a compelling theodicy of misfortune to transvalue material poverty by seeking spiritual poverty. The experience of inner bliss and the contemplation of the blood and wounds of the savior would remedy their mundane misfortunes.

The Moravian missionaries and Gideon instructed the people about mundane or sacred decisions without recourse to open debate or the struggle to find consensus. The lay members of this church community, the plain brethren and sisters, needed to open their hearts and minds to the imperatives of the leadership, bring themselves in conformity and unity, and stifle questions, feelings of resentment, or opposition. As we have seen with Joshua's opposition to a leadership decision, disunity was considered a sin that indicated trouble with one's spiritual status and one's heart surrendered to Jesus. And on the eve of the American Revolution, Brother Mack spoke with disdain about the younger generation, who rebelled against religious

paternalism and authoritarianism by exercising their free will in deciding matters for themselves.

In August 1760, seven months after Gideon's death, Brother Mack asks Samuel "how it came to be that the brethren and sisters here now had so little trust and love for one another."[107] Samuel attributes the conflict and disunity to Gideon's corruption, implying that Gideon was guilty of nepotism and favoritism when selecting candidates for tithing man, steward, or other offices under the system of guardianship. The village reacted with "suspicion and envy."

Samuel also relates that in 1755 a captain arrived from Westenhook with the hope of recruiting soldiers. Consistent with Moravian pacifist teachings and religious authority, the missionaries and the congregation's leadership conducted a conference to mediate the decision of resistance and refusal to participate in the French and Indian War. At the meeting, the leadership successfully engineered a consensus consistent with Moravian teachings. Mack transcribes Samuel's indictment of Gideon:

> They had met on that account and thought about what there was to be done in this case, and had discussed matters and had been of one mind: they did not want to involve themselves in this war, but wanted to stay out of it. This had been to the satisfaction of all the young people. However, the next day the captain just mentioned bribed Gideon, whereupon Gideon immediately gave all of the young people the liberty—indeed, he advised them to go to war; there, they would be able to get plenty of money. This gave them the final blow, causing all of them to stray from their hearts and [they] have been unable to recover since.[108]

Moravian pilgrims Abraham Büniger and Carl Gottfried Rundt record the mission diary during this critical time as they tended to "our brown sheep."[109] During February of 1755, the villagers appealed to them in their poverty and want, having boiled their last corn. But the missionaries could not offer them food or assistance, or help them to exact favorable terms for the forced sale of Wachquadnach lands in Sharon. To compound these issues, the Stockbridge tribe invited Gideon to a conference to arrange

for the recruitment of Native soldiers for the spring campaign. The diary concludes about the confusion that this caused in Pachgatgoch: "The dear brethren are truly at a loss about the placed here."[110]

Samuel met with the Moravian brothers on Sunday, March 2, and "he told us about all sorts of disquieting circumstances, making us realize [that] the wicked enemy is very busy disturbing the brethren and sisters on their blessed course on which they have proceeded for some time, robbing them of peace."[111] The diaries do not specify the details of the devil's work, but military recruiters were now permitted in the village. In May, Christian, the husband of Gottliebe, enlisted with an English recruiter.[112]

On July 2 a Stockbridge Indian related in marriage to Gideon's lineage arrived "with an *String of Wampum* as a messenger from the Indians there. He reported to Br. Gideon, calling for all of the adult men of this place to go there within 6 days and hear their *propositiones* concerning the present war situation."[113] Gideon and Samuel went to Stockbridge on July 7 and returned two weeks later having stated the will of the Brüdergemeine to remain pacifists. Nevertheless, in September, in response to Sir William Johnson's campaign to capture Fort Saint Frederic (later known as Crown Point in New York), "Three English recruiters came here. They inquired in all of the Indian huts whether anyone wanted to let himself be enlisted to go up to Crown Point; however they found no one willing to do so." Yet the following day, "Two Indians, Moses and Johannes, departed here for Crown Point, for the war."[114]

Was Gideon conflicted about these events? He preached an evening sermon on November 11 with this admonition: "We are poor Indians and the Savior has given us brethren who are our *leaders*. Now, let us not do like the *cattles* that one wants to drive from one place to another. They often stray from the right path, now to this side, then to the other. No, let us walk straight on the path on which they lead us, and [let] us forever hide inside His wounds like poor children."[115] But embracing the role of the poor Indian, the child of God who followed Moravian dictates and sought mystical flight into the side hole, did not erase his actions, empower him when negotiating unfair land transactions, or feed and clothe the people during the harsh winter months.

Did Gideon pocket the bribe to enrich himself or did he redistribute these monies in gift exchanges to his people? Were his actions evidence of a growing individuated social class division, or did he behave with generosity and hospitality, consistent with the conduct expected of a sachem? The diaries do not record his alleged betrayal of Moravian pacifism or his subsequent actions.

Gideon's alleged betrayal needs to be understood against the microcosm of the Pachgatgoch village world and from the wider perspective of a community that was situated on the borderlands of two warring empires. French and English disputes in the Ohio Country had escalated into a conflict that engulfed New York and New England, becoming a global conflict that resulted in the expulsion of France from Canada in 1761.[116] In the New York theater of the Seven Years' War, following the successful French siege of Fort William Henry in August, 1757, by six thousand French and Canadian soldiers and an intertribal force of eighteen hundred Native warriors, Connecticut began drafting five thousand provincial soldiers to augment the over four thousand New Englanders already under arms.[117] Natives throughout New England were swept up in the tide of war and recruitment.

Soldiering in these campaigns, known colloquially as the French and Indian War, and service in the Connecticut and Massachusetts provincial militias provided a temporary occupation during the campaigning season (late spring through fall). Enlistment was a well-compensated and attractive economic venture for Indian and colonial young men in their twenties. The offer of steady work for six to eight months provided a pay of £15 per annum or 12 shillings per month, paid in one lump sum at the conclusion of their service, and a bounty of £5 for each enemy soldier captured or scalp taken.[118] Although the evidence suggests that many returning Native soldiers dissipated their funds in drunken frolics, this money was indispensable, as was their labor in their "hardscrabble farm economies."[119]

After more than a decade of mission, Pachgatgoch householders, as reported in the diaries, had trouble feeding, clothing, and providing for themselves. Individual agrarian households, communal gardens of corn and vegetables, and seasonal fishing, hunting, and gathering needed to be

augmented by craft production (brooms, canoes, baskets) and day labor on neighboring white farmsteads. And still the diary records hunger and want, like the entry on August 1, 1756: "Today most of the brethren and several of the sisters and children went out to help the people with their harvest, or to do other work. Their victuals are long exhausted, thus they are forced to go out and to earn something. The sisters and children who are at home go out every day to collect blueberries, which for the most part constitutes their food at present. For that reason we cannot hold school."[120]

Hunger, deprivation, and want forced men and women to leave their children poorly cared for, to depart without missionary permission or approval, to labor for others while paid in rum or hard cider, or to fall into debt to secure food and clothing. Empty stomachs do not facilitate fervent evangelical piety or the pursuit of the inner-worldly mystical contemplation of the blood, wounds, and side hole. Gideon and the Moravian pilgrims had promised the people prosperity, health, good fortune, freedom from debt, and secure land tenure. Then they might enjoy Jesus as manitou and find in childlike surrender the joyful, blessed happiness of this-worldly salvation as a people united, as a Brüdergemeine.

Fred Anderson provides a social history of the Massachusetts provincial militias in the Seven Years' War which reveals that companies were organized as an organic network of kinship ties and personal-local loyalties where kinship served as an effective recruitment measure.[121] In the annual campaigns from 1756 to 1759, the neighboring Mahicans in Stockbridge organized fifty enlistees each year for Rogers' Rangers, three Indian companies under the leadership of Jacob Cheeksaunkun, Jacob Naunauphtaunk, and Solomon Uhhaunauwaunmut.[122] To meet their quota in the 1756 campaign, the Stockbridges recruited eight Indians from Scaticook, six of whom were Moravians.[123]

Brother Grube notes in the mission diary on April 18, 1759, the eight "warriors" departing for Albany: "Many women went with them to accompany them as far as Stockbridge. We were at a loss, and wept over the poor people's misery, and that they permit neither advice nor help. Some are going away because they are greatly in debt to the white people; others are led astray."[124]

Moravians could not alleviate the economic hardship at Pachgatgoch, although Brother Eberhardt distributed blankets to the indigent elderly that November 1756 and organized work parties to repair fences and the winter huts of the indigent.[125] Gideon's leadership did not result in prosperity, health, or good fortune for his people. He admonished and expelled young men and women for "light-mindedness" and frolics and anguished over the disunity and conflict.[126]

During the evening Conference on Sunday, August 8, Gideon lamented "that there was so little love among them, the result of which was that one constantly ran down the other, by which they caused the Savior and their teachers sorrow. [He] wished that they may realize the sickness of their hearts and go with it to the Savior to have themselves cured by Him. I know that I am poor and wretched, he said, but I nonetheless want to give to the Savior my whole heart and love Him."[127]

A year later, following the sermon at Sunday worship on July 31, 1757, "Gideon arose and asked everyone's forgiveness." Later that day, Brother Eberhardt "said, in hopes that we gladly forgive one everything, [now] we want to ask the Savior's forgiveness for everything that has occurred. . . . Having given one another the Kiss of Love, we dissolved the meeting in Peace."[128] Despite public confessions and rituals of contrition and community integration, peace and unity were never restored in this village.

Gideon died in January 1760, leaving a declining and divided Christian Indian enclave that had failed to institutionalize the ideological, economic, and political structures that would guarantee the success of the Brüdergemeine. The mission failed to convert the second and third generation, had not established secure land tenure, economic self-sufficiency, or stable internal self-government. Poverty, debt peonage, alcohol abuse, internal division, and disaffection plagued Gideon's people.

Because Gideon failed to designate a successor, it was unclear who would assume his role of Native catechist, interpreter, preacher, spiritual director, and captain. The diaries suggest that the missionaries expected Gideon's son Joshua and his wife, Elisabeth, to succeed Gideon and Martha. Brother Sensemann invited them for breakfast before Sunday worship on February 16, 1762. "It was discussed with them that they are to prove themselves here

as father and mother among the assembly, and one requirement for this was that they needed to fully belong to the Savior and not get involved with anything else, but to be in their life and conduct a positive example for others."[129] However, Joshua and his wife had a checkered record as a "positive example for others." Some diary entries describe them as "affectionate, full of light and blissful" in 1752.[130] On September 15, 1754, they visited Brother Rauch after his sermon. Elisabeth claimed that an angel (other-than-human person?) commanded her to leave, and she fled. Rauch then offered spiritual direction to Joshua, who confessed his sin and anger about Brother Büninger's treatment of his father-in-law, Petrus. Rauch explained Satan's hold on Joshua, and they embraced. "Then I fell about his neck, kissing him with sadness. In the name of Jesus, I promised him mercy as soon as he would be in need of it and could no longer stand being tormented in Satan's murderous clutches."[131]

However, Elisabeth was guided by a companion spirit to forsake Moravian pastoral care. Joshua's pledge to reform proved short-lived, as he departed for the seashore. The subsequent diary entries contain accounts of Joshua returning to the village—a drunken spectacle on horseback in 1757, and again, on February 5, 1761, another drunken homecoming with Elisabeth after two days in the woods securing wood for brooms. "It is truly a pity with these 2 people; they have a house full of children who are half starved to death and go almost naked."[132]

Joshua and Elisabeth during the period 1762–63 did respond to Brother Sensemann's exhortation to leadership by example, and they did admonish and instruct parents about childrearing. Joshua served as an interpreter during love feasts, periodically organized the congregation to perform communal work—hoeing the mission cornfields—and to care for infirm and elderly widows.[133] However, the diary contains this dramatic entry about Indian-on-Indian violence, as Joshua and Elisabeth opposed the non-Christian or traditional faction of Pachgatgoch. Sensemann writes on April 24, 1762: "Joshua had been attacked by a number of bad Indian fellows and has been beaten bloody and blue, but [he] had behaved like a sheep. Ever since these two people have turned to the Savior with all their hearts, the enemy is going mad. This week Elisabeth also received a beating from

a bad fellow, because her husband will not tolerate the mischievousness at this place."[134]

Nevertheless, a year later, as Sensemann ended the mission diaries, he noted that Joshua and Elisabeth were excluded from love feasts and Communion. Despairing that the young and "frolicsome folk" were drinking rum while at work in the cornfields, he concludes: "Joshua is a bad person [himself] he, in turn cannot and does not prohibit others [from doing this]. This caused us many heartaches and [much] distress."[135]

Correspondence from Johannes Rothe, who closed the mission in October 1770, describes scenes of human degradation similar to depictions of Seneca villages in this era.[136] Joshua stood accused of profiting from Mahican women who worked as prostitutes. Villagers were brought before local magistrates accused of stealing, defrauding, and beating one another. Alcohol abuse proved a "poison stronger than love."[137] In July 1765 Rothe lamented the demise of the Brüdergemeine as few attended worship: "There is not a soul here about whom one can say, this is a brother or a sister—they all drink."[138]

Some of Gideon's people removed from Pachgatgoch in 1767 to the Moravian enclave of Friedenshutten, and others removed to the Mahican-Munsee community of Stockbridge in the 1770s.[139] The Christian Indian enclave of Pachgatgoch had failed. Moravian evangelical pietism, which had served as the foundation for a system of religious paternalism that fostered Christian Indian ethnic identity, a penitential sense of life, and the ceremonies of baptism, auricular confession, love feasts, and Communion that promised renewed spirit power for the people and a foundation for ethnogenesis, could not, in the end, mitigate the oppression of colonization. The enunciation of this-worldly salvation for newly born brethren and sisters did not overcome the secular colonization of their souls and their unrelenting poverty, powerlessness, alcoholism, and anomie.

❧

Errand into the Borderlands

The Brothertown tribe represents the next development of Christian Indian identity and another iteration in the ethnogenesis of an amalgamated, refugee village—a new tribe comprised of the "Christianized remnants of 'broken tribes' of New England."[1] Evangelical Christian Indians, who were newly born in revival, were guided by visionaries like Samson Occom, Joseph Johnson Jr., David Fowler, and Samuel Niles. Joanna Brooks explains that the regional, intertribal network of New Light Christian Indians, Wheelock's protégés, championed this pan-Indian, separatist movement. "The movement was led and facilitated by Occom and his fellow Moor's Indian Charity School alumni David Fowler (Montauk), Jacob Fowler (Montauk), and Joseph Johnson (Mohegan). During the 1760s, Occom, Johnson, and the Fowlers had itinerated among the New England and Long Island tribes as well as in upstate New York among the Oneidas."[2] They advocated that tribes abandon their natal communities in southern New England and voluntarily remove to the western borderland to settle ten thousand acres located one hundred miles northwest of Albany, on territory that was ceded to them by the Oneida tribe in October 1774.[3] As John Wood Sweet argues in *Bodies Politic*, "By the time of the Revolution, many of the most anglicized and Christian Indians in New England had

given up any hope that they could have a viable future within the United States."[4]

In this chapter we will explore the idea of Brothertown and the model for Christian Indian identity and community that Occom and Johnson elaborated in their sermons, letters, petitions, and journals and codified in the charter document, the Brothertown civil covenant. In the final chapter, we will consider the fate of this idea and the tribulations that Occom and others encountered in seeking to implement a religious utopia.

Brothertown was comprised of remnants of seven tribes who joined together in a frontier rendezvous. These included the Narragansetts of Charlestown, Rhode Island; Connecticut tribes—the Mashantucket Pequots of Ledyard, the Paucatuck Eastern Pequots of Stonington, the Mohegans, and the Farmingtons; and the Montauketts of Long Island. New Stockbridge Indians (Mohican-Munsees) of western Massachusetts and Lenapes from Brotherton in New Jersey built the village of Tuscarora on Oneida lands adjacent to the Brothertown settlement.

Although the Oneidas had allied with the patriot rebellion, they suffered devastation during the Revolution when Joseph Brant's Loyalist confederation of Mohawks, Cayugas, Onondagas, and Senecas joined forces with the British to destroy Oneida villages at Kanowalohale, Oriske, Old Oneida, and the refugee settlement at Schenectady. By 1783 they were reduced to six hundred persons with six million acres of land, and they faced the task of replenishing their populations and rebuilding villages that were destroyed. White settlers invaded the Oneida homelands and the State of New York looked to dispossess the Oneidas and replenish the treasury from land sales. The Oneidas pursued a strategy of creating a buffer zone of dependent tribes and cultural mediators to defend their homelands. Thus, the Oneidas ceded land to New Stockbridge, three miles south of their homeland village of Kanowalohale, the site of Tuscarora, a village that had been abandoned by the Tuscarora Iroquois group during the war. The Brothertown tribe settled adjacent lands. While the Oneidas anticipated that they might eventually incorporate the Brothertown and New Stockbridge newcomers to build an Oneida village world that would number one thousand, in the near term these new villages were intended to serve

as a buffer that would absorb the first waves of white settlers and to assist cultural mediation with white interests.[5] However, the Brothertown tribe emigrated with different intentions. An abiding commitment to Christian identity and congregation, a desire to live separate and free, and a mission to evangelize the Oneidas, united the "Brothers." They wished to create a village world, an "Indiantown" founded upon the ideals of a religious ethic of brotherhood and the democratic polity of local town government.

The idea of Brothertown marked a significant departure from previous forms of Christian Indian ethnogenesis. Brothertown was conceived as a Christian Indian ethnic community settled at the eastern borderland that separated Oneida homelands and New York settlers. Its founder envisioned an altruistic communalism where Indian peoples embraced an "American synthesis" of evangelical Protestant and republican values of liberty and civic virtue.[6] Native Americans as the twice-born children of God might enjoy the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and property.

Preaching from Galatians 5:1, "Stand Fast Therefore in Liberty," Occom extolled this American synthesis—the understanding that evangelical Christianity and civic participation in the New Republic created a new type of citizen—newly born and imbued by God with a democratic voice. Here he proclaimed the salvationist message that Christ has redeemed the "children of fallen man" and freed them from sin. Reborn Christians would exercise republican virtue and democratic self-government: "that is the great Duty of Christian People both to God and to themselves, to Stand fast in the LIBERTY where Christ hath made them Free."[7]

David J. Silverman has retold the story of Brothertown as the unfolding of the pernicious idea of race in America. He explains that Native religious leaders frequently chastised their lay "Red Brethren" as sinners, arguing that they were cursed by the sins of their heathen forefathers, and as sinners who strayed from the paths of godly conduct.[8] Like Eliot's preaching to the praying Indians in the seventeenth century, this rational theodicy of misfortune required that the Native brethren interpret their fate—poverty, sickness, and ill fortune—as the providential act of God who might curse or chastise his chosen Native people. However, this providential rationale was designed as a jeremiad, as a call to the converted to revivify their piety

by self-examination, humiliation, and tears of repentance. The curse of sin might be forgiven and washed clean through God's forgiveness.

Rather than a fatalistic surrender in defeat for a people cursed, ever-stained by the special innate depravity of their ancestors, the rational theodicy of misfortune was a call to renewed faith and religious fervor. Only by acts of repentance and by careful obedience to God's laws could the Indian children of God expect that he would shower them with the blessings of prosperity, health, and good fortune. Silverman argues: "Still, God granted the Natives no relief. This pattern pushed the Indians toward a terrifying yet inescapable conclusion: God cursed Indians as a race in the present for their ancestors' sins. Until he decided to take his foot off their necks, there was nothing they could do to improve their lives."[9]

Race played an important role in Christian Indian identity, especially in the exclusion of African Indians and the categorization of the Native as a racial other, who was denied full inclusion or equality in the new republic. However, the sermons, letters, and other documents from Brothertown do not convincingly demonstrate that Occom and his successors concluded that God cursed Red Brethren because of their ethnic or racial status as Christian Indians.

When Occom wrote in 1784, "It seems to me, at Times there is nothing but Wo, Wo, Wo Written in every Turn of the Wheel of Gods Providence against us,"[10] he was making an appeal for spiritual renewal in the face of adversity. He urged his people to undertake yet again a spiritual itinerary where they might traverse the slough of despond and religious melancholy into renewed hope in their errand into the wilderness.

Brad D. E. Jarvis explains how Joseph Johnson preached from the prophet Ezekiel, uttering the jeremiad about how God will punish those leaders who do not serve the people well. Johnson reiterated God's promise in Ezekiel 36:24: "I will take you from among the heathen, and gather you out of all countries, and will bring you into your own land."[11] Rather than cursed by an angry God for their racial status of Christian Indians, Occom and Johnson spoke of exodus, redemption, hope, and this-worldly salvation for the Native children of God.

Brothertown reflected Occom's mature pan-Indian vision in the 1784

sermon "To All the Indians in the Boundless Continent," in which he champion the brotherhood of all tribes and Native peoples united in faith. "I am an Indian also, your Brother and you are my Brethren the Bone of my Bone and the Flesh of my Flesh."[12] He envisioned Brothertown as a multi-ethnic tribe that would be organized as a soteriological community of the ingathered faithful, where Christian brothers and sisters would transcend narrow loyalties to family, extended kinship group, natal village, or tribe of origin.[13] Members would be united by faith in Jesus and bound together by an ethic of brotherliness to coreligionists in their Christian Indian church, which would be coterminous with the newly constituted Brothertown tribal community. The individual covenant of grace, the church covenant, and citizenship in the Brothertown tribe were intertwined.

Occom articulated this vision of Christian Indian community in a Brothertown sermon, "Thou Shalt Love Thy Neighbor as Thy Self" (May 13, 1787?), from Luke 10:26–27. He recounts the story of the good Samaritan and proclaims the obligation to demonstrate acosmic love toward all men and women regardless of race or station in life. He decried slaveholding as anathema to Christian brotherhood.

But what compels the Christian? What is the foundation for a "Christian Self Love"? Occom explains:[14] "A Christian ought to Love himself as he is redeemed of the Love, the Dear Purchase of the Precious Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ. . . . This ought to be the foundation of his Love to his Neighbour."[15] Through God's grace and salvation the Christian is transformed and acquires the capacity for caritas and love for all. Occom distinguishes Christian self-love—the basis for *communitas* at Brothertown—with "Indian heathen" or "noble human self-love," founded upon cultural tradition and not a God-willed directive. "When there is a Scarsity of Food amongst them, they will yet Divide what little they have if thee is but a mouth full Piece . . . and they are very kind to one another in Sickness, and they Weep with them that Weep—This I take to be a Human Love or Being Neighbourly."[16]

Writing to Eleazar Wheelock in 1774 about the anticipated departure of Joseph Johnson and David and Jacob Fowler, Occom expresses the sublime vision of Brothertown: "I hope the Lord is about to do Great Marvils by

them. I hope the Lord is fiting and preparing them to Blow the Gospel Trumpet in the Wilderness."[17] The trumpets heralded those seeking refuge who might transcend their past by forsaking sin and worldliness to forge a new identity through faith as Christian Indians. Like Moses, who fulfilled God's plan to redeem his chosen people from Egyptian bondage, Occom would lead the Brothertown Christian Indians in an exodus from the hopelessness and despair of the colonial situation. They would journey as new peoples to build an Indian Canaan, a new promised land.[18]

Alan Taylor argues in *William Cooper's Town* that Americans at the time of the Revolution viewed the spiritual geography of the frontier in central and western New York as an ostensibly abandoned wilderness empty of the Iroquois and other Native peoples. Through the vision of the "myth of the second creation," settlers might resemble Adam and build a new Eden.[19] Occom cited the authority of Hebrew scripture to claim a place in this spiritual geography of the frontier for Christian Indians. Drawing upon Joshua 24:22, he preached at the founding of the town, owning a covenant that likened the new tribal community to "the Israelites dedication to God in Joshua to make sense of the seven tribes dedication to God at Brothertown."[20]

Occom appropriated the story of captivity and freedom from Exodus and applied it to Indians who would build the city of God in the forest as a Christian Indian commonwealth, in separation from America. The Oneida frontier offered a "borderland" at the margins of the emerging state of New York and the American republic where Indian children of God might pursue the vision of a new tribal community.[21]

The idea of Brothertown also incorporated the doctrine of "separate creations" wherein God created three separate races—white, black, and red. Native Americans, as a consequence of their racial otherness, no longer enjoyed a place within colonial society or the new republic.[22] Christian Indian communities needed to remove to the frontier to establish an Indian Canaan, separate from long-settled areas. Writing in 1791, near the end of his life, Occom enunciates in "Indians Must Have Teachers of their Own Coular Or Nation" the themes of separatism and racial antagonism as the foundation for the struggle for autonomy. He explains: "They have very

great and reveted Prejudice against the White People, and they have too much good reason for it—they have been imposed upon, too much."[23]

In James Axtell's term, "the pestilence of racism" infected New England by the middle of the eighteenth century, eroding fund-raising and popular support for Wheelock's missionary Grand Design and creating a racialized Indian identity.[24] The climate of European racism attributed a hereditary deficiency and inferiority—the stain of race—to Indians and persons of African descent. No matter the individual attainments through education, literacy, piety, or civilized manners, Indians remained trapped in a social category that permanently set them apart from whites. Racial etiquettes fostered rituals that denigrated Native peoples as racially inferior. Ironically, these rituals of denigration were legitimated by the evangelical pietist practices of piety, repentance, and humiliation as newly born Indian children of God were admonished to avoid the sin of pride. However, by imposing this racialized identity and etiquette, Europeans enforced social distance and prevented intermarriage, social visiting, and friendship. Whites established an exploitative split labor market that relegated members of inferior races to menial jobs. Equating Indians with blacks, who remained at the bottom of the racial system of emergent white supremacy, Wheelock referred to his "Black son Samson Occom," and he called his Native students his "Black Children." Under Wheelock's patronage as a student and later as a missionary to the Oneidas, Joseph Johnson referred to himself as "a Despicable Lump of polluted Clay, as is inclosed on this tawny skin of mine," or "your ignorant Pupil and good for nothing Black Indian."[25]

An Indian racialized identity had the unintended consequences of promoting regional, intertribal, and pan-Indian identity that ensured Indian survival as an inassimilable race. As Axtell explains: "Ironically, the acute English sense of cultural superiority—which was colored by racism before the eighteenth century—helped the Indians to maintain the crucial ethnic core at the heart of their newly acquired Christian personae. In colonial eyes, they were still Indians and always would be, no matter how 'civilized' or 'Christian' they became."[26] The crystallization of declining and remnant bands into intertribal Christian Indian communities and kinship networks, defensively aligned as an inassimilable Indian race, created the possibility

for a Brothertown community that voluntarily removed itself from colonial society. Yet the idea of separate creations made African Indian, mixed-race unions, and multiracial identity problematic, as Brothertown rejected such persons from participation, landownership, and membership.

The trope of the vanishing American, "the spectacle of indigenous peoples passing way,"[27] allowed for the elaboration of an American collective identity after the American Revolution. When Native peoples inevitably became extinct, savagism gave way to civilization; heathen religion relinquished space for the construction of grand new churches. As an anonymous poet proclaimed in Connecticut in the early nineteenth century:

> No more is seen the savage train
> Lurking like tigers for their food.
> No more is seen the desert plain
> Where once the native hovel stood.
> But where they stood may now be seen
> Where Christians all may worship him,
> The Father of all good.[28]

Philip Freneau's sentimental lament in "The Indian Burying Ground" (1787) marked the passing of Native peoples whose remains lie buried in a cemetery, where visions of their culture and lifeways appeared as shadows and delusions in the poet's imagination. In scores of verses and essays, the vanishing American entered American consciousness as a romanticized depiction of the discourse of conquest—the extinction of peoples and cultures, where vacated land passed to white civilization on the frontier or in long-settled areas. Brian W. Dippie explains the "inexorable destiny" of Indians in this rhetoric of doom: "The easy sweep of language, the inspired phrases, and comforting euphemisms anesthetized the listener's conscience. . . . Autumn leaves dropping from the trees. The mist rising. The morning dew dissipating in the heat of the day. The sun setting. The ocean's all-consuming waves. Such figurative prose obscured a harsh reality. The Indian, like the seasons, was meant to pass, but not return again."[29]

Brothertown and New Stockbridge defied the terminal narrative and "inexorable destiny" of extinction prophesized by the vanishing American.

The ethnogenesis of new tribes on the borderland proclaimed this Indian culture as authentic and as the fulfillment of the highest goals of the new republic—a democratic Christian commonwealth. Christian Indians as racial others might have no place in America, vanishing through extinction or assimilation like snow in the vernal sunshine. However, on the borderland, set apart from America on an encapsulated reservation, they might build an Indian Canaan.

Although the idea of Brothertown envisioned a polity and church community under Native control, ironically, Eleazar Wheelock can be credited as the first to articulate the idea of a Christian Indian community like Brothertown. In a letter written in November 1767, he advocates:

> I have been trying to collect a town of Christianized Indians, from yr New England Colonies, & settle them in some suitable place, in yr heart of yr Indian Country, I have some hopes of accomplishing it. This would furnish an asylum for our Missionaries, set ye Savages a pattern, & exhibit to them yr advantages of a Civilized life, much secure them from ye many Mischiefs of unrighteous dealers, conciliate yr friendship to yr English; and who knows but yr leaven so put into yr lump, may gloriously spread.[30]

Wheelock's Indian Charity School graduates who staffed the early missions to Oneida in 1761 included Occom and David Fowler. The later missions with Samuel Kirkland and Joseph Johnson in 1767–68 had placed the leaven in the lump. Wheelock wrote to Occom in January 1771, proposing that he and his brother-in-law, David Fowler, open another mission school among the Iroquois. Occom, now estranged from Wheelock, declined this offer. Occom wanted to establish a "living example of a Christian community" independent of Wheelock's control.[31] Joseph Johnson would attempt to bring Occom's idea to fruition.

Wheelock's missionary Grand Design imagined that new Christian Indian communities would be an efficient and economical strategy to pacify distant tribes and bind them politically to the English. Although Johnson reaffirms this political rhetoric with authorities in New York and Connecticut when seeking their endorsement and financial support, he, like Occom,

conceived of Brothertown through biblical images of the New Jerusalem and exodus from Egyptian captivity—a sojourn into the wilderness.[32] In October 1773, during a tour of the seven tribes who would comprise Brothertown, Johnson exhorts: "Let us put our trust in that God who ruleth in the Armies of Heaven, and doeth his pleasure among the Inhabitants of this lower world. If God be for us, this is Enough, He can comfort us Even in a Wilderness."[33]

Petitioning the Connecticut General Assembly on June 2, 1774, he advocates "the welfare of my dying Nation. . . . The greatest part of the Indians who purpose to remove from hence shortly are well disposed Indians, Who are Calld Christians, and Profess a great love to the . . . Redeemer, and Profess great Pity to Perishing Souls, and we all profess to have good Purposes, good Designs in our views, not only to better our selves, but also to use our Utter most endeavour to civilize and Christianize our Fellow Natives, who hath received us as Brothers."[34] In Johnson's estimation, Brothertown would fulfill God's promise of collective redemption and emancipation when Christian Indians, the least of God's children, wandered in the wilderness before entering the promised land.

The attempt to establish a Christian Indian community appeared doomed to failure from the onset. Following the Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1784) and Fort Schuyler (1788), New York assumed the right of preemption, which granted it the legal authority to dispossess Oneidas from their lands by treaty, sale, and lease. From 1784 until 1810, the original six million acres of land was reduced to a holding of 78,000 acres. An unending flood of 55,778 white settlers (a 60 to 1 ratio of whites to Indians) buying and leasing Indian land overwhelmed these Native communities. The townships of Madison and Oneida were created in the center of Oneida homelands, with thirty-two towns, scores of taverns and mills, and the opening of the Genesee Turnpike.[35]

War had prevented the Indians' removal to Oneida lands until 1784. These early Brothertown pioneers lived in poverty and lacked the necessary development funds to build their community or a tax base to fund tribal services and pay for a settled minister. The issue of leasing and the sale of land to whites divided the community, prompting Occom to aban-

don Brothertown in 1790, retreating to self-imposed exile in a cabin in the woods near Tuscarora, New Stockbridge. By the 1790s, chronic poverty forced the tribe to accept economic support from the state of New York, a superintendent-guardianship arrangement, and Quaker missionary assistance. The colonial situation, marked by chronic poverty, land dispossession, political powerlessness, and the administration by state and missionary authorities, ended their aspiration for political autonomy. The exclusion of African Indians and mixed-race marriages from Brothertown, a condition of the Oneida deed and a long-standing practice among the Montaukett and Mohegan tribes, prevented many Indians and kin from participation in the community.[36] Alcoholism, intratribal violence, conflict, and despair prevailed and proved antithetical to the dream of tribal brotherhood. In addition, denominational conflicts between Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists divided the tribe. Writing a year before his death, Occom would lament about the situation among his poor Indian brethren: "I think they are now in a Most Deplorable Condition and Situation, it Seems that Heaven and Earth, are in Combination against us, I am, Some Times, upon the Borders of Desperation and much Discouragd with my poor Brethren, I often groan, and Say with myself, before I am aware of it, O Strange, O Strange, Why are we thus—and my mind is very much overwhelmed at Times,—But When I Consider the Promises of God in his Book my mind is a little revivd again."[37]

The Christian Indians of Brothertown and New Stockbridge ultimately left New York, beginning in 1817 and extending their emigration until the 1840s. They relocated as one final ethnogenesis to a "permanent" Indian frontier on Menominee lands near Green Bay, Wisconsin, where their descendants reside today.

How then are we to understand the significance of the Brothertown movement? Drew Lopenzina argues: "The significance of its legacy has much to do with how we choose to remember it today and how we read the texts that summoned it into being."[38] Thus, we are charged to remember and to recover the meanings and purposes of this experiment in Christian Indian community and identity. It is to this task that we now turn by recovering Joseph Johnson's pilgrimage, his work as a key architect of Brothertown,

and his ministry to the Farmington tribe, one of the groups that relocated to the frontier.

Joseph Johnson's short life (1751–1776) was marked by a spiritual pilgrimage that he recorded in his journals and correspondence and in the preparations for the pilgrimage of "his poor Indian brethren" out of colonial captivity and into the promised land on the New York frontier. Laura J. Murray asks, "What Did Christianity Do for Joseph Johnson?" In answer to this question, we will see how the narrative of conversion and the fostering of an evangelical Christian religious personhood, imbued with the public voice of democratic personality, permitted Johnson to serve the Brothertown movement as a minister, schoolteacher, and public advocate. Like Occom, he transcended the boundaries of Mohegan tribal identity to forge an identity that made Christianity the foundation for a religious and racial "brotherhood" where the brethren united in faith to form a pan-Indian and intertribal coalition.[39]

Johnson revealed his longing for Mohegan during the ten-week sojourn as a schoolteacher and preacher among the Farmington Indians in December 1772: "Well I remember home—O Mohegan O Mohegan—the time is long before I Shall be walking my wonted places which are on thee—once there I was but perhaps never again, but I Still remember thee—in you is lodged my father & Mother Dear—and my Beloved Sisters—and brothers."[40] However, he remembered Mohegan, his spiritual and physical homeland, as a lonesome place with no one to comfort him as he "told the Stone my Sorrow."[41] He concludes by devoting his life to a truer friend in Jesus and to the emigration to a far country. "Perhaps in due time I may once more Come on thy borders—but first I have to go to distant Lands; and far Country—and Different Nations I have to walk through—before I see thee. Thus O Mohegan I must bid you farewell, and Shut the door of my Heart against thee—for I have a truer friend—to entertain My Heart."[42]

Joseph Johnson was born in 1751 to Mohegan parents, Joseph and Betty Johnson, in Mohegan, Connecticut. After his father died in the French and Indian War, Joseph's mother sent her seven-year-old son to study at Wheelock's Charity School in New Lebanon where he remained for ten years under Wheelock's tutelage, eventually becoming a schoolteacher with

Samuel Kirkland at the Oneida mission in New York in 1767. Johnson's correspondence with Wheelock documents his protracted struggle for grace and subsequent apostasy in 1768. Johnson writes on December 29, 1767: "I am yet in the Gall of Bitterness and in the bond of Iniquity. I hope that God will yet Enable me to See the pride of my heart, & the great Sin of Unbelief and the Necessity I stand in of Christ Jesus. I believe that unless God be pleased to Open my Eyes that I may see the wickedness of my heart I greatly fear I Shall never Obtain the One thing needfull."[43]

Johnson did not enjoy the seal of grace and conversion. Instead, in 1768, he abandoned Protestant moralism. Kirkland explains that in the spring, Johnson kept "strumpets" and consumed gallons of wine and rum. "It seems he is fond of Changes—weary wh ye from of yt old fashiond Thing called puritanic Relign he turn'd pagan for about a week—painted, sung, danc'd—drank & whor'd it, wh some of the savage Indians he cou'd find."[44] Wheelock learned of Joseph's actions and dismissed his former student, resigned to losing yet another drunken Indian. He writes: "I have Some intimations he designs for Sea with Aaron Occom, both of Whom I expect will be poor drunken Creatures. Oh! My dear Sir, how Shocking is it that one after another turn out So."[45]

He worked for two years as a schoolteacher in Providence and went to sea as a whaler before returning in 1771 to his uncle's farm in Mohegan. During a revival led by Occom, Johnson experienced new birth and forged his identity as a Christian Indian. In 1772–73 he kept a school, evangelized the Farmington Indians, and assumed a leadership role in promoting the Brothertown community.[46]

Johnson was filled with anguish and despair following his dismissal, having become marginal to both white colonial and tribal societies, unable to experience new birth and equally unsuited for life with the Oneidas. He sent letters of contrition and confession to Wheelock, writing in December, 1768: "I have been guilty of the Most heinous Sins which has hurt and wounded the Redeemer's cause and been of great disadvantage to your school and disgrace to the Religion of Christ. . . . [I] indulged myself in Brutish Ease whilst in the wilderness."[47]

Laura J. Murray explains: "Johnson's writing is marked by fervent Christian

self-abasement and a firm desire to conform to English modes of behavior and social organization. Johnson's humility with respect to both heavenly and earthly superiors is so insistent that the first question that arose for me ... [was] What did Christianity do *to* Joseph Johnson?"[48] She explains that he learned to employ highly ritualized forms of the rhetoric of evangelical humiliation in his correspondence with Wheelock, his patron and father surrogate during his perpetual tutelage, and in his letters to public officials making appeals for funds and favor. In addition, the spiritual diary recounts the familiar rhetoric of self-abasement requisite to the soul's passage from sin to grace.[49] However, he did not cynically employ rhetorical devices but earnestly and relentlessly embraced the practice of evangelical piety to hammer out a new creation through self-abasement. Here religious melancholy became a familiar guide to the creation of a religiously grounded self that could contest the powerlessness and passivity of the colonial situation and advocate for Native peoples.

Although Johnson's letters and journals are replete with the rhetoric of evangelical humility and self-abnegation, following his conversion and spiritual maturation, he records times of joy and mystical transport. Writing from Farmington on Sunday, December 20, 1772, Johnson has a dream or vision of a slain lamb lying near his couch. He explains:

> It was Jesus Christ, who was the subject of My fir[st] Meditation, and the only Object of my Love, & in whom my Soul truly Delighted—who left an Impression Upon my heart which Caused my heart to glow in love to him Even to the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the World. . . . Now give me leave to join my Voice with the Voice of the Elders—and Angels which are round about the throne, Who are saying with a loud Voice, worthy is the Lamb that was Slain.[50]

Through religious melancholy and ecstatic visions, by forging a democratic personality and voice in the travail of evangelical religious personhood and new birth, he emerged as a champion of pan-Indian Christian community and identity. That is what Christianity did for Joseph Johnson.

Johnson's conversion merits closer scrutiny. His diary chronicles seven months of spiritual struggle, beginning with his return to Mohegan in No-

vember 1771 and culminating with a "dedication," or owning the covenant of grace, written on May 24, 1772. Throughout this period, he attended Sabbath worship at Mohegan and evening prayer meetings at Occom's home and at the homes of Christian Mohegans, where they sang, exhorted, and prayed for a season of grace.

A generation earlier, white itinerant New Light preachers exhorted the Mohegans. Now, Mohegan was largely a Christian Indian community with Native preachers and exhorters who labored for the souls of the unredeemed. Johnson provides this description of a prayer meeting:

> Henry spoke first concerning the goodness of God in Sending his son in to the world for us Sinners, more Especially Gods goodness in making himself to known to us poor Indians, that now we may hear Jesus Christ in our own language. . . . Samuel Ashpo spoke next, Inviting all to Set their mind heaven ward—and he Spoke of the glorys of heaven, as it has been set forth in the holy Bible. John Nanepome spoke last, had a Long Discourse about a Regenerate man, how that he bears god on his mind in all his Actions, and continually lives in fear of Sin.[51]

Johnson's diary records this religious fervor and quest, his unending and heroic piety. Through methodical self-examination, meditation, and private spiritual devotions, he longed to experience the elusive seal of grace, the ravishment of the Holy Spirit in his heart. Writing on November 25, 1771, he exclaims:

> Oh! Poor soul I am, Blind, Stupid, Senseless, void of all Spiritual Life, dead in Trespasses and Sins.
>
> Oh! When shall it be once thought of me, that I am Converted, and call Christ Jesus my Saviour, and God my father, and the holy Ghost my Comforter. . . . I must be born again, I must repent of my wickedness, and must hate Sin with perfect hatred, I must Se[e] my danger, and Christ Jesus must Seem precious to my Soul.[52]

Richard Baxter's *The Saints' Everlasting Rest* served as the pastoral guidebook during Johnson's travail. He read this tract while working on his uncle's farm, and writes on December 8, 1771: "After Reading Some out of Book

S Rest I assisted Uncle Henry in Making a path to Mr Occoms, and than I returned home and read more of Necessity of Seeking the S Rest, and then prayed to God that I might be serious in striving, and to give me a spirit of Prayer."[53] Later that month he writes in his journal, "Read this Even in the Saints Rest."[54] Johnson continued his reading and reflection writing on Sabbath day, February 9, 1772: "Spent chief of this forpart in reading Mr Bxter's book, where he writes about the Necessity of diligently Seeking of the Saints rest, also how to discern our title to the Saints rest."[55]

Murray argues that Johnson's spiritual diary "shows a deep engagement with Baxter's language and ideas."[56] By scrupulously adhering to this spiritual advice and regimen, Johnson hoped to be reborn in the Spirit. Baxter begins with a contemplation of salvation—a heavenly rest marked by the freedom from suffering, doubt, sin, the temptations of Satan, and worldliness.[57] To prepare for the everlasting rest, sojourners in this world must first become convinced of the evil of sin, of their misery, vanity, and the insufficiency of each creature. Each believer needed to transform his or her will by achieving a single-mindedness toward godly pursuits, renouncing sin, and in selfless and helpless humility, turning to God and Christ seeking the perseverance of grace.[58] Through diligence in the practice of daily piety, Johnson repeatedly in his diary entries followed Baxter's admonition by recounting his wickedness, cold-heartedness, and spiritual shortcomings.

Baxter demanded severe evangelical humiliation, requiring believers to examine their hearts for evidence of self-deception and hypocrisy. He writes, "I hope, reader, thou are, by this time, somewhat sensible what a desperate thing it is to trifle about our eternal rest, and how deeply serious thou hast been guilty of this sin."[59] Again, Johnson models his spiritual itinerary according to Baxter's practical divinity. Writing on March 6, 1772, Johnson refers to his own doubts and anxieties:

> Thus I See another day almost gone and every day brings me nearer to my Everlasting home. . . . And alas if I am unprepared wo is me for my Everlasting home is hell. Eternal misery is for Every Stranger to Christ, every Stubborn Soul Shall be humbled before Jesus Christ the awful Judge of Quick and dead.

. . . For my part I humbly Confess to thee O God that I am a poor sinfull Creature Soon Straying love Sin but I desire to hate Sin. I desire to be made pure in heart and holy in life, and is it not my greatest happiness to feel the moveings of thy Spirit upon my heart.[60]

Baxter reassured his readers that faithful believers "chosen by God, redeemed by Christ, and regenerated by the Holy Spirit" could guard against backwardness and apostasy by diligence in the practice of piety.[61] Thus, the saint could contemplate the prospect of everlasting rest with assurance and joy. Baxter instructs: "Let thy family perceive, let thy neighbors perceive, let thy conscience perceive, yea, let God perceive it, that thou art a man who hast thy daily conversation in heaven."[62]

Johnson's "Dedication" does not report an inner-worldly experience of the Holy Spirit regenerating his heart or the unspeakable joy of assurance of new birth. Instead, he pleads his case, as does Baxter, hopeful that a continued contemplation of Christ will ultimately provide compelling evidence of his everlasting rest as a saint. Johnson states: "I think I can come to the Ordinances of Christ in Baptism, & the Lords Supper, with a clear Conscience trusting I have some clear Evidence of an interest in gods Eternal Son, Jesus Christ. Oh when he Calls his Elect, that my worthless name might be found amongst them . . . O that I might have the grace of God to keep my Clay from iniquity."[63]

Acknowledging that he would wage a war against temptations of the flesh, he anticipates many "dark hours" bereft of friends, "despised, yea hated, & looked upon as an Enimy."[64] One month later, on June 20, he made a public confession before the Mohegan congregation. Johnson had abstained from drinking alcohol since returning from the sea. However, several weeks after his new birth he lost his resolve and was guilty of public drunkenness while raising a meetinghouse on June 16. Johnson confessed: "I view my self to be grosely guilty of dishonouring a holy god and have brought much disgrace upon the holy religion, which I profess."[65]

He describes his inner turmoil as his heart filled with heavy sorrow, anxiety, sleeplessness, and despair. Had he committed an unpardonable sin? He considered fleeing to a foreign place and devoting his life to penance.

Instead, he received pastoral care from some Mohegan friends, beseeching the forgiveness of God and the Mohegan congregation, and uttering the following public confession: "I abhor and loath myself, for the vileness that is in me by reason of Sin. . . . I humbly beg upon the bended knees of my Soul the forgiveness of you all you Hond Old Men, and women, ye respected young men & Children, and to every rational being bond or free."[66]

Johnson published "A Letter to Moses Paul," written to a man awaiting execution in the New Haven jail for a murder that he committed while intoxicated. It was written on March 29, 1772, two months before Johnson's fall from sobriety. Johnson, like Occom, offered pastoral care and guidance to Paul and other Indians, beseeching them to repent and seek salvation. Yet, how could he shepherd his poor Indian brethren, when he could not master his own temptation? Johnson made a solemn vow of abstinence and reiterated this vow on June 10, 1776, shortly before his death. He reaffirms, "I wear this in Rem[em]brance of my vow to God to abstain from all Spirituous Liquors, except in a case of real necessity which vow I have made this 21st day of March AD 1776, to be continued my Life time by the Grace of God."[67]

Johnson's evangelical religious personality and character embraced life as a spiritual pilgrimage culminating in the saint's everlasting rest in paradise. Life's journey would prove to be an unrelenting war against the "natural man" in pursuit of progressive sanctification and godliness. Like other evangelicals, he imposed a harsh, tyrannical asceticism in the regulation of his conduct. Lapses in this ethos resulted in an overwhelming sense of sinfulness, corruption, and self-loathing. The methodical practice of self-examination revealed additional evidence of cold-hearted withdrawal from God, incipient pride, or accommodation to worldliness. These seasons of spiritual lassitude prompted calls for the redoubling of evangelical humiliation—confession, repentance, and self-abnegation. In this manner, religious melancholy came to characterize his experience as a new creation.

Evangelical humility, doubt, and despondency were ubiquitous in his diaries and letters.[68] For example, in a letter written from Farmington on November 6, 1773, Johnson thanks Occom for the pastoral care and spiritual direction shown him during a recent visit to Mohegan. He expresses

gratitude for Occom's "support of my drooping heart, when Dejection like a garment covered it."[69]

These expressions of pious humility and self-conscious inferiority as an Indian can be interpreted as the appropriation of an evangelical pietist religious persona and the racialized stigma of Indian identity in the late colonial period. As a humble child of God, ever mindful of his place in colonial society, Johnson might, paradoxically, through self-abasement lay claim to human dignity for himself and all Native peoples. Thus, he continues his November letter to Occom: "Repentance, yea ever to humble myself in dust & ashes, before Almighty God . . . I'll endeavour to be beneficial to my poor, Ignorant, Indian Brethren."[70] Johnson would later write about his own limitations: "I confess I have not a facility to say much in a few words, but I am an Indian. There I hope you will hear me with greater patience & condescension."[71]

Johnson continued in a relationship of paternalistic tutelage with Wheelock. He wrote letters to his benefactor soliciting money, and he received from Wheelock a license to preach in Dartmouth on August 28, 1774, and a general letter of recommendation on January 27, 1776.[72] Johnson's letters typically began with an admission of repentance for past wrongdoing and a heightened sense of his unworthiness as an Indian. He writes on August 30, 1773: "if I was an Englishman, & was thus respected by you. I should be very thankful, but much more doth it now, become me being an Indian, to be humble & very thankful in very deed."[73] Writing on May 2, 1774, Johnson begins: "O! The Wounds that I have given to that pious Soul of thine, oft of late have I shed tears, when I considered of my past Ingratitude and misconduct. Oft have I thought of your unwearied labours of love to unworthy me."[74] The self-deprecating humility exemplified by Johnson's gratitude to Wheelock for the "Tokens of Love and Friendship shewn to such a Despicable Lump of polluted Clay, as in inclosed in this tawnny Skin of Mine" provided the foundation of evangelical humiliation and piety upon which to promote Brothertown and seek Wheelock's support.[75]

From the depths of self-imposed humiliation and self-mortification, Johnson appropriated an assertive voice to petition notables and elected officials on behalf of his poor Indian brethren. However effective this

rhetoric proved in seeking favor with colonial authorities or benefactors, Johnson's writings and stance toward the world are founded upon Baxter's model of an authentic and distinctive religiously grounded identity. The evangelical pietist foundation of religious identity, with its affinity for religious melancholy and its use of humble dependency as an instrument of divine purpose, legitimated his public voice as a preacher who would negotiate with colonial authorities to lead his people into the wilderness with a promise of redemption. Johnson could now assume responsibilities as a spiritual and religious leader of Christian Indians in Farmington and among the other remnant groups.[76] His conversion and progressive spiritual attainments also served as a rite of passage into adulthood. Johnson would marry Tabitha Occom (Occom's daughter) in December 1773, and she would bear him two sons before his death in 1776.[77]

Following the guidance of Samson Occom and under the auspices of the Boston commissioners, Johnson operated a school and mission to the Farmington Indians for ten weeks, from November 1772 until February 1773. The Farmington Indians were an amalgamated, multitribal community formed after King Philip's War from remnants of the Tunxis tribe, who later became the Farmington Indians in ethnogenesis by incorporating emigrants from the Quinnipiacs, Sukiaugks, Mattabeesets, and other local bands. They settled at "Indian Neck" on the Farmington River and were given the place name "Farmington Indians." They numbered twelve men, fourteen women, and seventeen children, according to the census of 1774.[78]

At the time of first contact with the English, the Tunxis Indians were a small Algonquian group who occupied lands surrounding the Farmington River and extending westward to New Hartford and Litchfield County. We can identify three village settlements: Massacoes (on the site of Simsbury and abandoned in 1675); Indian Neck (Tunxis Sepus—by the bend in the Farmington River), connected to the "plantation of Tunxis" established in 1640 and the site of the English settlement of Farmington; and Satan's Kingdom in New Hartford.[79]

Regarding the size of this tribe, John De Forest observes in the *History of the Indians of Connecticut*: "If it was worthwhile to make estimates based upon nothing, we might perhaps assign to this tribe a population of eighty

to one hundred warriors, or about one hundred individuals."[80] Actually, at first contact it is plausible that the Tunxis people numbered between 750 and 900 people in three villages.

The Tunxis were not a centralized, united tribe or nation, but existed as a "segmentary" tribe comprised of small, local villages. Each village was composed of one or more lineage groups—corporate kinship structures bound together by common ancestry, marriage ties, and shared culture (language, oral tradition, origin myths, and ritual and ceremonial exchanges by shamans with other-than-human persons). Village sachems exercised power by exemplifying the traditional values of hospitality and the reciprocity of gift exchange—redistributing annual surpluses or the wealth that they temporarily accumulated in the Dutch and English fur trade in eat-all feasts. Clan exogamy required that people marry outside their lineage group, thus ensuring the circulation of people among the three Tunxis settlements.

The Tunxis settled in a riverine ecosystem where the cultivation of gardens (corn, beans, and squash) together with hunting, fishing, and gathering provided surplus goods for intertribal trade. Trade supported a sedentary village life that supported an increasing population before European contact and the impact of virgin soil epidemics.[81] Each year the Tunxis paid part of their surplus in the form of tribute and protection to the Pequots. The Tunxis were a tributary group—one of an estimated twenty-five small bands known as the River Indians (Podunks, Pequonocks, and Sukiaugks). These bands formally subordinated themselves to the Pequots, who in 1600 numbered thirty thousand. A Pequot chieftain sachem like Sassacus controlled many villages on the Thames and lower Connecticut Rivers and monopolized access to wampum production and fur trade in this region before his defeat in the Pequot War of 1637. As Peter A. Thomas explains, chieftains arose by garnering kin support to control large areas, manipulate resources, and direct multicommunity activities.[82]

Each year Tunxis sachems freely gave fathoms of wampum, baskets of corn, peltry, and other trade goods. These acts polished the chain of friendship, as the Mohawks phrased it, solidifying trade, peace, and the promise of protection and military alliance to ensure the safety of the weaker group. Without tribute and alliance with the Pequots, the Tunxis could not protect

themselves from the powerful Mohawks and Mahican groups who would raid their settlements in search of free plunder, game, and hunting and fur-trapping territories. These enemies also sought access to captives for ritualized torture, execution, or adoption and requickening in mourning wars.

After the defeat of the Mahican confederacy in 1623 at the hands of the Mohawks who settled the Hudson River, refugee Mahicans fled to the Housatonic River and to Stockbridge in western Massachusetts, and others joined middle Connecticut River valley groups: Woronocos (Westfield), Agawans (Springfield), Norwottucks (Northampton Valley), Pocumtucks (Deerfield), and Squakheags (Northfield-Hinsdale). Each tribe fashioned a tributary relationship with the victorious Mohawks, keepers of the eastern door of the Iroquois confederacy. Until 1673, with the collapse of the fur trade when Mohawks destroyed the Pocumtucks, an alliance of the Mohawks, Narragansetts, and River Indians formed to facilitate fur trade with the English and thwart the growing influence of the Mohegans under Uncas.

After the Pequot War, the Tunxis shifted their allegiance by submitting to the English "tribe" and also entered into an alliance with the Mohawk-Narragansett-River Indians. These overlapping alliances help explain the attack by Tunxis, Pocumtucket, and Narragansett warriors against Uncas's Mohegans in 1658 and the subsequent English demand that the Tunxis tribe pay ten fathoms of wampum in restitution in a peace settlement. In that year, Mahicans from Stockbridge attacked the fortified palisade Tunxis village at Indian Bend and defeated them, forcing their removal to the west side of the Farmington and the newly founded defended settlement of Fort Hill. These alliances brought intermittent warfare and insecurity despite the assurance of military protection by the English. By colonial decree of 1661, the Tunxis were permitted to carry weapons in town for protection against attack.

The deeds witnessed and signed by Tunxis sachems in 1640, 1650, 1658, and 1688 stipulated their submission to English law and the sovereignty of the monarchy as subjects of the Crown in exchange for the assurance of military protection and favorable trade agreements. The Tunxis thought that by deeding their extensive lands to the United Colonies they would

gain secure land tenure in their settlements and continue to enjoy the use of deeded lands for hunting, trapping, and fishing. But the history of English colonization in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reveals a pattern of land dispossession, poverty, powerlessness, and the indenture of their children to white families. No longer able to support themselves by traditional lifeways, facing a collapse of the fur trade by the 1660s, the Tunxis were incorporated into the colonial economy as day laborers, servants, fisherman, whalers, soldiers, and itinerant peddlers of Native crafts.

By the 1730s the Tunxis village at Farmington had suffered an estimated 75 percent population decline due to the combined results of declining fertility, warfare, and more than one hundred years of exposure to recurring European diseases. The tribe was reduced to a broken remnant with fewer than ten distinct Christian surnames and few intact extended Native family groups. During this decade they welcomed refugees from other declining bands and transformed themselves into an amalgamated Indian group that would be known by the Revolution as the "Farmington Indians." Thus, individuals and family groups—Pocumtuckets from the Connecticut River valley and Mattebesetts and Wagnucks from Middletown removed to Farmington. Beginning in 1747, Quinnipiacs migrated to Farmington, first with the arrival of a man known only by his given Christian name, Adam, who created the Adams lineage by deeding his land in 1756 to his sons, John and Samuel Adams. In 1759 the Farmington property map lists seven Quinnipiac freeholders: John and Samuel Adams, Eunice and John Jacobs, Solomon Adams, and Ruth and Sarah Adams. After the sale of the last thirty acres of Quinnipiac land in New Haven in June 1773, Samuel Adams used the proceeds to purchase five acres at Fort Hill from the colonial overseer Hezehiah Wadsworth. In November they purchased an additional twenty-one acres, giving them ten household lots.[83] However, Samson Occom's census of the Farmington Indians conducted in 1774 reveals only twelve men, fourteen women, and seventeen children—a declining group despite the infusion of new members from other remnant bands.

Evangelical Christian Indian identity created the foundation for the ethnogenesis of the Tunxis, who reinvented themselves as the Farmington Indians. The tribe would be reborn through a Christian Indian collective

identity as God's elect, redeemed by conversion. Yet, paradoxically, they would remain at the bottom of the colonial social hierarchy, marginalized by the emerging racial category of Indian, impoverished, politically powerless, and under the control of colonial overseers.

Many Farmingtons spoke and wrote English as a result of the schooling provided in the 1730s by the Reverend Samuel Whitman. As early as 1717, the General Council of Connecticut advocated "gospeling the Indians."[84] In 1751 the Congregational meetinghouse reserved a back row in the gallery for Indian worship (reserved for marginalized groups—racialized others like free blacks and Indians). Solomon Mossuck entered the church covenant in 1763, and his wife followed him in 1765.[85]

Throughout the eighteenth century, Farmington Indians came before Connecticut courts to face charges levied by creditors for unpaid debts or criminal acts of petty thievery. To satisfy court judgments, Indians were forced to sell land or were bound as indentured service and debt peonage.[86] John Jacobs, a Farmington, attacked and murdered James Chockerer (Skaticoke Mahican) in Kent on February 16, 1768. He was convicted of murder and sentenced to hang for his crime. Jacobs requested that the Reverend Timothy Pitkin, overseer and minister to the tribe, preach an execution sermon, delivered at Litchfield on November 2, 1768. Pitkin's sermon carefully delineated the odiousness of this sinful act, the correctitude of human and divine justice, and the urgency of repentance. He exhorts: "When final sentence will be passed upon impenitent sinners, and they be bro't out, the helpless prisoners of justice; descend to an eternal hell, while the repentant shall have as the sun in the kingdom of their Father and praises be sung in heavenly glory for ever and ever."[87] This sensational case of Indian-on-Indian violence, in which Jacobs murdered his victim with an axe, possibly in a drunken rage, required that legal and religious authorities reaffirm the rational colonial order and the subservient place of Indians in this social order. Pitkin, unlike Occom in his Execution Sermon of 1772, would not advocate for Indians to challenge the colonial situation.

For thirty years, from 1738 until 1768, the Farmington Indians had petitioned the Connecticut General Assembly seeking protection from settlers who had encroached on reservation lands and had purchased or acquired

TABLE 6. Tunxis Reservation Indian deeds

Date of sale	Seller	Removal to
1776	John Adams	Mohawk Territory
1776 and 1783	John Cokram	Brothertown
1780 and 1785	Sarah Adams	Stockbridge
1781	Elijah Wampy	Stockbridge
1782	Solomon Adams	Brothertown
1783	Samuel and Hannah Robbins	Brothertown
1783	Andrew Corecamp	Brothertown
1783	Sarah Weampy	Brothertown
NA	John Sailings	

Source: "Tunxis Reservation Indian Deeds," Indians Collection, ser. 2, vol. 2, MS 75832, Connecticut State Archives.
NA = not available.

most of Indian Neck, reducing the Indian holdings to 140 acres.[88] In 1774 the Connecticut Assembly approved legislation to dispose of these remaining tribal lands, appointing Elijah Wimpey, Solomon Mossuch, and Samuel Adams to represent the Farmingtons, and Colonel John Strong, Fisher Gay, and Elnathan Gridley as overseers to survey and subdivide tribal holdings into lots and parcels individually owned by tribal members. The allotment legislation stipulated a fixed price per acre to facilitate the sale of Indian Neck holdings. Between 1776 and 1783, eleven deeds were recorded as the Farmington tribe removed temporarily to Indian communities in New Hartford and Stockbridge, and from 1782 to 1785, to Brothertown.[89]

The Farmington tribe was a small community numbering forty-three Christian Indians related to each other through the intermarriage of corporate kin groups.[90] They were too poor and too few to sponsor a separate Indian congregation. Under the guardianship of Reverend Pitkin (1727–1812), who served as pastor of the First Congregational Church from 1752 to 1785, the tribe received religious instruction and attended Sabbath services in the back pews of the church. Pitkin was a New Light pastor, educated at Yale, and committed to ending the "Halfway Covenant" in his congregation.[91] To this end, he invited George Whitefield to preach during Whitefield's

fifth tour of America, in July 1754.[92] Pitkin helped prosecute this awakening and a second revival after the Revolution by creating the longing for and expectation of the visitation by the Holy Spirit that would transform individuals and this community. As we have seen, Occom and other itinerant Native preachers frequently conducted evening and singing meetings in private homes. These efforts helped foster a Christian Indian community of regenerate men and women who expected that God would redeem them from their sufferings in this world.

By the 1770s the Farmingtons faced seemingly insurmountable adversities: population decline, continued land dispossession, poverty, and the cant of conquest where they were perceived as a race that was destined for extinction. Johnson arrived at Farmington and articulated the promise of salvation to his oppressed Indian brethren.

Joseph Johnson visited the Farmingtons for a ten-week sojourn (November 18, 1772, until February, 1, 1773) during which he conducted evening "singing" meetings twice each week at the homes of Samuel Adams, Elijah Wimpy, and Thomas Correcemp. Johnson boarded in the homes of key tribal members: Samuel Adams, Solomon Mossucks, Elijah Wimpy, the Charles family, and Thomas Correcemp. He kept a school for eighteen Native and three English children, teaching six days each week by offering sessions of prayer, catechism, and secular instruction. In his role as a preacher and teacher, Johnson hoped to awaken the tribe to their destiny as Christian Indians who could flee from colonial captivity in an exodus to a new frontier. And in the course of his work, he himself was transformed.

For the first time, instead of religious melancholy and exercises in evangelical humiliation, Johnson's diaries record an abiding concern for God, evidence of his faith, and the presence of divine love in his heart. He had discovered the distinguishing marks of maturing piety as stipulated by Baxter. Johnson records his dreams and visions—mystical transports and the joyful contemplation of Jesus and the blood of the Lamb. Writing on Sunday morning, December 20, 1772, he states:

> This morn I Saw in my first wakings, in my drowsiness, as it were the likeness of a lamb that had been Slain, Standin at the foot of

my Couch, and these words Seem to be set home upon my heart. He was Oppressed—and he was Afflicted, yet he opened not his Mouth. . . . What think you, who ever, here after may peruse these Lines—I am Joseph Johnson who do you think was the Subject of my Meditation—or the Object on whom my Soul Delighted—or what impression think you, was left upon my heart. I felt love glow in an ardent manner in my heart.[93]

Using spectral evidence, he recounts his passage from religious melancholy to sublime joy. Johnson attains the assurance of rebirth and appropriates an autonomous, democratic voice to direct his people from captivity and decline in New England to the promise of redemption in the new country of Oneida, New York. In a letter to "All Enquiring Friends," written while at Farmington but intended to introduce himself to other Native communities and colonial publics during a tour of southern New England tribes in 1774, he proclaims his new birth: "My dear friend, let me freely tell you, that I was 21 years in this World, before I was born, and as Soon as I was born, I had my Eyes Opened. I Saw the World, as it were full of Secure Souls, and I could nor forbear, but I lifted up my infant voice directly, and Called upon my fellow mortals, declared unto them their great danger, and Endeavoured to direct them to him, who alone was able to save them, Even to Jesus Christ."[94]

Johnson's letter assumed an aggressively conversionist stance, claiming legitimacy and the authority to speak out publicly as a child of one year and three months old—his life as a new creation. He beseeches the reader to repent and seek salvation. Johnson concludes, rededicating his life as a tool of divine purpose: "I confess, I am but a child in the knowledge of Jesus my Lord, and a babe in Understanding. . . . May God give me all needed grace & wisdom, that I may Live to his honour, & glory in this lower World, & and be beneficial to mankind in my day, and when I finish my Course may I have the Peace of Christ."[95]

In the evenings on Tuesdays, Fridays, and sometimes Sundays, Johnson conducted "singing meetings" in private homes. To prepare the congregation, he selected hymns and constructed and sewed "gamuts," or singing

books, with instructions for the singers. After scripture reading, prayer, and exhortation, the assembled men, women, adolescents, and children spent their evenings in singing, chanting, and harmonizing. Joanna Brooks argues that hymnody represented a significant medium for the democratization of religious expression of New Light groups.[96] At the time of Johnson's visit in 1772, Reverend Pitkin, with the support of the younger generation of New Light converts, had finally persuaded the church deacons and elders to permit congregational hymnody. After a protracted struggle, youth choirs could now select their own hymns accompanied by musical instruments instead of deacons "who [had] clung stubbornly to their rights to line out the Psalm with the congregation singing, a line at a time, in such pitch, tune, and time as they could individually manage."[97]

The intertribal network of separatist Native congregations in southern New England embraced hymnody. Brooks explains: "Singing meetings in particular functioned as sites for community fellowship, interpersonal reconciliation, independent religious development, and political organization."[98] In this manner they "Indianized" hymn singing and created a distinctive Christian Indian form of worship and identity characterized by emotional catharsis—the intense experience of fusion of self into the group produced by concerted three-part harmonies. Weeping, outcries of joy, and exclamations of distress for those awakened to sin swept over the participants as the singing invoked the Christian sacred and numinous presence of the Holy Spirit.

He records a singing meeting conducted at Thomas Occurrum's home on Sunday evening, December 6: "Had a very Solemn Time, many tears Shead. Some said they valued Such meetings much more than other, that is the singing meetings. After prayers with which we Conclude, I heard Several read grown Persons, married persons, to the number of ten, and it is my Custom every Sabbath evening to hear them read the word of God . . . tend prayers, Sing, Converse, and read Some book for our Edification, & Exhortation."[99]

When Johnson departed from Farmington on February 1, 1773, he used the occasion to deliver a farewell address in which he blended traditional Native oratory with an evangelical conversionist sermon urging repentance

and reiterating the catechism and promise of salvation. He reminded them of their shared experiences in prayer and singing meetings.

Johnson addressed the Farmington community as brethren not because he could claim a kinship bond through marriage, adoption, common descent, or political alliance. These had been the customary Native practices that transformed strangers and others into tribal brothers and friends. Now they could address one another as brothers united in faith—Christian Indian brothers whose Indian racial and ethnic identity transcended any particular tribe. Christianity made a universal appeal to all Native groups. Thus, Christian Indian identity permitted a Mohegan outsider to lead and evangelize a group who had reinvented themselves in ethnogenesis and to persuade the Farmingtons to forsake Connecticut to join a pan-Indian separatist movement on the New York frontier. His sermon urged the conversion and redemption of his Indian brethren.

> Beloved Brethren, and Sisters one and all I beseech you to attend unto me a little, while I take leave of you, and I Confess, not with little Reluctance, Attend diligently, and hearken what a Departing friend has to say to you, before he depart, and you See his face no more, nor hear his Voice Sounding amongst you as Usual, Either Exhorting or weeping or making melody to God—no more will you hear Encouragements Proceeding out of his mouth, no more warnings to flee from the wrath to Come. No more will you See his tears of Compassion, and Sorrow, flowing from his pitying Eye, no more Entering your houses, setting at your tables, no more will he rest his weary head upon your Pillows. No more the Object of your tender Care, no more Can you Express your loves and tender Respects to his Pe[r]son, because he goes to be here no more. He leaves you, and wishes you all well, [from?] the bottom of his heart, wishes you well being in this World—and in the Regions of bliss unmolested happiness in the Enjoyment of God through the never Ending ages of Eternity here after.[100]

During the last three years of his life, Johnson worked indefatigably to promote Brothertown. He returned to his position as a schoolmaster and

preacher at Farmington, established a household with his wife, Tabitha, and sons in Mohegan, secured the patronage of Wheelock, and traveled extensively among the Brothertown groups and to New York to secure Oneida acceptance and a deed to their lands in 1774. Writing on October 13, 1773, "Farmington Indians to 'All Our Indian Brethren,'" Johnson and eight cosignatories as representatives of the tribe's leading families, again advocated for removal. His continued work as preacher and schoolteacher ensured that the tribe would ally themselves with the Brothertown movement.

> We of this Tribe at Farmington, send greeting to all our Indian Brethren, at Mohegan, Nihantuck, Pequtt, Stonington, Narraganset, and Montauk. Brethren, We love you, and wish your well-being both in this Life, and that which is to come. . . . We beg that ye would by all means Send a Man out of Each Tribe, that they may go with us, and Seek a Country for our Brethren.[101]

Johnson's correspondence and oratory included appeals to Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut to secure permission to emigrate, and to William and Guy Johnson, Indian superintendents of New York, to sanction this removal. He petitioned the New York and Connecticut legislatures and made solicitations for charitable support in his travels in New York City.

Ultimately, the upheaval of the American Revolution delayed the removal and establishment of the Brothertown settlement until 1785. Although Johnson struggled to maintain neutrality, he faced distrust by both loyalists and patriots. Writing to Sir William Johnson on July 8, 1774, he pleads: "I feel sorrow in this once Savage heart of mine, when I Behold in my mind, not only a civilized, but a Christianized People Bleeding. . . . When I see a Brother, taking up arms against a Brother. Is this the fruits of Christianity—what will the heathen Nations Say. O Britain! O North America! Can the heathens Say, Behold and See how those Christians love one another?"[102] Johnson advises his Indian brethren who are "too easily captivated" to remain neutral.

Murray best accounts for Johnson's death, which occurred sometime between June 10, 1776, and May 1777. She explains: "The documents of Jo-

seph Johnson's life end in sudden silence. Johnson knew he was in danger; he had already asked the New York Congress to provide for Tabitha and had requested a gun to protect himself. . . . These were dangerous times, particularly for an Indian with split allegiances traveling with sensitive documents. The place and date of Johnson's death remain unknown. It is likely that Johnson died violently."[103]

As a casualty of war, he never completed his pilgrimage to the promised land. His spiritual pilgrimage had ended. From the crucible of religious melancholy, Johnson forged an evangelical pietist religious personality by methodically crafting his life according to Baxter's spiritual pilgrimage to the saints' everlasting rest. Johnson successfully achieved a Christian Indian identity, adopting the dangerous and ultimately fatal role of cultural intermediary between Indian and colonial worlds as he labored to do good for his poor Indian brethren and redeem them from the colonial situation.

EIGHT

❧

Frontier Rendezvous

The Mahicans and the multitribal groups who had formed the Stockbridge tribe underwent the next iteration of ethnogenesis to form the New Stockbridge tribe. Approximately 420 Indians settled the abandoned village of Tuscarora in 1785 and 1788, adjacent to Brothertown.[1] Lenapes and Munsees from Brainerd's New Jersey mission settlement of Brotherton migrated in 1802 to become members of New Stockbridge.

Stockbridgers had a distinguished record of military service and support for the patriot cause during the Revolution. But the process of dispossession and encroachment during this era reached an end game where the remaining landholdings were sold in 1783 and the final meeting of Stockbridge proprietors was held in 1785. As Calloway explains, the few Natives who remained were overwhelmed by a deluge of white settlement. "The population of Berkshire County reached almost twenty-five thousand by the end of the Revolution; that of the town passed thirteen hundred by 1790."[2]

Occom visited Brothertown and New Stockbridge four times before his relocation in May 1789. He traveled and lodged in both communities, where he preached, provided pastoral care, and assumed other ministerial duties—baptizing the newly converted and conducting marriages. Table

TABLE 7. Samson Occom's visits to New Stockbridge and Brothertown

Date of visit	Duration
October 24, 1785–November 15, 1785	3 weeks
July 7, 1786–November 9, 1786	4 months
July 5, 1787–November 15, 1787	4 months
July 8, 1788–August 10, 1788	1 month
May 1789–September 18, 1789	4 months
1790 removal to New Stockbridge	

7 shows the dates and duration of each of these visits. It is important to recognize that in the five-year period from 1785 to 1790, Occom spent fifteen months in these new communities. He was never a settled, full-time resident and minister during the initial settlement period.

Occom suffered from a series of chronic physical ailments, alienation from his teenage son, Benomi, and economic hardships in the early 1780s. He laments: "We are Moneyless, bare of Clothing, nothing to eat only what wee pick up Day to Day, by my Folks making Baskets and Brooms."[3] Not surprisingly, these issues prevent his permanent relocation.

During Occom's first visit in November 1785, he held joint prayer and singing meetings with members of the two settlements and forged an alliance with New Stockbridge leaders Hendrick Aupaumut and Peter Pohqunnuppeet, "a Collegian brought up and Educated at Dartmouth College, and he receiv'd With all kindness Friendship—about 11 went to meeting, and many of our People from our new Settlements Came to meeting."[4] Occom returned several days later, on November 8, for a day of fasting and prayer, singing meetings and exhortation, beseeching God to pardon the community. He advised them "to Use their Natural Powers and Conduct as becomes Rational Creatures, and to break off from all outbreakings of Sin, and Especially to break off from that abominable Sin of Drunkenness and give themselves to watching and Prayer."[5]

During Occom's second visit on October 1, 1786, he conducted religious meetings at the home of sachem Jacob Konkapot, "and there was a Prodigious large Congregation for this Wilderness, Some White People."[6] Preaching

from Psalms and Ezekiel, he reports: "We had an Awful solemnity in the assembly, there was a Shower of Tears, I felt Bowels of Compassion toward my poor Brethren; in the Evening the Stockbridgers met at Sir Peters [Pohquunnuppeet] . . . [and he] made a Confession of his Wanderings from God, and Askd the Peoples forgiveness, and he was very Solemn, and the People received him in their Charity."[7]

During his third visit on August 27, 1787, New Stockbridge tribal leaders (Joseph Sauquethquant, Hendrick Aupaumut, Joseph Quannekaunt, Peter Pohqunnuppeet, David Neshoonnahkah, John Pohpenon, and John Baldwin) were signatories to a letter, "Mahican-Stockbridge Tribe to Samson Occom." They assumed the role as subscribers who offered him twenty shillings a year to provide a settled ministry for the tribe. The letter opens with a confession of faith: they believe in one living God who sent his only son into the world as a savior-prophet to redeem mankind, "and we believe that this god has brought us up into this Wilderness, where we might begin to Serve him in Sincerity and in Truth."[8] They acknowledged Occom as God's "Ambasador into this Wilderness" and instrument to promote religion among the people. The letter concludes with a racial-separatist appeal for an Indian preacher and leader:

> We Therefore a number of us Cheerfully agreed to begin to pursue what we b[e]lieve to be our duty Since we have felt and Experienced the goodness of God, for Raising and fiting one of our own Collour, to be Instrumental to build up the cause Cause and the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ,—We therefore feel in Duty bound to Come to request You, to Come and Settle with us, and to take the Charge over us, and to live and die with us, in Conjunction with Brothertown, if it be agreeable to them; So that we may enjoy the Previlidges and Ordernances of the Gospel, Which our Saviour has left us in his Word.[9]

Occom united both Brothertown and New Stockbridge into one parish, alternating each Sunday between the two communities during his sojourns on the frontier.[10] The New Stockbridge leaders voiced their desire to create an autonomous Christian Indian congregational community under Native

leadership and sponsorship. "Membership in a church community, combined with the continuing influence of hereditary leaders and the principal women, helped keep the people together."[11] However, John Sergeant Jr. divided the tribe when he emigrated in 1788 to New Stockbridge and opened a mission church and school with financial support from the Society of Friends and under the sponsorship of the New York Missionary Society and the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America (SPG).

During the Revolutionary War, the New England Company lost the financial backing of wealthy London merchants and sponsors. In 1787 the SPG was incorporated as the successor to this charity. Funded by an endowment from the estate of Richard Cary of Charlestown, the SPG supported missionaries and schools, and distributed spellers, primers, and hymnals for Native children in Martha's Vineyard, Mashpee, and among the Oneida. An SPG broadside that solicited donations proclaimed: "The Society have begun to pursue a method, hitherto unattempted, and that is to fix schools among the Indians, for the instruction of the children, not only in knowledge human and divine, but also in mechanical trades, and the various arts of civilization and domestic life."[12]

Occom and Sergeant failed to resolve their differences during a meeting on July 26, 1788. Occom wrote in his journal: "I desired him to point out the Errors he had Charged us with, but he declin'd and finally Concluded, that everyone Should have full Liberty to Chuse and to act in according to the Light and understanding he has in his Religious Concerns."[13] Would New Stockbridge accept religious leadership and control from an external missionary society and white preacher? The majority of the tribe did accept financial support and submit to the political and religious authority of Sergeant and the SPG. Too poor to support a Native settled minister and build their congregation from tribal resources, Occom's influence dwindled. He would continue to preach to a minority portion of the tribe in the schoolhouse, while most New Stockbridge Christians attended Sergeant's church.

New Stockbridge would never become a politically autonomous (separatist) or an economically self-sufficient Christian Indian community as

envisioned by Occom. Under the sachemship of Aupaumut, New Stockbridgers embraced European agriculture, the gender revolution, and a Christian ethos of life regulation and universal brotherhood as a strategy of cultural revitalization and persistence. In 1792 Congress granted an annuity of two hundred dollars to the tribe to support their civilization plan and in compensation for past military service. But control of these monies proved controversial as the Occom faction split with those who supported Sergeant. "Division in the community reached such a point that Peter Pauquamaupeet seems to have been poisoned by members of the opposing faction."[14]

Aupaumut considered Native Christian brotherhoods as analogous to traditional Indian forms of diplomacy in which rituals of fictive kinship produced political alliances that transformed others, strangers, and even enemies into "brothers." As Rachel Wheeler explains, Aupaumut "envisioned a world in which self-sufficient Indian states could exist peacefully, side by side with white Americans, with peace ensured by a shared commitment to Christian fraternity, renewed periodically through performance of ancient rituals of fictive kinship."[15] New Stockbridge resisted the yoke of missionary religious paternalism, and this is reflected in Sergeant's frustrations in converting and ministering to the tribe.

Sergeant kept a mission journal that he transcribed and sent to the SPG every six months from 1791 until his death in 1824. The journal and accompanying correspondence provides a record of sermons, weekly conferences and church meetings, fast days, the celebration of Thanksgiving and other holidays, and the pastoral care that he provided to Natives in times of death and sickness.

Sergeant opened a school to teach English and catechize Indian children, and a second "spinning school" to teach girls weaving and domestic economy. He took up permanent residence in New Stockbridge in August 1792, shortly after Occom's death, as he explains in a letter to the Reverend Peter Thatcher, president of the SPG in Boston: "I have considerable encouragement among the Indians at present. Mr. Occom's Death will not be a great alteration among them. He had begun a division also among the Oneidas."[16]

Like the earlier Stockbridge mission, Sergeant converted only 10 percent of the tribe, although by his estimate, two-thirds of the tribe was progressing toward civilization. Jeremy Belknap and Jedidiah Morse filed a report to the Scottish Society regarding the Oneida and "Mohekunuh" Indians of New Stockbridge in July 1796. Although New Stockbridge at that time numbered three hundred Indians, "the church consists of five men, and twenty-five women. Of the latter, none are under suspension; and but one is complained of as disorderly. Of the former, two have been disciplined for intoxication, and are now under suspension."[17] Like colonial Massachusetts, intemperance and white land hunger plagued New Stockbridge. Writing in 1821, after more than thirty years of service to the Indians, Sergeant reports that little had changed:

> The church now consists of 32 members about 5 of whom being very much frequently fall into [t]he sin of intemperance. Otherwise the members of the church including about two thirds of the tribe which consists of about 300 souls are making some progress in a civilized life. The others there are stationary, spending a great part of their time in drinking intoxicating liquor. They are surrounded by a white population many of whom are greedy after their money and property secretly supplying them with whiskey.[18]

Sergeant had more success in civilizing than converting the tribe. Each family household received a land allotment in fee simple. But the question of leasing individual allotments to white settlers divided them. Many Indian proprietors succeeded as farmers, kept cattle and hogs, and sold surplus food to neighboring Oneidas. Belknap and Morse explain that as an example for his people, sachem Hendrick Aupaumut "has a good field of wheat, Indian corn, potatoes, and grass; and we had the pleasure of meeting him in the road driving his ox-team. The fences in general are good, and the land under tolerable cultivation, in New Stockbridge."[19]

Sergeant hired Captain Hendrick Aupaumut in 1794 to translate the catechism into Mahican and secured translators for his sermons, as Sergeant did not speak the Native dialect.[20] He repeatedly petitioned the state legislature in Albany for financial assistance to build a meetinghouse and

school, to provide supplies for the mission, and to enact laws to prohibit the sale of liquor to the tribe.[21]

Modeling his journal after David Brainerd's accounts of the Crossweeksung mission, Sergeant sought to evangelize and revive the Native congregation at New Stockbridge. He hoped to instill in his congregation an expectation that they would soon experience the special work of God in an awakening. In March 1801 he read to them accounts from the *Evangelical Magazine* regarding a revival in Long Island that served as a model of how a community came to the realization that they had grown cold-hearted in their faith and expressed a profound longing that God would soon visit them with his wondrous grace. Here the faithful had actively cooperated with revivalists who conducted special evening meetings, outreach to youth, and extemporaneous preaching designed to awaken slumbering sinners.[22]

One-third of New Stockbridge had recently migrated from the Brainerds' original Crossweeksung-Bethel-Brotherton mission. But few remembered the 1745 awakening, and the nascent evangelical culture begun by David Brainerd had eroded during John Brainerd's ministry and after his departure. Without a tradition of periodic awakenings and an enduring evangelical religious culture, Sergeant failed to hasten the wondrous work of the Holy Spirit; awakenings eluded the New Stockbridge tribe. As Frank Lambert observes, "the awakening among Native Americans was spotty and local at best. Without an evangelical revival tradition, the Indians must have found the fantastic claims of the revivalists strange indeed. They knew little of church history, especially the so-called midnight of the church that necessitated revival in the first place."[23]

Instead of chronicling an awakening, the mission journal painstakingly records the protracted spiritual itinerary and conversion narratives of approximately twenty individuals brought into the church during the nearly three decades of Sergeant's ministry. The cases are presented in the following format: each candidate repented of past sins and the errors of heathenism, offered a confession, made a testimony of faith and belief, and submitted to careful examination before gaining admission to the church. Not infrequently both men and women spoke of their troubles with alcohol. Many felt unworthy and delayed their baptism for months and even years.

Sergeant transcribed and transformed these Native voices into a grammatically correct formalism. For example, one man confessed before the conference meeting on December 3, 1800, seeking forgiveness for past drunkenness and beseeching the church to continue their brotherly watch. He pleads: "My friends I acknowledge before you I have fallen into the sin of too much drinking. I have sometimes been almost discouraged with myself. But of late feel more and more disposed to return to my duty. I feel determined to deny myself of all kinds of use of liquor. I entreat you not to look upon me as lost but watch over me and wait on me a little longer to see if I can stand to my integrity."[24]

In the throes of personal adversity and affliction—illness, bereavement, and ill fortune—the few presented themselves before Sergeant and the Native congregation seeking new birth. A young Indian woman spoke of her struggle for conversion after the death of her child, stating: "I feel I am a poor creature in much danger from my poor, weak, and wicked heart. . . . [Her child's death] I feel is a just correction for my sins which are many and great."[25] Another man came forward during the funeral of an infant, confessing: "I felt myself an undone creature before God."[26] After several months of anguish and many occasions where he retired to the woods to meditate, pray, and consider his "vile and sinful past," he informed the congregation: "it was my earnest desire to become one of the dear children of God."[27]

During the examination of the candidates for baptism, Sergeant probed each man and woman regarding his or her experimental and experiential attainments of piety and faith. Sergeant wished to ascertain whether the seeker manifested authentic religious affections: separation from worldliness, evangelical humiliation for sin and a depraved heart, "love to God," and a single-minded contemplation of Christ. One woman expressed this genuine piety in the following testimony: "I see my wickedness is very great indeed. I know I deserve deepest misery . . . I have felt within the last few days past more and more strong desires to be separated from the wicked & weaned from every earthly object, and have my affections placed on Christ and be his forever. I take great comfort when I am alone, and have no interruption in meditation on the great and glorious things of religion."[28]

New Stockbridge was a third-generation Christian Indian community by the early years of the nineteenth century; religion contributed to their strategy of cultural self-preservation. Adoption of Presbyterianism afforded the tribe opportunities for the education of their children and English literacy, and protection and sponsorship by missionary societies. However, only 10 percent of the tribe embraced evangelical culture, piety, and church membership as communicants. No Native leaders, preachers, or prophets had emerged in the course of these three generations to awaken and revive the tribe and lead them to Canaan. Instead, the rise of democratic personalities and Mahican leadership would come from their participation in colonial wars, diplomacy, and political advocacy.

The Stockbridge Mahicans had demonstrated their loyalty by fighting alongside the English in the French and Indian War and Pontiac's Rebellion, and joining the American side during the Revolution.[29] Hendrick Aupaumut best exemplified the new Mahican leadership. Born into a leading lineage group in 1757, he learned English at the Stockbridge Indian school. Aupaumut enlisted in the Revolutionary army in 1775 and received a commission as captain in 1778 by George Washington. After distinguishing himself as a soldier, he served as a diplomat and peace emissary during the Indian wars in the Ohio River valley in 1792–93, as a mediator in the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, and during treaty negotiations in 1803 and 1807.[30]

Aupaumut assumed leadership in New Stockbridge as a hereditary sachem together with John Quincy and Eliaph Shumquthquentt. They repeatedly petitioned the New York state legislature in the 1790s for laws and strict enforcement that prohibited the sale of liquor to the tribe, and supported civilization, Christianization, and removal to the western frontier as the means of ethnic self-preservation. With unfailing confidence in the national government to honor its commitments to "progressive" tribes, Aupaumut articulated his credo before treaty negotiations with the Delawares in 1803: "All the nations who thus rejected Civilization and Christian religion, and embraced the wicked practices of the white people, were poor and finally became extinct from the earth. . . . But on the other hand, all the Indians who accepted the offer of the good white people were blessed. So far as they were faithful they prospered, and the remnants of them remain to this day."[31]

Although Aupaumut steadfastly trusted in these federal policies, he understood how local whites, and colonial and state governments, had treated the Stockbridge as racialized others. He remembered the callous indifference shown to them by New York or Massachusetts in the adjudication of land claims. Aupaumut would explain about his diplomacy with the Ohio Munsees in 1793: "I have as it were oblige to say nothing with regard of the conduct of Yorkers, how they cheat my fathers, how they have taken our lands Unjustly, and how my fathers were going as it were to their graves, in loseing their lands for nothing, although they were faithful friends to the Whites."[32]

Aupaumut arranged by 1817 to remove the New Stockbridge tribe west to Indiana on land purchased from the Miamis and Potawatomis. However, when the federal government appropriated this land, Aupaumut instructed his son Solomon to purchase six thousand acres from the Menominees in 1821. Approximately one-third of the New Stockbridge tribe began a voluntary removal in 1818 to Indiana, and then on to lands in Green Bay, Wisconsin. By 1829 the removal had been completed.

Before his death in 1830, Captain Hendrick succumbed to despair and alcoholism. Jeanne Ronda and James P. Ronda explain: "The fact that the Stockbridge were so often rewarded with empty promises, deceitful legal practices, and outright land fraud may have finally overwhelmed the old chief."[33]

Like the adjacent Brothertown settlement, New Stockbridge Indian proprietors received individual land allotments, and many leased their holdings to white farmers. Poverty, land loss, and internal factionalism characterized this reservation colony.[34]

Writing to Jedidiah Morse in 1821, Sergeant proposes that his son emigrate to the White River as the third-generation missionary and tribal agent to continue the religious paternalism and protect Indians from the pernicious effects of traders, whiskey dealers, and white settlers.[35] Justifying removal to Wisconsin, he explains: "The one object is forever to exclude all whites from this river . . . except pious missionaries."[36]

By January 1824 the tribe was completing land sales and migration west, and the spg planned to close the mission. Sergeant wrote a final plea for

the tribe: "I will now conclude my Journal by observing about fifty of my people emigrated in September to their New Country in the vicinity of Green Bay, 6 of whom were professors of religion. They greatly stand in need of a missionary to visit them next season."[37] However, evangelical piety and conversion, so long the cornerstone of Sergeant's mission, would not provide the keystone for Stockbridge identity and survival.

Sachem John W. Quinney drafted a constitution for the tribe in 1837 that established an elected representative form of government. The Stockbridge tribe persisted throughout the nineteenth century as Christian Indians who occupied a separate reservation adjacent to the Menominees in Green Bay. During the Indian New Deal in the 1930s, the Stockbridge-Munsee tribe received recognition by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the tribe continues today as an autonomous Native community.[38] Hendrick Aupaumut's vision of Christian Indian identity was fulfilled in that godly men and women employed the democratic process to champion native interests, and relied upon federal protection and trusteeship against local and state interests. For Aupaumut and those who followed him, Christian Indians viewed accommodation and accepting Christian religion and civility as a strategy for ethnic self-preservation.

Samson Occom first visited Brothertown and New Stockbridge in the fall of 1785, a year after the tribes established the postwar settlement. On October 24 he describes arriving at David Fowler's home in the new settlement: "we arrived at Davids House as we approach'ed the House I heard a Melodious Sining [singing], a number were Sining Psalms hymns and Spiritual Songs, we went in amongt them and they all took hold of my Hand one by one with Joy and Gladness from the Greatest to the least, and we Sot down a while, and then they began to Sing again, and Some Time after I gave them a few words of Exhortation, and then Concluded with Prayer."[39]

In this spirit of joy and gladness, united with one another, hand in hand, Occom would consecrate Brothertown. Using Fowler's house and barn as a community center and site for worship and religious meetings, Occom presided over the founding of Brothertown on November 7, 1785. The Indian refugees entered into a civil covenant, forming a "Body Politick" based upon

the principles of universal male suffrage and autonomous local government. They elected a town clerk, trustees, and fence viewers, all having one-year terms of office. Occom related that "we Named our Town by the Name of Brothertown, in Indian Eeyamquittoowauconnuck . . . Concluded to live in Peace, and in Friendship and to go on in all their Public Concerns in Harmony both in their Religious and Temporal concerns, and everyone to bear his part of the Public Charges of the Town."[40]

The Brothertown settlement needed to establish the foundation for a cohesive, solidare community. The question remained: how would remnant groups from southern New England tribes create "harmony both in their religious and temporal concerns?" Could they avoid internal factionalism, divisive political disputes, and religious schism and conflict among competing denominations?

Intermarriage between the remnant groups and crosscutting kinship ties help to forge a new corporate Brothertown identity. For example, members of the Charles family lived among the Montaukett, Farmington, and Charlestown tribes. Paul family households were found among Mohegan, Montaukett, and Charlestown Indians. An analysis of the 1795 census of Brothertown reveals that approximately one-third of the households (twenty of sixty-six) were intertribal marriages.[41] In addition, the Farmington Indians were themselves a refugee community formed by the amalgamation and intermarriage of Quinnipiacs.

Emigrant households generally received one and no more than two surveyed lots of approximately 150 acres per household, thus ensuring egalitarian property ownership and an economic incentive to work and invest in the community of "civilized" yeoman, craftsman, and merchants. English provided a common language, in addition to mutually intelligible dialects, which facilitated communication. Cultural and social boundaries separated Brothertown from Oneidas and Mohawks and helped foster a unique Brothertown collective identity. For Occom, however, evangelical piety and the reaffirmation of individual and collective Christian Indian ethnic identity were the principal answers to the challenge of living together in harmony and united by faith.

According to Occom, Christian Indian "brothers" and "sisters" (a religio-

racial identity) needed to experience new birth, embrace a life as a spiritual pilgrimage in the service of divine purpose, and periodically reanimate their faith through participation in revivalistic exercises. Only then would Brothertown thrive as a Christian Indian enclave, a congregation that was coterminous with a political community where fervent co-participants would devote themselves to living in harmony and peace through a covenant of grace and church covenant.

Occom's visits to the poor Indian brethren in Brothertown and New Stockbridge—over fifteen months from 1785 to 1789—were devoted to Sabbath preaching, conducting evening prayer and singing meetings, catechizing with "Christian Cards," exhorting, visiting the sick, and providing pastoral care to awakened sinners. He presided over marriages, baptisms and days of fasting and repentance. As a preacher and leader, Occom proved indefatigable in promoting his vision of a Native congregational community. Time and again his journal entries describe heart exercises, showers of tears, and solemnity as the faithful of Brothertown and New Stockbridge hearkened to his efforts. For example, writing on Sabbath, July 15, 1787, he notes a service in Brothertown and a translation of his sermon for the New Stockbridge worshippers: "About 10, we began the Divine Service, & there was a large number of People, many English were with us. I spoke from I Corin 2:2 and Luke VII. 48 and the People attended with great Solemnity, and Gravity, after the meeting went back to my lodgings, and Just before Sun Set went to meeting again, and Capt Hindreck and Peter Peet reharsed in the Indian Language [Housatonic-Mahican] the Discourses I Delivered in the Day."[42]

Would Occom's visits and part-time efforts produce the harvest of souls and the desired effect of establishing a Christian commonwealth? Or would the seemingly inexorable forces of an emerging colonial situation on the Oneida frontier bring disappointment and failure? Occom reported an auspicious beginning.

On November 8, 1785, the day after their founding, members of the Brothertown settlement celebrated a day devoted to fasting, prayer, singing spiritual songs, repentance of sin, and collective admonition. Occom preached from Proverbs, likening Brothertown to the Hebrew covenant

with God, the exodus from captivity, and redemption in the promised land.[43] Echoing this theme of a "peculiar people unto God," Occom noted with satisfaction the growth of the new settlement. By October 1787, twenty families had relocated to Brothertown, and over seventy people attended his Sabbath worship. He remarked in his diary: "if the People were as ingag'd in Religion as they are in their Temporal Concerns this Settlement would be very much like the Garden of Eden, which was the Garden of God. the lord be with them and Bless them that they may indeed be a Peculiar People unto God, that they may be Lights in this Wilderness."[44]

Laura Arnold argues that the prevailing themes of Occom's early sermons to the Brothertown congregation likened the seven tribes in exodus to the twelve tribes of Israel. Like the Israelites, the Brothertown group was united by a covenant with God and bound together by the remembrance of past suffering; they formed a pan-Indian community of fate and memory. Occom preached that faith alone sealed each believer into the covenant of grace, and into the church covenant that bound each of the brothers and sisters in faith as a "citizen of God's community."[45] Conversion formed the foundation for the new Brothertown tribal identity. As Arnold explains: "Occom was able to construct a communal identity which emphasized that cultural transformation was a means of empowerment and rejuvenation, rather than an acceptance of Anglo-American culture and rule."[46]

In the spring of 1784, before Occom's visit, Samuel Kirkland (1741–1808) conducted a revival at Brothertown. The son of a poor Connecticut pastor, Kirkland was the first white student to attend Moor's Charity School in 1760. After two years at Princeton, Wheelock withdrew him from senior studies in 1763 to pursue a mission to the Senecas in western New York under the sponsorship of the Society in Scotland for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. From 1766 until his death in 1808, Kirkland worked as a missionary among the Oneidas and the New England refugee groups.[47] On March 17, 1789, he wrote in his journal that the New Stockbridge tribe gave small tracts of land to his two oldest sons, whom the tribe had adopted. In addition, the tribe "also assigned three hundred and twenty acres a parsonage lot & also a tract of twelve hundred acres to myself."[48]

On March 30, 1784, Kirkland preached at Brothertown from 2 Peter 1:10,

pleading for diligence to make your calling and election sure. His journal records their response to his exhortation:

> Found a very considerable Number here greatly exercised about spiritual goodness, who appeared [to be] all attention to relig[ious] instruction. Spent some time with two sick persons in the village who were not expected to live long. One [of] which manifested a comfort[able] hop[e of a gl[orious] immortality & expressed resignation to the divine disposals. The o[ther] appeared at times [to be] on the borders [of] despair & in great distress [of] mind.[49]

Kirkland remained at Brothertown for three days, visiting the sick and meeting with Indians who labored under anxiety for the state of their souls. He preached on the Lord's Day, April 1, both morning and evening sermons. The Brothertown settlers warmed to this exhortation, as he explains: "The whole assembly were very attentive, & appeared very seri[ous]. Spent some time late in the Evening with a number, who were under great concern of mind respecting their relig[ious] state & welfare [of] their Souls. There were some persons who gave no sleep to their Eyes the whole night. From the best inform[ation] I could get with my own personal knowledge, there are between 30 & 40 persons in this settlement who are under [serious] concern [of] Soul."[50]

Kirkland returned to Brothertown on May 3, 1784, and reports the progress of the awakening of evangelical religion among newcomers:

> At this place, as I have before mentioned, there is a consider[able] relig[ious] awakening. At their earnest request I engaged to be with them this Evening which is their stated weekly meeting for prayers. . . . This was an affecting & refreshing season to some of them. Numbers I conversed with were under such distress of mind respecting their future State, they could scarcely govern [themselves] so as to behave decently during the time of public worship. Continued our meeting till near midnight.[51]

As Kirkland reports, religious affections and anxieties overwhelmed many as they prepared themselves for new birth or reaffirmation of their conversion.

The experience of religious melancholy marked the familiar and authentic signpost of the spiritual itinerary for the Christian Indian children of God in this congregational community.

Occom worked tirelessly to win Indian souls to Christ. During his second visit, on September 3, 1786, he provides the following account of his Sabbath preaching: "I be[lieve] the Lord was present with us. I [had] some sense of the great things I [was] delivering and I believe many felt the Power of the word; for there was great solemnity, and Awful Attention thro the Asembly, many tears flowd from many Eyes.—as soon as the meeting was done I went Home with our People, we got Home Just before sun set; and our singers got together and they sung some Time."[52]

During his visits in 1786–87, Occom conducted numerous evening meetings with pious Brothertown and New Stockbridge youth. They sang Christian hymns, and Occom taught them Bible stories and the catechism by employing "Christian Cards." He held prayer meetings filled with preaching and exhortation, and served the community by making pastoral visits to the sick and to those souls laboring under religious concerns. These conference meetings of singing, prayer, pastoral care, and exhortation resembled the evangelical exercises of New Divinity men in long-settled southern New England—the beginnings of the Second Great Awakening in Litchfield and Hartford Counties in Connecticut.[53] Occom observed on August 16, 1787: "towards Night, we went up on the Hill and a meeting at Brother Davids [David Fowler]. There was a considerable number of people & I spoke from Psalm xix: 97 and the word fell with great Power, many were deeply Bowed down;—after I had done, the People sung some Time."[54]

Throughout the late summer of 1787, Occom redoubled his efforts at Brothertown, conducting evening meetings on Thursdays, visiting the sick, and preaching each Sunday at David Fowler's home. He writes of the Sabbath exercises on July 15, when many English attended. He preached from 2 Corinthians, which produced "great solemnity and gravity" among the congregation.[55]

From Occom's account, Brothertown and New Stockbridge had become spiritual hothouses where many labored as awakened, penitent sinners seeking the distinguishing marks of the Holy Spirit in their hearts. Religious

affections of sorrow, repentance, grieving, anxiety, and melancholy marked the authentic efficacy of the Holy Spirit, bringing the hearts and minds of believers to grace and godliness. Throughout the Great Awakening in the 1740s and now in the beginnings of the Second Great Awakening, religious affections prepared each believer for new birth and formed the foundation for democratic personhood. Indians believed that during these seemingly miraculous seasons of grace, they might live in brotherhood and dignity in this world, and await salvation in the next world. Religious melancholy was inextricably tied to the spiritual itinerary of conversion, democratic personhood, and salvation.

Occom's evangelism brought a modest harvest of souls. He reports the first new converts in Brothertown to receive the seal of grace through baptism during Sabbath worship on August 26, 1787. He baptized his son-in-law Anthony, and his daughter Christina renewed her covenant and "owned" her baptism. Occom also baptized Christina's children, Samson, James, Sarah, and Phoebe. That autumn, he would baptism fourteen more Indian youths.[56]

Sunday worship on September 9 was "a solemn meeting. Many became deeply affected."[57] The following Thursday, September 13, was designated by the Brothertown tribe as a fast day reserved for self-examination, repentance, and prayer. Preaching from Luke 15, Occom writes that "many [were] struck by awareness of wanderings from God . . . and Bow'd before the Majesty of Heaven and I believe [the] day will not be forgot soon."[58]

The preceding two months had proven to be a time of promise and optimism for Occom's "errand into the wilderness." The new converts and the success of an evangelical culture of piety and godliness gave Occom confidence that Christian Indians might prevail. To this end the Christian Indians of Brothertown and New Stockbridge initiated fund raising to provide a salary for Occom so that he might settle permanently in the new country as a minister and schoolmaster. The letter addressed "to all Benevolent Gentlemen" extolled Occom's evangelism among the emigrants in the new country: "God has made him an Eminent Instrument amongst us, of a Great and Remarkable Reformation. And have now given him a Call to Settle amongst us, and be our Minister that we may enjoy the glorious

Doctrines and ordinances of the New Testament. And he has accepted our Call.—But we for ourselves very weak, we c'd do but very little for him. And we want him to live comfortable."[59]

Above all, Occom wanted the nascent Christian Indian communities to remain independent from the control of white missionary groups and state and federal superintendents, who would interfere in local affairs. He advocated for a congregation directed by a Native minister and a town government elected by Native proprietors. However, the poverty of the new communities jeopardized their chances for autonomy.

Anthony Wonderley explains: "the Brothertowns were overwhelmed by poverty and physical want. Brothertown began as a pioneering venture but in stringent circumstances with little or no capital."[60] In addition, they did not succeed as farmers. Beginning in 1785 and culminating in the starvation year of 1789, the new farmsteads suffered poor harvests, food shortages, and hardship. Kirkland writes on March 26, 1789: "I find all alarmed on account of the uncommon scarcity of provisions; which is not in one single place, but almost universally through the territory of the six Nations, and down the Mohawk-River till we reach Albany."[61]

The charitable appeal for funds necessarily recounted the story of lost land and lives during the Revolution, the costs of removal to New York, poor harvests, and their poverty in the new country. The petition for charity pleaded: "And these things have brought us to a resolution to try to get a little help from the People of God, for the present; for we have determined to be independent as fast as we can."[62] Elijah Wimpey and David Fowler of Brothertown, and Joseph Shauquethgent, Hendrick Aupaumut, Joseph Quaunckham, and Peter Paupuanaupent of New Stockbridge, signed this petition for charitable support that Occom, Fowler, and Paupuanaupent would carry with them on a tour of New Jersey and Philadelphia in the winter of 1787–88.

Occom's charismatic vision of Brothertown as a Christian Indian village world, encapsulated on the borderlands, set apart from white society, and politically autonomous as a democratic commonwealth, necessitated that he provide the evangelical, material, and political resources to sustain this community. Although he baptized many new converts to build the

Brothertown presbytery and appeared to suppress religious diversity and pluralism, he failed to raise sufficient funds to alleviate their poverty and build schools, churches, roads, and other community resources. In addition, Occom could not prevent whites' leasing and settlement on Brothertown lands and the subsequent erosion of political sovereignty.

Occom returned to Mohegan in March of 1789 and removed to Brothertown in May. He remained in the new settlements until his death in 1792. With limited money from the charitable appeal, Occom established a Native church in Brothertown affiliated with the Presbytery of Albany. However, sectarian controversy and division haunted Occom in his final years and divided the new communities.

The earliest Brothertown settlers from Montaukett and Narragansett established a Baptist meeting. "In 1776 David Fowler, who was a Baptist, and a native, with five other Indians from Connecticut and Long Island removed to a place called Brothertown . . . and these persons likewise soon set up a religious meeting."[63] Although Occom conducted services in Fowler's house and barn before the building of a Presbyterian meetinghouse, by 1790 Baptists were openly conducting meetings championed by elders Isaac Wamby (Narragansett), Thomas Dick (Narragansett), and Benjamin Garrett Fowler (Montaukett). In September 1799 Brothertown joined the Baptist Association of Oswego.[64]

Baptist and Methodist lay exhorters made important inroads in the early Brothertown community and ended Occom's doctrinal orthodoxy. Why were these new sects so attractive to the immigrants? First, despite the pernicious racialism of the new republic, these churches promised equality, human dignity for marginalized groups, and interracial fellowship, where white settlers and Natives worshipped together on the frontier.[65] It is interesting to note that Brothertown settlers who longed for racial justice for Indians denied persons of African Indian descent access to land allotment or tribal membership. They justified this racial exclusion by citing recent traditions and laws intended to preserve tribal lands and the visibility of Native populations who became invisible once they were identified as African or Negro.[66] In 1796 a Narragansett woman, Sarah Pendleton, who was married to an African American, was excluded. Kirkland records the

following: "[I]t has been an immemorial custom among all the nations as well as Narragansetts as others whom the Brothertown Indians descended 'that if any Indian woman or girl married a negro man, or any one who had a mixture of blood, she forfeited all her rights and privileges as an individual of the Nation from [which] she and they descended.'"[67] Citing the tenth article of the town book, peacekeepers David Fowler, John Tuhie, John Skeesuch, and Isaac Waumby ordered that she be removed from the town. This ruling was accepted and enforced by superintendents Thomas Eddy and Edmund Prior.[68]

Occom raised the issue of African Indian identity in a letter to Governor Clinton of New York in 1792. The tribe was divided over the question of leasing lands to whites, with Occom opposing leasing and Elijah Wampy leading a faction in support of this measure. Occom explains that he considered African Indians as strangers and not Indian brethren: "Many of Wampy's party is Compos'd of Strangers, that is, they did not come from the Tribes, to whom this Land was given.—Three families are Mixtures or Molattoes. . . . These Strangers were taken in by Benevolence and Favour, and now they are picking out our Eyes."[69]

Second, these new religions resonated with democratic ideas and appealed to middling artisans and yeoman, and to impoverished and displaced groups, with a message of hope and salvation. Last, the strains of Wesleyan piety emphasized the immediacy of religious experience through dreams, trances, visions, ecstatic infusions of the Holy Spirit, and direct contact with the supernatural. John H. Wigger's *Taking Heaven By Storm* likens Methodism to "a boiling hot religion," with a distinctive "ethos of enthusiasm."[70] When believers encountered the supernatural during worship, religious affections reached an effervescence of "fainting, shouting, yelling, crying, sobbing [and] grieving," as one observer noted.[71]

Wigger explains: "enthusiastic religion offers a more interactive faith in which the believer and God actively work together to meet life's daily challenges and in which God communicates directly with the believer or community of believers."[72] The immediacy of the supernatural provided a Christian equivalent to traditional Native shamanism, divination, trances, and dream interpretation. Now Christian Indians in the throes of Methodist

and Baptist exhorters could enjoy religious affections and experiences that were strikingly similar to their earlier Native religious rituals. The social ethos of Methodists and Baptists emphasized making a life founded upon the Protestant moralism of vocational asceticism—hard work, self-control, and sobriety.

Newly born men and women who received direct inspiration from the Holy Spirit and who spoke with a democratic voice demanded religious freedom to follow their inner light. Occom could not impose a single religious orthodoxy or church in this community. Indeed, he came to this conclusion in the acrimonious contest with the Reverend John Sergeant Jr. over whose church would serve the new settlements. Defeated and resigned to accepting a divided Presbyterian church (in Brothertown and New Stockbridge) and Baptist and Methodist sects, Occom accepted the principle that everyone should have religious liberty according to his or her conscience even if liberty brought schism, conflict, and disunity.

In this time of religious factionalism and division in Brothertown and New Stockbridge, the political and economic controversy over leasing lands to whites erupted into violence at Brothertown. Occom records in his diary on Wednesday, July 16, 1788:

> [I]n the evening we had a Singing Meeting and I gave a Word of Exhortation to the People from the Words [Acts 16:28] do thyself no harm. . . . as the People were returning, Elijah Wympy was attacked by Peter and Jeremiah Tuhy & they abused him much, and it was difficult to part them, and fell upon young David Fowler [Jr.] but David was too much for him and it was a Sad night with 'em and very shameful—.

Religious enthusiasts led by Elijah Wimpey and Samuel Ashpo also championed the leasing of tribal lands to white settlers. They maintained that the 150 Native inhabitants could not effectively develop and cultivate their extensive landholdings. By leasing to whites, Natives would enjoy needed income and improvements made by the lessees, which Indians would later enjoy when the land reverted to Indian use. Rents might provide needed capital to purchase tools and livestock and to build barns, mills,

fences, and roads that Brothertown could not afford. Occom, the moderate Presbyterian, and his Mohegan and Montaukett followers argued that Brothertown must remain an exclusively separatist Indian community.[73]

Faced with the erosion of his charismatic authority to forge a unified church community and the deluge of white immigrants who leased Brothertown lands, Occom succumbed again to religious melancholy. His diary entry for January 1790, shortly before his self-imposed exile to Tuscarora in New Stockbridge, reads: "I have been to no meetings for four Sabbaths, we had one very bad Stormy Sabb and my Mind has been filld with Trouble So that I have had no peace, but Sorrow, grief and Confusion of Heart—and I am yet in great Trouble."[74]

Occom's letter "To the New Stockbridge Community," written in December 1791, refers to the injury to his reputation and authority at Brothertown: "there [people] took but little notice of me, Yea a party tried to hurt me."[75] He accepted the invitation to remove to Tuscarora "and I am Thankful, you have receivd us with open Arms and Hearts. . . . May we be found to build up one another both in our Temporal and in our Religious Life, and let us try to do all the good that we are Capable of unto all men, and if it be possible let us live in Peace with all men."[76]

Samuel Kirkland preached to the Brothertown congregation on the Lord's Day, February 6, 1791, and wrote the following in his journal: "For several months past they have been in a most unhappy divided stat, & their spirit of resentment towards each other so great as to break up the peace of the settlement & threaten its ruin."[77] Preaching from Hebrews 6:8, he distinguished between the good fruit of sinners brought to salvation after receiving the "divine cultivations in the garden of the Gospel," and the bad fruit of Paganism, sins of the flesh, indifference and ingratitude.[78] After his sermon, Kirkland writes: "Some of them have sobbed & cried for the space of a whole hour together in private conversation with me, from a view of the divided & broken state of this people, & a sense of their ingratitude to the best of Beings, as well as to their kind christian friends. . . . Their present unhappy divisions and animosities are partly attributed to Mr. O—m. But to his own Master he is amenable."[79]

Kirkland's visit in 1793 confirms the sectarian divisions in the Brothertown

body politic. As the "steady" evangelical Presbyterians declined, he was alarmed during a visit in April to discover that Free Will Baptists, Methodists, Separatists, and sundry exhorters had found a receptive audience. "The poor people have been rent and torn to pieces" by the appeals from these diverse religious factions.[80] He notes that "the few remaining steady Indians are much concerned & know not which way to turn themselves & what measures can be devised to preserve the nation from these divisions & animosities which will eventually prove their ruin."[81]

On May 5, 1793, Kirkland returned to preach from Hosea 4:17, chastising the congregation as a jeremiad for turning away from God to wickedness and false religion. He explains:

> In this application many of them seemed as tho' their hearts would burst. Towards evening some of the Indians intreated me speak again to them upon both subjects. One observed that the forenoon discourse was prophetic, that God was about to give them up as a nation: & that the afternoon discourse was descriptive of the present condition of the good Indians among them. They had forgotten their first *love*, & were now tossed about by every wind of doctrine.... Oh may the Lord make bare his arm & save the remnant of this poor deluded & degenerated people among some of whom his own Spirit seems to be working![82]

The themes that religious pluralism and sectarian division would ruin them and cause God to "give them up as a nation" underscore the pervasive despair of Brothertown following Occom's departure and death. Kirkland preached in May to a mixed congregation of Methodists, Baptists, Separatists, and Presbyterians with the realization that many in the congregation had previously lapsed into religious enthusiasm—paroxysms of ecstasy caused by the possession of the Holy Spirit. He explains: "Sighs and groans were now and then heard from various parts of the assembly; but no crying out, as I was told there had frequently been with many. These would fall flat on the floor without receiving any apparent injury. This they ascribed to the power which they supposed came upon them, and carried them quite beyond themselves.... [They] would say it was something above

and beyond the power of man and the person upon whom the power came must be highly favoured of God."[83]

What was the fate of the Brothertown community? By the early 1800s the Brothertown Presbyterian church had closed and only two Baptist conventicles remained in the community. Occom's utopian vision anticipated the creation of a Christian Indian village world where regenerate men and women enjoyed new hearts renovated by the Holy Spirit and pursued new lives of godly purpose and progressive sanctification. Bound together by a church covenant and a civil covenant, this body politic would remain a Native-led, unified church community committed to New Light Presbyterian doctrine and evangelical purpose. Instead, by 1795 the new settlements succumbed to the sectarian conflicts and divisions characteristic of the frontier during the Second Great Awakening and to control by white superintendents appointed by the New York state legislature.

Brothertown and New Stockbridge were conceived as semiautonomous townships with secure land tenure and democratic town government separated and protected from white encroachment. From first settlement, however, land disputes, leasing town land to whites, and New York political and legal oversight prevented the realization of Occom's plan.

When Native emigrants from New England began arriving in New York in 1785, the Oneidas attempted to rescind the original land grant made in 1774. This dispute continued until the Treaty of Fort Schuyler in September 1788, when New York dispossessed the Oneidas of all lands except for a small reservation and granted six square miles of formerly Oneida land to the Brothertown and New Stockbridge tribes. Occom appealed to the General Assembly of New York and Governor Clinton, who enacted in February 1789 "An Act for the Sale of Disposition of Lands." This legislation authorized a survey and deed of 24,052 acres to the New England Indians and authorized the leasing of lands to whites.

Largely through Occom's efforts, the General Assembly on February 21, 1791, enacted "An Act for the Relief of the Indians Residing in Brothertown and New Stockbridge," which chartered a town government founded upon universal male suffrage and established the offices of clerk, marshal, and peacemaker. This law also permitted residents to offer whites ten-year

leases for tracts of land not to exceed 640 acres. The proceeds from the leas-
ing of town land would pay for the costs of a settled minister and school.
In 1796 the General Assembly appointed a superintendent to adjudicate
land disputes, settle estates, prevent the sale of alcohol, and appoint an at-
torney to represent the tribe. The superintendent also allocated 148 town
lots (9,390 acres) to Natives and sold the remaining lands to whites. Five
Native peacekeepers were charged with the responsibility of policing the
tribe, enforcing local ordinances, and Sabbath keeping.

By 1791 two thousand prime acres of pine grove and cedar wetlands were
leased to whites. Occom attempted, unsuccessfully, to petition Brothertown
peacekeepers to evict white leaseholders and recover this land. Ultimately, the
issue of leasing and selling land to whites created factions and acrimonious
divisions that forced Occom into self-imposed exile to Tuscarora in New
Stockbridge during the last year of his life. In place of a single Indian people
forged in the smithy of new birth and dedicated to a life of harmony and
peace as a Christian Indian democratic township, Brothertown admitted
New England Indians who lacked religious conviction and were motivated
by economic incentives and free land grants that they would quickly lease
or sell to whites.[84]

Like the New England Indian communities that these settlers had fled,
Brothertown succumbed to poverty, debt, intemperance, and land disposs-
ession to white settlers. By 1795, 750 whites lived on two hundred leased
farms on Brothertown lands. Whites settlers outnumbered Brothertown
residents 5 to 1.[85] In September 1795, "An Act Relative to Lands in Broth-
ertown" gave the state authority to appoint white commissioners to facili-
tate the direct sale of 19,662 acres of Brothertown lands to whites. Special
blank legal forms for property conveyance or indenture were printed.[86] As
a consequence of this reorganization, 61 percent of the reservation was sold
to white lessees and the remainder was made in allotments in severalty to
Indian households.[87] "Loss of land and an influx of white settlers destroyed
Brothertown sovereignty and all but shattered the community itself until
New York intervened to reorganize the venture in 1795."[88]

The reorganized tribe existed as a reservation colony under the paternal-
istic control of Albany. Although the tribe's adult male proprietors elected

peacekeepers and other town officials, all major decisions affecting the tribe needed the approval of the superintendents of tribal affairs, appointed by the governor. All annuities and funds spent on behalf of the tribe also required legislative approval. Thomas Eddy and Edmund Prior kept detailed account books of monies spent on behalf of the tribe for farming utensils, livestock, clothing, books and supplies for the school, for the construction of a school and gristmill, and for salaries for the schoolmaster, attorney, and town clerk.[89]

Writing on July 25, 1804, to Governor Morgan Lewis, Thomas Eddy explains that a boarding school for Brothertown children appears to be the only solution to the plan for civilizing the tribe and preventing yet another generation from coming of age into a life of idleness and alcohol abuse. Reminiscent of John Sergeant's plan for Indian education in Stockbridge, Eddy explains: "the frequent use of spirituous liquor prevents them from taking the necessary care of their families, and their children are brought up in extreme idleness; unless some plan can be fixed on to improve their children, it will be in vain to expect an amendment in the habits and manners of the Indians."[90]

A picture emerges using the surveyed "Map of Brothertown" that lists the 148 numbered household plots created in 1795, census information and land records of the New York superintendents of Indian affairs, and the genealogical appendix in *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England*, which identifies the persons and their tribal affiliation granted Brothertown property lots in 1795–96.[91] The tribe occupied only 50 percent of the new reservation lands, or 74 of 148 lots. The remaining lots were allocated, and many were subdivided between 1796 and 1833.

The subtribal groups (Narragansetts/Niantics, Montauketts, Farmingtons, Mohegans, and Pequots) settled the reservation in a checkerboard pattern where extended families of each subtribe lived in propinquity to their kinsman. Adjacent to each subtribal cluster were similar clusters of other subtribal segments, thus forming a checkerboard.

In 1796 the total population of 188 persons was distributed over seventy-seven households with a mean household size of 2.4 persons and with approximately one-quarter of the households (twenty-five) occupied by

TABLE 8. Composition of the Brothertown tribe in 1796

Subtribal affiliation	Number of households	Population	Percentage of population	Number of single-person households
Narragansett/Niantic	30	71	38	12
Farmington	15	34	18	6
Mohegan	11	19	10	4
Montaukett	10	42	22	0
Pequot	4	12	7	1
Unknown	7	10	5	2
Total	77	188	100	25

Source: Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England*, appendix, 334–67.

one person. Thirteen households (17 percent) were headed by a widow or widower. Thus, the census and appendix enumerated many single-person households of bachelors, widows, and other solitary individuals. Although the majority of households ($n = 39$, 51 percent) were two-headed, containing a husband and wife, only 27 percent of all households (21 of 77) were child-bearing units. Only sixty-six minor children (35 percent of the population) were enumerated in these rural farming households marked by chronic poverty. Possibly, the inability to provide for their children necessitated the indenture of Indian children to white settlers, thus explaining the dearth of minor children in most households. The tribe must have confronted a chronic labor shortage and difficulty in farming individual allotments. In addition, without continued immigration, this aging population was not a demographically viable community.

Table 8 shows the composition of the Brothertown tribe in 1796. It indicates that thirty Narragansett households and seventy-one inhabitants represented more than one-third of the Brothertown tribe. Households headed by Farmingtons (15), Mohegans (11), Montauketts (10), and Pequots (4) account for the remaining two-thirds of the tribe.

The Brothertown land records indicate that from 1797 to 1804, thirty-five additional land assignments had been made, including six double lots. Brothertown had granted 115 of 148 lots (78 percent of tribal lands), and 111 households developed these allocations. Table 9 indicates that Narra-

TABLE 9. Composition of the Brothertown tribe in 1804

Subtribal affiliation	Number of households	Percentage of all households
Narragansett/Niantic	47	42
Farmington	21	19
Mohegan	11	10
Montaukett	13	12
Pequot	9	8
Unknown	10	9
Total	111	100

TABLE 10. Brothertown land allocation from 1795 to 1833

Subtribal affiliation	Number of lots and subdivisions	Percentage of all allotments
Narragansett/Niantic	68	42
Farmington	28	17
Pequot	22	14
Mohegan	17	10
Montaukett	15	9
Unknown	12	8
Total	162	100

gansett immigrants and households predominated the tribe (42 percent of households). Small numbers of additional Farmington (6) and Pequot (5) households entered the census by 1804.

Table 10, Brothertown land allocation from 1795 to 1833, reveals that the pattern established by 1804 persisted until the tribe sold their lands and removed to the Michigan Territory in the years from 1821 to 1840. It is interesting to note that eight allotments were granted to Pequot newcomers from 1827 to 1831, during the period when Brothertown was in the process of leaving New York for Wisconsin.

Brothertown's agrarian households increased land under cultivation as men produced crops for local sale and kept herds of cows and sheep, and women wove linen and wool for sale. Jarvis explains: "From the records we can see the development of a self-reliant agricultural community. Men increasingly took on the duties of farming, placing nearly two thousand

acres into agricultural production in 1812 and producing 11,300 bushels of grain and 3,400 bushels of potatoes."[92] The town used annuity funds and grants from missionaries to purchase tools and looms, build fences, and establish sawmills and a gristmill. How, then, can we reconcile the aggregate profile of agricultural growth and surpluses with a portrait of widespread poverty, want, alcoholism, and despair?

One-quarter of all households were single-person farmsteads comprised of widows or widowers (solitary individuals). The mean household size in the village was under three persons. This household composition suggests that the preponderance of agrarian households were hardscrabble. Only a small percentage of Brothertown households had the personnel and labor to produce agricultural surpluses. Possibly as few as 10 percent of the farms account for the growth in acreage under cultivation, livestock herds, and cloth production. The evidence suggests that an emerging economic, political, and religious elite benefited from special annuity payments related to agricultural and commodity production. As Jarvis notes, "By the 1820s the Brothertown [colonial] superintendents were granting certain individuals a cash 'premium for Industry' from the annuity payments based upon the number of livestock owned, the length of fencing cut, or the amount of cloth produced."[93]

Since the town did not tax and redistribute the wealth produced by this elite, most of the community did not enjoy economic comfort or self-sufficiency. In the spirit of Thomas Jefferson's ideal of the individual yeoman agrarian household that he championed in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, the Brothertown political economy encouraged the private accumulation of wealth and the emergence of socioeconomic inequality.[94] "Civilized" and privatized individual household economies seemed to preclude the traditional Native practice of periodic wealth redistribution through ceremonial gift exchange.

The early Brothertown community faced the same social conditions on the frontier in central New York that they had fled from in long-settled New England. Land dispossession and the politics of dependency, poverty, violence, and intemperance plagued this tribe. Unlike other refugee communities, Brothertown eschewed prophetic forms of spirited resistance

that fostered pan-Indian military alliances intended to drive whites out of Indian country to restore a Native commonwealth. The racialist doctrine of a separate creation for Indians as distinct from whites called for ritualized purification and rejection of white religion and culture and a restoration of Native lifeways in food, clothing, and religion. Thus, Native prophets offered one resolution to colonization. Brothertown would not take up arms and join the pan-Indian prophecy of Tenkswatawa and Tecumseh.

Brothertown did not accept the religion of the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake, who was popular among the neighboring Oneidas. Handsome Lake championed a new religion that syncretized Seneca-Iroquoian beliefs and calendrical rituals with Quaker and Protestant moralism. Instead, the Brothertown tribe embraced Christian Indian models of civilized farmsteads and a fragmented tribal church community. The evidence extant suggests that the Brothertown model of civilization and Christian identity failed to protect many members from cultural disorientation and the social problems attendant to refugee communities.

Belknap and Morse report in 1796 that the emigrants to the new country "are generally, and we fear incurably, addicted to intemperance, whenever they have the means in their power. This is the character of all the savages of North America."[95] Kirkland supports this observation of alcohol abuse and intemperance in the following entry in his journal for February 14, 1796:

> So soon as I had done speaking, David Fowler [younger] rose, & desired to say a few words. He harranged his *Brethren* in a very pathetic manner for half an hour or more; & seemed to pour forth his very Soul upon them, with the most earnest intreaties that they would all join & unite as one man for a general reformation in their town; and adopt measures for the intire suppression & total disuse of strong liquor. The excessive use of which he verily believed had killed more Indians than all wars & common sicknesses; and if their Fathers could rise out of their graves, they would tell them so with a witness.[96]

Instead of regenerate men and women living in an Indian Canaan, Occom's evangelical utopian vision quickly degenerated into the squalor and

cultural despair so characteristic of colonized peoples. He noted at the end
of his life, "One of the Indians told me, he was much in Liquor when he
leased out his Lot, he would not done Such a thing, if he was Sober, and
it is thought many were so, when they lease out their Lots."[97] Laurence
M. Hauptman argues that many refugee resettlements were marked by
social disintegration, alcohol abuse, violence, and apathetic withdrawal
from life.[98] Quakers Thomas Eddy and Edmund Prior were appointed as
superintendents of Indian affairs at Brothertown. Writing on June 2, 1796,
about the problem of alcohol abuse and rum sales among the tribe, they
would "induce others to join them, not only in refraining themselves from
the use of spirituous liquors, but to put your laws in full force against all
offenders in this respect."[99]

William Cooper founded Cooperstown on "vacant" Oneida lands ad-
jacent to Brothertown, and his son, James Fennimore Cooper, recaptured
the "pioneering spirit" and the republican ethos of these new towns in
his Leatherstocking novels.[100] He has Nathaniel Bumppo characterize the
Brothertown tribe in *The Pioneers* with the lament: "unless it be a drunken
vagabond from the Oneidas or them Yankee Indians, who they say be mov-
ing up from the sea-shore, and who belong to none of God's creatures, to
my seeming, being, as it were, neither fish nor flesh—neither white man
nor savage."[101]

The infamous accounts of Moses Paul and other Indians who committed
murder associated with intemperance gave credence to these images of the
drunken vagabond Indians in Oneida and Brothertown. On February 24,
1800, in Rome, New York, a Montaukett of the Brothertown tribe, George
Peters, who was characterized as having an evil temper and prone to intem-
perance, murdered his wife, Eunice Wampy Peters, a Tunxis/Farmington.
He was convicted and hanged on August 28, 1801.[102]

John Tuhi illustrates the fate of Occom's ideal. He enters the histori-
cal record as yet another example of the emerging genre of sensational
murders committed by Indians under the influence of alcohol. Born in
Brothertown on June 7, 1800, his early childhood was marked by the death
of his father when John was two years old. He explains: "My mother was
very much addicted, like too many of our tribe, to the excessive use of

spirituous liquors, and when under their pernicious influence would beat me with great violence for the most trifling circumstance, which kept up a continual quarrel between us."[103] From age eleven until his death at seventeen, he was placed under the care of his grandmother. He did not escape the addiction to alcohol, idleness, and fratricidal violence so common on reservations. During a drunken quarrel over money on election day in 1817, he murdered his brother Joseph. After a trial and subsequent conviction by white authorities, John dictated his confession while awaiting execution at Whitestown Prison. Although pious laymen and clergy had visited him in jail and exhorted John to repent and seek salvation, he remained unreconciled with God. He writes, "But knowing the wicked life I have led and what a wretch I have been, I regret that the time is so short. The thoughts of entering the eternal world without preparation is, indeed, most horrible."[104]

By 1821 the new settlements secured rights to purchase frontier land from the Menominee tribe on the Fox River in Green Bay, Wisconsin, in the Michigan Territory. Three hundred Brothertown and New Stockbridge freeholders eventually sold their remaining New York lands in 1827 and undertook a protracted removal to the east shore of Lake Winnebago from 1831 to 1849.[105]

Occom, Johnson, and the other founders of Brothertown viewed the errand into the frontier as an exodus from the captivity of the colonial situation, one in which the poor Indian brethren might celebrate the American synthesis of life, liberty, and property. They believed that as a distinctive racial-ethnic group, they could build a separate Native Christian village world of newly born men and women, and as freeholders in a democratic town. Brothertown was created as a Christian yet decidedly Indian village world that promised to secure Indian land and sovereignty. In "civilized" agrarian household economies, Indian proprietors emulated industrious Protestants and worked to achieve economic self-sufficiency and prosperity. However, as Jarvis argues, this is a story of cultural preservation in the face of community atomization.[106]

From the beginning, religious and political factionalism, intratribal divisions, economic inequality, poverty, alcoholism, white encroachment,

and the loss of political and administrative sovereignty undermined the fulfillment of their utopian vision. The removal to their place of final re-settlement in the upper Midwest lacked their earlier religious fervor or the promise of salvation and resembled the westward retreat of a colonized people who again struggled to live together as Christian Indians in a village world separate from white settlement.[107]

CONCLUSION

> Is Sarah Dead? Let not a sigh arise
> To mourn her exit from this world of wo
> Rather let tears of joy suffuse the eyes
> That oft have wept her suffering state below . . .
> I lov'd the Sarah, for well could trace
> My Saviour's image on thy humble soul;
> Your heart the seat of his Almighty grace,
> And Every action prov'd its sweet control.[1]

Elias Boudinot (1740–1821) penned these maudlin verses in 1818 to eulogize Sarah, an impoverished elderly Indian woman from an unnamed tribe and an unidentified community. According to the sublime evangelical imagination that whites employed when they imagined Christian Indians, she could be any Indian woman, from any tribe, anywhere in America. Sarah represented an iconic figure—a dying women from a vanishing race—destined to fulfill the mandate of the terminal narrative of Indian erasure from America. Yet before she passed away, she served an important eschatological purpose as the vessel to receive the Holy Spirit and the medium through which grace might bring salvation. Her salvation and the rebirth of countless others—white, black and Native—augured the advent of the millennial kingdom in America.

Boudinot enjoyed a distinguished career as a lawyer, statesman, and president of the Continental Congress. As a devout Episcopalian, he helped found the American Bible Society in 1816 and served as a friend of the Indian in sponsoring the education of Indian youth. He explains in *Poor Sarah* how a chance encounter with Sarah, who begged for crusts of bread, resulted in a paternalistic friendship in which he became acquainted with her exem-

plary life. Sarah became an icon of the "Christian Indian" and provided a model of piety to inspire the white Christian publics for whom the tract was intended. He wished to encourage an outpouring of sentiment and acosmic love and concern for the multitude of Native peoples—perishing heathens—in need of Bibles, instruction, and missionary outreach.

Sarah related her life story in halting pidgin English that Boudinot transcribed. Despite her husband's objections and abuse, she began attending religious meetings, asking a neighbor to read the Bible to her, and beseeching Jesus to take away her bad heart with the Holy Spirit. "I love Jesus; love pray to him; love tell him all my sorrows: He take away my sorrow, make all my soul joy; only sorry 'cause can't read Bible—learn how to be like Jesus; want to be like his dear people Bible tell of. So I make great many brooms, go get Bible for 'em."[2]

Sarah experienced conversion and devoted her life to acts of love, charity, and Christian virtue, and the practice of piety in private prayer and frequent attendance at public worship. Aged and feeble, she stood during the service, her eyes fixed upon the preacher as she uttered these final words that attested to the exemplary dying of the saint's everlasting rest: "I long to go see Jesus; see happy angel, see holy saint; throw away my bad heart, lay down my old body, and go where I no sin."[3]

Lawrence Harlow published an account of the conversion of an unnamed New York Indian man, with no tribal affiliation given, who journeyed to London in search of religious education and spiritual awakening. While staying in a boardinghouse, the Indian happened upon a Bible and accepted the pastoral care of a fellow traveler who narrated this story. Together they attended a Methodist meeting and traversed the ordo salutis from the conviction of sin through religious melancholy and the eventual reception of grace. The anonymous Indian served as the impetus for a backsliding white man to reanimate his faith. The white narrator exclaims: "Where shall I find words to express what I felt! All my guilt and distress was removed; and the light of the glory of God, through his well-beloved Son, shone into my soul. . . . I had a clear sight, by faith, of the dear Redeemer's suffering upon Calvary, bearing my sins and my curse in his won body on the tree."[4]

In both examples of Christian Indian conversion and piety, Native spiri-

tuality helped white Protestants, individually or collectively, to attain their destiny and to fulfill the promise of a redeemer's kingdom in America. In the burgeoning Protestant "religious intelligence" represented by religious tracts, magazines, and published missionary correspondence and memoirs, the persona of the Christian Indian became an inspirational figure who was destined to perish in heathen darkness if not for missionary outreach. Accounts of the early piety and untimely deaths of neophytes like the Hawaiian Henry Obookiah, who attended the Cornwall Mission School in Connecticut, or the Cherokee Catharine Brown, became evangelical classics.[5] No issue better captured the enduring millennial sentimentality of American Protestantism during the first half of the nineteenth century than the cause of Indian missions.

The Christian Indians and their village communities in this study, however, unlike Sarah and others depicted in the religious intelligence, never passively accepted their role as an instrument of missionary action or admitted the inevitability of their gentle extinction as peoples. The narratives of Christian Indians and their tribal communities retell their struggles to forge new ethnic identities in the context of colonization. From the first praying towns, Christian Indians embraced Reformed Protestantism as a basis for ethnic renewal. The rational theodicy of misfortune, the selective appropriation of religious personhood and individuated identity, and the other cultural and material dimensions of civility assisted peoples traumatized by depopulation and warfare to build new lives together. They successfully remade their village worlds by articulating a Christian Indian structure of faith, the penitential sense of life, which emphasized Protestant moralism (an ascetic ethos of life regulation) as an aid to their living together on confined reservations lands, and a series of ceremonies and rituals of penance that might bring good things to the people.

Eighteenth-century systems of religious paternalism at Mashpee, Martha's Vineyard, Stockbridge, and Pachgatgoch conjoined the leadership roles of sachemship or other political authority with religious ministry. Churches became forums for community activism as these peoples struggled to meet the political and economic challenges of colonialism.

The evangelical Christian Indian identities of the eighteenth-century

Great Awakening produced a generation of literate, assertive "democratic personalities" and intertribal religious and political networks of Natives who would lead their peoples in resistance to the colonial situation and in exodus to a promised land on the New York borderlands. The dynamic of colonization resulted in the inexorable decline of Native communities in southern New England. The discourse of conquest stripped them of their histories and cultures and any claims to possess political and legal status as distinct legitimate peoples or nations. However, through evangelical Christian Indian identity, Samson Occom, Joseph Johnson, and others proclaimed their authenticity as peoples endowed with liberty as Indian peoples, both behind the frontier and on the frontier. Occom dreamed of Brothertown as a Christian Indian congregational community and democratic commonwealth, conceived in freedom and in separation from white settler society, where Native children of God might dwell together and savor the promises of salvation in this world. However, the Brothertown village of regenerate Christian Indians could not mitigate the invasion of their villages by white settlers, nor the dispossession, poverty, alcoholism, and social disorganization, nor the political, economic, and religious factionalism that destroyed tribal unity.

As we close this study, we note that these stories did not end with the defeat of settler colonialism or the triumph of politically autonomous and economically self-sufficient Christian Indian tribes at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, Christian Indian groups persisted, and their unique hybrid religion has aided them in their individual and collective survival. In southern New England, wherever Native peoples suffering from the collective trauma of invasion, colonization, and ill fortune have attempted to reinvent themselves and their communities, they have embraced varieties of Protestant belief and practice. The dynamic of Christian Indian ethnic identity would continue throughout the nineteenth century, as exemplified by the story of William Apess.

William Apess (1798–1839) was born a Pequot and later adopted as a Mashpee. He distinguished himself as a Methodist preacher, author, and political activist. Apess first published his spiritual autobiography, *A Son of the Forest* (1829), and later, *The Experiences of Five Christian Indians* (1833),

which included an abridged version of his conversion, together with the spiritual itineraries and conversion narratives of four other Pequots who were among those who remained in Groton and had not emigrated to Brothertown. Apess described their protracted torment. As awakened sinners, they struggled with religious melancholy, alternating "between hope and despair."[6] This phrase captures the inner psychological tension of neophytes as they labored to remake their lives, turning from sin to holiness. The movement between hope and despair also characterizes the travail of Christian Indian communities as each generation grappled with the objective conditions of despair: dispossession, deracination, poverty, powerlessness, and racism. Yet, each generation also sought hope and encouragement from evangelical piety to rebuild their lives and communities using God's blueprints.

Christian Indians, from the first praying towns to the religious paternalism of eighteenth-century missions and the evangelical newly born Native men and women of the awakening, have appropriated the model of the melancholy saint who wept tears of repentance for the sins of their people. Religious melancholy has shaped their lived religion and was integral to the formation of Christian Indian religious identity and the making of new lives in their new worlds. Religion, long considered an instrument of domination and "the invasion within," must also be seen as an important dimension of ethnic renewal and the persistence of Native peoples as they sought assistance as God's children from Christian other-than-human persons who promised them salvation in this world—health, prosperity, good fortune, and harmony for the people.

Religion and Red Power

During the 1960s, in the context of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and Red Power, many urban and detribalized Indians—those relocated following the failed termination policy of the 1950s and 1960s—reunited with reservation communities and reappropriated Native religion, spirituality, and traditional medicine and healing. The resurgence of ethnic pride following the occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969, and the quest for political power as a result of the civil disobedience at the Bureau of Indian Affairs offices in 1972 (Trail of Broken Treaties), resembled a nativist movement.[1] The new urban Indian youth embraced the elderly generation of traditional holy men and healers who lived in reservation communities. Men like Henry and Leonard Crow Dog (Oglala Sioux) taught that the sun dance and other ceremonies performed on sacred geographies brought spirit power and rebirth to the emerging pan-Indian alliance.[2] A pan-Indian political movement sought to address centuries of colonialism, to enforce treaty rights, and to ensure Indian self-determination in education, health care, and tribal economic development. All of these ventures, according to the rationale of retraditionalization, needed to be founded upon a renewed appreciation for traditional religion and ceremonies. Power was derived from the people—the people who revivified their alliance with other-than-human-persons.

In 1969 Vine Deloria Jr. published *Custer Died for Your Sins* as a manifesto calling for the rejection of the white man's religion and colonization and a return to Native gods and lifeways. Red Power had exacerbated an already existing division between traditional tribal factions and Christian groups in reservation communities. By the 1970s AIM activists promoted the "old

ways" as an alternative to Christianity and denounced the indoctrination by Catholic and Protestant churches on reservations.[3]

Deloria penned *God Is Red* in 1973 to chronicle the renaissance of traditional Indian religion during this time of political upheaval. Here he reevaluated and critiqued Christianity, seeking to prove that this religion was not appropriate for tribal peoples who were bound to sacred lands. Rather, these peoples practiced a communal ceremonial life that celebrated the reciprocal obligations of tribes to their gods in a cycle of ever-repeating calendrical rites that resembled a sacred hoop or circle and not the linear progression of history. According to Deloria, Christianity and the civilization of science and technology associated with European and Western culture have produced an America divided by race and class, not human brotherhood; a nation that prosecuted a war in Indochina while espousing world peace; a society facing the threat of ecological disaster in the name of progress and prosperity; and a land marred by moral corruption and religious division under the façade of a higher calling as God's chosen people and nation. He asserts that the nature religion of traditional Indians is better suited to Indians than is Christianity, maintaining that tribal peoples revere nature and their sacred geography and seek to live together in communal balance and harmony with the land. Deloria concludes with this exhortation:

> The future of humankind lies waiting for those who will come to understand their lives and take up their responsibilities to all living things. Who will listen to the trees, the animals and birds, the voices of the places of the land? As the long-forgotten peoples of the respective continents rise and begin to reclaim the ancient heritage, they will discover the meaning of the lands of their ancestors. That is when the invaders of the North American continent will finally discover that for this land, God is red.[4]

Thirty years following the initial publication of *God Is Red*, Leslie Marmon Silko writes in the foreword to the thirtieth anniversary edition that Western culture and the Christian worldview are the cause of the great weakness of America.[5] George E. Tinker states in a second foreword that Deloria has systematized and given voice to Native American thought and

has effectively debunked and transvalued European-Western historiography, philosophy, theology, social criticism, and political theory.[6]

Jace Weaver asserts in *That the People Might Live*, building upon Deloria's thesis, that only 10 to 25 percent of Native Americans are Christian. Christian missions have failed to displace traditional religion and lifeways, and, given the resurgence of Native religious claims to spiritual power, the survival of Christianity in Indian country is in jeopardy.[7]

Native scholars like Robert Allen Warrior in *Tribal Secrets* have struggled to regain "intellectual sovereignty."[8] Others have worked to "deconstruct" missions in the colonial situation and to reconstruct a postcolonial and post-Christian understanding of Native American religious identity.[9] Weaver agues that "the age in which we live might be described as post-Christian in that Christianity is no longer considered normative, no longer the all-encompassing force it may once have been."[10]

Many have viewed Christianization as a form of cultural annihilation, a twice-told tale of attempted cultural genocide and stalwart persistence and survival. In this light, James Treat considers Native Christian identity as "both historically and culturally problematic."[11] Weaver suggests that "it is not uncommon for whole Native congregations to remain faithful to the assimilationist, self-hating theology first brought by the missionaries."[12]

Following Ronald Niezen's insights in *Spirit Wars*, we understand that in times of political turmoil and cultural revolution such as the American Indian Movement, when the world is turned upside town, activists and those who would foment revolution enter into the fray to contest the meaning of the past and to control spiritual power.[13] The polemics of these spirit wars express the anger and aspirations of a new generation. However, the historical sociology of religion and emotion explores Christian Indian identity in past times by raising different questions and with different presuppositions. Historical sociology and ethnohistory sensitize us to the many, complex, and differing instances of missionary contact and the variety of individual and collective instantiations of Christian Indian identity that have served Native purposes of ethnic renewal and persistence in the face of colonialism.

A Note on Indiantowns

During the eighteenth century in Connecticut, Indian reservation village settlements were referred to by the general designation of "Indiantown." Arthur H. Hughes and Morse S. Allen explain in *Connecticut Place Names* that for Native communities, "Each reservation had its village called Indiantown, at first a cluster of wigwams."[1] Pequot Indiantowns existed at Lantern Hill, Groton, and "Mashantuxet." Additional Indiantowns were listed at Saybrook Manor and Shewville.[2]

John De Forest's *History of the Indians of Connecticut* enumerates 150 Pequots residing in the Mashantucket Indiantown in 1776. Half of the group was under sixteen years of age. He states: "All were in poverty-stricken circumstances, and many were widows whose husbands had perished in the colonial armies during the late wars with Canada. Their homes were chiefly within a mile square; their land was by no means the best, yet some of it was cultivated after the English fashion."[3]

De Forest also refers to Wangunk Indiantowns in Middletown and Chatam and villages near the Mattabesset River where "by 1764 the tribe numbered between thirty and forty persons, but some of these were living among the Mohegans and others had migrated to Hartford and Farmington."[4]

Kevin McBride examines the archaeological record of the Mashantucket Reservation and discovers that by the middle of the eighteenth century, Indiantown residents lived in English-style houses with stone foundations. Farmsteads included outbuildings, sheds, barns, stonewalls, and fences. Citing an observation from Ezra Stiles's "Itineraries and Memoirs," McBride states: "One community, referred to as 'Indiantown,' in eighteenth-century sources is a highly aggregated village that consisted of approximately twenty

to thirty dwellings and 100–150 individuals."[5] This Pequot Indiantown provided evidence of many manufactured trade goods and a reliance upon domesticated plants and animals as opposed to traditional subsistence foods, tools, clothing, and artifacts. In the period from 1780 to 1810, Pequots abandoned this Indiantown, possibly to migrate to Brothertown, as McBride suggests. However, the Brothertown tribal and property records do not support this explanation. Most likely, economic necessity forced Pequots to leave the reservation to find work and reside outside their tribal community.

NOTES

PREFACE

1. Crawford, *Romance of Old New England Churches*, 146.

2. Bas-relief sculptures, Congregational House, Boston. Published online at http://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WM7D5K_Bas_Relief_Scupltures Congregational_House_Boston_MA.

3. Rubin, *Religious Melancholy and Protestant Experience*, ix.

INTRODUCTION

1. Bonomi, preface to *Under the Cope of Heaven*, xi.

2. Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England*, 26.

3. Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England*, 220–24.

4. Bruner, "Ethnography as Narrative," 139.

5. Dippie, *Vanishing American*, 12.

6. Damrosch, *Tocqueville's Discovery*, 221.

7. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, xiv–xxi.

8. Wilcox, *Pueblo Revolt*, 11. I am indebted to Jon Parmenter for this insight as a faculty presenter at the National Endowment for the Humanities Institute, "From Metacom to Tecumseh," July 17, 2010, D'Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian and Indigenous Studies, Newberry Library, Chicago.

9. Bruner, "Ethnography as Narrative," 140–41.

10. Weber, "Ethnic Groups," in *Economy and Society*, 1:398; Cornell and Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race*, 19, 72–101. Cornell and Hartmann draw upon the work of Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Their Boundaries*, 10, to present a constructionist approach: the social invention of ethnicity and identity. They view the ethnic group as a bounded social group created by the dual processes of external ascription and self-identification. These processes promoted boundary maintenance and group persistence and survival.

11. Morgan, "Encounters between British and 'Indigenous' Peoples," 44–45.

12. Hill, introduction to *History, Power, and Identity*, 1. Sturtevant first introduced the concept of ethnogenesis in his essay "Creek to Seminole" in Leacock and Lurie, *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*, 92. There he traced the Creek encounter with the American nation-state, which resulted in the Creeks' removal to a desolate swamp in south Florida and the "establishment of the groups distinctiveness" as the Seminole. Warfare and violence resulted in "fissions, fusions, movements and extinctions."

13. Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories*, xviii.

14. Roosens, *Creating Ethnicity*, 5:150–51; Nagel, *American Indian Ethnic Renewal*, 10.

15. Bruner, "Ethnography as Narrative," 153.

16. Russell Thornton explains that Native American studies must begin with a nuanced definition and discussion of colonialism that examines "the impact of colonialism on Native Americans and their societies." He argues that we need "to bring new, postcolonial perspectives on the Native American past, present, and future." *Studying Native America*, 4.

17. Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism*, 1–3.

18. Champagne, *Social Change and Cultural Continuity*, 131–33. He articulates this four-part multidimensional theory of colonialism applied to Native North America.

19. Champagne, *Social Change and Cultural Continuity*, 4.

20. Gowland, *Worlds of Renaissance Melancholy*, 139–40.

21. Schmidt, *Melancholy and the Care of the Soul*, 67.

22. Lund, *Melancholy, Medicine, and Religion*, 167–89. She argues that Burton viewed conversion, properly understood and accomplished, as a cultural therapeutic to cure melancholy and religious melancholy.

23. Mann, *1491*, 35, 59.

24. Jones, *Rationalizing Epidemics*, 33, 53.

25. See Bowden, *American Indian and Christian Missions*, and Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, who discuss the differential impact and success of missions in colonial New England. Nineteenth-century examples of failures include the Union and Dwight Missions to the Osage and missions to Native peoples of the Columbian Plateau in Washington. See Rollings, *Unaffected by the Gospel*, 87–115. Natives initially welcomed missionaries who promised access to trade goods to promote prosperity and new sources of political and spiritual power to protect the people from aggression and epidemic diseases. As the Plateau peoples discovered, "in the end, there was surprisingly little in Christianity that the Natives could use,

and what they did use often broke with official Christian doctrine." They nativized Christian hymns and prayers, blending these new rituals with traditional ceremonies directed to other-than-human persons so that the people might enjoy health, prosperity, and long life. Cebula, *Plateau Indians and the Quest for Spiritual Power*, 119.

26. Cannell, *Anthropology of Christianity*, 43.

27. Cannell, *Anthropology of Christianity*, 5.

28. Austin-Broos, "Anthropology of Conversion," 2.

29. Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 91. Nicholas Griffiths argues that reciprocal exchange between indigenous peoples and Europeans creates hybridity, blending, and syncretism where Christianity itself was transformed. Indigenous peoples "nativized" new gods, beliefs, and practices as a source of spirit power. Contact was "not the unilateral imposition of an uncompromising, all-conquering and all-transforming monotheism." Introduction to *Spiritual Encounters*, 1.

30. McNally, "Practice of Native American Christianity," 847–52. He argues that Native spiritual and religious traditions should be termed lifeways. See Tinker, *Missionary Conquest*.

31. McNally, "Practice of Native American Christianity," 852.

32. Fisher, "Native Americans, Conversion, and Christian Practice," 125.

33. Axtell, "Ethnohistory of Native America," 13–16.

34. Asad, *Genealogies of Religion*, 4.

35. Axtell, "Ethnohistory of Native America," 13.

36. Axtell, "Ethnohistory of Native America," 13–14.

37. Ostler, *Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism*, 4.

38. Geertz, "Making Experience, Authoring Selves," 273.

39. DeMallie, "Lakota Ghost Dance," 389.

40. Corman, review of *Writing Indians* by Wyss, 742.

41. Bross and Wyss, introduction to *Early Native Literacies in New England*, 2.

42. Zogry, *Anetso*, 70–71.

43. See Whitworth, *God's Blueprints*, and Holstun, *A Rational Millennium*.

44. Ronda, "The Sillery Experiment," 2; Gonzalez, "'The Child of the Wilderness Weeps,'" 155–58.

45. Axtell, *Natives and Newcomers*, 157.

46. Cornell, *Return of the Native*, 11, 15, discusses the participation of Native peoples in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—labor in producing for the fur trade and ancestral land—as a dynamic of incorporation into a mercantilist political economy.

47. I am indebted to Scott Manning Stevens, director of the D'Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian and Indigenous Studies, for this insight regarding the prophecy and religion of Handsome Lake.

48. Schluchter, *Rationalism, Religion, and Domination*, 156–66.

49. Salisbury, "Embracing Ambiguity," 257. He suggests that ethnohistorians banish the static concept of conversion when thinking about the complexities and ambiguities of Native relations with Europeans in this era.

50. Douglas, *Natural Symbols*, xxix.

51. Weber, "Social Psychology of the World Religions," 280–81. See also Nelson, "Self Images and Systems of Spiritual Direction," 34–35.

52. Weber, *Methodology of the Social Sciences*, 81.

53. Weber, *Methodology of the Social Sciences*, 92.

54. Weber, *Methodology of the Social Sciences*, 101.

55. Douglas, "Passive Voice Theories in Religious Sociology." Douglas refers to Emile Durkheim's concept of social fact as external to the individual, independent, and exercising social constraint. The idea of social actors or groups as carriers of religious ethics is derived from Max Weber's Sociology of Religion.

56. Deloria, introduction to *Companion to American Indian History*, 21. He speaks of the "epistemology of difference" in understanding their politics, religion, and their pasts that are marked by ambiguity, change, and timelessness."

57. Axtell, "Ethnohistory of Native American," 25.

58. Riis and Woodhead, *Sociology of Religious Emotion*, 8, 47.

59. McClinton, introduction to *Moravian Springplace Mission* 1:12.

60. Atwood, *Community of the Cross*, 49–50.

61. Dally-Starna and Starna, *Gideon's People*, 1:577, December 23, 1755.

1. PRAYING TOWNS AND PRAYING-TO-GOD INDIANS

1. Morrison, *A Praying People*, 28–29.

2. Salisbury, "'I Love the Place of My Dwelling,'" 113.

3. *New Englands First Fruits*, 3.

4. *New Englands First Fruits*, 6.

5. *New Englands First Fruits*, 6.

6. *New Englands First Fruits*, 6.

7. *New Englands First Fruits*, 15.

8. White, *Middle Ground*, 10–11. Oberg describes the impact of the 1634 smallpox epidemic, with its estimated 80 percent mortality rate, for the Pequot confederacy:

"The few survivors relocated to new villages, with new political alignments and balances of power." *Uncas*, 45.

9. *New Englands First Fruits*, 15.

10. Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, 103. Mortality rates are from Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*, 284–85, and Stannard, *American Holocaust*, 108–9.

11. Wilson, *The Earth Shall Weep*, 77.

12. Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, 106.

13. Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, 133–34.

14. Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, 270–71.

15. Dobyns and Swagerty, *Their Number Become Thinned*, 16. Kupperman, *Indians and English*, 35, explains that "the epidemics were so devastating in part because the Indians' coping mechanisms did not work. Shamans found their healing techniques powerless; such practice as sweat baths, leading to dehydration, may even have made some diseases worse." Native healing ceremonies unwittingly help spread the pathogens from the dying to the well. When relatives crowded around their stricken kinsmen with offers of support and hospitality, this permitted the pestilence to spread by touch or to become airborne through droplet infections. Native custom did not permit the quarantine of the sick.

16. Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, 271.

17. Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, 105–6. Kupperman, *Indians and English,* 36, explains: "Remnants of villages and bands came together in new political groupings, and catastrophic depopulation created opportunities for 'big men' to consolidate positions of power and to add land and lineages to their traditional holdings." Axtell writes in *Natives and Newcomers*, 300: "When tribal or village populations approached unviable levels, the survivors sought cultural and military refuge with more populous neighbors or with linguistically related kin even at a distance. The handful of Pawtuxets who survived a deadly sea-borne plague just before the Pilgrims arrived abandoned their village site overlooking Plymouth Harbor and threw in their lot with Narragansett and other inland neighbors, who had been relatively unscathed."

18. Robben and Suarez-Orozco, "Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Violence and Trauma," 22.

19. Robben and Suarez-Orozco, "Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Violence and Trauma," 2–7.

20. See Alexander, "Toward a Theory of Collective Trauma," l1, 10–15. He argues that cultural trauma occurs when "members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks on their group

consciousness, marking their members forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways."

21. McNally, *Ojibwe Singers*, 20. He recovers the experiences of the White Earth band of the Ojibwe (1880–1900) who spoke of *gashkendam*—feelings of "lonesomeness, grief, affliction, dejection, homesickness, and melancholy . . . beyond the bereavement at the loss of a loved one, was an unspeakable grief concerning the direction that history appeared to be taking the entire community and its way of life." See also O'Nell's *Disciplined Hearts*. She offers a contemporary ethnography of the Salish and Pend d'Oreille peoples living on the Flathead Reservation in Montana and identifies rates of depressive illness that far exceed the national average and a concern with personal suffering that is ubiquitous in this community.

22. Duran, Duran, and Brace Heart, "Native Americans and the Trauma of History," 64. The authors define and discuss intergenerational trauma resulting from the injurious effects of colonialism.

23. Weber, "Social Psychology of the World Religions," 274.

24. Jones, *Rationalizing Epidemics*, 56.

25. Tooker, *Native North American Spirituality*, 69; Dennis, *Seneca Possessed*, 76.

26. Orsi, "Is the Study of Lived Religion Irrelevant?" 172–73.

27. Rivett, "Empirical Desire, Conversion, Ethnography, and the New Science of the Praying Indian," 17.

28. Stevens, *The Poor Indians*, 8–9.

29. Stevens, *The Poor Indians*, 62–66.

30. Stevens, *The Poor Indians*, 61.

31. Bross, *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons*, 6–7, 27–31.

32. Bross, *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons*, 27.

33. Bross, *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons*, 14–21.

34. Naeher, "Dialogue in the Wilderness," 346; Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 142–50.

35. Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 240.

36. Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 6.

37. Baxter, *Some Unpublished Correspondence of the Reverend Richard Baxter and the Reverend John Eliot*, 21.

38. Baxter, *Some Unpublished Correspondence*, 22–23.

39. Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 177–78.

40. Naeher, "Dialogue in the Wilderness," 364.

41. Pulsipher, *Subjects unto the Same King*, 72–74.

42. Pulsipher, *Subjects unto the Same King*, 11.

43. Pulsipher, *Subjects unto the Same King*, 105.

44. Oberg, *Uncas*, 166–70.

45. See "Reduce Them to Civility," in Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 139–41.

46. Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 69–73; Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country*, 110.

47. Van Lonkhuyzen, "A Reappraisal of Praying Indians," 210, 213.

48. Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 161.

49. Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 142.

50. Van Lonkhuyzen, "A Reappraisal of Praying Indians, 213.

51. Pulsipher, *Subjects unto the Same King*, 15.

52. Drake, *King Philip's War*, 14.

53. Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 30–32; Drake, *King Philip's War*, 39–49.

54. Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 33–39.

55. Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 9–10. See Guyatt, *Providence and the Invention of the United States*, 39.

56. Drake, *King Philip's War*, 47; Pfister, *Individuality Incorporated*, 9–10.

57. Vaughan, *New England Frontier*, 186, 194.

58. Vaughan, *New England Frontier*, 210.

59. Plane, "Liberator or Oppressor? ," 165. She explains how scholars questioned a "beneficent image of Indians before the law."

60. Bushnell, "Treatment of the Indians in Plymouth Colony," 68.

61. Plane, "Liberator or Oppressor?," 165.

62. Plane, "Liberator or Oppressor?," 167–68.

63. Walters, "Mohegan Indians v. Connecticut," 786.

64. Bushnell, "Treatment of the Indians in Plymouth Colony," 67–69; Anderson, "King Philip's Herds," 611. Anderson explains the problems and conflicts associated with the joint use of land for English agriculture and Native gardens and hunting. English livestock frequently trespassed and spoiled Indian cornfields; hogs ate corn in storage pits. She writes about the deficiencies of the legal system: "Indians could not depend on the equitable enforcement of animal trespass laws. The coercive power of colonial governments was limited—magistrates could hardly march off to view every downed fence and ruined field—and reliance on local adjudication meant that townsmen had to police themselves." Should Indians take the law in their own hands they would be charged with theft and destruction of property and subject to fines, corporal punishment, and imprisonment.

65. Plane, "Liberator or Oppressor?," 165.

66. Wadsworth, *Well-Ordered Family*, 24.

67. Wadsworth, *Well-Ordered Family*, 24–34.

68. Wadsworth, *Well-Ordered Family*, 35.

69. Wadsworth, *Well-Ordered Family*, 121.

70. Plane, *Colonial Intimacies*, 180.

71. Plane, *Colonial Intimacies*, 1–4.

72. Plane, *Colonial Intimacies*, 65.

73. Drake, *King Philip's War*, 60.

74. Gookin, *Historical Collections*, 62.

75. *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 1628–1686*, edited by Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, 3:381, quoted in Kawashima, "Legal Origins of the Indian Reservation," 43.

76. O'Brien, "'They Are So Frequently Shifting,'" 208.

77. Drake, *King Philip's War*, 60–62.

78. Salisbury, "Embracing Ambiguity," 251–57; Pulsipher, "Massacre at Huttelberry Hill," 485–86.

79. Fogelson, "Perspectives on Native American Identity," 40.

2. THE PENITENTIAL SENSE OF LIFE

1. "The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New England," in Clark, *Eliot Tracts*, 127.

2. "The Day-Breaking," in Clark, *Eliot Tracts*, 128.

3. "The Day-Breaking," in Clark, *Eliot Tracts*, 128.

4. Turner and Stets, *Sociology of Emotions*, 2–3. See Hochschild, *Managed Heart*, for a discussion of feeling rules. Rubin, "Melancholy," 291.

5. I refer to the essay by Nelson, "Cultural Cues and Directive Systems," 27–30, where he defines culture as a "directive system serving to move individuals and groups to perform in accordance with desired norms" by six classes of cues: Percipienda, Sentienda, Agenda, Credenda, Miranda, and Emulata.

6. Bross, *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons*, 21–24, sensitizes us to the fact that the tracts recorded and preserved Native experiences and expressions as praying Indians attempted to understand, resist, and negotiate colonial and evangelical encounters. She observes: "We can hear individuals commenting on their experiences within English colonialism through the forms we associate most often with Reformed Protestantism—the catechistical question, the conversion narrative, and the deathbed confession."

7. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country*, 28.

8. Rubin, *Religious Melancholy and Protestant Experience*, 39; Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 2:874.

9. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 2:919.

10. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 2:920.

11. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 2:936.

12. Fox, *Tangled Chain*, 196.

13. Weber, "Social Psychology of the World Religions," 280.

14. Holstun, *Rational Millennium*, He sees the Puritan evangelism of Algonquian groups in Massachusetts as integral to a utopian project by "submitting the dangerously displaced populations of the Old World and the New World to a program of rational discipline."

15. Pfister, *Individuality Incorporated*, 10–12.

16. Parsons, in *The Social System*, introduced a theory of social action wherein he formulated a pattern variable analysis of axial concepts, including self-orientation versus collective orientation toward action.

17. Weaver, *That My People Might Live*, xiii, 32.

18. Keane, *Christian Moderns*, 6.

19. Douglas, *Cultural Bias*, 17–18.

20. Douglas, *Cultural Bias*, 38.

21. Mauss, "A Category of the Human Mind," 6–12. In 1938 he delivered a lecture at the Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Copenhagen that became the basis for this essay. As he concludes his remarks, Mauss explains: "Man was a persona long before being a person." Fournier continues, in *Marcel Mauss*, 325: "A consciousness of oneself and of others, he said, was thus a trait of civilization in our societies: 'The individual has finally become the subject and the object, the agent responsible for social life. What he was unconsciously, a prisoner of his social rank and his habits, he became consciously. He is aware of his own power.'"

22. Mauss, *Oeuvres*, 2:138, quoted in Allen, "Category of the Person in Mauss," 33.

23. Salisbury, "'I Love the Place of My Dwelling,'" 120. The significance of Indian conversion—the love of God, the assurance that God's love abides, and the possibility of a new brotherhood in village church communities—suggests that praying Indians longed for a revitalized corporate kinship group. In this milieu of solidarity and trust, praying-to-God neophytes would overcome their despair at the collapse of their traditional worlds.

24. Huff, *On the Roads to Modernity*, 94.

25. Cannell, introduction to *Anthropology of Christianity*, 18.

26. See discussion in Rubin, *Religious Melancholy and Protestant Experience*, 12–14.

27. Goldman, *Max Weber and Thomas Mann*, 153. Cannell identifies a logic of reshaping of the self: "The Calvinist person has internalized the duty to imitate God thus conceived a Divine Will and must therefore act on himself in continual self-fashioning, in order to show forth a reflection of the Almighty." Cannell, *Anthropology of Christianity*, 20.

28. Keane, *Christian Moderns*, 114–15, 166.

29. Keane, *Christian Moderns*, 189.

30. Keane, *Christian Moderns*, 181.

31. Axtell, "Were Indian Conversions Bona Fide?," 118.

32. Keane, *Christian Moderns*, 221.

33. "The Day-Breaking," in Clark, *Eliot Tracts*, 83.

34. "The Day-Breaking," 84.

35. "The Day-Breaking," 91.

36. "The Day-Breaking," 98.

37. "The Day-Breaking," 84.

38. "The Day-Breaking," 95.

39. "The Day-Breaking," 88.

40. "The Day-Breaking," 92.

41. "The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New-England," in Clark, *Eliot Tracts*, 127.

42. Holstun, *A Rational Millennium*, 104.

43. Stevens, *The Poor Indians*, 67–68. Bross, *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons*, 89–90, identifies "holy desperation" as essential for Protestant identity formation in the practice of piety.

44. Rubin, "Melancholy," 294.

45. Kaufman, *Prayer, Despair, and Drama*, 36.

46. Holstun, *Rational Millennium*, 130.

47. Holstun, *Rational Millennium*, 130.

48. Pointer argues in *Encounters of the Spirit*, 44–68, that praying Indians employed a "language of imitation," but concludes that Indians sought conversions on their own terms that he does not explain. Parker, "Conversion in Theory and Practice," 91–93, argues that Natick converts created their own unique ideas. "Spiritual poverty afforded the Praying Indians a claim to profound humility and thus a greater assurance of divine mercy."

49. "The Day-Breaking," in Clark, *Eliot Tracts*, 98.

50. "The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel," in Clark, *Eliot Tracts*, 115–16.

51. "The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel," 116.

52. Whitfield, "Strength out of Weaknesse," in Clark, *Eliot Tracts*, 221.

53. Whitfield, "Strength out of Weaknesse," 221–22.

54. Whitfield, "Strength out of Weaknesse," 223.

55. Whitfield, "Strength out of Weaknesse," 222. Bross, "Dying Saints, Vanishing Savages," 334, explains: "As he lay dying, Wamporas articulated his understanding of the role affliction played in the Christian's life and expressed his willingness to accept sickness as part of God's plan."

56. Whitfield, "Strength out of Weaknesse," 226.

57. Whitfield, "Strength out of Weaknesse," 227.

58. Whitfield, "Strength out of Weaknesse," 227.

59. Whitfield, "Strength out of Weaknesse," 227.

60. Whitfield, "Strength out of Weaknesse," 228.

61. Whitfield, "Strength out of Weaknesse," 229.

62. Eliot and Mayhew, "Tears of Repentance," in Clark, *Eliot Tracts*, 261.

63. Eliot and Mayhew, "Tears of Repentance," 263.

64. Eliot and Mayhew, "Tears of Repentance," 266.

65. Eliot and Mayhew, "Tears of Repentance," 266.

66. Eliot and Mayhew, "Tears of Repentance," 282.

67. Rivett, "Empirical Desire," 21–22, examines Eliot's construction of the praying Indian as an object of ethnological inquiry where Puritan evangelism provided a unique experiment in how grace worked to regenerate a non-English soul. Eliot formulated "a grammar of grace"—visible evidence of the invisible realm—by the "practice of recording, observing, and translating divine phenomena as it was expressed among New England's native population in the Massachusett language."

68. Rubin, *Religious Melancholy and Protestant Experience*, 44.

69. Cohen, "Conversion among Puritans and Amerindians," 238. See also Cohen's important discussion of the ethnography of conversion, *God's Caress*.

70. Cohen, "Conversion among Puritans and Amerindians," 238.

71. Eliot, *Tears of Repentance*, 4.

72. Eliot, *Tears of Repentance*, 33.

73. Eliot and Mayhew, "Tears of Repentance," in Clark, *Eliot Tracts*, 271.

74. Eliot and Mayhew, "Tears of Repentance," 276.

75. Eliot and Mayhew, "Tears of Repentance," 277–78.

76. Jalalzai, "Puritan Imperialisms," 84.

77. Eliot, *Tears of Repentance*, 46.

78. Eliot, *Tears of Repentance*, 46.

79. Eliot, *Tears of Repentance*, 30–31.

80. Eliot, *Further Account of the Progress of the Gospel*, 20–21.

81. Bross, "Temptation in the Wilderness," 118.

82. Eliot, *Tears of Repentance*, 39.

83. Lepore, *Name of War*, 34–35.

84. Clark, *Eliot Tracts*, 430–31.

85. Baxter, *Call to the Unconverted*, xx.

86. Baxter, *Call to the Unconverted*, 58, 131.

87. Baxter, *Call to the Unconverted*, 137.

88. Eliot, *Further Account of the Progress of the Gospel*, 9.

89. Eliot, *Further Account of the Progress of the Gospel*, 9–10. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, 57–58, argues: "Indian preachers merged new concepts with established systems of meaning in their public exhortations and emphasized religious healing as a central theme."

90. Eliot, "Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel," in Clark, *Eliot Tracts*, 307.

91. Eliot, "A further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel," in Clark, *Eliot Tracts*, 336.

92. Eliot, "A further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel," 336–37.

93. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, 58.

94. Eliot, *Further Account of the Progress of the Gospel*, 20, quoted in O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, 58.

95. Eliot, *Further Account of the Progress of the Gospel*, 16.

96. Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary*, 280.

97. Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary*, 265.

98. Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary*, 276.

99. Eliot, "A further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel," in Clark, *Eliot Tracts*, 375.

100. Eliot, "A further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel," in Clark, *Eliot Tracts*, 372.

101. Baxter, *Some Unpublished Correspondence*, 32.

102. Eliot and Mayhew, "Tears of Repentance," in Clark, *Eliot Tracts*, 261.

103. Eliot, *A Letter . . . to the Reverend Thomas Shepard*, 3.

104. Bowden and Ronda, introduction to *John Eliot's Indian Dialogues*, 40.

105. Eliot, *A Letter . . . to the Reverend Thomas Shepard*, 4.

106. Cohen, "Conversion among Puritans and Amerindians," 255.

107. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country*, 129.

108. Eliot, *Dying Speeches of Several Indians*, 2–3.

109. Eliot, *Dying Speeches of Several Indians*, 6.

110. Eliot, *Dying Speeches of Several Indians*, 8.

111. Eliot to Baxter, October 16, 1656, in Baxter, *Some Unpublished Correspondence*, 19.

112. Bowden and Ronda, *John Eliot's Indian Dialogues*, 61.

113. Bowden and Ronda, *John Eliot's Indian Dialogues*, 95–96.

114. Axtell, "Were Indian Conversions Bona Fide?," 120.

115. Gookin, *Historical Collections*, 42.

116. Gookin, *Historical Collections*, 42.

117. Simmons, "Conversion from Indian to Puritan," 193.

118. Whitfield, "Strength out of Weaknesse," in Clark, *Eliot Tracts*, 240.

119. Whitfield, "Strength out of Weaknesse," 240.

120. Whitfield, *The Light Appearing*, 1651), 2.

121. Experience Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 3.

122. Experience Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 110, quoted in Simmons, "Conversion from Indian to Puritan," 188.

123. Whitfield, *The Light Appearing*, 3.

124. Experience Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 7, quoted in Simmons, "Conversion from Indian to Puritan," 191–92.

125. Whitfield, *The Light Appearing*, 3.

126. Whitfield, *The Light Appearing*, 3.

127. Simmons, "Conversion from Indian to Puritan," 194, 207.

128. Johnson, "Mayhew Mission to the Indians," 113, 186.

3. RELIGIOUS PATERNALISM IN INDIAN COMMUNITIES

1. Drake, *King Philip's War*, 3–4.

2. Drake, *King Philip's War*, 14.

3. Drake, *King Philip's War*, 13–14.

4. Quoted in Slotkin and Folsom, *So Dreadful a Judgment*, 187.

5. Benjamin Church, *Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War*, in Slotkin and Folsom, *So Dreadful a Judgment*, 401.

6. Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the War with the Indians of New-England*, in Slotkin and Folsom, *So Dreadful a Judgment*, 90.

7. Lepore, *Name of War*, 137–38; Drake, *King Philip's War*, 87.

8. Lepore, *Name of War*, 104.

9. Lepore, *Name of War*, 139, correspondence of Mary Pray to James Oliver, October 20, 1765.

10. Lepore, *Name of War*, 140.

11. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, 62.

12. Salisbury, "Embracing Ambiguity," 249.

13. Gookin, *Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians*, 2:513–14. See Pulsipher, "Massacre at Huttleberry Hill," 459.

14. Drake, *King Philip's War*, 169.

15. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, 66.

16. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, 88, 120.

17. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, 88.

18. Mandell, *Behind the Frontier*, 104–5; O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, 121.

19. Eliot, *A Letter . . . to the Reverend Thomas Shepard*, 2.

20. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, 90, 109–10.

21. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*, 111, 210.

22. Calloway, *After King Philip's War*, 6–7.

23. Drake, *King Philip's War*, 178.

24. Samson Occom to Susannah Wheatley, September 21, 1773, in Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 106.

25. Gookin, *Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians*, 433–34.

26. Leibman, introduction to *Experience Mayhew's Indian Converts*, 21.

27. Leibman, introduction to *Experience Mayhew's Indian Converts*, 1–16.

28. Experience Mayhew, "Brief Account of the State of the Indians," 384–85.

29. Cotton Mather, *India Christiana*, 37–40.

30. Cotton Mather, *India Christiana*, 27, 40.

31. Cotton Mather, *India Christiana*, 31.

32. Josiah Cotton, "Indian Sermon, February 12, 1710."

33. Josiah Cotton, "Indian Sermon, February 12, 1710."

34. Josiah Cotton, "Indian Sermon, February 12, 1710."

35. Mather, *India Christiana*, 32. See Music, "Cotton Mather and Congregational Singing," 7, 16.

36. Music, "Cotton Mather and Congregational Singing," 2.

37. Mather, *A letter, about the present state of Christianity*, 9.

38. Leibman, introduction to *Experience Mayhew's Indian Converts*, 30.

39. Johnson, "Mayhew Mission to the Indians," 190–91.

40. Mayhew, "Brief Account of the State of the Indians," 389; Leibman, introduction to *Experience Mayhew's Indian Converts*, 31–50.

41. Mayhew, "Brief Account of the State of the Indians," 389.

42. Leibman, introduction to *Experience Mayhew's Indian Converts*, 48.

43. Bross and Wyss, *Early Native Literacies in New England*, 162–97.

44. Bross and Wyss, *Early Native Literacies in New England*, 197.

45. Experience Mayhew, "Brief Account of the State of the Indians," 386.

46. Experience Mayhew, Language Book, Experience Mayhew Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society (hereafter MHS).

47. Mayhew, "Brief Account of the State of the Indians," 385.

48. Mayhew, "Brief Account of the State of the Indians," 386.

49. Mayhew, "Brief Account of the State of the Indians," 387.

50. Experience Mayhew, Sermons of May–October 1714, Mayhew Papers, MHS.

51. Maffly-Kipp, Schmidt, and Valeri, introduction to *Practicing Protestants*, 8.

52. Experience Mayhew, "Disbursements to the Indian Poor, 1755," Mayhew Papers, MHS.

53. Leibman, introduction to *Experience Mayhew's Indian Converts*, 30–48.

54. Experience Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 35.

55. Experience Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, xxi.

56. Experience Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 22.

57. Leibman, "Tradition and Innovation in a Colonial Wampanoag Family," 196. Leibman uses the term *memorate*, employed by Simmons in *Spirit of the New England Tribes*.

58. Leibman, "Tradition and Innovation," 22.

59. Leibman, "Tradition and Innovation," xiii.

60. Leibman, "Tradition and Innovation," 12, 99.

61. Leibman, "Tradition and Innovation," 26.

62. Leibman, "Tradition and Innovation," 27.

63. Leibman, "Tradition and Innovation," 77.

64. Leibman, "Tradition and Innovation," 86.

65. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 45.

66. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 55.

67. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 41.

68. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 91.

69. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 89.

70. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 135–48. See Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 3–20, for a description of the role allocation of English Puritan goodwives in northern New England in the early colonial period.

71. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 166.

72. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 173.

73. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 258.

74. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 259.

75. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 283.

76. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 225.

77. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 236.

78. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 237.

79. Johnson, "Mayhew Mission to the Indians," 265.

80. Brooks, "This Indian World," in *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 35.

81. Stevens, *The Poor Indians*, 161.

82. Hawley Papers, Journals and Letters, 1753–1806, vol. 4, MHS.

83. Mandell, *Tribe, Race, History*, 78–80.

84. Hawley Papers, Journals and Letters, 1753–1806, vol. 4, MHS.

85. Gideon Hawley to Governor Hancock, July 8, 1791, Hawley Papers, Letterbook, MHS.

86. Gideon Hawley to Nathan Dane, Deacon Mason and Dr. Eustice, August 31, 1795, Hawley Papers, Journals and Letters, 1753–1806, vol. 2, MHS.

87. Hawley Papers, Journal and Letters, 1753–1806, vol. 4, MHS.

88. Mandell, *Tribe, Race, History*, 80.

89. See Vickers, "The First Whalemen of Nantucket," which provides a discussion of debt peonage and the integration of Natives into a market, consumer economy.

90. Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 91.

91. Mandell, *Behind the Frontier*, 59–60.

92. Eden, "Negotiating a New Religious World," 5.

93. Winiarski, "Native American Popular Religion," 152–65.

94. Hutchins, *Mashpee*, 45.

95. Hutchins, *Mashpee*, 71.

96. Hawley, Diaries and Letterbook, 1757–1804, MHS.

97. Josiah Cotton, 1745, Memoirs, 1726–1756, 373, MHS. He writes in an entry for 1746, 376: "And here I might mention the death of old [blank space] a blind deaf Indian widow, & old old Patience Pete another Indian widow, who had dwelt on our land & Bilhah, formerly our Servant for life."

98. Kellaway, *New England Company*, 154.

99. Winiarski, "Native American Popular Religion," 98–102.

100. Winiarski, "Native American Popular Religion," 108.

101. Winiarski, "Native American Popular Religion," 108.

102. Calloway, *New Worlds for All*, 75.

103. Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 276.

104. Clifford, "Identity in Mashpee," 295–96; Hutchins, *Mashpee*, 35–42.

105. Hutchins, *Mashpee*, 52.

106. Nicholas, "Mashpee Wampanoags of Cape Cod," 168; Hutchins, *Mashpee*, 78.

107. Hawley, Journals and Letters, 1753–1806, vol. 4, MHS.

108. Hawley, Dairies and Letterbook, 1757–1804, MHS.

109. Hawley, Journals and Letters, 1753–1806, vol. 4, MHS.

110. Campisi, *Mashpee Indians*, 88.

111. Hawley, Dairies and Letterbook, 1757–1804, MHS.

112. Hawley, November 2, 1802, Letters, 1745–1807, MHS.

113. Nicholas, "Mashpee Wampanoags of Cape Cod," 167.

114. Brooks, *The Common Pot*, 172.

115. Campisi, *Mashpee Indians*, 85.

116. Hawley, Letters, 1745–1807, MHS.

117. Gideon Hawley to Andrew Oliver, October 15, 1760, Letters, 1745–1807, MHS.

118. Hawley, April 2, 1758, Journals and Letters, 1753–1806, MHS.

119. Hawley to Oliver, October 22, 1762, Letters, 1745–1807, MHS.

120. Hawley, Letters, 1745–1807, MHS.

121. Hawley to Oliver, December 9, 1760, Journals and Letters, 1753–1805, MHS.

122. Hawley, Diaries and Letterbook, 1757–1804, MHS.

123. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*.

124. Hawley, Journals and Letters, 1753–1804, MHS.

125. Hawley, Diaries and Letterbook, 1757–1807, MHS.

126. Hawley to Oliver, May 8, 1768, Letters, 1745–1807, MHS.

127. Gideon Hawley to Rev. Dr. James Freeman, May 17, 1796, Journal and Letters, 1753–1806, MHS.

128. Census information is derived from the enumeration by Gideon Hawley, June 24, 1776, Letters, 1745–1807, MHS.

129. Starr, *Social Transformation of American Medicine*, 74.

130. Mandell, *Tribe, Race, History*, 78.

131. Hawley to Governor Hancock, July 8, 1791, Letters, 1745–1807, MHS.

4. OCCOM AND CHRISTIAN INDIAN IDENTITY

1. Fogelson, "Ethnohistory of Events and Nonevents." Cruikshank, "Oral History, Narrative Strategies, and Native American Historiography," explains that "Ray Fogelson coined the term *epitomizing* to characterize dramatic incidents that condense complex cultural forces and make them easy to grasp in an icon or symbol."

2. Den Ouden, *Beyond Conquest*, 1–4, 39.

3. Den Ouden, *Beyond Conquest*, 90.

4. Oberg, *Uncas*.

5. Brooks, "An Introduction to the Writings of Samson Occom," in *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 39.

6. Brooks, "Chronology," in *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, xxi–xlii.

7. Butler, *Becoming America*, 186.

8. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 196.

9. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans*, 130.

10. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country*, 2.

11. Stout, *Divine Dramatist*, 16.

12. Lambert, *"Pedlar in Divinity": George Whitefield*, 17–18.

13. Scupoli, *Spiritual Combat*, 5–6, 126–30.

14. Law, *Serious Call*, 73.

15. Law, *Serious Call*, 136.

16. Law, *Serious Call*, 79.

17. In addition to godly discipline, Law prescribed the daily practice of piety to vanquish pride, wean the sinner from the spirit of the world, and focus upon humility. Scripture reading, meditation, and singing or chanting prayers were to be performed at dawn, at midday, in the midafternoon, and before the evening meal. See Law, *Serious Call*, 137–68.

18. Whitefield, *Journals*, 20.

19. Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, 12–16.

20. Whitefield, *Journals*, 18.

21. Whitefield, *Journals*, 20–21.

22. Whitefield, *Journals*, 20.

23. Whitefield, *Journals*, 22.

24. Whitefield, *Journals*, 23.

25. Rubin, *Religious Melancholy and Protestant Experience*, 82–124.

26. Whitefield, *Journals*, 23.

27. Whitefield, *Journals*, 23.

28. Ruttenburg, *Democratic Personality*, 114.

29. Nelson, "Conscience and the Making of Early Modern Cultures."

30. Greven, *Protestant Temperament*, 61.

31. Szasz, *Between Indian and White Worlds*, 75.

32. Brooks, "Samson Occom Contemplates His Christian Mentors," 31.

33. Richardson, *Indian Preacher in England*, 221.

34. Richardson, *Indian Preacher in England*, 222.

35. Richardson, *Indian Preacher in England*, 222.

36. Knox, *Enthusiasm*, 526.

37. Hall, *Contested Boundaries*, 33.

38. Pestana, *Protestant Empire*, 197, 217.

39. Pestana, *Protestant Empire*, 17; Cole, "Spiritual Travels," 183–84.

40. Crawford, *Seasons of Grace*, 141.

41. Prince, *Account of the Revival*, 8.

42. Prince, *Account of the Revival*, 18–19.

43. Tracy, *The Great Awakening*, 137.

44. Tracy, *The Great Awakening*, 138.

45. On June 3, 1742 the Colonial Assembly in Hartford found Davenport to be "under the influence of enthusiastical impressions and impulses, and therefore disturbed in the rational faculties of his mind." Tracy, *The Great Awakening*, 240. The assembly found him insane and forcibly returned him to Southold. On August 24, 1742, a Boston jury found Davenport mentally incompetent to stand trial for slander against settled ministry. After twice being judged insane on religious grounds, Davenport returned to New London in March of 1743 to organize a New Light, Separatist church and an evangelical seminary called the "Shepherd's Tent." Guided by the Holy Spirit that he received in dreams and visions, he engaged in a renewed religious enthusiasm. He set bonfires with Puritan devotional classics and worldly items to purify his new congregation. "To cure them of their idolatrous love of worldly things, he ordered wigs, cloaks, and breeches, hoods, gowns, rings . . . be committed to the flames." Tracy, *The Great Awakening*, 248–49. See also Stout and Onuf, "James Davenport and the Great Awakening," 556, 576–77. Within the month, Davenport had published a confession of his delirium and retraction.

46. Stout and Onuf, "James Davenport and the Great Awakening," 569.

47. Stout and Onuf, "James Davenport and the Great Awakening," 569.

48. Occom, "A Short Narrative of My Life," 13.

49. Occom, "A Short Narrative of My Life," 13.

50. Nathan Cole (1711–1783) was a carpenter and farmer residing in Kensington, Connecticut. At age thirty he attended a Whitefield revival in Middletown in 1740 and received a "heart wound" when he discovered that ethical conduct and good works would not ensure his salvation. He labored for two years in religious despondency and "carried a load of guilt and sin." He explains, "I went month after month mourning and begging for mercy. I tryed every way I could think to help my self but all ways failed." "Spiritual Travels of Nathan Cole," 104.

51. Cole, "Spiritual Travels," 13.

52. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 31.

53. Stout and Onuf, "James Davenport and the Great Awakening," 570. See also Schmidt, "'A Second Glorious Reformation,'" 238. Schmidt argues that during the itinerant preaching of Cogswell, "Social distinctions and distance went by the board as the lowly intermingled—sang, prayed, hugged, and fainted with the mighty."

54. Howe, *Making the American Self*, 261–69.

55. For a general survey of the Great Awakening and missions to Native Americans see Kidd, *The Great Awakening*, 189–212.

56. Prince, *Christian History*, quoted from Simmons, "The Great Awakening and Indian Conversion," 28.

57. McLoughlin, *Isaac Backus*, 15.

58. McLoughlin, *Isaac Backus*, 1.

59. McLoughlin, *Isaac Backus*, 6–7.

60. Simmons and Simmons, *Narragansett Diary of Joseph Fish*, 5.

61. Simmons, "Red Yankees," 263.

62. Dexter, *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 3:243.

63. Dexter, *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 3:243.

64. Dexter, *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 1:232.

65. Dexter, *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 1:232.

66. Sweet, *Bodies Politic*, 138.

67. Simmons, "Red Yankees," 263.

68. Simmons, "Red Yankees," 263–64.

69. Sweet, *Bodies Politic*, 139.

70. Backus, *History of New England*, 1:510–11.

71. Azariah Horton, "Diary," 195.

72. Azariah Horton, "Diary," 208.

73. Azariah Horton, "Diary," 195.

74. Azariah Horton, "Diary," 195.

75. Azariah Horton, "Diary," 196.

76. Azariah Horton, "Diary," 208.

77. Azariah Horton, "Diary," 207.

78. Azariah Horton, "Diary," 203–4.

79. Azariah Horton, "Diary," 110.

80. Jarvis, *Brothertown Nation of Indians*, 75–77.

81. Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 52.

82. Occom, "Sam Occom's Diary, 1744–1790," 231.

83. Dally-Starna and Starna, *Gideon's People*, 2:215.

84. Dally-Starna and Starna, *Gideon's People*, 2:216.

85. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 107.

86. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 159.

87. For a comparison of the missionary and education outreach of the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) among the village worlds in the Scottish Highlands and among the Iroquois and Algonquians, see Szasz, *Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans*, 29–50.

88. Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind*, 65. Peyer argues in "Betrayal of Samson Occom," 1–2, that Wheelock imposed a hierarchy where white colleagues would be considered "elder brothers" by educated Christian Indians who depended upon the English for leadership and financial support. Peyer writes, "Allaying concerns that Indians would compete professionally with whites, Wheelock added, 'There is no likelihood at all that they will, though ever so well qualified, get into Business, either as School-Masters or Ministers among the English.'" Peyer surmises: "Abilities and ill-health aside, Occom clearly never stood a chance of advancing to Yale."

89. Wheelock, *Plain and Faithful Narrative*, 13.

90. Wheelock, *Plain and Faithful Narrative*, 25.

91. Arnold, "Crossing Cultures," 119; Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind*, 66.

92. Occom, "Account of the Montauk Indians," 111.

93. Strong, "Who Says the Montauk Tribe is Extinct?," 8.

94. Occom, "Account of the Montauk Indians," 105.

95. Arnold, "Crossing Cultures," 110–21.

96. Occom, "Account of the Montauk Indians," 109.

97. Occom, "Account of the Montauk Indians," 109.

98. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder*, 79.

99. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder*, 71–76; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 67–97. See also Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*.

100. Occom, "Account of the Montauk Indians," 109.

101. Eleazar Wheelock Papers, Reel 14 (microfilm), vol. 16, Dartmouth College Library.

102. Sarah Wyacks, correspondence with Samson Occom, Occom Papers, Connecticut Historical Society (hereafter CHS).

103. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 44.

104. Wheelock Papers, Reel 14.

105. Occom, *A Choice collection of hymns*, 3.

106. Brooks, *American Lazarus*, 76–79.

107. Brooks, *American Lazarus*, 71.

108. Polack, *Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal*, 121.

109. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 185.

110. Wheelock Papers, Reel 14.

111. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 85–98, 103.

112. Wheelock Papers, Reel 14.

113. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 93.

114. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 93.

115. Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind*, 72.

116. For a discussion of this controversy see Lisa Brooks, *The Common Pot*, 51–105; Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind*, 70–90, and Oberg, *Uncas*.

117. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 126.

118. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 127.

119. Richardson, *Indian Preacher in England*, 81.

120. Richardson, *Indian Preacher in England*, 99, 182.

121. Richardson, *Indian Preacher in England*, 222.

122. Richardson, *Indian Preacher in England*, 222.

123. Richardson, *Indian Preacher in England*, 229.

124. Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind*, 89–90.

125. Occom, "A Short Narrative of My Life," 16–17.

126. Occom, "A Short Narrative of My Life," 17.

127. Occom, "A Short Narrative of My Life," 18.

128. Calloway, introduction to *After King Philip's War*, 3–18; Mandell, "Shifting Boundaries of Race and Ethnicity," 468–69.

129. Mandell, "Shifting Boundaries of Race and Ethnicity," 470.

130. Holmes, *Memoir of the Monheagan Indians*, 9.

131. Baker, *History of Montville, Connecticut*, 58–61.

132. Holmes's "Memoir of the Mohegan Indians" in 1803 predicted the passing away of the tribe. He recorded their history and provided a section on Mohegan language and vocabulary. Citing the report by James Haughton, a tribal overseer, Holmes states that the Mohegans (following the initial migration to Brothertown) numbered eighty-four souls, comprised of thirty-eight households with fourteen distinct surnames. Twenty-six households listed two or fewer members. Mohegan land declined to twenty-seven hundred acres in 1790 that were divided in allotments in severalty among the remaining householders. Only twelve of thirty-eight households contained three to five persons. Too few childrearing families were

being formed, and thus insufficient numbers of children were born to guarantee the viability of the tribe.

133. Noll, *America's God*, 2, 76.

134. Arnold, "Crossing Cultures," 112, 115.

135. Richardson, *Indian Preacher in England*, 353.

136. Richardson, *Indian Preacher in England*, 352.

137. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 164.

138. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 163.

139. Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 229.

140. McCallum, *Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians*, 12–17.

141. McCallum, *Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians*, 3.

142. McCallum, *Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians*, 232.

143. Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 28, 63–64.

144. Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 87–92.

145. Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 177–78.

146. Richardson, *Indian Preacher in England*, 353.

147. Richardson, *Indian Preacher in England*, 357.

148. Elliot, "'This Indian Bait,'" 235.

149. Writing to Nathaniel Whitaker on November 28, 1767, Wheelock states: "Give my love to Mr. Occom; I want to see him; does he keep clear of that Indian distemper, Pride. If you see anything of it, advise him that he had better have a Rattle Snake in his Bosom. I don't write this because I suppose he is worse than myself but because I have known so much of the Mischiefs of that Evil, & know his Temptations to be very great. Oh! watch and pray." Richardson, *Indian Preacher in England*, 321.

150. Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind*, 78–79.

151. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 182.

152. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 104.

153. Noll, *America's God*, 214–15.

5. STOCKBRIDGE AND NEW JERSEY BROTHERTON TRIBES

1. Pritzker, *Native American Encyclopedia*, 425.

2. Starna and Brandão, "From the Mohawk-Mahican War to the Beavers Wars"; Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 134–36.

3. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 43–45.

4. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 425.

5. Dunn, *Mohican World*, 100.

6. Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope*, 38.

7. Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope*, 51.

8. Miles, "Red Man Dispossessed," 277.

9. Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope*, 20.

10. Frazier, *Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 31–33

11. Jones, *Stockbridge Past and Present*, 41.

12. Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs*, 6.

13. Jones, *Stockbridge Past and Present*, 57.

14. Miles, "Red Man Dispossessed," 279.

15. Miles, "Red Man Dispossessed," 10.

16. Miles, "Red Man Dispossessed," 9.

17. Frazier, *Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 14.

18. Wheeler, "Living upon Hope," 68, 47.

19. Wheeler, "Living upon Hope," 30.

20. Jones, *Stockbridge Past and Present*, 64.

21. New England Company Records, Commission Meeting, April 4, 1741.

22. Frazier, *Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 52.

23. Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs*, 79.

24. Wheeler, "Living upon Hope," 73.

25. Dunn, *Mohican World*, 214–15.

26. Sergeant Journal, May 12, 1739, Stiles Papers, Yale University.

27. See my discussion of David Brainerd's devotional piety in Rubin, *Religious Melancholy and Protestant Experience*, 94–100.

28. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 485.

29. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 486.

30. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 484–85.

31. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 254.

32. Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs*, iii, 33–38.

33. Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs*, 10.

34. Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs*, 23.

35. Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs*, 38.

36. Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope*, 49.

37. Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope*, 59.

38. Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope*, 127–28.

39. Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 72–90.

40. Jones, *Stockbridge Past and Present*, 64, 76–77.

41. Jones, *Stockbridge Past and Present*, 63.

42. Kellaway, *New England Company*, 271–72.

43. Frazier, *Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 36.

44. Sergeant Journal, April 15, 1739.

45. Sergeant Journal, October 28, 1739.

46. Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs*, 128.

47. Sergeant Journal, August 5, 1739.

48. Sergeant, *Letter . . . to Dr. Coleman of Boston*, 6–7.

49. Sergeant, *Causes and Danger of Delusions*, 17.

50. John Sergeant to Thomas Coram, quoted in Wheeler, *Living upon Hope*, 73–74.

51. Sergeant Journal, January 6, 1740.

52. Jones, *Stockbridge Past and Present*, 69–70.

53. Sergeant Journal, March 30, 1740.

54. Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 198.

55. Sergeant, *Letter . . . to Dr. Coleman of Boston*, 6

56. Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 200.

57. I am indebted to Rachel M. Wheeler for this insight. See Sweeney, "River Gods and Related Minor Deities," 290. Sweeney explains: "In Stockbridge, Reverend John Sergeant, the missionary to the Housatonic Indians and the son-in-law of Ephraim Williams senior, also had reservations about the revival which led him to question the 'Doctrine of Particular Election,' the basis of Calvinistic orthodoxy. His doubts, combined with liberal readings of works by Samuel Clarke and Charles Chauncy, slowly undermined his orthodoxy and moved him towards the Arminians."

58. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards*, 379.

59. Sergeant, *Causes and Danger of Delusions*, 22, 26.

60. Sergeant, *Causes and Danger of Delusions*, 36.

61. Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope*, 59–60.

62. Frazier, *Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 89–91.

63. McDermott, "Jonathan Edwards and American Indians," 540.

64. McDermott, "Jonathan Edwards and American Indians," 546. McDermott quotes Edwards's *History of Redemption, on a plan entirely original: exhibiting the gradual discovery and accomplishment of the divine purpose in the salvation of man*, 434.

65. Wheeler, "Living upon Hope," chapter 3. See also McDermott, "Jonathan Edwards and American Indians," 553.

66. Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope*, 207–8.

67. Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope*, 184–85.

68. Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope*, 555–56.

69. McDermott, "Jonathan Edwards and American Indians," 557.

70. Miles, "Red Man Dispossessed," 280–81.

71. Frazier, *Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 86.

72. Miles, "Red Man Dispossessed," 291.

73. Frazier, *Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 182.

74. Miles, "Red Man Dispossessed," 287.

75. Miles, "Red Man Dispossessed," 293.

76. Frazier, *Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 238–40.

77. Gridley, *History of the Town of Kirkland*, 14.

78. Woodbridge, *Autobiography of a Blind Minister*, 37–38. He explains how Mahicans returned in the spring to visit the graves of their ancestors and retrieved artifacts from the burial ground. "There is at the west end of the village an old Indian burial ground, in a warm and sandy soil. The neglected graves of the aboriginal inhabitants of Stockbridge were then intermingled with stone hatchets and arrowheads, which the visiting Indians picked up with the eagerness of antiquarians." Finally, Woodbridge expresses the familiar myth of the "Vanishing American" as the inevitable result of the forward progress of civilization and the unfolding of divine providence. He writes: "It is affecting to contemplate the disappearance of the noble race of red men, before the onward tide of civilization and power. God is undoubtedly solving some great problem in this strange piece of human history."

79. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 105–29.

80. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 96.

81. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 42–65.

82. Pritzker, *Native American Encyclopedia*, 422–23.

83. Weslager, *Delaware Indians*, 261.

84. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 251–52.

85. Brainerd, *Mirabila Dei inter Indicos*, v.

86. Lambert, *Inventing the "Great Awakening,"* 9–47.

87. Rubin, *Religious Melancholy and Protestant Experience*, appendix B, "Revivalists as Mediatorial Elites," 245–47.

88. Grigg, *Lives of David Brainerd*, 81.

89. Brainerd, *Mirabila Dei inter Indicos*, 19.

90. Brainerd, *Mirabila Dei inter Indicos*, 39, 26.

91. Brainerd, *Mirabila Dei inter Indicos*, 99.

92. Brainerd, *Mirabila Dei inter Indicos*, 74–75.

93. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 307.

94. Brainerd, *Mirabila Dei inter Indicos*, 22.

95. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 319.

96. Brainerd, *Mirabila Die inter Indicos*, 175–77.

97. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 310.

98. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 345.

99. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 346.

100. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 346.

101. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 346.

102. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 346.

103. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 347.

104. Brainerd, *Mirabilia Dei inter Indicos*, 95.

105. Brainerd, *Mirabilia Dei inter Indicos*, 97.

106. Brainerd, *Mirabilia Dei inter Indicos*, 104.

107. Brainerd, *Mirabilia Dei inter Indicos*, 127.

108. Brainerd, *Mirabilia Dei inter Indicos*, 124.

109. Grigg, *Lives of David Brainerd*, 116.

110. Grigg, *Lives of David Brainerd*, 117.

111. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 338.

112. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 433.

113. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 410.

114. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 359.

115. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 386.

116. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 387.

117. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 376.

118. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 377–78.

119. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 390.

120. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 436.

121. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 436.

122. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 442, 64–65.

123. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 496.

124. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 498.

125. Pettit, editor's introduction to *Life of David Brainerd*, 64.

126. Edwards, *Life of David Brainerd*, 586–87; Thomas Brainerd, *Life of John Brainerd*, 106, 117–8.

127. Pettit, editor's introduction to *Life of David Brainerd*, 65.

128. T. Brainerd, *Life of John Brainerd*, 185.

129. T. Brainerd, *Life of John Brainerd*, 255.

130. T. Brainerd, *Life of John Brainerd*, 257.

131. T. Brainerd, *Life of John Brainerd*, 258.

132. T. Brainerd, *Life of John Brainerd*, 283–85.

133. Snyder, *Brotherton Indians*, 18–27. See also Kraft, *The Lenape*, 12, 231.

134. Snyder, *Brotherton Indians*, 5–6.

135. John Brainerd, *Journal*, 8.

136. Kraft, *The Lenape*, 232.

6. MORAVIAN MISSION TO SHEKOMEKO AND PACHGATGOCH

1. McClinton, introduction to *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 1:7.

2. Spangenberg, *Idea fidei Fratrum*, 132.

3. Spangenberg, *Idea fidei Fratrum*, 134; Sabathy-Judd, *Moravians in Upper Canada*, xliii.

4. Spangenberg, *Idea fidei Fratrum*, 131.

5. Wheeler, "Living upon Hope, 233.

6. McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 1:12.

7. Sabathy-Judd, *Moravians in Upper Canada*, xliii.

8. Atwood, *Community of the Cross*, 49–50.

9. Spangenberg, *Idea fidei Fratrum*, 135.

10. Atwood, *Community of the Cross*, 61–64.

11. Wheeler, "Living upon Hope," 254.

12. McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 1:16.

13. Rowena McClinton, personal communication with author, June 12, 2010.

14. Engel, *Religion and Profit*, 127.

15. Engel, *Religion and Profit*, 254.

16. Dally-Starna and Starna, *Gideon's People*, 1:31. They argue that the mission at Pachgatgoch was placed within an Indian town, where Moravians could not play the role of enforcers and needed to tolerate Native lifeways.

17. Dunn, *Mohican World*, 228–29.

18. Dunn, *Mohican World*, 229.

19. Spangenberg, *Idea fidei Fratrum*, 448.

20. Spangenberg, *Idea fidei Fratrum*, 449.

21. Wheeler, "Living upon Hope," 107–9, 117–20.

22. Fogelman, *Jesus Is Female*, 75–78; Atwood, *Community of the Cross*, 64–100.

23. Wheeler, "Women and Christian Practice," 43–45.

24. Wheeler, "Women and Christian Practice," 34.

25. Wheeler, "Women and Christian Practice," 27. The convert Rachel spoke of her "flesh pulled off the bones," adopting the language of the ritualized torture imposed on captives during a mourning war. According to Wheeler's interpretation, the Moravian idea of Christ's redemptive suffering and the magical power of Christ's blood in the ritual of communion resonates with the transformation of spirits in ritualized torture, death, or requickening (the reincarnation of the spirit of the deceased in an adopted war captive) in the Native mourning war.

26. Dunn, *Mohican World*, 230.

27. Wheeler, "Living upon Hope," 256.

28. Wheeler, "Living upon Hope," 99.

29. Reichel, *Monuments Erected by the Moravian Historical Society*, 63.

30. Loskiel, *History of the Moravian Mission*, 73–74.

31. Loskiel, *History of the Moravian Mission*, 60.

32. Loskiel, *History of the Moravian Mission*, 68–69.

33. Loskiel, *History of the Moravian Mission*, 69.

34. Wheeler, "Living upon Hope," 247.

35. Wheeler, "Living upon Hope," 111.

36. Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope*, 96.

37. Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope*, 171.

38. Finley, *Satan strip'd of his angelick robe*, 28. I am indebted to Rachel M. Wheeler for suggesting that Finley criticized Moravian belief because it promoted joy and happiness.

39. Finley, *Satan strip'd of his angelick robe*, 13.

40. Finley, *Satan strip'd of his angelick robe*, 40.

41. Loskiel, *History of the Moravian Mission*, 79.

42. Wheeler, "Living upon Hope," 82.

43. Weber, "Religious Rejections of the World," 329.

44. Spangenberg, *Idea fidei Fratrum*, 368, 371.

45. Loskiel, *History of the Moravian Mission*, 75.

46. Sabathy-Judd, *Moravians in Upper Canada*, 156.

47. Sabathy-Judd, *Moravians in Upper Canada*, 120.

48. Sabathy-Judd, *Moravians in Upper Canada*, 137.

49. Sabathy-Judd, *Moravians in Upper Canada*, 104.

50. Sabathy-Judd, *Moravians in Upper Canada*, 431.

51. Rubin, *Other Side of Joy*, 70. Here I draw upon the important work of Benjamin Nelson, "Future of Illusions," 1956.

52. Dunn, *Mahican World*, 231–39.

53. Wheeler, "Living upon Hope," 264–77.

54. Dunn, *Mahican World*, 253–54.

55. Fisher, "'I Believe They Are Papists!'" 436.

56. Loskiel, *History of the Moravian Mission*, 92.

57. Merritt, "Dreaming of the Savior's Blood," 743.

58. Dally-Starna and Starna, *Gideon's People*, 1:8.

59. Westmeier, *Evacuation of Shekomeko*, 91–103.

60. Dally-Starna and Starna, introduction to *Gideon's People*, 1:40.

61. Fisher, "'I Believe They Are Papists!'" 436–37.

62. Barber, *Connecticut Historical Collections*, 471–72; Orcutt, *Indians of the Housatonic and Naugatuck Valleys*, 197.

63. Orcutt, *Indians of the Housatonic and Naugatuck Valleys*, 133.

64. Guillette, "American Indians in Connecticut,", s3.

65. Fogelman, Review of *Gideon's People*, 373.

66. Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England*, 226. She identified a distinctive "r" dialect common among Naugatucks and Paugasetts in Connecticut.

67. Dally-Starna and Starna, *Gideon's People*, 1:41.

68. *Gideon's People*, 1:131, August 2, 1750.

69. *Gideon's People*, 1:42.

70. Dally-Starna and Starna, "American Indians and Moravians in Southern New England," 87.

71. *Gideon's People*, 1:144, October 25, 1750.

72. *Gideon's People*, 1:275, February 15, 1751.

73. *Gideon's People*, 1:281–82, February 20, 1751.

74. *Gideon's People*, 2:12, March 15, 1755.

75. *Gideon's People*, 1:88, March 21, 1749.

76. *Gideon's People*, 1:88, March 21, 1749.

77. Woodward, "'Incline Your Second Ear This Way,'" 129.

78. *Gideon's People*, 1:146, November 1, 1750.

79. *Gideon's People*, 1:123, July 9, 1750.

80. *Gideon's People*, 1:418, July 17, 1753. Two years earlier, Joshua and Elisabeth were members in good standing and requested baptism for their infant daughter on Sunday, April 25, 1751. Sensemann writes: "We could not but grant their request and desire, and shortly thereafter, during the sermon . . . it [the child] was overflowed with the bloody stream from Jesus' side holed and named *Anna*" (181–82).

81. *Gideon's People*, 1:418, July 17, 1753.

82. *Gideon's People*, 2:424, June 16, 1753.

83. *Gideon's People*, 1:509, September 15, 1754.

84. *Gideon's People*, 2:391, August 24, 1761.

85. *Gideon's People*, 1:260, December 26, 1751.

86. *Gideon's People*, 1:286, May 3, 1752.

87. *Gideon's People*, 1:563, January 11, 1755.

88. *Gideon's People*, 2:57, March 28, 1757.

89. *Gideon's People*, 2:81, May 23, 1757.

90. *Gideon's People*, 2:81–82, May 23, 1757.

91. *Gideon's People*, 1:353, August 20, 1752. See 1:575–76, July 19, 1755, for the account of the desertion of Venemo's wife.

92. *Gideon's People*, 2:151, May 9, 1757.

93. *Gideon's People*, 2:280, December 8, 1760.

94. *Gideon's People*, 2:81–82, May 23, 1757.

95. *Gideon's People*, 2:305, May 12, 1762.

96. *Gideon's People*, 1:496–97, July 26, 1754.

97. *Gideon's People*, 2:202–3, May 23, 1759.

98. *Gideon's People*, 1:306, April 22, 1752.

99. *Gideon's People*, 1:181, April 25, 1751.

100. *Gideon's People*, 2:306, May 17, 1760.

101. *Gideon's People*, 1:171, March 29, 1751.

102. *Gideon's People*, 1:416, June 10, 1763.

103. *Gideon's People*, 1:484, December 12, 1753.

104. *Gideon's People*, 2:171, October 23, 1757.

105. *Gideon's People*, 2:41–42, March 3, 1756.

106. *Gideon's People*, 2:42, March 3, 1756.

107. *Gideon's People*, 2:277, August 16, 1760.

108. *Gideon's People*, 2:277, August 16, 1760.

109. *Gideon's People*, 1:535, January 26, 1755.

110. *Gideon's People*, 1:540, February 14, 1755.

111. *Gideon's People*, 1:543, March 2, 1755.

112. *Gideon's People*, 1:574, May 1, 1755.

113. *Gideon's People*, 1:579, July 1, 1755.

114. *Gideon's People*, 1:598, September 18, 1755.

115. *Gideon's People*, 2:10, November 11, 1755.

116. Hinderaker and Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire*, 5.

117. Hinderaker and Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire*, 112–14; Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 200–201.

118. Anderson, *People's Army*, 38; Frazier, *Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 116.

119. Anderson, *People's Army*, 32.

120. *Gideon's People*, 2:108, August 1, 1756.

121. *Gideon's People*, 2:42–48.

122. Frazier, *Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 116–41.

123. Frazier, *Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 116.

124. *Gideon's People*, 2:198, April 18, 1759.

125. *Gideon's People*, 2:126.

126. *Gideon's People*, 2:100.

127. *Gideon's People*, 2:109, August 8, 1756.

128. *Gideon's People*, 2:163, July 31, 1757.

129. *Gideon's People*, 2:347, February 21, 1762.

130. *Gideon's People*, 1:174, February 1, 1752.

131. *Gideon's People*, 1:510, September 15, 1754.

132. *Gideon's People*, 2:291, February 5, 1761.

133. *Gideon's People*, 2:350, February 28, 1762; 2:428–29, May 5, 1763; 2:372, June 1, 1763.

134. *Gideon's People*, 2:364, April 24, 1762.

135. *Gideon's People*, 2:435, June 18, 1763.

136. Wallace, *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*.

137. Shkilnyk, *Poison Stronger than Love*.

138. *Gideon's People*, 1:68.

139. Lynch, *Gideon's Calling*, 47.

7. ERRAND INTO THE BORDERLANDS

1. Snyder, *Brotherton Indians*, ix.

2. Brooks, *American Lazarus*, 53.

3. Murray, *To Do Good to My Indian Brethren*, "Deed to Oneida Lands, October 4, 1774," 242.

4. Sweet, *Bodies Politic*, 314.

5. Taylor, *Divided Ground*, 100–147.

6. Noll, *America's God*, 53–113.

7. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 225.

8. Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 125–48.

9. Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 141.

10. Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 142.

11. Jarvis, *Brothertown Nation of Indians*, 95–96.

12. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 196.

13. Max Weber, "Religious Rejections of the World and Their Directions," 328–29. Weber explains: "Wherever prophecies of salvation have created religious communities, the first power with which they have come into conflict has been the natural sib. The sib has had to fear devaluation by the prophecy. Those who cannot be hostile to members of the household, to father and to mother, cannot be disciples of Jesus. 'I came not to send peace, but a sword.' (Matthew X, 34)"

14. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 204.

15. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 204.

16. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 204.

17. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 110.

18. Lopenzina, "'The Whole Wilderness Shall Blossom as the Rose,'" 1129.

19. Taylor, *William Cooper's Town*, 31–38.

20. Arnold, "Crossing Cultures," 142–43.

21. Taylor, *Divided Ground*, 8.

22. Richter, *Facing East*, 189–236. Nineteenth-century ideas about separation involved the creation of Christian Indian communities who might form "Indian Canaans" from eastern groups who were removed to the Trans-Mississippi West. See Schultz, *Indian Canaan*, 61–63.

23. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 133.

24. Axtell, "Dr. Wheelock's Little Red School," in *Natives and Newcomers*, 183.

25. McCallum, *Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians*, 131, 140, as quoted in Axtell, "Dr. Wheelock's Little Red School," in *Natives and Newcomers*, 184.

26. Axtell, "Some Thoughts on the Ethnohistory of Missions," in *After Columbus*, 51.

27. Stevens, *The Poor Indians*, 161; Lopenzina, "'The Whole Wilderness Shall Blossom as the Rose,'" 1123–24.

28. Buggeln, *Temples of Grace*, 174. She records this poem, published in the *Danbury Recorder* in 1826, recounting the "transformation of the landscape" as "the replacement of native chaos with Christian order."

29. Dippie, *Vanishing American*, 15.

30. Eleazar Wheelock to Robert Keen, November 2, 1767, in Richardson, *Indian Preacher in England*, 315.

31. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 207–8.

32. Murray, *To Do Good to My Indian Brethren*, 18.

33. Samson Occom Papers, chs, October 13, 1773, quoted in Wyss, "Captivity and Christianity," 182.

34. Murray, *To Do Good*, 234–35.

35. Taylor, *Divided Ground*, 308, 385–88.

36. Sweet, *Bodies Politic*, 320.

37. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 134.

38. Lopenzina, "'The Whole Wilderness Shall Blossom,'" 1123.

39. Murray, "What Did Christianity Do for Joseph Johnson?," 176.

40. Murray, *To Do Good*, 160.

41. Joanna Brooks explains that Johnson referred to Psalm 137 in this journal entry and substituted "Mohegan" for "Jerusalem" "as his spiritual and physical homeland." *American Lazarus*, 69.

42. Murray, *To Do Good*, 160–61.

43. Murray, *To Do Good*, 65.

44. Murray, *To Do Good*, 78.

45. Murray, *To Do Good*, 74.

46. Murray, *To Do Good*, 1–2.

47. Murray, *To Do Good*, 76, 79. Johnson traveled from Providence, Rhode Island, to Lebanon in the spring of 1769 but could not muster the courage to visit Wheelock. Johnson writes: "Seeing I have done so much wickedness that I dare not approach thy presence, O, be not angry with me for that, But forgive what you have seen amiss in your Ever Humble petitioner, and wicked Servant, Joseph Johnson."

48. Murray, "What Did Christianity Do?" 161.

49. Murray, "What Did Christianity Do?" 171–73.

50. Murray, "What Did Christianity Do?" 161–62.

51. Murray, *To Do Good*, 102.

52. Murray, *To Do Good*, 110–11.

53. Murray, *To Do Good*, 117.

54. Murray, *To Do Good*, 125.

55. Murray, *To Do Good*, 135.

56. Murray, *To Do Good*, 83. She explains that "It was at least partly from Baxter's model that Johnson set himself the task of pleading for the spiritual and material betterment of the native people of New England." Murray, "What Did Christianity Do for Joseph Johnson?" 175.

57. Baxter, *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, 14.

58. Baxter, *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, 59–61. Murray argues in "What Did Christianity Do for Joseph Johnson?" 175, that Baxter's metaphor to account for this inner spiritual itinerary, "motion," could also refer to political advocacy and activism for a pan-Indian cause.

59. Baxter, *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, 121.

60. Murray, *To Do Good*, 138–39.

61. Baxter, *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, 59, 317.

62. Baxter, *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, 351.

63. "Joseph Johnson's Dedication," in Murray, *To Do Good*, 147.

64. "Joseph Johnson's Dedication," in Murray, *To Do Good*, 147.

65. "Joseph Johnson's Dedication," in Murray, *To Do Good*, 149.

66. "Joseph Johnson's Dedication," in Murray, *To Do Good*, 150.

67. Murray, *To Do Good*, 285. See also Johnson's letter to Moses Paul, 141–46.

68. "Murray, *To Do Good*, 10.

69. MS #79998, Occom Papers, chs.

70. MS #79998, Occom Papers, chs.

71. Joseph Johnson to Samson Occom, undated, circa 1774, Occom Papers, chs.

72. Murray, *To Do Good*, 241, 280.

73. McCallum, *Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians*, 148.

74. Murray, *To Do Good*, 227–28.

75. Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock, Mohegan, December 4, 1774, in Murray, *To Do Good*, 247.

76. Murray, *To Do Good*, 87.

77. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 203.

78. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 32–33, 89.

79. Gay, *Tunxis Indians*, 4–12.

80. De Forest, *History of the Indians of Connecticut*, 52.

81. Thomas, "In the Malestrom of Change," 113–20.

82. Thomas, "In the Malestrom of Change," 34–36, 393–94.

83. Menta, *The Quinnipiac*, 178–79.

84. Gay, *Tunxis Indians*, 12.

85. Gay, *Tunxis Indians*, 13; De Forest, *History of the Indians of Connecticut*, 371.

86. Bickford, *Farmington in Connecticut*, 53–54, 153–54.

87. Pitkin, "A Sermon delivered at Litchfield," 18.

88. De Forest, *History of the Indians of Connecticut*, 373–75.

89. In the eighteenth century, as tribal communities suffered from the continued, pernicious affects of colonialism, Natives were displaced from their declining home communities because of social dislocations resulting from warfare, seeking a livelihood, and education and missionary activity. Native lives were peripatetic when individuals and families removed to adjacent bands and temporarily affiliated with new tribes created in ethnogenesis.

90. Murray, *To Do Good*, 89.

91. Hurlburt, *Farmington Church and Town*, 32–33.

92. Hurlburt, *Farmington Church and Town*, 32; Dallimore, *George Whitefield*, 2:497. Although we cannot be certain of the date of Whitefield's visit, his journal contains this entry for July 29, 1754: "I have been above a five thousand miles circuit, and have been enabled to preach and travel through the heat every day. The congregations have been very large, attentive and affected, particularly at Albany, Schenectady, Great Barrington, Norfolk, Salisbury, Sharon." This places him in the vicinity of the small village of Farmington at about the time that Pitkin records Whitefield's visit.

93. Murray, *To Do Good*, 161.

94. Murray, *To Do Good*, 178.

95. Murray, *To Do Good*, 179

96. Brooks, *American Lazarus*, 68.

97. Hurlburt, *Farmington Church and Town*, 33–34.

98. Brooks, *American Lazarus*, 68.

99. Murray, *To Do Good*, 157.

100. Murray, *To Do Good*, 165.

101. Murray, *To Do Good*, 199.

102. Murray, *To Do Good*, 238.

103. Murray, *To Do Good*, 286.

8. FRONTIER RENDEZVOUS

1. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 245.

2. Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 103.

3. Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 107.

4. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 308.

5. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 309.

6. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 343.

7. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 343.

8. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 154.

9. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 154.

10. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 289–91.

11. Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 103.

12. Anonymous, *A Brief Account of the Present State of the Society for Propagating the Gospel*, 2.

13. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 403.

14. Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 105–6.

15. Wheeler, "Hendrick Aupaumut," 219.

16. Sergeant to Thatcher, August 14, 1792, John Sergeant Jr., Reports and Letters, Papers of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America, 1791–1875 (hereafter spg Papers).

17. Belknap and Morse, "Report of a Committee of the Board of Correspondents of the Scots Society," 5:16.

18. Journal of the Reverend John Sergeant Jr., January–July 1821, spg Papers.

19. Belknap and Morse, "Report of a Committee of the Board of Correspondents of the Scots Society," 22.

20. John Sergeant to Reverend Peter Thatcher, August 4, 1794, and John Sergeant to Jedidiah Morse, May 4, 1804, John Sergeant Letters, spg Papers.

21. John Sergeant Jr. Journal, January 20, 1800, and July 25, 1802, spg Papers.

22. John Sergeant Jr. Journal, March 22, 1801, spg Papers. See also Lambert, *Inventing the "Great Awakening,"* 53–60.

23. Lambert, *Inventing the "Great Awakening,"* 255.

24. John Sergeant Jr. Journal, December 2, 1800, spg Papers.

25. John Sergeant Jr. Journal, January 29, 1801.

26. John Sergeant Jr. Journal, January 22, 1817.

27. John Sergeant Jr. Journal, January 22, 1817.

28. John Sergeant Jr. Journal, September 26, 1817.

29. Frazier, *Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 57–138; Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind*, 110–11.

30. Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind*, 109–13.

31. Ronda and Ronda, "'So Far as They Were Faithful,'" 46. They argue that this belief in civilization and Christianization constituted "the guiding principle of his life," forming his worldview and serving as the basis for his mission to serve his tribe and other Native groups.

32. Ronda and Ronda, "'So Far as They Were Faithful,'" 111.

33. Ronda and Ronda, "'So Far as They Were Faithful,'" 53.

34. Frazier, *Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 243.

35. Sergeant to Morse, April 4, 1821, John Sergeant Letters, Ayer Manuscript Collection.

36. Sergeant to Morse, November 18, 1821, John Sergeant Letters, Ayer Manuscript Collection.

37. John Sergeant Jr. Journal, January 1824, spg Papers.

38. Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind*, 116.

39. Occom, "Sam Occom's Diary," 248.

40. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 252.

41. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, appendix.

42. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 373.

43. Arnold, "Crossing Cultures," 142–48. Arnold provides an exegesis of the biblical passages in Occom's sermons and infers a series of symbolic designs in his spiritual leadership to the new settlers. The initial design expressed from 1785 to 1789 when he visited Brothertown emphasized the theme of exodus from captivity, covenant with God, and the creation of the New Jerusalem by Indians. Arnold identifies a new symbolic design—primitivism, the comparison of his church community with the early apostolic church—emerging in May 1789, when Occom removed to Brothertown.

44. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 272–73.

45. Arnold, "Crossing Cultures," 148.

46. Arnold, "Crossing Cultures," 148.

47. *Journals of the Reverend Samuel Kirkland*, xv–xvi.

48. *Journals of Samuel Kirkland*, 159.

49. *Journals of Samuel Kirkland*, 132.

50. *Journals of Samuel Kirkland*, 132.

51. *Journals of Samuel Kirkland*, 134–35.

52. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 258.

53. Kling, *Field of Divine Wonders*, 127–43.

54. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 269.

55. Occom Diary, July 15, 1787, Occom Papers, CHS.

56. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 270–71, 275.

57. Occom Diary, September 9, 1787, Occom Papers, CHS.

58. Occom Diary, September 13, 1787, Occom Papers, CHS.

59. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 276.

60. Wonderley, "Brothertown, New York, 1785–1796," 476.

61. *Journals of Samuel Kirkland*, 162; Taylor, *Divided Ground*, 195–99.

62. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 276.

63. Peck and Lawton, *Historical Sketch of the Baptist Missionary Convention*, 10.

64. Peck and Lawton, *Historical Sketch of the Baptist Missionary Convention*, 19.

65. Raboteau, "In Search of Common Ground," 151.

66. Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 101–5

67. S. Kirkland, September 26, 1796, 36, quoted in Wonderley, "Brothertown, New York," 486.

68. Brothertown Indian Records, October 15, 1796, 13, Burke Library, Hamilton College. Two additional cases, Isabella Schooner and William Peters, also resulted in the refusal to enroll these petitioners and allot them land because of African American–Indian racial mixing that disqualified them from tribal membership.

69. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 138.

70. Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm*, 105, 121.

71. Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm*, 123.

72. Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm*, 110.

73. Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 130–33.

74. Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm,*, 283.

75. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 135.

76. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 135.

77. *Journals of Samuel Kirkland*, 55.

78. *Journals of Samuel Kirkland*, 55–56.

79. *Journals of Samuel Kirkland*, 56.

80. Love, *Sampson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 309.

81. *Journals of Samuel Kirkland*, 251.

82. *Journals of Samuel Kirkland*, 254.

83. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 310.

84. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 288–89.

85. Wonderley, "Brothertown, New York," 483.

86. See "Brothertown Documents," Beinecke Library, Yale University.

87. Wonderley, "Brothertown, New York," 485.

88. Wonderley, "Brothertown, New York," 476.

89. Superintendent's Report, August 31, 1799, 25–27, Brothertown Indian Records, Burke Library.

90. Thomas Eddy to Morgan Lewis, July 25, 1804, Records of the New York Superintendent of the Affairs of the Brothertown Indians, 30, Brothertown Indian Records, Burke Library.

91. Wonderley in "Brothertown, New York," reconstructs the demography of the tribe, relying upon the 1795 Census found in "Brothertown Documents," a manuscript in Hamilton College. He identifies 137 inhabitants: 72 adults and 65 children. He can only identify 42 persons by their subtribal affiliation. I reconstructed the tribe using the appendix in Love's *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians* as my principle source. I found 140 inhabitants: 109 adults and 31 minor children. The difference between Wonderley's enumeration of 65 children and my enumeration of 31 children might be explained by the fact that I counted adult children living in

parental households as adults. By combing the enumeration in the Brothertown documents and Love's appendix, the population of Brothertown in 1796 included a population of 188 persons living in 77 households comprised of 122 adults and 66 children under the age of 18.

92. Jarvis, *Brothertown Nation of Indians*, 156.

93. Jarvis, *Brothertown Nation of Indians*, 156.

94. Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 170–71.

95. Belknap and Morse, *Report on the Oneida, Stockbridge, and Brothertown Indians*, 17.

96. *Journals of Samuel Kirkland*, 296.

97. Brooks, *Collected Writings of Samson Occom*, 138.

98. Hauptman, "Refugee Havens," 130.

99. Knapp, *Life of Thomas Eddy*, 111.

100. Lopenzina, "'The Whole Wilderness Shall Blossom as the Rose,'" 1129.

101. Cooper, *The Pioneers*, chapter 41, quoted in Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 283.

102. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 356.

103. Tuhi, *Life and Confession of John Tuhi*, 10.

104. Tuhi, *Life and Confession of John Tuhi*, 12.

105. Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians*, 321–26.

106. Jarvis, *Brothertown Nation of Indians*, 3–8.

107. Lopenzina, "'The Whole Wilderness Shall Blossom as the Rose,'" 1141.

CONCLUSION

1. Boudinot, *Poor Sarah*, 10.

2. Boudinot, *Poor Sarah*, 5.

3. Boudinot, *Poor Sarah*, 9.

4. Harlow, *An Account of the Conversion of an Indian*, 10–11.

5. Dwight, *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah*; Anderson, *Memoir of Catharine Brown*.

6. O'Connell, *On Our Own Ground*, 146, 148.

APPENDIX A

1. Wilson, *The Earth Shall Weep*, 389.

2. Wilson, *The Earth Shall Weep*, 398–99; Nagel, *American Indian Ethnic Renewal*, 136.

3. Treat, *Around the Sacred Fire*, 15, 205–27.

4. Deloria, *God Is Red*, 296.

5. Silko, foreword to *God Is Red*, viii.

6. Tinker, foreword to *God Is Red*, xl.

7. Weaver, *That the People Might Live*, viii.

8. Warrior, *Tribal Secrets*. See also Weaver, "From I-Hermeneutics to We-Hermeneutics," 22.

9. Calloway and Salisbury, *Reinterpreting New England's Indians*; Weaver, preface to *Native American Religious Identity*, xii.

10. Weaver, preface to *Native American Religious Identity*, xii.

11. Treat, *Native and Christian*, quoted in Weaver, *That My People Might Live*, 30.

12. Weaver, *That the People Might Live*, 30.

13. Niezen, *Spirit Wars*, 10–23.

APPENDIX B

1. Hughes and Allen, *Connecticut Place Names*, 410.

2. Hughes and Allen, *Connecticut Place Names*, 440, 470.

3. De Forest, *History of the Indians of Connecticut*, 438.

4. De Forest, *History of the Indians of Connecticut*, 363, 367.

5. McBride, "'Ancient and Crazie,'" 73.

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