# Rooted in Movement: Spatial Practices and Community Persistence in Native Southwestern New England

By

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"Locating the Past in History: Transdisciplinary Approaches to Public History" in *Retrospect* 1(1), 2007.

"Small Finds: Cocumscussoc's Buried Inventory" in *The Castle Chronicle*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Winter 2006), The Cocumscussoc Association at Smith's Castle, pp. 15-22.

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"Faculty of the Future: Voices from the Next Generation." Featured session, Association of American Colleges and Universities, Washington, DC, January 2008.

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CNR

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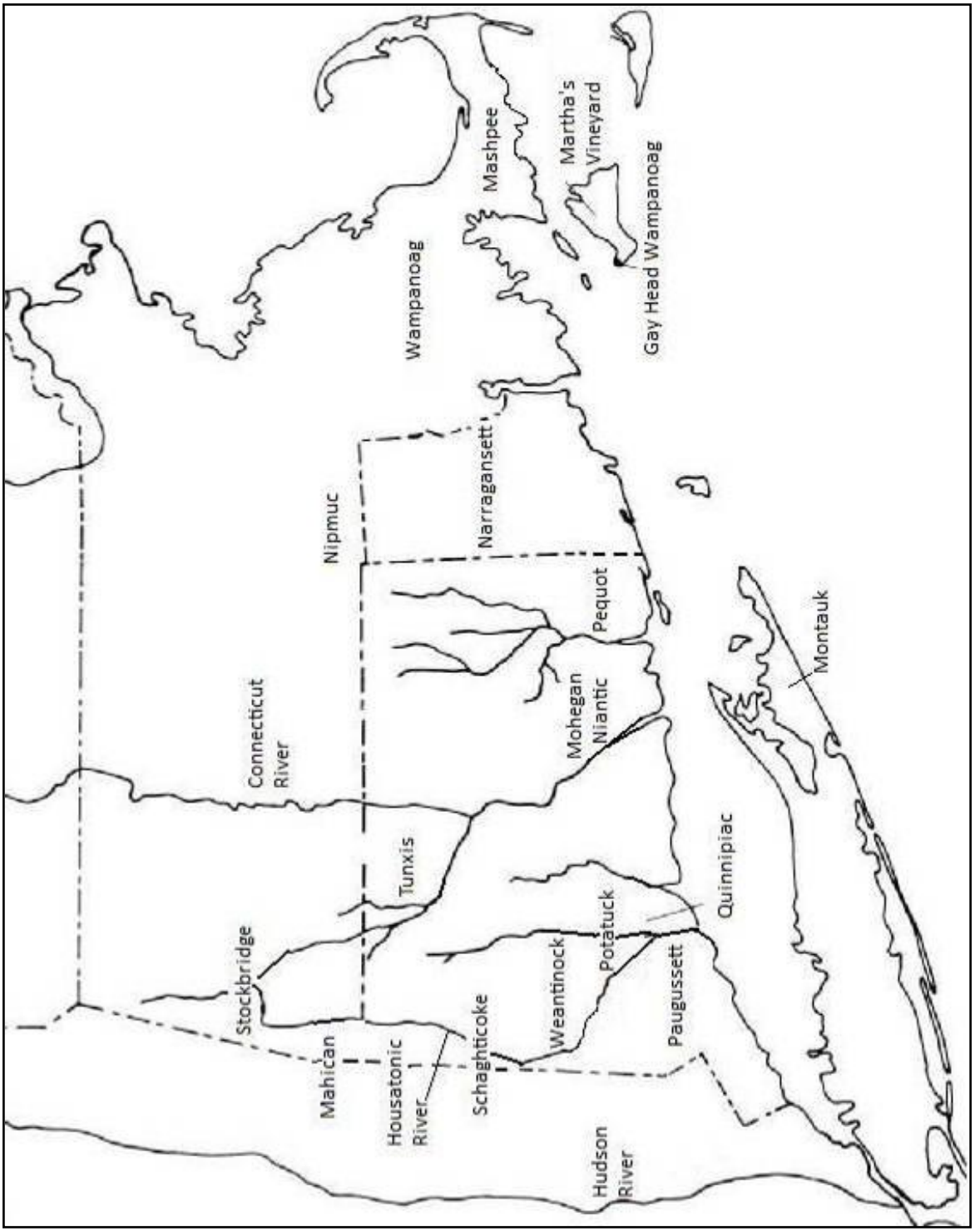
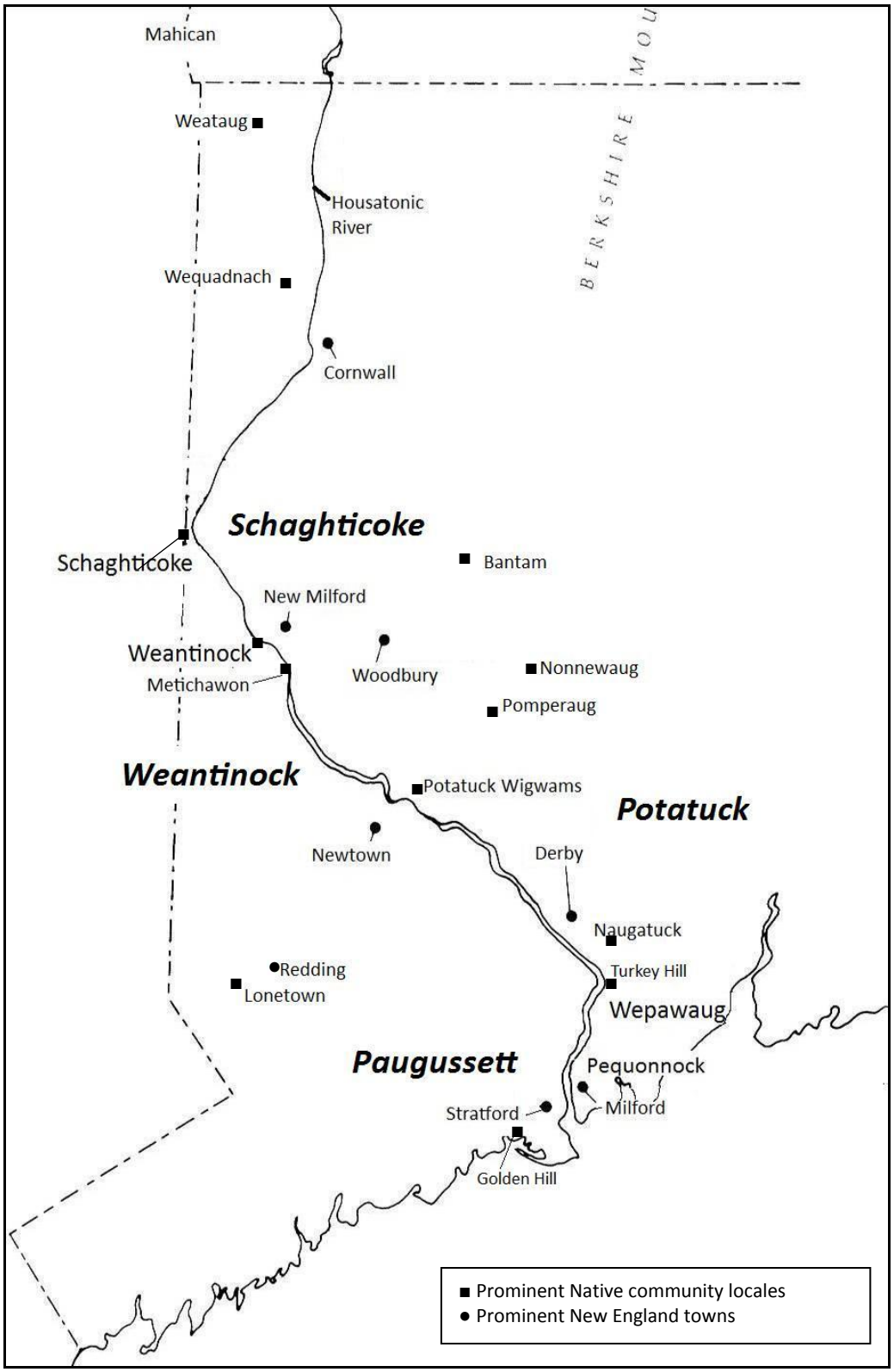
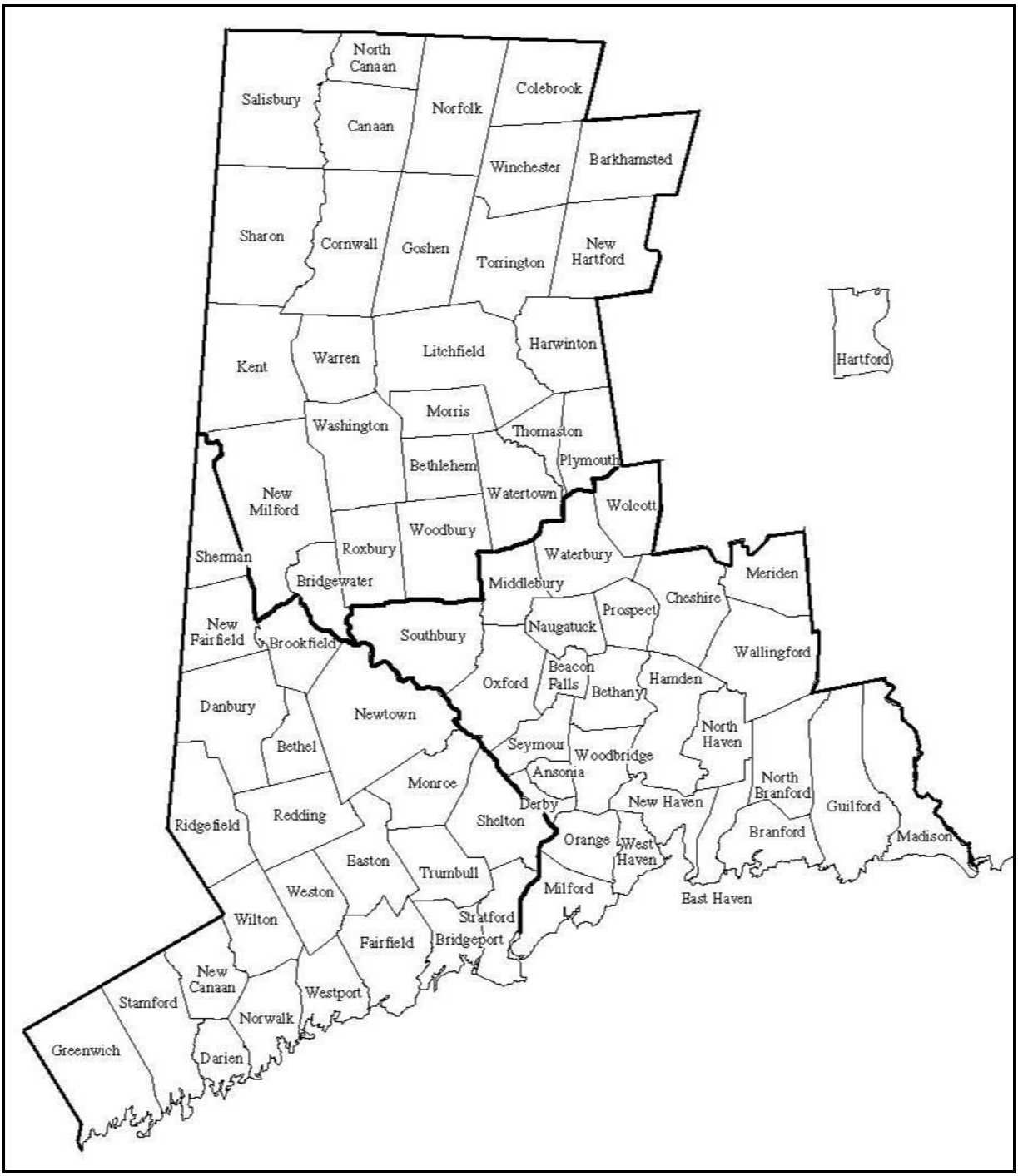



Map 1. Location of some Native communities in southern New England
(Source: Modified from Handsman and McMullen 2005)




Map 2. The Housatonic River Valley (Source: Modified from Handsman and McMullen 2005)




Map 3. Map of Fairfield, Litchfield, and New Haven counties and towns.
(Source: Modified from Connecticut Department of Economic and Community Development, 1996)

# I

# THE ROOTS OF COMMUNITY

> "We are Algonquian Indian peoples and we have always been here. We are Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, Micmac, Maliseet, Abenaki, Wampanoag, Narragansett, Pequot, Niantic, Mohegan, Montauk, Shinnecock, Lenape, Paugussett, Potatuck, Schaghticoke, Mahican. Many thousands of our ancestors were living throughout what is now called New England when Europeans first arrived. Our cultures and languages are similar, yet all of us have our own stories…
>
> …Our histories are, in some ways, those of dispossessed peoples everywhere - continuing struggles to live on our homelands, adapting to change while keeping our Indian identities, and fighting persistent prejudice. We do these things today in order to ensure our children and living traditions a place in the societies of the 21st century.
>
> *We are still here."*
>
> ('As We Tell Our Stories' Exhibit, Institute for American Indian Studies, Washington, Connecticut)

Many have noted colonial tendencies to concretize certain identities and ethnicities and incarcerate them in space, place, and time (Appadurai 1988; Li 2000). Recognizing historical grouphood often then hinges on who decides what constitutes as a sufficient performance of identity (Jackson and Warren 2005:564). In Native New England, the struggle to demonstrate "community" is a necessary, but fraught, enterprise in Native groups' fights for social and legal recognition. Groups today are assessed, in part, on whether they can document "continuous" community ties since historical times. This demonstration must take a particular form, guided by narrow and standardized definitions of community, and validated by the U.S.'s social-legal system. For Native

groups in New England, this understanding of community often bears little resemblance to the intricate and extensive ways in which people maintained connections to one another, particularly as they navigated the changing colonial landscape. These circumstances have made it all too easy for observers to characterize contemporary Native groups as "invented communities," composed of members who are not "real Indians" (Den Ouden 2005:30).

For Chief Quiet Hawk (Aurelius Piper Jr.), a 21st century leader of the Golden Hill Paugussett Tribal Nation (Trumbull, Connecticut), this carries the weary personal resonance of years: "It's very degrading to be asked to prove over and over, step by step, who and what you are…Being an Indian is not telling somebody you are. It's not somebody telling you something. It's not wearing something" (quoted in Lang 1994). Yet, these kinds of recognizable community and heritage expressions have been tacitly demanded across Native New England by the past (and present) public. Influenced by historical misrepresentations, non-Native observers have imposed specific assumptions and images of what indigeneity and community "ought" to look like. Today, political cartoons racialize Native identity, lobbyists fight against the federal acknowledgment petitions of "rag tag" Native communities, and new museum exhibits diminish Native ties to their homelands by paying only lip service to the Native people who lived in the area "long ago" (STN 2005; Mattatuck Museum 2008).

This dissertation examines past material and spatial practices of community-keeping which belie these narratives of Native disappearance. Assuming a long-term and regional perspective, it focuses on the 18$^{th}$ and 19$^{th}$ centuries in Native New England, two centuries of considerable transformations by the end of which Native people were

described as “assimilated,” “mixed,” and “isolated.” Regional histories describe these centuries as turning points in Native history, a time of struggle, and ultimately failure, in “continuously” maintaining their identities and communities. In counterpoint, I draw on archaeology, ethnohistory, and ethnographies to explore traditions of networking and interaction through which Native groups maintained connections in spite of displacement.

I focus on community clusters and rural hamlets at the “fringes” of settlement in 18th and 19th century western Connecticut. Historical accounts have portrayed these kinds of locales as “marginal,” “isolated,” and “tenuous.” Instead, archaeological, documentary, and oral histories make it clear that they were integral, and integrated, sites of Native community-keeping. Rather than upholding that Native communities were lost when ties to place were disrupted, this dissertation shows how Native people maintained their links to one another, and to their ancestral homelands, through long-standing spatial practices. These spatial practices hinged on different, and changing, geographies through time, but they were built, simultaneously, around rooted place attachments and movement.

Most studies of Native New England communities after the 17th century have focused on reservations such as Mashantucket, Lantern Hill, and Niantic in Connecticut, or on well-defined, landed communities such as Natick, Mashpee, Gayhead, and Martha’s Vineyard in Massachusetts (e.g. Den Ouden 2005; Lawlor 2005; Mandell 1991, 2008; McBride 2005; O’Brien 1994; Silverman 2005; Silliman 2008, 2009). But other spatial organizations and living strategies were also important vehicles for continually refashioning and engaging community ties, relationships, and social distance from other groups. Dispossessed of their major landholdings in the 17th and early 18th centuries,

Native people across southern New England moved increasingly over the landscape. They entered new and old spaces as they sought out livelihoods and residences. Some of these places, like reservations, town neighborhoods, and Anglo-American households, were highly visible ones on the colonial landscape. But others took advantage of Native people's deep local knowledge of place and resources.

Small, dispersed communal clusters and rural hamlets, situated largely beyond colonial view, were important places in a continuing Native regional space. At the interstices of town and "wilderness," hamlets existed both under and outside colonial surveillance. While this geographical and social positioning has led to their frequent representation as peripheral or "outsider," they were by no means isolated communities. Instead, they were part of an increasingly interwoven Native social geography, and of a much larger emerging racial and cultural landscape (Mancini 2009).

The Housatonic River Valley in western Connecticut, the ancestral homelands of the Paugussett, Potatuck, Weantinock, and Schaghticoke, was a vibrant area of 18$^{th}$ and 19$^{th}$ century Native community life, built on this model of social and spatial organization. (Figure 1.1) For centuries, Housatonic Native communities maintained connections to one another and to their homelands by moving as small groups, families, and individuals between dispersed community clusters up and down the length of western Connecticut. Yet, from the earliest recorded European observations, the area has been portrayed as a "thinly peopled wilderness" (DeForest 1851; see also Griswold 1930). This misrepresentation and erasure of people continues even today in scholarship, as Russell Handsman and Trudie Lamb Richmond (1995) have raised awareness.

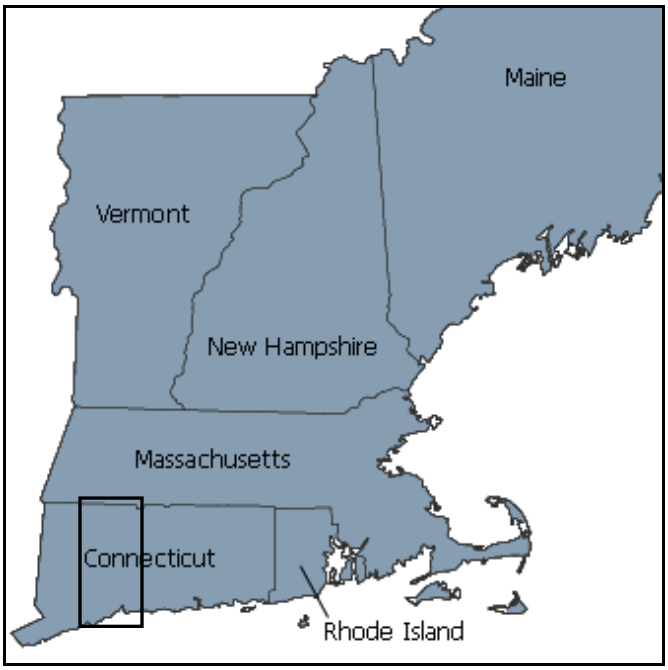



Figure 1.1. Map of New England, with the area of study framed. (Source: Modified from MAGIC)

Neglecting to recognize the persistence of small, dispersed Native community locales in western Connecticut, and across Native New England more generally, fuels mischaracterizations of contemporary Native groups as "invented communities." It feeds beliefs that displacement caused Native ties to, and presence on, their homelands to be severed. This study complicates these narratives by considering carefully how community and mobility interrelate, and how geographies of movement changed through time. Drawing on oral and documentary histories, I identified community clusters in the 18th and 19th century Housatonic Valley, and I tracked the movements and practices of Native families and individuals travelling between these settings. I brought this into collaboration with existing archaeological collections to contextualize particular routines of community interaction. Together, this joint archaeological and ethnohistoric focus

contributes to recent scholarship which privileges better understanding of the breadth, diversity, and persistence of "Native space" in colonial New England (Brooks 2008; Mancini 2009).

By framing this research through a conceptual focus on community, I also draw broader attention to the shortcomings of conventional treatments of communities as place-bound collectives. Instead, this study shows how the diversity of spatial and temporal practices mobilized in community maintenance suggests ways to better conceive of these groups as communities-in-movement (to shift Barbara Bender's [2001:3] phrasing "landscapes-in-movement"). Distributed over a landscape, Housatonic Native communities drew on long-standing regional patterns of spatial organization and connection to sustain senses of community across increasingly diverse spaces.

Insights from Housatonic communities' actions add historical depth to anthropologies of mobility, particularly to concerns for understanding place and placelessness, rootedness and dislocation, and the effects of displacement and mobility on community maintenance over space-time. While these phenomena have been approached discursively and symbolically (cf. Gupta and Ferguson 1997), this study adds a material-spatial focus that contributes in a particular way to discussions of the social practices of place-making, community-keeping, and mobility. The implications of these conceptualizations carry important outcomes in social and legal understandings of what constitutes "community" and the measures of its "continuity."

NEW COLONIAL HISTORIES OF NATIVE NEW ENGLAND

Local Native communities in New England draw attention today to the ways that archaeological and historiographical practices have contributed to the ongoing alienation and further dispossession of Native cultures (Bruchac 2006; also Strong 2005). For years, much of the scholarship on southern New England Native communities from the 17th century onward tended to privilege violence and conflict as watershed moments in shaping Native history (Calloway 1997). Classic overviews treated King Philip's War (c. 1675-1676), in particular, as a defining period, after which Native individuals survived, but viable "communities" did not. Not only did this obscure recognition of Native communities' historical agency and their survivance, but as Den Ouden (2005) observes, such treatments "elide[d] the historical specificity and precise localities of [struggle]" (2005:18; after Calloway 1995; 1997). By glossing over these particularities, historical and popular work reified powerful myths of conquest. They inadvertently contributed to the symbolic erasure of communities from the landscape.

To get at more detailed, local understandings, historians and anthropologists have recently turned to more carefully elucidating the processes by which Native groups were dispossessed of, and displaced from, their ancestral homelands. Correspondingly, many have shifted their gaze from 17th century interactions to strategies of Native survivance in the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries (Calloway 1997; Vaughn 1999; Mandell 2008; Rubertone 2008; Bragdon 2009). Native historians and anthropologists such as Trudie Lamb Richmond (Schaghticoke), Ella Sekatau (Narragansett), Melissa Tantaquidgeon (Mohegan), Thomas Doughton (Nipmuc), Rae Gould (Nipmuc), and Marge Bruchac

(Abenaki) have deepened "communal understandings of Native history," while at the same time emphasizing the continuing struggles in the present (Brooks 2008:xxxiii).

These "new histories" impressively demonstrate Native persistence in New England. They have identified Native individuals (including children) living in Anglo-American households, in townships or urban neighborhoods, and on single family homesteads (Baron, Hood, and Izard 1996; Herndon and Sekatau 1997, 2003; Simmons 2002). They have illuminated distinctive, gendered experiences of Native women and men, and of Native families and children (Bragdon 1996b; Herndon 1996; Lamb Richmond and Den Ouden 2003; O'Brien 1997; Plane 2000). Continuing research into missionary efforts among Native communities has explored the importance of Christianity and literacy to Native community survival (O'Brien 1994, 1997; Mandell 1996; Wyss 2000; Fisher 2008). Works on the intersections of politics, legalism, and land have brought out the strategic ways by which Native communities fought against dispossession (Den Ouden 2005).

The focus on Native New England is also increasingly tied to larger and larger geographies. Recent research highlights important connections between Native men laboring in the maritime world and their community dimensions on land (Vickers 1997; Barsh 2002; Mancini 2009). Studies of Native men's military service are changing understandings of inter-community interactions (Calloway 1995; Mancini and Naumec 2005). These topics intersect closely with a growing trend that concerns itself with race, intermarriage, and interethnic community relations (Hood et al. 1996; Den Ouden 2005; Handsman 2008; Mandell 2008).

Across these themes, historians and anthropologists point out that dispossession was not a singular, even, or predictable event, but was a complex material and discursive process (O'Brien 1994; White 2008). In New England, alongside emerging enclosure systems and solidifying geopolitical boundaries, dispossession of Native lands was furthered through complex bureaucratic technologies like mapping and legal petitioning (Strong 2005). This dispossession was - and is - not limited solely to land and material resources. New England colonial governments interfered in Native daily lives in new ways, circumscribing their mobility through legislation, urging and at time forcing relocations, creating criteria for "Indian" identity, and determining access to resources (Den Ouden 2005). As this suggests, the alienation of land is a material process and cumulative transition, rather than a rapid episode (Merlan 2005).

Archaeologists working throughout Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts have taken up this detailed, processual focus (Handsman and Lamb Richmond 1995; Hart 2004; McBride 2005; Rubertone 2008; Handsman 2008; Mrozowski et al. 2009; Silliman 2010). They challenge much-repeated stories of violence, conquest, land loss, and disappearance by pointing to material evidence of complex and continuing place attachments. In keeping with broader archaeological critiques against the artificial segmentation of time and interaction into 'prehistory' and 'history,' they raise insistent calls for studies that are situated over longer timeframes (Lightfoot 1995; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Rubertone 2000). Collaborative projects - like the Mashantucket Pequot Ethnohistory Project; a partnership between the University of Massachusetts-Boston, directed by Stephen Silliman, and the Eastern Pequot Tribe; and a partnership between the Schaghticoke Tribal Nation and Lucianne Lavin - direct attention

to long-term Native histories and the persistence of "living traditions" (Handsman and Richmond 1995).

Unfortunately, the scope of research, particularly on living arrangements and spatial organization, rarely traces the connections and patterns of Native lives across distance or through regional frameworks. Although discrete contexts of life are examined, only a few studies trace families and communities in multiple settings across the landscape (see further below).[i] As a result, the visibility of regional 18th and 19th century Native social geographies has been minimal to date. These scales of analyses are needed, however, to capture the depth of community ties which continued across Native New England, down through the present.

## SPATIAL PRACTICES AND NATIVE SPACE

As Basso's (1996) seminal work on place calls to mind, to understand Native persistence is to understand spatial practices. Survivance "lies not in the preservation of obvious markers of Indian identity but in the ongoing relationship and responsibility to land and kin" (Brooks 2008:xxxii). This study adds to a growing body of literature which forefronts the spatial dimensions of New England Native histories and which endeavors to recapture Native space. For Native peoples, spatial and communal concerns are inextricably bound, as Cherokee scholar Jace Weaver (1997) argues in suggesting that "the linkage of land and people within the concept of community, reflecting the spatial orientation of Native peoples, is crucial." Spatial sensibilities help formulate a better picture of the social terrain over which Native people have traversed, particularly the

ways connectivity was maintained across the changing nature of ancestral homelands and cultural landscapes. These perspectives emphasize the (ongoing) links between past and present Native communities, and their attachments to place.

Recognizing these links is fundamental to archaeological discussions as well. “Continuity” and “change” arguments have been the linchpins in New England Native studies for decades, as they have been across much of Native North America (Silliman 2009). The particulars of terminology have shifted over time – “acculturation,” “assimilation,” and “resistance” have become dated, for example – but the core ideas remain. Today, they emerge in terminology like “demonstrations of continuity” and “degrees of change.” Analyses of these kinds have typically been based, sometimes exclusively so, on artifactual models, to the detriment of understanding how attachments to place and space guided community persistence.

By framing studies within these kinds of spatial perspectives, as this study does, it becomes readily apparent that dispossession did not entail disconnection for Native communities of the 18$^{th}$ and 19$^{th}$ centuries, nor even dispersion in a strict sense. Instead, oral histories, family lineages, historical documents and material culture attest to mobility in and around natal communities, to continued social and kinship networking, and to the maintenance of ceremonial and social rounds (Mancini 2006).

On one level, this study maps the links and connections between so-called “marginal” community locales, like small hamlets, paired wigwams, and extended family houses in Native western Connecticut. It connects these locales to other sites of Native community life, including reservations, town neighborhoods, and Anglo-American households. I look at these patterns over the region and through time. On a second level,

the study builds on these interconnections to map the social, genealogical, economic, political, and historical ties which linked Native families into larger frameworks of continuing community life.

While I focus on the spatial practices and connections of Housatonic Native communities in western Connecticut, they were not alone in building their social organization around mobility and dispersion. Native groups across New England had long ordered their community connections and subsistence strategies around patterns of seasonally assembling in larger and smaller units. These practices grew to be characteristic of more and more Native groups as colonial settlements and Native dispossession increased.

Dispersal and gathering of small community clusters and extended families became the backbone of many Native people's spatial and social lives in the 18$^{th}$ and 19$^{th}$ centuries, as recent studies illuminate. Raising the call for closer attention to regional Native mobility, Jason Mancini (2006, 2009) illuminates the connections on land and sea among Mashantucket Pequot families, and other southern New England Native communities, living on- and off-reservation in the 18$^{th}$ and 19$^{th}$ centuries. Among 18$^{th}$ and 19$^{th}$ century Wampanoag communities on Cape Cod, families dispersed and re-gathered around important events and work times (Mandell 2008). In eastern Massachusetts, Nipmuc communities at Mugunkaquog incorporated a growing Christian Indian community space, living and moving between household spaces and community centers across their homelands (Mrozowski et al. 2009). These, and numerous other examples, demonstrate the continuing presence and connections among Native communities who were living increasingly dispersed and mobile across New England.

This organization has been challenging for non-Native observers to characterize and understand, both in past and present. This study contributes to these interests by exploring southern New England Native space through archaeological collections, documents, oral histories, museum exhibits, and landscapes, among other lenses. It incorporates traditional archaeological analyses of sites and collections. It also, however, brings archaeological sensibilities and spatial analyses to ethnohistorical research. Mapping individual movements and spatial practices through archaeological sensibilities provides what Byrne (2003) has called "geobiographical information."

Coupling this geographical information with archaeological site evidence adds an important dimension to the pictures of Native community-keeping that emerge only from collections analysis. This is particularly true given archaeological difficulties in trying to trace the histories of people who "lived fairly lightly on the ground" (Byrne 2003:171; Baron et al. 1996; Doughton 1997).

The neglect in parsing the means by which dispersed Native communities maintained ties with one another and to their heritage has made it all too easy for critics in the present to view contemporary Native communities with skepticism. They point to empty maps, which have erased Native homelands; to local histories which definitively proclaim, "there are no more Indians residing in this town" (…except the two or three "mixed" families who remain); to legal documents which record the presence and status of only certain Native groups; and to census records which characterize Native families as "mixed," "mulatto," and "black." Focusing on the geographies and movements which continued to link families and individuals to one another and to important places on their homelands brings an extensive, elaborate Native social geography to the fore.

THE WESTERN CONNECTICUT "WILDERNESS:" NATIVE COMMUNITIES IN THE HOUSATONIC RIVER VALLEY

The Greater Housatonic River Valley in western Connecticut is something of a unique setting for illuminating this 18th and 19th century Native social geography. Long histories of disregard by Anglo-Americans, on the one hand, and spatially-distributed Native community organization, on the other, make it a prime backdrop for building more detailed histories of continuing Native community connections. Western Connecticut is a place often, and extensively, overlooked. Native communities and homelands have been repeatedly recast into non-places and empty spaces through historical representation practices which misinterpret Native community organization, land use, and heritage practices (Caftanzoglou 2002:27).

Western Connecticut was one of the last regions in southern New England to be "settled," with sustained settlement delayed well over a century longer than neighboring areas (Garvan 1951). From their earliest accounts, the English colonists who arrived in the Housatonic Valley beginning in 1637 diminished reports of Native peoples' presence in the region. Local and regional historians described western Connecticut as "desert-like," a "thinly peopled wilderness," little utilized and undisturbed "by the smoke of a single wigwam" (DeForest 1851; Handsman 1990).

Many colonists speculated (with conviction) that the Native groups present in 17th century Connecticut represented only "recent arrivals" to the area. In a convenient justification for settlers' appropriations of lands, they claimed that the area was a place of "new settlement," a "country of immigrants" who had come from other parts of New England, and even farther. Even as late as the end of the 19th century, Kent (Connecticut)

newspapers advertised a traveling show which would highlight their town's "Original Iroquois Indians," rather than the Schaghticoke on whose ancestral homelands Kent sits. (Figure 1.2)

AMUSEMENTS.

BREWSTER HALL

Thursday, Friday and Saturday

Evenings, Feb. 25th, 26th & 27th.

GREAT ATTRACTION.

KENT'S ORIGINAL IROQUOIS INDIANS.

From Barnum's Museum and Aquarial Gardens.

GRAND

GIFT ENTERTAINMENT!

On which occasion many articles of

BEAD WORK

Will be given to the purchasers of tickets. They will appear DRESSED IN FULL COSTUME IN ONE OF THEIR

FASHIONABLE LEVEES!

And give a collection of their characteristic representations of their

HABITS AND CUSTOMS.

Tickets 15 cents. Children 10 cents.
An entertainment will be given on Saturday at 3 o'clock for the accommodation of Ladies and Children.
Doors open at 6¾ o'clock, to commence at 7¾ o'clock.
fe23 d6t C. H. DEARBORN, General Agent.

Figure 1.2. (New Haven Daily Palladium 02/24/1864)

These erasure trends were palpable across Connecticut, and New England, but they could manifest particularly strongly in the western half of the state. Census takers, historians, and other public officials commonly recorded prominent Native communities in southeastern Connecticut, notably the Pequot and Mohegan, while dismissing the rest of the state. Jedediah Morse's report to the Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, in 1822

enumerated the Mohegan, the Pequot, and an "Indian settlement at Groton." But as to the rest of the state (and beyond), he added only:

> "Individuals, a family, and in some places, several families together, are to be found, rarely however, in other parts of New England, than those named; but in no place in such numbers, as to deserve notice in this report" (Morse 1822:75)

Similar myths of disappearance and emptiness have been reinforced over and again in town bicentennial celebrations, children's literature, and other forms of popular historical memory (for example, Forbe 1934; Philips 1992). Still today, early representations of western Connecticut as "empty lands" endure visually and textually in maps and histories, which continue to leave western Connecticut off of many maps of New England Native communities (Handsman and Lamb Richmond 1995).

Disregard for the historical and contemporary presence of western Connecticut Native communities is not limited to historical sources. Regional trends have privileged the scholarly study of certain groups and geographical areas over others. In Connecticut, the bulk of existing scholarship has focused on the southeastern corner of the state and on communities with large reservations, especially the Mashantucket Pequot, Eastern Pequot, and Mohegan in present-New London County (though see the works of Russell Handsman, Trudie Lamb Richmond, Lucianne Lavin, Laurie Weinstein, and Timothy Binzen for important exceptions).

Den Ouden (2005) has suggested that reserved lands were the "locus of…challenge to colonial domination" and that "New London County – which encompassed Connecticut's largest combined population of indigenous peoples as well as the four largest reservations in the colony – was a critical site of Native resistance in the period beyond military conquest" (2005:2,8). While documented population figures are

indeed higher in the historic period for groups in southeastern Connecticut, neglecting to attend to the 'resistance' – or persistence - strategies of other groups in other areas fails to account for the diversity of places, spaces, times, and practices engaged in Native New England community-keeping.

This dissertation explores this diversity of Native places in detail, focusing on an area of New England characterized by dispersed spatial organization, rather than large, landed communities. Given the complexities of western Connecticut spatial organization, the classic question, "To what tribe did Indians here belong?," is quite difficult to answer, as Newtown, Connecticut historian Daniel Cruson notes (1991:82). Historically, Native communities in western Connecticut were not organized as distinct, territorially-bound units. Community life was guided by particular group heritages, homelands, and histories but also by close interregional relations and mobilities.

Native communities of the Housatonic River Valley watershed, including eastern parts of New York and western Massachusetts, were thus highly integrated and closely affiliated (DeForest 1852:49-50; Orcutt 1882). Up and down the length of the Housatonic, Native communities settled along the River's shores, maintaining a system of communication that stretched some 200 miles from Long Island Sound to Stockbridge, Massachusetts. These routes of communication and social ties also extended inter-regionally with their neighbors in surrounding river valleys, including Mahican, Tunxis, and Quinnipiac communities.[ii] Indeed, regional interrelations were and are so strong, and Housatonic Native communities so closely tied, that it has proven difficult for both past and contemporary scholars to discern separations among communities.[iii]

In the 17th and 18th centuries, as small groups joined with one another in the wake of population and land loss trauma, they were reified by Anglo-American observers into the four principal "tribes" handed down today: the Paugussett, Potatuck, Weantinock, and Schaghticoke.[iv] These group designations, while commonly used in past and contemporary literature, are more accurately characterized as conjoined or amalgamated communities that emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Given the complexities of this spatial organization, exploring Native community-keeping in the 18th and 19th centuries requires an analytical framework that does not easily match onto prevailing notions of Native communities as "tribes." There can be no doubt, however, that whether "tribes" were inappropriate models for Native social organization in the past, they have been fundamental to the ways non-Native observers (mis)understood and (mis)characterized Native communities in the last three centuries (Clifford 1988; Campisi 1992). "Tribe" and "community" remain of paramount importance in understanding Native identity, ethnicity, groupdhood, and sovereignty in past and present (e.g. Mandell 2008; Handsman 2008; Mancini 2009). In turn, Native groups have used these concepts and their legal applications to assert "particular rights not available to them outside of the context of legally protected lands and self-determined 'citizenship'" (Mancini 2009:8).

This study, while respecting the legal and conceptual importance of tribes, adopts the language of "community" in discussing Native grouphood. It does so in order to emphasize the links between past and present tribal communities in western Connecticut, and so as to better problematize the bounded ways in which ideas of "community" are used today in assessing historical Native communities. Concomitantly, it takes on a

spatial scale - a regional model - which can begin to illuminate the connections between families and individuals living apart.

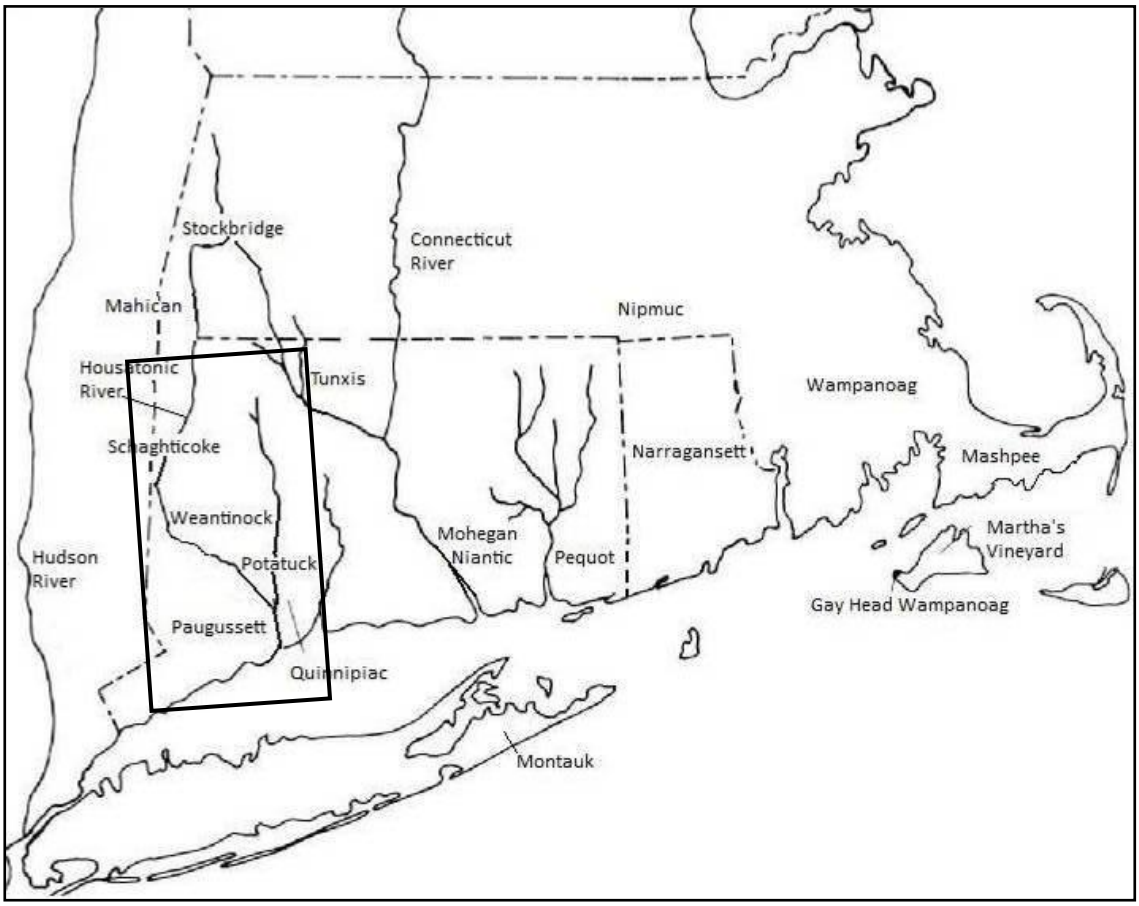



Figure 1.3. Location of the Housatonic River Valley in Native southern New England.
(Source: modified from Handsman and McMullen 2005)

The Paugussett are loosely situated along the coast of the Long Island Sound (the Golden Hill Paugussett tribe continues as an organized community today). Potatuck homelands are located in the mid-Housatonic around present-day Southbury, principally on the west side of the Housatonic River. Weantinock homelands are situated in the mid-Housatonic around present-day New Milford, principally on the east side of the Housatonic River. Schaghticoke homelands lie in the northern reaches of the Housatonic in Connecticut, near Kent (the Schaghticoke Tribal Nation continues as an organized tribe today).

Enlarging and positioning the frame of reference in this way to one meaningful for past and contemporary Native groups of western Connecticut can bring the specifics of Native

community relations into sharper relief. This study focuses on the Housatonic River Valley, a watershed which "transcends the modern political boundaries" between Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York (Binzen 2002:11).[v] (Figure 1.3) The study area encompasses modern-day Fairfield, Litchfield, and western New Haven counties in Connecticut, as well as part of Dutchess and Putnam Counties in New York.

## THE MEANING OF HOMELANDS

Colonial changes in the social and physical landscape demanded new adjustments by Native communities to the homelands which underlay Native life. Yet in spite of shifting relationships to important places and resources, Housatonic Native patterns of spatial organization provided the mechanisms by which to continue important ties to place and fundamental features of communal living. Ancestral homelands were and are the locus of identity-, heritage-, place-, and community-making for Native groups in New England. Within and between homelands, Native people have been linked by deep social and economic relations, kinship, trade, and diplomacy (Doughton 1997). While homelands circumscribe a physical space, they are not merely geographies or territories. They are instead sacred topographies with genealogical depth, active spaces inscribed with biographical and emotional meaning (Morphy 1995). Localities steeped in kinned history, they are imbued with and simultaneously animated by memories of people and events (Howell 2002; Rubertone 2008; Blu 1996).

Living on homelands creates for Native people "full-bodied understanding" (Vitek 1996:3). "Like Native Americans across this continent," Housatonic Native people

articulate, “we feel ourselves to be an integral part of our homelands. We cannot be separated from the earth without loss of identity and being” (IAIS 1989). This notion of land as embodiment echoes Aldo Leopold’s well wrought phrase “rooted in the land” (also Küchler 1993). Though rootedness is sometimes criticized for its invocations of earthen imagery (“plants have roots, people have feet!,” the saying goes), it is unapologetically an expression of the kinds of attachments and structures required to keep something in place and to nurture it (Vitek 1996:2).

Homeland areas in southern New England have been depicted, in the centuries leading up to Europan arrival, as a series of interconnecting cores. Supported by tribal memory and archaeological landscapes, Russell Handsman, Trudie Lamb Richmond, and others, hypothesize that each homeland had core areas. Within these areas, there may have been traditional meeting places for clan ceremonies and elders’ councils, a few settlements, corn fields, and sacred sites such as cemeteries, stone memory piles, and sweat lodges. In addition to these principal settlements, dozens of wigwams and small hamlets dotted the landscape surrounding the cores. Such small community clusters, some dating as many as 5,000 years old, consisted of small clusters of 2-5 wigwam dwellings, garden plots, and planting fields, all surrounded by well worn paths (Handsman and Lamb Richmond 1995). (Figure 1.4)

Figure 1.4. Archaeologies of Hamlets and Homelands: Excavations at the Fort Hill District, New Milford, Connecticut, 1980s; Courtesy of the Institute for American Indian Studies

From the 17th century onward, these kinds of small community clusters offered a strategic means by which to remain on ancestral homelands but beyond the fringes of colonial settlement (Handsman 1989). Encompassing several families, these distinctive community settings provided spaces for continuing long-held traditions of communal living. I concentrate on the period from 1720 – 1860. Although settlement had been slower to start in western Connecticut than elsewhere in the region, by 1720, Native communities up and down the length of the Housatonic had lost the bulk of their major landholdings. I begin from this point, when already colonial observers were describing Native communities as a disappearing (or at least circumscribed) presence on the

landscape. I culminate the discussion in the 1860s, when industrialization took off, transportation means exploded, populations increased, and urban centers grew.

These trends wrought physical, economic, and demographic changes to the landscape. From the 1860s onward, it became increasingly difficult for Native communities to cluster and gather among informal, communal spaces like rural hamlets, squatters' camps, and rockshelters which had still dotted the landscape. Although the discussion ends in this period, certainly, Native communities continued to meet, to reside with one another, to interact, and to maintain their communities, long after and into today.

Scholars studying 18th and 19th century Native communities have pointed to a constellation of social practices and values which characterize Native community-keeping strategies and which stand in contrast to Anglo-American practices (see for example, Plane and Button 1997; Doughton 1997). These include collective (versus individual) land-holding, cooperative land-working, seasonal mobility, communal child-rearing and eldercare, and distinctive economic pursuits, in addition to shared traditions of identity, heritage, and spirituality. Situated beyond Anglo-American surveillance, hamlet residents were able to maintain such communal practices. They were thus enabled to preserve some degree of social separation and cultural autonomy, linked to kinship and visiting networks and bound by a sense of place (O'Brien 1997).

These locales are telling sites of community-keeping, exhibiting distinctive social uses of space and residential organization. This study elucidates these community strategies by exploring continued practices of communal living and labor-sharing, as evident, for example, in the spatial positioning of archaeological features such as

communal middlespaces. Communal middlespaces served as the locus of hamlet activity, an area in which food was prepared, tools and crafts were manufactured, and items were stored (McBride 1990).

Archaeological evidence indicates that these kinds of activities continued to be managed cooperatively by 18th and 19th century Housatonic community clusters, rather than by a single family unit. Moreover, the nature of these features themselves, including continuities in the construction and use of outdoor stone-filled hearths and semi-subterranean storage pit features, suggest regional curations of traditional practices. In complement to the distinctive patterns of these spaces, Native families continued mixed subsistence economies and food processing technologies which differ significantly from the signature of Anglo-American economies.

Many of these small community locales and hamlets share similarities in topographic positioning. Geographically, most historic wigwam and community clusters are located on less accessible settings such as the tops of ridge lines and small upland valleys (Handsman and Lamb Richmond 1995). These locations – less visible, less available to colonial settlers – raise interesting concern for the importance of viewscapes and visibility in determining the geographic and social placement of hamlets. Archaeological evidence suggests that these community settings were often superimposed over earlier sites. In some instances, their positioning may have been determined relative to the social and physical distance from New England townships. In others, however, they reflected long-standing place attachments to specific locales, correlating with sacral and communal sites preserved in tribal and historical memory.

Although post-17th century small community clusters were thus a significant feature of homeland areas, the nature of their longevity, and their importance in the social landscape, has often been misconstrued. Mandell (1998:479-480), for example, has argued that ties between small hamlet communities in the 18th and 19th centuries "were *relatively easily snapped or reforged* across the generations as individuals married African Americans or whites and sometimes found fulfillment in following those affiliations" (emphasis added).

Rather than seeing small community clusters as tenuous, however, Native communities and a small cohort of scholars have drawn attention to their persistence into the mid-19th century as an important living tradition. Partly because they were often located in disputed colonial border zones they remained viable residential strategies until well into the 19th century (Bowen 1882; Feder 1994; Handsman and Lamb Richmond 1995:103-4). In fact, it was not until after 1850, when industrialization led to population increases, town urbanization, and commercialization of the landscape that these kinds of small community clusters and hamlets largely disappeared.

This is not to suggest that motivations for, and features of, communal living remained static throughout time. By and through the social and physical landscape transformations of the 17th century onward, the specific features of ancestral homelands and community locales changed. Shifts in gender and demographic patterns affected community-keeping practices, particularly as Native individuals increasingly intermarried and partnered with individuals of other ancestries. Changing labor patterns influenced the nature of subsistence and work within settlements, integrating Native individuals ever more tightly in colonial and American economies. Throughout these and other

transformations, however, small community clusters continued to function as a way of creating and maintaining a web of relationships among different communities.

Drawing attention to these kinds of community spaces are especially important in elucidating the strategies by which Native groups persisted as communities in the changing racial and cultural landscape of the 19th century. To date, the complexity of the social geography in this century has given researchers pause. Early to mid-century dominant attitudes toward Native Americans glorified those "few remaining," "noble" individuals who had survived (Coward 1999; Conn 2004; Rubertone 2001; O'Brien 2006). With the advent of Social Darwinism in the mid- to late-19th century, however, the tide shifted from viewing Native Americans as antithetical to civilization to conceiving of them according to newly emergent 'scientific' racial hierarchies (McMullen 1996; Herndon and Sekatau 1997).

As a binary racial epistemology crystallized, theories of character began to be assessed along racial lines, legitimizing social processes in biological terms (Plane and Button 1997; Shoemaker 2004; Den Ouden 2005). John Sweet (2003) has drawn attention to the fact that it is in this period that the language of 'pure' or 'full' blood comes to the fore alongside notions of 'authentic' Native identity (see also hooks 1992). Focusing on the nature of social relations within and between hamlets holds the potential to better understand and represent intercultural interactions and the means by which theories of race were – or were not - internalized by different communities (Forbes 1993).

The significance of small community locales and hamlets extends further than their end-lives in the mid-19th century. Caftanzoglou (2001:24) has noted that simply by being where they were, historical settlements could challenge "the hegemonic

hierarchizing of space and time." Hamlets and other sites of communal living were a significant form of Native residential heritage in the region. They were an important extension of the reservations, communal lands, and urban spaces through which Native communities maintained their links to one another. For much of the 18th and 19th century, they provided quiet sites across which increasingly dispersed Native communities could maintain the routes of connection and social ties which had organized their communities for centuries. Today, they redefine the spaces that seem "marginal," emphasizing that the "spaces in between" and "places en route" can be as much a part of the story as the prominent locales that are remembered and venerated.

## STUDY METHODOLOGY

In order to elucidate the range of practices and living arrangements encompassed in Native community-keeping in the 18th and 19th centuries, this study employs a multi-stranded, multi-sited regional approach. Native groups and scholars have raised pointed critique for the ways tribal scales of analysis have created false social boundaries, masking nexuses of relations and traditions of community interfacing (Clifford 1988; McMullen 1996; Ives 2001). Heeding these insights, and in keeping with the study's intent to demonstrate that senses of community and place are not restricted to locality or by fixity (Agnew 1993), this study adopts a comparative, regional perspective.

Members of the Schaghticoke Tribal Nation and Golden Hill Paugussett Tribe were consulted in the planning and design stages of the research. Given ongoing legal proceedings involving both tribes, further collaboration on the research was limited to

publicly-available tribal records and to conversations with tribal members in tribal government roles. By taking such contextual perspectives the study endeavors to better engage the importance of community, heritage, and homelands in its research design and production.

The study positioned communal practices and relationships in a multiscalar framework that focused first on individual hamlets, secondly on hamlets throughout southwestern Connecticut, and finally on broader regional connections. It combined ethnohistory, archaeology, and historical ethnography to identify and contextualize continued practices in spatial organization and communal living across space and through time. The study drew on extensive archival and documentary sources to identify Native communities and individuals, their community locales, their social circumstances, and their movements around the region down through generations. Local, regional, and national sources were examined at the Connecticut State Library and Archives, the Connecticut Historical Society, the Institute for American Indian Studies, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, the Offices of the Schaghticoke Tribal Nation, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Boston Athenaeum, the G.W. Blunt White Library, the Milford Public Library Special Collections Room, and the Bridgeport Public Library.

Tribal histories, town histories, compiled genealogies, state anthologies, and federal acknowledgment petition materials provided baseline population and residence information (Schaghticoke Tribal Nation Federal Recognition Proceedings, various; Golden Hill Paugussett Tribe Federal Recognition Proceedings, various; Smith and Piper 1985; Lamb Richmond 1994; Loukina 1999; Berleant-Schiller 2002; Brilvitch 2007).

Biographical and communal details from town records, vital records, municipal legislation, military documents, overseer reports, engravings, maps, poems, and other sources further established individual patterns of mobility in and around Native hamlets and enclaves.

Recently published transcriptions of the Moravian records relating to the Schaghticoke community provided invaluable insight into continuing patterns of Native regional space (Dally-Starna and Starna 2004, 2009). Archival collections of colonial narratives, diaries, and newspapers offered anecdotal evidence and nuance, as well as a rich record of colonial relations, perceptions, and social positions (DeForest 1851; Orcutt 1882; Stiles 1916; Spiess 1933). Locating individuals and residences in this way allowed the first entry point of access into social interconnectedness. It placed identifiable individuals and communities in real space and time on the historical landscape (Mancini 2006), supplying information on local-level relationships, reciprocal visitations, and transactions of obligation which speaks to community-maintenance across the region.

This rich collation of multiple sources and archives was drawn together in order to meet the challenges of recognizing Native individuals in the documentary literature. In addition to common record-keeping biases, identifications are fraught with inconsistencies in labeling and in name recognition, and by the introduction of ethnoracial census labeling in the 19th century. As early as 1823, it was customary to identify Indians as ‘colored’ or as ‘people of color’. This was later further diversified to include such ambiguous complexion categories as ‘copper’, ‘yellow’, ‘mustee’, ‘mulatto’, ‘brown’, ‘darkish’, ‘dark’, ‘light,’ or, in at least one instance, as Kenneth Feder calls attention to: “nearly white” (Feder 1994; Den Ouden 2005; Mancini 2009). Because

of this ethnoracial labeling, the multicultural nature of individual ancestry and community structure has often been veiled in Native New England, as elsewhere (Den Ouden 2005). Tracing individuals and families along genealogical lines and through multiple sources enables the specificity needed to make biographical and communal identifications, and can help counteract the historical ethnocide and its continuing effects for group recognition.

Although documentary evidence could point to community linkages, it did not have the spatial resolution needed to illuminate how community ties, relationships, and social distance were engaged and refashioned. The second objective of this study therefore brought this information in dialogue with existing archaeological collections to contextualize routines of community interaction and social organization. The spatial and material evidence of the archaeological record connected processes of dispossession with lived, daily realities as affected through people's interactions and experiences in place. It gives a more close-up view of living on the land, in place. More particularly, archaeological evidence sheds light on specific practices such as communal landholding and planting and cooperative food preparation which do not often appear in documentary records (Handsman and Lamb Richmond 1995). In this way, it provided information on how individuals and families were actually living and interacting with one another.

This study utilized rich repositories of existing archaeological collections that go under-interpreted and unarticulated with one another. Drawing on tribal memory, historical narratives, colonial legislation, Connecticut archaeological literature, state inventories, and conversations with regional archaeologists, the study endeavored to identify archaeological collections associated with 18$^{th}$ and 19$^{th}$ century Native

community spaces in western Connecticut, particularly hamlet and enclave communities (Swigart 1978; Drewar et al. 1983; Lavin 1985; Handsman 1989; Feder 1994; Keegan and Keegan 1999; Binzen 2004). Archaeological analyses consisted of surveying archaeological site files from three counties, limited examination of 30 archaeological collections, close analysis of 12 targeted archaeological collections, and site visitations.

By comparing patterns in site location, layout, artifact assemblage and, most notably, social uses of space, the study aimed to explore continued practices of communal living and labor-sharing within hamlets and enclaves. While many such patterns did emerge, the analysis of these and other localized spatial practices in identifiably "historic" hamlet communities proved to be limited by several factors. First, the collections represent a blend of CRM studies, academic research projects, and avocational collections, now curated variously by the Institute for American Indian Studies (IAIS), Connecticut State Archaeological Repository (CSAR), Central Connecticut State University, and Milford Historical Society (MHS). Given the variety of the types of collections involved, the length of time devoted to archaeological recovery and study was highly variable. Many collections represented surface collection or very limited excavations, completed between 1920 and 1980. As a result of the periods in which they were excavated, proper stratigraphic and provenience details were often lacking in a collection. This was particularly true of collections excavated by Claude C. Coffin and Edward Rogers in the early 20$^{th}$ century. (Figure 1.5)

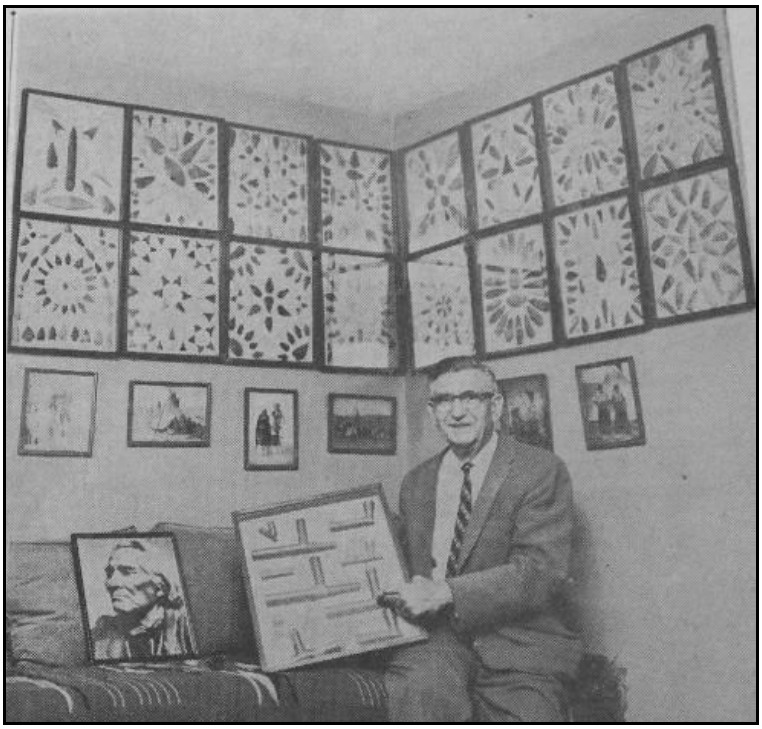


Figure 1.5. Edward Rogers, a prominent collector of Native artifacts in Connecticut in the early 20th century. Pictured here with his collection and described as a "veteran student of tribal lore" who "spent [his] early life roaming [the] country," (Source: Rogers Collection, IAIS)

Second, the extent of excavation at a site was frequently limited to minor testing. This was true, for example, of some (but not all) of the sites excavated as part of the Fort Hill Project. Third, interpretations previously published about some sites are characterized as inconclusive upon primary examination.[vi] These differences in archaeological reporting and excavation techniques limited the amount of reliable stratigraphic and provenience information for collections. These limitations shaped the nature of ways archaeological evidence could be used to interpret ongoing connections between Native communities, and more particularly, continuing patterns of communal living. Heeding the study's goals to draw on a greater range of existing archaeological resources available to researchers, collections which lacked proper stratigraphic control

and/or field notes were used for insights into material culture patterns through the available artifact assemblage.

However, a limited number of archaeological collections with a higher degree of resolution were known, from previous excavation and historical research, to be associated with Native communities in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. These included Lighthouse Village and Potatuck Wigwams (National Register Nomination 1985; Feder 1994). Evidence of 17th to 19th century European and Anglo-American manufactured objects, such as metal knives, gunflints, and ceramics, provided dating ranges which assisted in establishing chronological control of sites. These are corroborated by historical sources.

All together, the variability of field techniques and reporting in these many kinds of collections made both chronological designations and comparative spatial analyses difficult. While clear spatial evidence from post-17th century hamlet communities was consequently less forthcoming than estimated, the spatial and contextual data gathered nevertheless provide the framing for elucidating the range of practices encompassed in maintaining Native community connections across place and distance in southern New England. In particular, it situates how to better understand the relationships between community-keeping, mobility, landscape, and place.

The study privileged data regarding spatial and structural patterning within and across domestic sites. Sites that had been extensively excavated were examined for indicators of continued practices of communal living and labor-sharing, evident in the spatial positioning of archaeological features such as communal middlespaces. Beyond spatial evidence, artifact assemblages were examined for indications in continuations of

mixed subsistence economies, food procurement and processing technologies, and production and consumption traditions.

State archaeological files were surveyed for the three counties surrounding the Housatonic Valley. Not only do the sites surveyed support contemporary Native communities' assertions of a long and continuous presence in the region, but they illuminate the historical antecedents of Native practices of dwelling and community-keeping over the landscape. This survey further reinforces the established importance of regional and extra-regional connections in understanding long-standing social, political, economic, and kin ties between Housatonic Native communities and those in surrounding regions. Site reports and limited analyses of collections provided a lens to situate both Native community-keeping practices and the use of particular locales in wider spatial parameters.

Rather than being confined to a site- or local-level scale the study placed Native community locales in broader regional frameworks of connection. Numerous collections attested to the long-standing patterns of trade and exchange which connected the Housatonic Valley with the materials, technologies, styles, and traditions of Native communities in the Hudson Valley, Connecticut Valley, and beyond. The associations within and between these nested networks of sites were placed in larger traditions of community-keeping, place-making, and dwelling. Through site visitations and landscape walkovers, the study explored the ways community-keeping practices have been, and continue to be, inscribed on the landscape. These inscriptions take physical form in expressions of performed activities, site return and visitation, and ceremonial rounds. These actions on the landscape both surround and intervene in community practices and

they speak to the ways of dwelling – moving, gathering, encountering – within these spaces.

While concerned to illuminate the means of dwelling and community-keeping in the 18th and 19th centuries, the study situates these attentions within a longer-term perspective that recognizes their place as but one feature of a much larger and longer curation of living traditions. It examines the social, symbolic, and physical geographies in which hamlet communities were situated and how they have been represented over time. Understanding the contemporary ways in which hamlet sites are remembered and drawn upon on in building continuing links to homelands, to ancestors, and to group extends these concerns for community-keeping into the present. Cumulatively, these different scales combine to demonstrate that such communities were not 'scattered', 'isolated', or on the 'fringes' (DeForest 1851). They were instead linked to one another, and to the surrounding Anglo-American built environment, through intricate social, economic, and kinship ties that continue today.

## SPATIALIZING "COMMUNITY"

*"Our cultures and languages are similar, yet all of us have our own stories"*

In order to more faithfully and richly explore these community ties and Native practices of community-keeping, I consider carefully what "community" encompasses. These conceptual insights provide the framing for elucidating the range of practices involved in maintaining Native communities across place and distance in southern New England. Defining "community" is a task that has been described as "notoriously

awkward" (Edyvane 2007:17) and "slippery" (Amit & Rapport 2002:13; Amit 2002). It is a term used frequently, widely, diversely, and sometimes thoughtlessly. As Edyvane (2007:17-18) elaborates, "People talk about international community, national community, local neighborhood community, business community, ethnic community, gay community and so on," yet it is not at all clear "that the term is intended to denote the same sort of thing in each and every instance." And if it is not clear what community is, it is even less clear how it operates.

For some, community necessitates residence in the same locale, for others it must involve face to face relations, others find community in dispersed geographic networks, whilst some maintain it unites strangers through imagined togetherness, and still others argue it is based on relationships with a shared moral undertone (based on Mason 2000:17). For critics, these ambiguities and incommensurabilities signify that "community" as a term has no shared descriptive meaning, let alone analytic fortitude (Mason 2000:17). Yet "community" clearly has conceptual, practical, and affective staying power, as evident in the resurgence of community debates among scholars, activists, politicians, and organizations in the last several decades.

Federal recognition definitions closely tie "community" with a notion of "specific area." Community, by its explanation, "means any people living within such a reasonable proximity as to allow group interaction and maintenance of tribal relations" (NAACP 1993:6). Although this criterion of "reasonable proximity" carries the promise of geographic fluidity, in actuality it has been interpreted as people living in a confined, closely delineated, and observable area. This is a trend no less present in archaeology, where scholars have often approached the archaeology of community as a "locale linked

with social interaction" (Cusick 1995:61). The trouble with such approaches, Wellman (1999:xiv) rightly argues, is that it "makes the mistake of looking for community, a preeminently social phenomenon, in places, an inherently spatial phenomenon." All too often, then, it has been easy for observers to conclude that community has "disappeared" when strong evidence of solidary local behavior is not apparent.

In this context, finding "a language of community appropriate to our times" is not merely a matter of theoretical urgency (Edyvane 2007). "Community" is a freighted term which carries with it social, legal, and economic implications. For Native communities of the United States it implicates a denial or granting of status that determines sovereignty, access to resources, and recognition of communal heritage and personal identity. As is reflected in stringent federal recognition requirements regarding "community," the "ordinary usage of the term 'community' is closed and inflexible" and "all too often contradicted by the experience of modernity" (Edyvane 2007:36). There is a long scholarly tradition, notably from the works of Plato and Aristotle onward, of tying community closely to locale and consensus, both of which seem unsettled in a contemporary world of movement, cosmopolitanism, multiple belongings, and celebrations of difference. However, by forefronting attention on "community in practice," it becomes clear that neither movement nor conflict is a barrier to community (Edyvane 2007:1; Rapport and Dawson 1998).

Following in the tradition of Ferdinand Tönnies, many people still see community as "specific, embedded, and particular" (Kelly McBride 2005:3). They tie community closely, and inextricably, with "locality." Traditional communities have been represented and exalted as doggedly close-knit, embodying shared values and grounded in face-to-

face interactions (Mayo 2000:39). Today, it seems, these valorized ideas of community-as-locality may have been largely imaginary (Mayo 2000:39). Nevertheless, because of these assumptions, community studies have frequently amounted to neighborhood studies. Assuming that many of peoples' social ties are organized by locality, analysts have often begun from mapping local areas and then interpreted the degree of communal interaction and feeling within these boundaries (Wellman 1999:15).

Instead, while ties to place remain an important feature of community theorizations, a stronger focus on the qualities of interactions among community members enables sharper understandings of how community persists across time and space. Communities, however, are not characterized only by the nature and degree of human interaction (Freie 1998:28). Rather, social interaction "reflects and reinforces additional dimensions" of community, including a "given scale, shared goals and sentiments that bind people to their common enterprise" (Keller 2003:7). The ways in which a member perceives his or her membership in a community is not statically inherited, but is instead reinforced through repeated acts of belonging (Anderson 1983).

As manifoldly expressed in the depth of Native community ties, community both begins with and is supported by expressions of interdependence and reciprocity (Selznick 1996:198). In this manner, community most fundamentally involves a group of people "who acknowledge their interconnectedness" (Wood and Judikis 2002:12). In turn, conscious identification with a community provides members with a sense of rootedness (Freie 1998:28-29), the "realm where we find our origin and definition, the roots of our lives, the roots of communities in which we live or from which we may escape in order to live" (Fowler 1991:40).

For many, “perceptions of rootedness” require rootedness itself. Regardless of whether community is identified most closely with locale, with networks of relations, or as shared life, a sense of community involves situated practices and embodied relations (Meskell and Preucel 2004). Drawing attention to this phenomenological sense emphasizes a being-in-the-world attachment to place and landscape that is a critical element in sustaining social relations through time (Tilley 1994; Ingold 2000). Schaghticoke tribal elder Trudie Lamb Richmond acknowledges the importance of continuing place- and homeland- attachments from both tribal and legal viewpoints, commenting, “It has been said that the land is considered the recognized prerequisite to the survival of a community’s culture” (Lamb Richmond 1987:8). Landscape, the lens through which land is perceived, is far more than an issue of scale, size, or physical attribute, however (Gregory and Pred 2007:4). Rather, landscape is “a way of seeing and understanding,” perception that is simultaneously social, emotional, ideational, intellectual, spatial and physical (Fairclough 2006:57).

Landscape and place provide the habitual space of a community, over and above the social ties nurtured by proximity. Acting as reservoirs of social practices, landscapes encode, reproduce, and inspire practice and memory at individual, familial, and collective levels (Francis et al. 2002; Crumley 2002). As Native peoples of New England describe of the Schaghticoke, Weantinock, Potatuck, and Paugussett peoples, “Their identities are all closely linked to specific places. A sense of community - living together in a place - linked those who lived near one another” (IAIS 1989). By taking homelands and dwelling as conceptual cornerstones (Barth 1969), this study advocates a more peopled representation of landscape (Francis et al. 2002) than has been characteristic of many

Native American studies (Handsman and Lamb Richmond 1995), while also offering a way to theorize community maintenance in movement.

Heidegger's (1977) and Brah's (1996) contributions to ideas of *dwelling* remind us how genealogies of dispersal are entangled with those of 'staying put', but always in ways that are culturally recognizable. "For phenomenologists," Escobar (2001) elaborates, "we 'dwell' in the world, and dwelling involves a unity of human beings with their environment, a lack of distance between people and things, and an engagement with the world that is not articulated in discourse but which arises out of using the world" (2001:204-205, drawing on Thomas 1993). By weaving through familiar paths, remembering origin stories, or practicing economies of craft, 'dwelling' creates a sense of self and of belonging (Heidegger 1977; Clifford 1997; Bender 2001:5). Through the ways in which these practices of dwelling, of "staying with things," are also peopled, they translate senses of community.

Yet, as much as communities are inherently spatial, and characterized in part by space-based phenomena like organization and distance, they are also temporal and must endure in time (Shepard and Rothenbuhler 2001:xiii-xiv; Zelizer 2001). Dwelling and memory is not just articulated and performed, but as Nazarea (2006) suggests, it is materialized. This study considers how objects and landscapes are technologies of memory which inscribe and project the social history of a community forward over time and distance (Battaglia 1990; Thomas 1993; Rubertone 2001). By drawing together homeland, dwelling, and memory this study reconsiders how traditions of place, space, and practice are brought into relation and materialized (Morphy 1995; Howell 2002),

particularly in ways which may be recognizable in contemporary settings of struggle for social and political recognition.

Following Caftanzoglou (2001), I use the term community in the sense of a group of people who curate a shared history, a feeling of togetherness, common interactions, and ties to place, whether immediate, distant, or imagined. Community, as conceived from this perspective, is "built" of many components. This study draws on features widely regarded as fundamental to community, including rootedness, locality, networks, mutual dependence (mutuality), and a shared history, and considers how they are reflected in expressions of Native life in 18th and 19th century western Connecticut. It focuses these conceptual considerations of community by looking at their expressions with respect to mobility and movement. In particular, it considers how archaeologies of movement and mobility might shape understandings of the roles that locality, networks, and other features play in community maintenance over time.

## ANTHROPOLOGIES OF MOBILITY

Crucially, expressing ties to place and landscape does not demand that a person or group be bound by either locality or by being 'in place.' Drawing on the insights of diaspora and mobility studies, this study nuances conceptual dimensions of community by focusing on how community not only persists in spite of movement, but is sustained by it. Malkki (1995, 1997) has rightly critiqued that "suggesting that culture is rooted in particular geographic places would imply that uprooted refugees or migrants somehow lose their culture" (Long and Oxfield 2004:5, citing Malkki 1997). Instead, emphasizing

a more peopled representation of landscape leads to ways through which to better theorize community maintenance in circumstances of dispossession, displacement, and movement.

These considerations lead to very different ideas about the boundedness of society, about locality, about how people reside, and about how they maintain connections, as Benedict Anderson's (1983) influential work reminds us. Bender (2001:7) observes that there has been a considerable tendency "to assume that a rooted, familiar sense of place requires staying put." In New England, this has been particularly manifest in the bias of U.S. Federal courts toward recognizing viable Native 'communities' as only those in which individuals reside together, as in the Mashpee Wampanoag federal recognition case (Campisi 1991; Clifford 1988). However, as anthropologists seek to better understand how senses of community can persist amidst migration, globalization and transnationalism, in times of perceived dislocation and disrootedness, the constraints of this conceptualization warrant renewed disciplinary attention.

Movement was (and is) frequently villainized as antithetical to feelings of rootedness and belonging. In the views of many community theorists, including prominent philosopher John Dewey, mobility uproots community and is detrimental to identity (Calabrese 2001:264, citing Dewey 1946). Human mobility, however, including conditions of movement and displacement either voluntary or involuntary, is a norm – a "common aspect of human existence rather than…an aberration of human life" (Rajaram and Grundy-Warr 2007:xxvii-xxviii, drawing on Appadurai 1996). The last decade has witnessed growing recognition that movement is a much more pervasive and long-

standing feature of communal social life than previously credited (Markowitz 2004:21). For some scholars, these changes can be viewed as a perspectival shift away from the "narrative of (em)placement (or sedentariness)" (Stefansson 2004:184). Rather than "immobility, stability, boundedness and cultural continuity," scholars have taken up "a new narrative of mobility, emphasizing aspects of physical movement, globalization, transnationalism, diaspora, cultural creolization and socio-cultural construction" (Stefansson 2004:184). If socio-cultural places, or what Rapport and Dawson (1998:4) describe as "fixities of social relations and cultural routines localized in time and space," were once the contextual reservoirs in which social relations were structured and played out, today they may no longer be perceived so.

The notion that everything "is in constant motion" is in truth an idea with millennia-old roots. "If mobility is the new mantra to be chanted," Noel Salazar (2009) comments, "the chorus line might be older than most scholars want to acknowledge." Already by the 5th century BCE, the Greek philosopher Heraclitus of Ephesus proposed that "all things flow." All the same, the theoretical shift away from "traditionally fixed, spatially and temporally bounded cultural worlds" (Rapport and Dawson 1998:23) has profoundly transformed anthropological considerations of movement. In prior anthropological incarnations, cultures, "embodying genealogies of blood, property and frontier" were rooted in time and space, just as were their members (Carter 1992:7-8). Even if individuals and communities were highly mobile around a landscape, it was perceived that "*cognitively they never moved*" Rapport and Dawson (1998:23).

Yet, a growing number of studies indicate that a sense of rootedness is not related in "any simple or direct way with fixity or movement" (Rapport and Dawson 1998:27).

Instead, rootedness, a sense of home, comes to be found not in any one locale, but in repeated actions, relations, and emotions. Sense of place is not then restricted to the scale of the locality (Agnew 1993) - nor is it restricted by fixity. Instead, Bender (2001:7) offers that landscapes are the "precipitate of movement" – of people, labor, and capital, among other things - across geographic space-time. Foregrounding this notion of movement is critical in articulating the possibilities for, and kinds of, community maintenance with which this study is concerned. Rather than suggesting that community is lost if ties to place are disrupted, it acknowledges that community can persist in times of group stress, displacement, and even dispersion.

In describing the important relationship of mobility to community and rootedness, a careful distinction must be drawn between migrancy and movement. Movement draws attention to the spaces of dispersion and the places en route, to the paths and acts of travel as well as the familiar points of origin and end. The practices of connection it encompasses include not only elements of return and/or homecoming but also "continuous circulation and movement" between spaces and locales (Hanafi 2005:100). Landscape approaches can be particularly compelling in this regard, for they can tease out the "complex and multi-layered implications and meanings of human movement, specifically in relation to ideas about place [and] being dis-'placed'" (Rajaram and Grundy-Warr 2007:xxvii). These considerations are particularly important in shaping understandings of diaspora (Chapters 5, 7).

Inside and outside of Native New England, scholars and publics alike wrestle with how communities can persist across distances and boundaries, amidst flux, and through time. Social scientists put forth terms like "dislocated landscapes," "non-places,"

"nomadologies" and other concepts which attempt to reconcile the social and physical placement(s) of people in society. Alarmed by growing numbers of people-on-the-move, policymakers, scholars, and publics fall back on recurrent discourses about a "crisis in community." The breadth of these concerns, across both public and scholarly lines, raises insistent awareness of the very real implications that these conceptions have on the circumstances, resources, power, and futures of contemporary communities.

## CONTINUING COMMUNITIES

This dissertation traces the patterns of Native connections and community keeping across the Housatonic River Valley and its extensions outward. The discussion is organized on two levels. On the one hand, it tracks the movements, gatherings, and practices of families' and individuals' community keeping efforts through a chronological narrative that extends through time and over space. It starts from a point in the distant past and builds a longer temporal trajectory that situates Native community life in the 17th through 19th centuries. The chronological divisions that define each chapter are not arbitrary, but reflect particular Native "geographies" at different time periods. These geographies were shaped by Anglo-American changes to the Housatonic landscape, including the land policies they enacted, the Native dispossessions they occasioned, and the regulations of Native movement they entailed. Concurrently, they were shaped by Native responses to these changes – responses which were guided by community-keeping practices that continued to sustain their connections to one another and to their ancestral homelands.

As each chapter explores different "geographies," it also considers how Native practices reflected a continuing sense of community. Each chapter examines a different conceptual building-block or component of "community." These include the importance of place and locality, expressions of a shared life, diaspora, and networks over space and through time. The focus in each of these discussions is how attention to movement and mobility shapes our understandings of the ways community is maintained. Together, these considerations lay the framework for understanding mobility as a central and sustaining feature of community life, one that is capable of integrating flux while still providing a sense of community.

Chapter Two describes the community keeping practices which characterized Native community life in the centuries leading up to sustained Anglo-American presence. Focusing on the "landscape" of Housatonic community life, it sets the stage for understanding Native patterns of connection to the land and to regional and inter-regional relationships of communal living. It charts how smaller place-based communities consolidated with one another in the 17$^{th}$ and early 18$^{th}$ century into the larger amalgamated tribal designations handed down today. It pays particular attention to early spatial responses to colonial settlement, including decisions to remain on homelands in reservations, to shift slightly to alternate places on homelands, and to remove to kin in less affected areas.

The third chapter picks up in the 1720s, as Native groups in the Housatonic Valley navigated losing the bulk of their landholdings. With an eye on Anglo-American ideologies of human-environment relationships, it considers how new technologies and tools partitioned the landscape in unfamiliar ways. Native communities responded to

increasing spatial restrictions by expanding the consolidation processes which had begun in the 17th century. They clustered on prominent locales on their homelands, particularly in the mid- and northern-Housatonic. Yet, the discussion simultaneously emphasizes that Native conceptions of homelands provided the basis for continuing attachments to place and for creative and syncretic processes of place-making. The complexity of these engagements over space emphasizes that community can be place-based, but not place-bounded.

The fourth chapter opens in the 1750s with the classic trope of Native disappearance, relocation, and seeming cultural and physical extinction. Yet ethnohistoric sources, particularly Moravian diary records from a Christian mission established among the Native community at Schaghticoke, show that Native communities were not confined to only a few places in the wake of dispossession, as historical records suggest. Instead, they continued to live out a model of homelands, moving and living around virtually the entire range of their ancestral territories. This chapter explores the variety of communal spaces through which they remained connected. It disputes historical assertions that only a few central locales provided the foci of community life and resistance to colonial changes. Across these spaces, it further shows that Native communities continued the patterns of a shared life, closely tied to one another in continuing social, ceremonial, and economic calendars.

Although closely connected, Housatonic Native communities were moving at ever-widening distances, by the last two decades of the 18th century, as was much of Native New England. Faced with constricting resources, lessening lands, and industrial changes, they expanded their “circuits of movement.” They moved in and across a

diversity of geographical and social boundaries in order to support themselves as communities and as individuals. Chapter 5 examines how Native communities recreated home and "emplaced" themselves in new and old spaces on their homelands, fighting back for a stronghold through both formal, legal channels and through continued stores of local knowledge. These processes intersected with the concerns of Anglo-American observers regarding growing patterns of interracial relationships. The discussion looks at emergent sciences of race and the ways racial mixing was interpreted by Anglo-American observers as the precursor to cultural demise. It does so particularly through the lens of how Anglo-Americans viewed the impacts of multiple ancestry on communal and residential life.

In a final chapter, the narrative takes up the continuing importance of Native diasporas by examining the importance of growing rural and urban networks in the 1820s. As the industrial boom hit, the Housatonic Valley landscape changed in dramatic ways. Even still, however, Native people continued to live networked across formal and informal Native spaces. Their networks extended laterally across contemporary circumstances, but also backward and forward in time. In a discussion that focuses on the importance of memory and temporal depth, the chapter examines Native heritage practices as markers of continuing, distinctive traditions of cultural life.

## THE PAST IN THE PRESENT

Many have stressed that despite popular imaginings, indigenous struggles for recognition are not just about land and gaming claims; they are about human rights,

repatriation, cultural and intellectual property, and community healing (Strong 2005:260). Exploring these geographies of representation and loss takes on new exigencies as scholars and communities confront how grouphood is maintained in circumstances of escalating globalization, transnationalism, movement, and migration. Boundaries today seem increasingly fluid, senses of place increasingly vulnerable. Historical anthropologies contribute important examples of how groups in the past have responded to displacement and movement and succeeded in maintaining an intergenerational sense of community and grouphood. They underscore that these concerns for locatedness and dislocation are not merely the symptoms or experiences of a 'modernity' (Kempny 2002).

Ties to their ancestral homelands root the Schaghticoke, Weantinock, Potatuck, and Paugussett people of western Connecticut in their heritage and identity. As the late Paugussett traditional leader Chief Big Eagle (Aurelius Piper Sr.) described, "Ours is a land culture. In fact, the land is the culture" (IAIS 1989). Phenomenological treatments of community have emphasized how being-in-the-world attachments to place and landscape are critical elements in sustaining social relations through time (Basso 1996; Ingold 2000; Meskell and Preucel 2004). However, following Bender (2001), this study emphasizes that expressing ties to place and landscape does not demand that a person or group be bound by locality, or by being 'in place.' Instead, by elucidating the range of practices encompassed in maintaining community connections across places and distances, this work draws attention to the shortcomings of conventional treatments of communities as place-bound collectives. It emphasizes the ways that ties to place and to community can be sustained not only through movement, but by movement.

Although this study focuses on the 18th and 19th centuries, understanding these mechanisms has important implications for how expressions of identity and heritage are perceived, represented, and included or excluded among communities and publics today. The dangerously presentist frameworks of community meaning that guide how scholars and publics understand and represent groups, cultural integrity, and continuity historically have very real consequences. As Bender (2006:310) eloquently argues, "we have to recognize that though people may be dis-placed or dis-located they are never no-where. They are always – somehow, and however desperately – in place." This study works against vernacular views of "community," which failed in the past to recognize the depth and complexity of Native community ties, and which continue to demand that Native groups demonstrate what are, to them, inappropriate models of community continuance. Native groups across the region vehemently and poignantly express, "We are still here," and they fight for a stronger say in managing and representing their communities, heritage, and homelands.

[i] A notable exception to this is the work of the Jason Mancini and the Historical Research Department at the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, who have worked to position Pequot families and individuals both on- and off-reservation within the larger social fabric of southeastern Connecticut, southern New England, and Long Island Sound).

[ii] Archaeological evidence, notably the distribution of lithic materials and pottery styles in the Housatonic watershed, suggests close connections with Mahican groups of the Hudson Valley to the west and western Massachusetts to the north (Jones and Centola 2008). To the north, the presence in western Massachusetts, particularly Stockbridge, of chalcedony lithic materials from the Kent, Connecticut area suggests close cultural connections between the regions (Binzen 2002:13). Weinstein and Heme's detailed examination of Weantinock deeds further supports the strength of these interregional connections. Their work has illuminated new connections between Housatonic Valley Native groups and Mahican groups in Dutchess County, New York. They argue that Weantinock homelands stretched into the Wassaic and Amenia areas of eastern New York (2005:52). Together, these archaeological and documentary lines of evidence suggest that in variance from Snow's riverine model, "a mechanism of cultural interaction overrode [exclusively riverine] environmental parameters" (Binzen 2002:11).

[iii] John DeForest, writing in the mid-19th century, tried unsuccessfully to quell some of these debates. "The divisions and connections which existed between the various tribes," he perplexes, "were extremely loose, so as occasionally to make it difficult for us to distinguish one from another" (1851:49). His confusion continues to echo a century and a half later in the frustration of researchers endeavoring to discern and demonstrate the nature of Housatonic community ties for Golden Hill Paugussett and Schaghticoke contemporary federal recognition proceedings.

[iv] Recently, however, Blair Rudes, Laurie Weinstein and Deseree Heme and others have compellingly argued that these designations are without historical grounding (Rudes 2005; Weinstein and Heme 2005). They point out that such bounded conceptualizations do not adequately consider the degree to which deeds reflect Anglo-American biases toward property, territory, and naming Native peoples (Rudes 2005:19). Instead, it seems plain that groups like the Weantinock, Paugussett, Potatuck, and others in the region were identified by early English and Dutch colonists with the places where they resided (Weinstein 2005:v). As the circumscribing forces of colonialism proceeded up the Housatonic the small communities who lived along its shores and those of its tributaries, including the Wepawaug, Pequannock, Cupheag, Sasqua, Potatuck, Naugatuck, and Weantinock, gradually consolidated, both in fact and in colonial imagination. In the 18th and 19th centuries these place-based community names became reified and institutionalized into "tribal territories" by officials and historians (Rudes 2005:25-26; Weinstein and Heme 2005:v). As Rudes elaborates, "Beginning with the work of DeForest (1851) and continuing up through the works of Wojciechowski (1985, 1992), the historic [place] names have come to refer to 'tribal' groups from first English contact onward, including the 17th and early 18th centuries when even the English colonists still used place names to refer to the Indians" (2005:25-26).

[v] Orientation to water roots the cultural landscapes, community practices, and spiritual traditions of many Native peoples in the Northeast (Snow 1980). Based on a regional synthesis of archaeological work, archaeologist Dean Snow has proposed a watershed-based model for understanding the cultural relations and dynamics of Native populations in New England. He suggests that the territories of Native groups were defined by the watersheds they occupied (Binzen 2002:11). While many scholars have taken up this riverine model and focused on river drainages and watersheds as general territorial markers for Native groups in the Northeast, others argue compellingly that rivers tended "to form the core of Native American homelands, not the boundaries" (Weinstein and Heme 2005:55, citing Lavin and Crone-Morange 2002:18). Rivers and coastlines were central "arteries" for Native communication and transportation, and thus were often the center of Native settlements (Cruson 1991:80; Snow 1980:2).

[vi] Additionally the way sites have historically been recorded and represented in the state run counter to thinking of places as long-term sites with complex histories. Reporting methods have historically required different site report sheets for "prehistoric" and "historic" archaeological sites, such that one site will have two different forms with the material presented as two separate components. Integrating site data and identifying "mixed" sites can be challenging as a result.

# II

# THE LANDSCAPE OF COMMUNITY

The Great River, as the Housatonic was known to Native people and the European settlers with whom they later came to share it, has for generations been a "source of great power and majesty to its Native inhabitants" (Lamb Richmond 1994:105). Coursing its way 115 miles south from the Berkshires of central Massachusetts to Long Island Sound, it winds its way through narrow crevices, lush intervales, sweeping floodplains, and tidal marshes. It is smaller than its neighbors, the Connecticut River and Hudson River to its east and west, but it is the largest river drainage in between and some 2000 square miles in area (Smith 1946:6; Binzen 2002:7). (Figure 2.1)

For centuries, Native people have settled along the reaches of the Housatonic, fishing, planting, gathering, hunting, and meeting. As Schaghticoke elder Trudie Lamb Richmond describes, the Native communities of the Housatonic Valley "had a true partnership with the land, and their subsistence cycle was regulated by centuries of spiritual tradition" (1994:105). Village life was "one of cooperation and sharing," centered on the community and built around large extended families and clans.

These patterns of life were challenged in the 17th and early 18th centuries as European settlers introduced new technologies, religions, diseases, conceptions of individual land ownership, and strictures of resource control (Lamb Richmond

1994:105). Drawing on Enlightenment philosophies of property and principles of right of conquest, colonists began to appropriate the lands, waters, and resources which underlay and nurtured Native life. Native communities in the Housatonic that were dispossessed of their ancestral homelands in the 17th and early 18th centuries responded variably to land loss, acting as communities, as families, and as individuals. This chapter sets the stage for the dynamics to follow in the rest of the dissertation, establishing the initial patterns of response to European colonization (up to the 1720s), and exploring the terms which are connected in the "landscape of community."

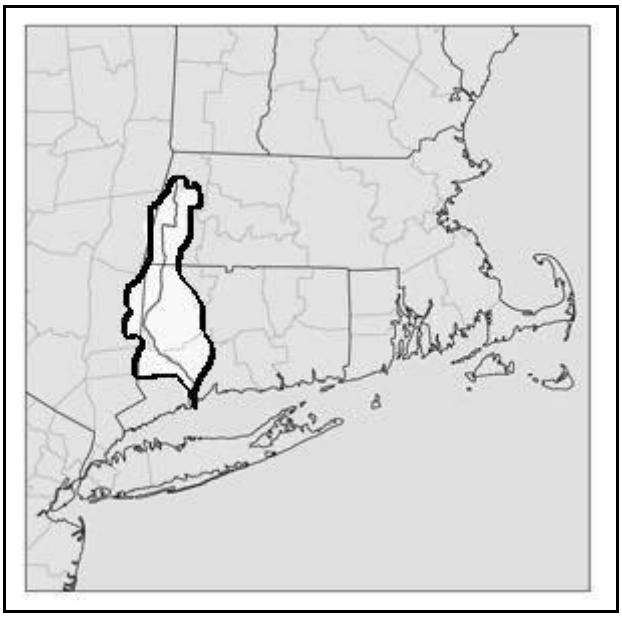


Figure 2.1. Map of the Housatonic River Valley in southern New England. (Source: Author)

For many Native communities, though, the routes to survival converged in similar patterns. Influenced by shared cultural heritage and certain physical realities of the environment, many adopted similar strategies in response to early colonial settlement along the coastal and coastal interiors. A number of communities consolidated with

neighboring Native communities, a pattern which particularly characterized the small local groups along the coast. In a second strategy, some of these consolidated communities stayed on their coastal homelands, even as colonial presence intensified, by settling on legally-reserved lands. Employing a third strategy, others relocated to more "marginal" community locales on their homelands. For others, community survival entailed a fourth strategy of drawing on their vast networks of kin to move to homelands beyond the colonial curtain in the mid-Housatonic Valley. (Figure 2.2)

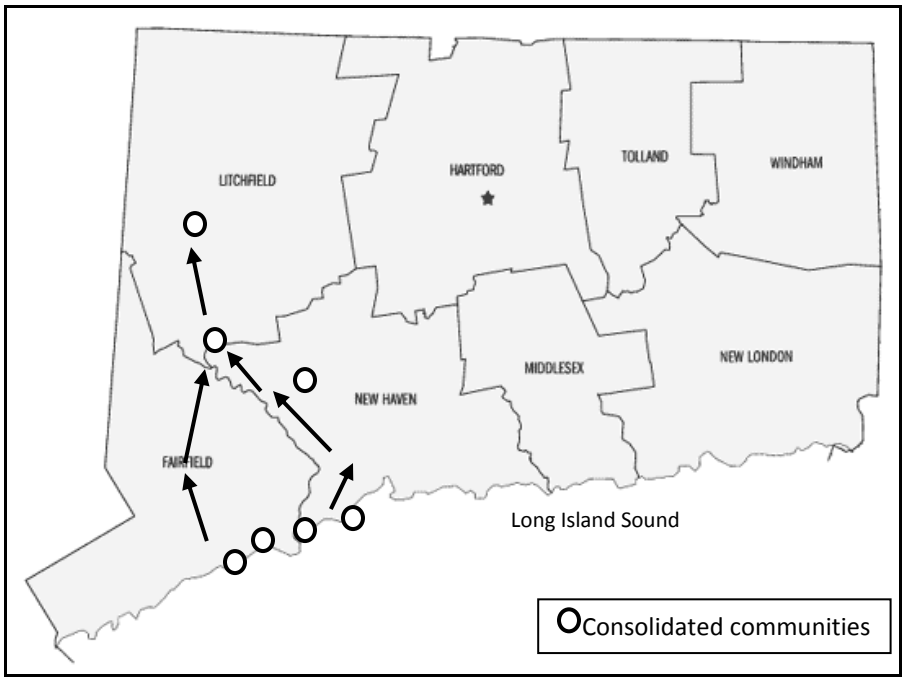



Figure 2.2. Greater Housatonic Native community patterns in the 17th century. Small communities consolidated along the coast. Some stayed on lesser-used locales on their coastal homelands, some relocated to reservations. Others moved north to the homelands of their kin in the mid-Housatonic interior. (Source: Author)

These actions have led some observers to perceive that dispossession and spatial marginalization were accompanying processes that went hand in hand. Native people's movements were not, however, total abrogations of homeland and community. Rather,

they represented continuing practices of "dwelling" across a landscape. New England Native communities' practices of dwelling were rooted in the interrelationships of land, ancestors, and the "network of relations" that nourished community, all of which guided community survival among colonial pressures (Brooks 2008:4).

In the centuries surrounding European arrival, Native people drew on a long repertoire of cultural knowledge, ancestral stories, and spiritual links to steer their responses, choices, and actions. Native communities were closely interconnected across the Housatonic, Hudson, and Connecticut River valleys, as archaeological evidence suggests had been the case for centuries. The kinned landscape of the Housatonic Valley provided a physical and social framework long familiar to Native communities as they sought to maintain their ties to homeland and community amidst colonial pressures. They took advantage of their deep relationships to the land, their knowledge of resources, and their cultural memory of ancestral community locales. They drew on their extensive communication and social networks to understand how places were physically and symbolically changing. And through these channels to the past and present, they succeeded in locating strategies which could support continuing community life.

## ENCOUNTERING NATIVE SPACES

The European colonists who arrived along the Housatonic's shores in the mid-17th century were compelled by its beauty, its power, its riches - and its potential. From its earliest descriptions, the Great River has been singled out from other tributaries in the region. Its landscapes were described not only in languages of resource and prospect, but

also in tones of sentiment, resonance, and even homecoming, that convey a sense of place and attachment. Lyricizing, Chard Powers Smith marveled:

> "From any point [on the Housatonic], high or low, there is a spacious and satisfying view, a view over hills and valleys wide enough to stir the imagination, yet small enough and with horizon curves graceful enough to contain it within *the limits of a place and meaning*" (Smith 1946:7; emphasis added).

For the English, Dutch, and later, German individuals who came to also call the Housatonic Valley home, the settlement processes of the 17th and 18th centuries transformed the physical and symbolic landscape as they mapped its features into new places meaningful to themselves and their emerging communities.

According to popular lore, English colonists first encountered Housatonic Native groups during the Pequot War, when survivors of the Pequot Massacre fled westward (Lambert 1838:20).[vii] The colonists pursued the Pequots into southwestern Connecticut, an area largely unknown to them. They noted the richness of alluvial floodplains and coastal resources, particularly around the mouth of the Housatonic River.

After the war, colonists from other early settlements in Connecticut, including the Hartford area, returned to the Housatonic Valley. They established the New Haven Bay colony in 1638. Then, in what may have been the first land transaction between the Native peoples of western Connecticut and the English, Ansantaway, the sachem of Wepawaug, sold approximately two miles of land on February 12, 1639, which founded the English town of Milford (Wojciechowski 1992:104; Rudes 2005:20). The Wepawaug Native community's planting fields at Mill Neck, where artifacts and archaeological features of Native life continue to be found, were incorporated into the newly-established Milford town plot (C.C. Coffin Exhibit, Milford Historical Society).

The English settlers who arrived in Milford and, soon-after, Stratford, found an area widely used and traveled by Native communities, though their comprehension of these settlement patterns was often limited. Just as 17th century accounts and maps depict evidence of Native settlement along the coastline and river courses of New England, so, too, in western Connecticut was there evidence all around of the long histories of Native settlement (Ceci 1990; Cronon 1983; Handsman and Maymon 1986:4; Wood 1634). Nineteenth century historian John DeForest (1851) describes that "the seacoast…was the most thickly peopled, and next to this came the country along the courses of rivers. Wherever some sheltered bay or some natural waterfall produced a good fishing place, there a village was usually formed in which congregated the whole population for many miles around" (DeForest 1851:48).[viii]

Early English settlers' recorded observations outline the Native landscape they encountered (Figure 2.3). A cluster of Native communities lived in Milford and Stratford, at the mouth of the Housatonic and at least three locations along its shores, including at the Milford Point (A), another at Turkey Hill in the northwest part of town (B), and one just north of today's Washington Bridge (C) (Scranton 1816:276). Further along the coast, historical sources reference Native communities at Pequonnock along the west side of the Bridgeport harbor (D), at Uncoway in Fairfield (E), at Cupheag in south Stratford near the Housatonic River (F), in Southport at Sasco Hill on the east side of the harbor (G), at Saugatuck in Westport along the Saugatuck River (H), at Machamux in Greens Farms (I), in the Black Rock area of Fairfield (J), on the west side of Ash Creek in Fairfield (K), and in Norwalk at the mouth of the Norwalk River (L) (Cruson 1991:81; Wojciechowski 1992:43, 60). Further along the interiors of the region there was a Native

settlement in Fairfield on both sides of the Mill Creek/Samp Mortar Reservoir (M) and a settlement of “15 wigwams” in the Aspetuck area of Easton/Weston (N) (Bradley 1923:2; Wojciechowski 1992:43).

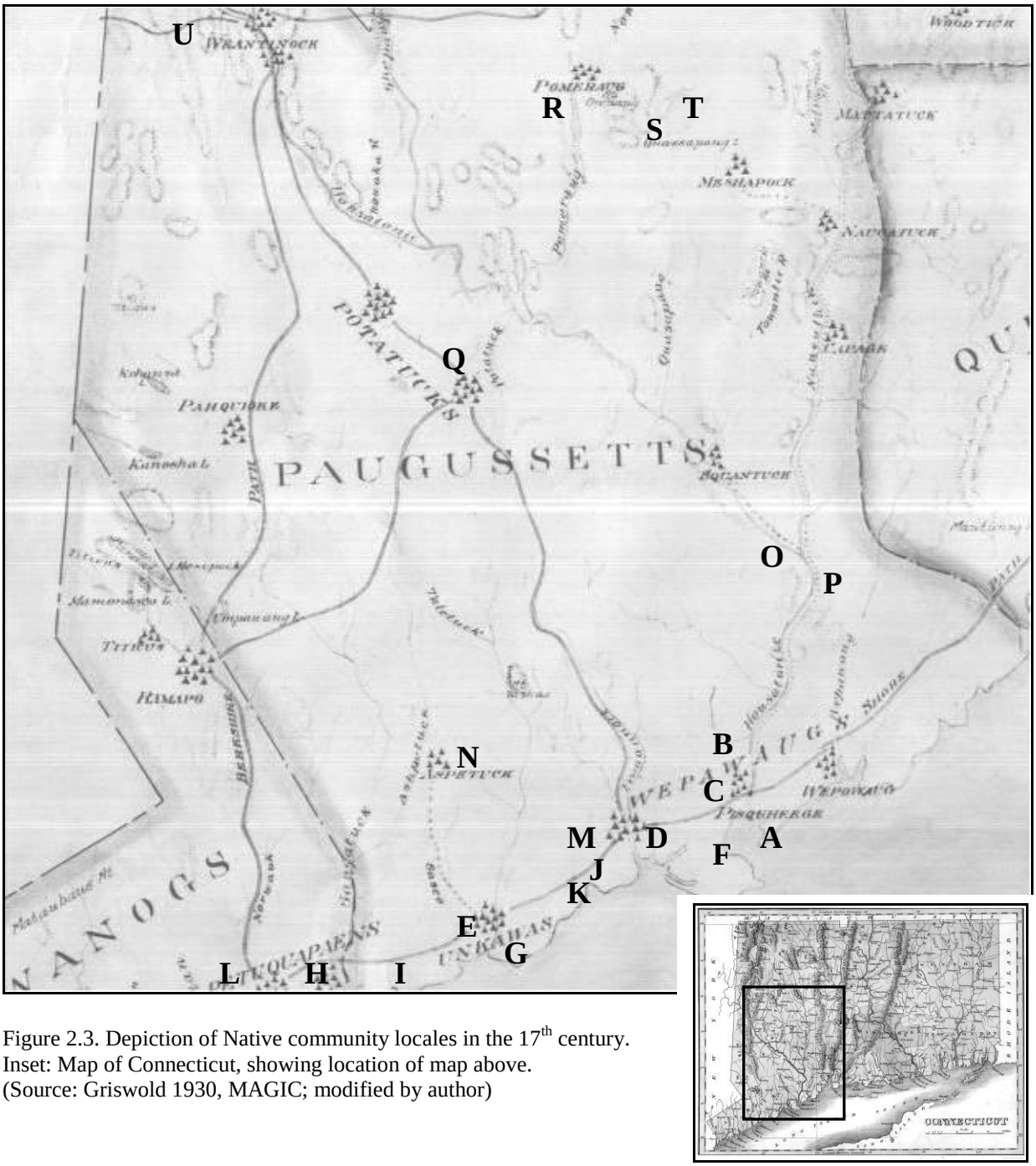



Figure 2.3. Depiction of Native community locales in the 17th century.
Inset: Map of Connecticut, showing location of map above.
(Source: Griswold 1930, MAGIC; modified by author)

Traveling northward along the course of the Housatonic River, there were Native groups living in Shelton, near what is now Indian Wells State Park (O), and in the Great Neck area of Derby at the Native village of Paugussett, just north of the confluence of the Housatonic and Naugatuck Rivers (P) (Cruson 1991:81). Native settlements were also located at Potatuck in Woodbury (later Southbury) immediately across the Housatonic from the Shady Rest section of Newtown (Q), at Pomperaug in Woodbury (R), at Nonnewaug in Woodbury near Nonnewaug River (S), at a nearby fortified enclosure at Castle Rock (T), and at Weantinock in New Milford (U) (Cruson 1991:81, 86; Cothren 1871:87). Even further to the north, smaller winter hunting camps were situated at Mount Tom between Bantam Lake and Lake Waramaug, at Bantam on the shore of Bantam Lake in the town of Litchfield, and at Bethlem (Cothren 1872:878; Gold 1904:23; Wojciechowski 1992:75). While historical sources provide this brief glimpse into the spatial arrangement of Native settlements across the landscape, many other settlements go unmentioned by name in mid-17th century documents and land transactions.

In some measure, English settlers arriving in western Connecticut in the 17th century well-recognized the landscape features of Native homelands. The visible signs of Native relationships to land were familiar to colonists. Handsman and Maymon (1986:4) elaborate that they "represented processes of domestication, environmental competence, and the control and development of nature - the same processes that had already transformed the English countryside for several centuries" (drawing on Cronon 1983; Kupperman 1980). Colonists may not have been able to pinpoint clearly bounded "villages" in western Connecticut, but they nevertheless could certainly note Native people's discernable presence in features on the landscape. Near "The Point" in Milford

on the Long Island Sound (Figure 2.3 [A]), for example, traditions of Native resource use were handed down by colonists from generation to generation. As late as 1816 it was well known that "the Indians have brought on to the ground…immense quantities of shells which was contributed to enrich the soil, even to this day. In some places these shells are several feet deep: & in most, so deep as never to have been plowed through" (Scranton 1816:276; Coffin 1937). (Figure 2.4) While settlers may not, then, have perceived Native places to their full extent, they nevertheless encountered spaces and physical features that were recognizable because they resonated with what they had just left (Handsman and Maymon 1986:4).

Figure 2.4. Coastal shellheaps were deposited by Native communities over centuries, and added to by colonial settlers, who noted their presence up and down the New England coastline. Shellheaps, such as the one pictured above, grew over earlier Native middens as oystering industries grew in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Source: Colley 2009)

Comforted by this familiarity, and at least measurably accustomed to the resources of Connecticut's coast and rivers, English colonists began quick work in assessing and acquiring the Housatonic drainage's fertile lands along the coast. Modest

boundary estimates suggest that the combined Paugussett, Potatuck, and Weantinock homelands of the Housatonic Valley encompassed somewhere between 800,000 and 900,000 acres in the early 17th century (based on Rudes 1999:299-300). In the lower Housatonic Valley, from the coast up to New Milford, the rich floodplains and fertile agricultural soils of the Housatonic's gentle flatlands were among the first locales coveted and appropriated by European settlers. (Figure 2.5) By 1639, no less than three competing land companies were vying for deals on prime land in the region. Already by 1642 the coastal areas of western Connecticut boasted an additional five towns (Buckland 2002:177). Through such swift action, between 1630 and 1699 the combined Native territory in western Connecticut shrank by one third. The overwhelming majority of remaining territory lay in the mid-and northern-reaches of the Housatonic Valley (estimates based on Rudes 1999:300).[ix]

While some historical accounts have looked at the absence of violent conflict in the two decades after the 1630s Pequot War and described this time of early land transfers as a "fairly stable period in Indian-white relations," Schaghticoke elder Trudie Lamb Richmond questions, "But from whose perspective"? As she poignantly - and pointedly - expresses, "The massacre of 400 Pequots at Mystic and the killing of at least another 600 in the Great Swamp within Paugussett territory had to create great emotional turmoil in the hearts of Native people in the area. There was fear, anger, and remorse" (Lamb Richmond 1994:106). The trauma felt by Native groups as a result of these violent confrontations was further exacerbated by the violence of excessive population losses. Even prior to significant European arrival in the region, Native communities were hard

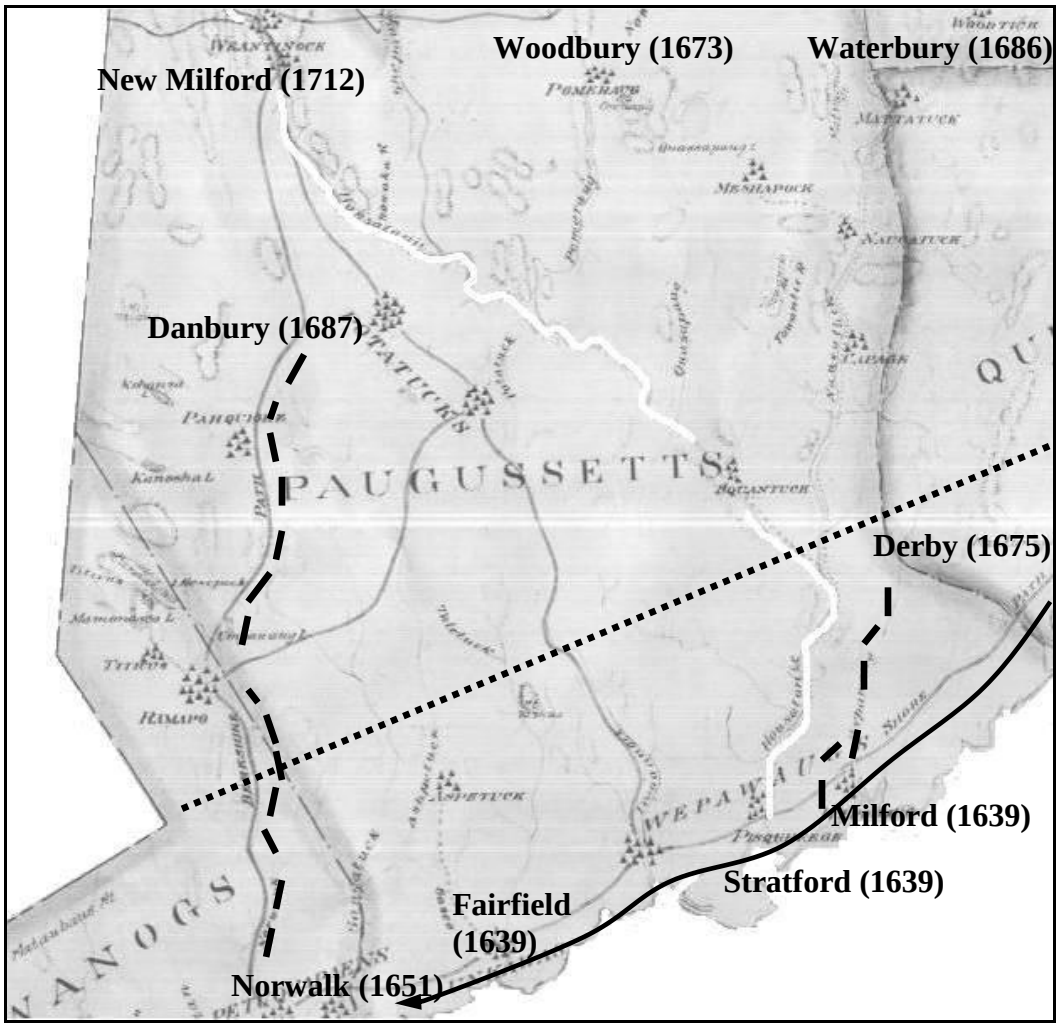



Figure 2.5. Spread of English settlers along the coastal area of western Connecticut. Location of colonial towns settled in the lower Housatonic Valley in the 17th century. Native paths were used in settling English towns in the interior, such as Derby (1651) and Danbury (1684). Areas along the coastal interiors, south of the dashed line, had been largely alienated from Native communities by 1665.
(Source: Griswold 1930, modified by author)

hit by epidemics between 1616 and 1619, and decimated by a more severe epidemic around 1633-1635 (Walwer and Walwer 2000; Brilvitch 2007).

In addition to colonial competition for land, there was constant colonial and Native trade in furs, wampum, and European goods (Lamb Richmond 1994). Trade for the rich fur and timber resources of the Long Island Sound and New England interiors became a key feature of early colonial initiatives in the region, facilitated by the trade in Native-made wampum (shell beads). While wampum served as an important colonial trade item, among Native groups it had long served more significantly as a symbol of allegiance, diplomacy, or reciprocity and as sacred markers (Ceci 1990). Indeed, "exchange" or "trade" as conceived and executed by European traders was very different than among Native communities. For Native groups across New England, economic relations were intertwined with "traditions of sharing and reciprocity" and with "kinship relations of alliance and support" (Handsman and Williamson 1989:13). European traders and colonists, however, often poorly understood these dimensions. More commonly, there were a source of tension

Native people's participation in colonial exchange introduced new objects and materials into their communities, including metal implements, brass and copper kettles, cloth, ceramic and glass vessels, glass beads, and kaolin clay pipes (Rubertone 1989, 2001).[x] Native people rather seamlessly incorporated these objects into their relationships with material culture, for as Thomas (1993:29) has described, the relationships between objects are not structured by mechanical relations between things, but instead by social relations and meaningfulness. Strips and cut pieces of metal kettles, which Native communities believed still possessed the *manit* of the kettle, were used to make projectile

points and ornaments (Handsman and Williamson 1989:30). Kaolin clay pipes were used in long-standing communal ceremonies, alongside the Native-made pipes which had emerged earlier in the Woodland era.

Not all features of colonial trade were such seamless extensions of Native practices, however. The competition within and among Native, English, and Dutch trading interests "took its toll on the Native inhabitants" (Lamb Richmond 1994:106). Native communities and individuals across New England responded differently to the changing trading rationales and practices, disrupting in some measure the Native trade networks which had long facilitated interregional trade relations (Dunn 1994; Binzen 1997).

While English and Dutch traders brought new material goods to Native groups they also brought legislative and economic restrictions which increasingly circumscribed the actions, mobility, and recourses of Native groups in the changing colonial landscape. Colonists, for their part, were almost ceaselessly agitated about fears of Native "uprisings." In Milford, for example, Wepawaug practices of burning underbrush for ecological and agricultural purposes spread to a large blaze. Colonists interpreted the action as a retaliatory attack for letting their livestock feed freely in Native planting fields (DeForest 1851). To preventively counteract such unrest, the colonists passed a series of ordinances and laws to restrict Native activity. They prohibited trading in certain areas, carrying weapons, and purchasing liquor (Guilette 1979; Den Ouden 2005). Similarly-motivated and like-minded legislative acts would continue to constrain Native communities for the next century.

As fears of Native threats diminished and as the number of colonists in the area increased, land purchases proliferated and the European settlers who had been a slight and scanty presence in 1639 grew into a considerable feature of the landscape. By the 1650s, the coastline was actively settled and nearby interior areas such as Derby boasted a palpable English presence (Orcutt 1888:26). (see Figure 2.4) Deed by deed, colonial powers purchased and enclosed the land "twig & turf & all" (Scranton 1816:275). The partitioning of the landscape and the alienation of Native access to resources was accompanied by changes on the landscape itself. While land enclosure was "largely economic and agricultural in motive," as the wording of property descriptions attests, it also had aesthetic and power implications. Landscape alterations made social distinctions more visible and more controllable (Tall 1996:106). This was particularly notable in the construction of fortified residences that were at times "nearly a mile square," such as one in Milford that was "so strong as to exclude entirely the Natives from this part of the Town" (Scranton 1816:276).[xi] (Figure 2.6)

Enclosures physically alienated Native communities from the timber resources, planting fields, shellfish reserves, sacred sites, and other cultural places which lay at the basis of their social landscape and heritage. Yet even these enclosures could not fully succeed in erasing the continuing recognition of these places as Native spaces. Over three centuries later, in the same spot on which the Milford fort had been erected, O.L. Nettleton would halt construction work on his property as he uncovered fine Levanna points, a Flint Fox Creek stemmed point, an antler tine, and other artifacts (Coffin Collection, MHS). His story, and the many others like it, were staples in 19th and early 20th century newspapers. They continually raised awareness of the buried Native

landscapes and place relationships which could not be managed or appropriated no matter how complex the landscape built over it.

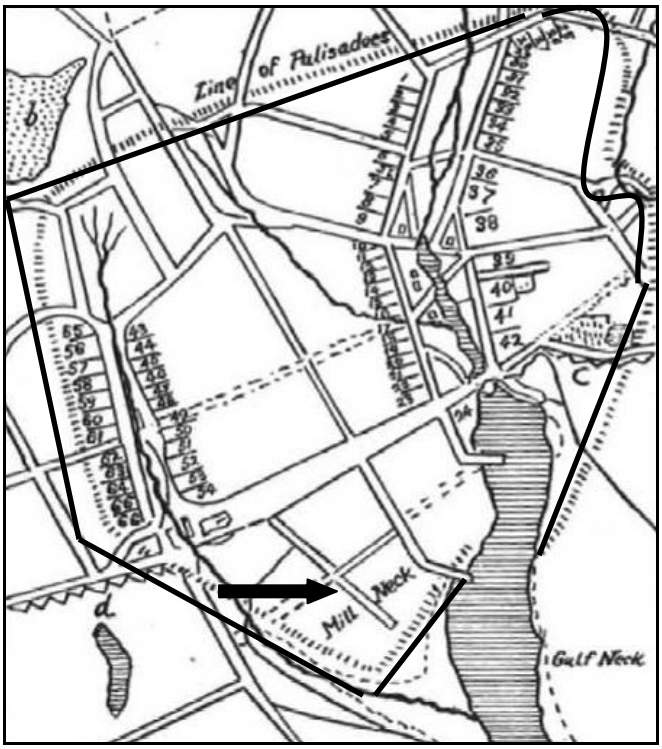



Figure 2.6. Map of Milford (c. 1656) showing the "Line of Pallisadoes" erected to protect the early settlers. The area it enclosed included Mill Neck, a place that had long been a Native village site and area of planting fields (Source: modified from Ford 1914).

## DWELLING ON HOMELANDS

The Native cultural landscape, through and across which Native communities negotiated interactions with Europeans in the 17th century, grew out of long histories of community and place navigation. New England has been home to communities, families, and individuals for many thousands of years. Both material and spatial evidence supports Native people's knowledge of this long presence, maintained since Sky Woman fell from

the Sky World and was safely landed on Turtle's back (Lamb Richmond 1987:7). Yet, many colonial, and later, historical works deny Native Americans' ancient presence in the area, instead describing 17th century Native groups as "recent arrivals" (Handsman 1991).

In direct contradiction to these narratives, the archaeological record provides evidence that western Connecticut was populated by various Native communities from at least 12,000 years ago well into the 17th century and onward (Swigart 1978; Keegan and Keegan 1999). Western Connecticut has turned up some of the earliest dated sites in the northeast, with radiocarbon dates placing Paleo-Indian populations in the area from at least 10,000 years ago (Lavin 2001a:17; Cruson 1991). Some of these Paleo-Indian traces have been found at sites that were still used by Native people in the 18th and 19th centuries. At the multicomponent Wyant/Templeton Site along the Shepaug River in Washington, Connecticut, fluted Clovis points characteristic of Paleo-Indian groups have been found in contexts alongside sheet copper awl and tinkler objects (Wyant/Templeton [150-28] Site Files, curated at IAIS). (Figure 2.7)

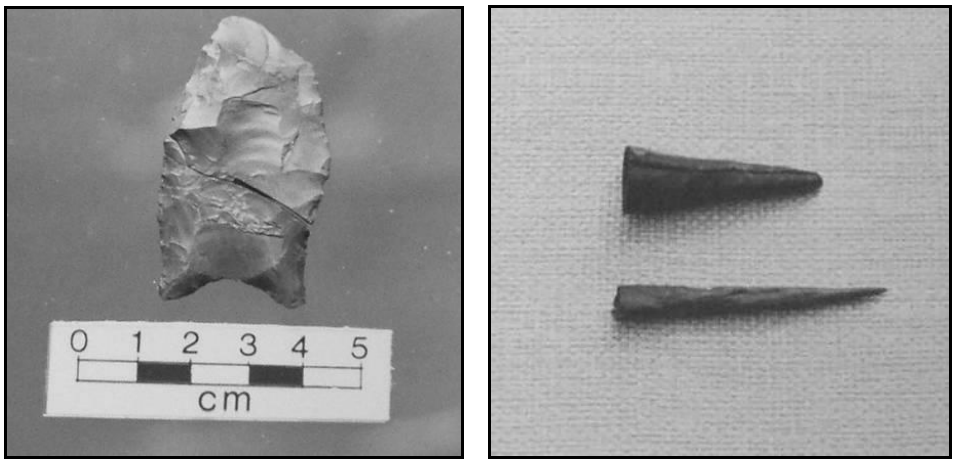



Figure 2.7. Fluted point and sheet copper awl and tinkler recovered at the Wyant/Templeton Site, Washington, Connecticut (Source: IAIS)

Housatonic Native communities today identify sites like Wyant/Templeton, and those throughout the Housatonic Valley, as enduring ancestral connections and part of their cultural heritage.

Material traces of the last ten centuries, the so-called Late or Final Woodland era, offer interpretive entry points into Housatonic Native community and spatial patterns in the centuries prior to European settlement. In contrast to the large, sedentary, hierarchical communities of coastal southeastern New England and the Connecticut River Valley, the smaller groups of coastal and interior western Connecticut appear to have been more egalitarian (Bragdon 1996; McBride 1992).[xii] In nearly every instance, tribal, archaeological, and ethnohistorical evidence depict Housatonic Valley groups as small, semi-sedentary communities supported by a mixed hunting, gathering, and horticultural economy (Crone-Morange and Lavin 2004:143).

These nuances have been poorly understood in public perception and even in scholarly representation, which have often interpreted western Connecticut Native communities in models of social organization and domestic life more characteristic of large, palisaded Iroquoian communities or large southeastern Connecticut groups. These ill-wrought comparisons have perpetuated fallacies of Native absence in the area, lending credence to historical assertions that western Connecticut was a little utilized wilderness. Poor archaeological preservation in western Connecticut and stratigraphic disturbance has exacerbated these fallacies. In addition, scholars have mistakenly perpetuated a belief that there is little evidence of Late Woodland presence in western Connecticut, a misapprehension which a recent survey by Binzen (2002) corrects.[xiii]

Drawing on tribal memory, ethnohistoric accounts, legal texts, and archaeological evidence, Russell Handsman, Jeffrey Maymon, and Trudie Lamb Richmond, among others, have created a hypothetical picture of what the Native landscape of the Housatonic River valley looked like in the centuries leading up to and surrounding early Native-European interactions (Handsman and Maymon 1986; Lamb Richmond 1994; Handsman and Richmond 1995; Doughton 1997). Small settlements situated up and down the length of the Housatonic may have included four to six wigwams and a larger longhouse holding up to fifty people; a few patches of cultivated corn; outside hearths in a middlespace for cooking; and other community features such as garbage pits and storage and drying racks (Handsman and Maymon 1986:6). (Figure 2.8) Such hamlets would not have been extensive sites. Given that longhouses were typically no longer than one hundred feet long and thirty feet wide, and that wigwams were not likely larger than twenty feet in diameter, the total area encompassed by such a settlement would not have exceeded a half-acre (Handsman and Maymon 1986:6; Snow 1980:83; Sturtevant 1975).[xiv] The scale of this spatial organization has made many such community locales nearly "invisible" to observers' eyes.

In addition to such built features on the landscape, the cultural traditions of homelands were to be further found within the very landscape itself. Caches, or stockpiles, of carefully created stone tools were buried in the land, well separated from living areas, and are now often found in springs and streams (Handsman and Williamson 1989).

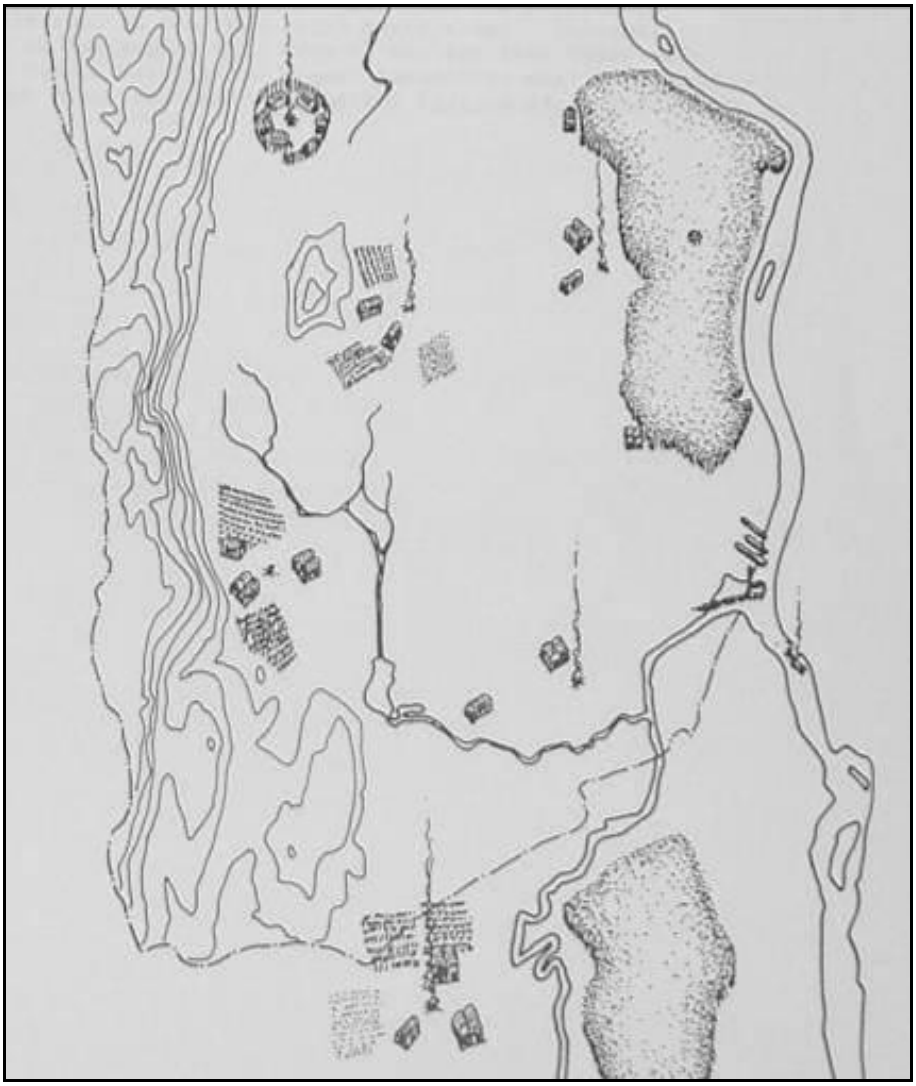


Figure 2.8. Hypothetical model of Housatonic Native homelands, characterized by small dispersed hamlets, satellite task sites, and larger core settlements. (Source: Russell G. Handsman, courtesy of IAIS)

For example, along the banks of the Housatonic River, across from Lovers Leap in present-New Milford, winter roadway construction in 1963 peeled off a dense charcoal layer to uncover a cache of 62 well-fashioned, well-curated Mansion Inn blades, the "Lovers Leap Cache" (Site 6LF65) (IAIS Site Files). Such caches were exchanged within and between groups to build and reinforce social and political relations, particularly among kin living apart and communities at a distance.

Together, these kinds of physical and emotional referent points made up the homelands of the Paugussett, Weantinock, Potatuck, and, later, Schaghticoke peoples. Homelands connected discrete places - such as wigwam clusters, planting fields, resource locales, trading venues, and important ancestral locations like cemeteries and other ritual places - into a larger cultural frame of reference that was both communal and intimate (Handsman and Maymon 1986:9). Community settlements like wigwam clusters were physically connected across the landscape by trails, sacred and ceremonial sites, kin networks, and relationships to the land and its resources.

These connections embodied and reflected Native people's beliefs in the interconnectedness of all life, which guided (then and now) their relationships with their communities, the land, and their heritage. The heart of these connections lay in Manitou, or manit, "pervasive spiritual powers" which link humans, animals, nature, the seasons, objects, and past and present generations (Simmons 1986; Handsman and Williamson 1989:29). All ecological relationships, including the planting of corn, gathering of marine and forest resources, traversing of the land, and building of wigwams, drew on, and were governed by, this spiritual power.

These physical and emotional imprints of homeland features merged, creating a Native regional space. By approaching such individual places and sites as components of a larger Native space, researchers can begin to parse the connections between them in ways that better reflect and respect Native communities' social organization in western Connecticut. Homelands may be made up of discrete points, but the homelands of Native peoples of western Connecticut were not separate and distinctive territories. Instead, they overlapped with one another, reflecting the interconnection of Native groups through kinship, marriage, and other social ties (Figure 2.9). Relationships within and between Housatonic groups were structured by (matri)clans, with clan membership spread by intermarriage throughout communities across the region.

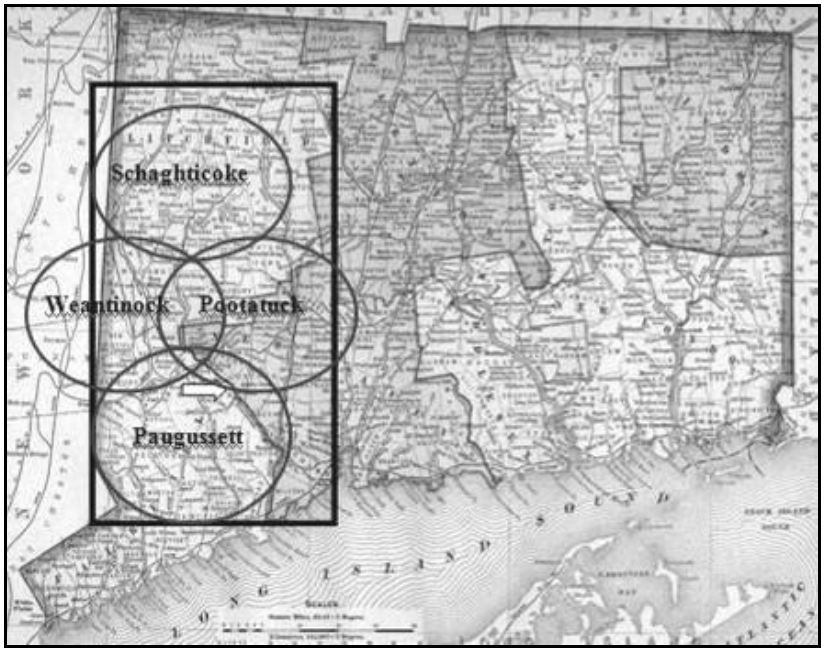



Figure 2.9. Housatonic Homelands, c. 1700, with location of the Housatonic River designated. (Source: MAGIC, modified by author)

Though the population trauma experienced by the Native groups of western Connecticut from the 17th century onward significantly affected clan numbers and intermarriage patterns, clans retained their social and spiritual significance among Native families in the region. As many colonial observers and historians noted, including prominent 19th century historian John DeForest:

> "Connections of friendship were often maintained between the inland and seacoast tribes, for their mutual convenience and benefit. The former came down to the shore to feast on oysters, claims and lobsters; and the latter visited their friends in the country to obtain better hunting, or to enjoy the lamprey eels which, in the spring, swarmed up the rivers (DeForest 1851:48-49).

These close interrelationships are but one way in which tribal models, which are so often attributed to Native North American groups, do not represent the kinds of social and place-based organization which characterized Native groups of the Housatonic River valley. Instead, Native groups in the area are better conceptualized as place-level communities. They were linked to one another across the region not only by long-standing social, political, spiritual, and language connections, but also by shared reliance on natural resources and specific locales.

Ethnohistoric sources indicate that Native communities, related and connected through kin and other social networks, shared the Housatonic River's resources and those of its neighboring environs in loose but definite ways. "It may be said," Selznick (1996:201) argues, "that the integration of communities depends at least as much on interdependence - Durkheim's 'organic solidarity' - as it does on symbolic cohesion or 'mechanical solidarity.'" As Shirley Dunn (1994) and Timothy Binzen (1997) describe, relations between neighboring Native groups hinged on respect for jurisdiction over

territories and resources. These interregional connections had physical expression in movement around the landscape and in intertwined seasonal and ceremonial rounds.

Cooperative social organization ensured that communities not only maximized resources but that they did so in proper harmony with wisdom received from generations of living in a given place. 17th and 18th century ethnohistoric sources and tribal memory inform that, in the spring, while women planted and tended corn and other crops, men fished for shad, herring, and salmon in the river and gathered the great varieties of shellfish from the Long Island Sound (Lamb Richmond 1994:105). Agricultural efforts were a communal enterprise largely cared for by women, but they required the efforts of whole communities.

In complement to these times when community success relied on collective action, Housatonic groups also drew seasonally on different organizational models. Housatonic Native communities hunted, fished, gathered, and farmed small-scale agricultural plots as part of a seasonal round. They departed spring and summer settlements for post-harvest hunting and task-specific settlements in the fall, and occupied more protected winter camps in colder months (Guilette 1979; McBride and Bellantoni 1982; Starna 1990). Rather than maintaining large, permanent villages near agricultural plots, groups may have relied on a slashing/burning and fallowing method which facilitated movement around the landscape and maximization of ecological richness (Salwen 1983; McBride 1990).

To best negotiate difficult winter conditions, small groups dispersed into protected, upland or interior valleys where hunting and gathering continued. Extended families clustered in wigwams, dome-shaped dwellings made from wooden pole and hide

frameworks, which represented the strength of the family and community. Today, clans and land continue to root Native people in the way they see themselves, their lives, and the future of their traditions (Handsman and Williamson 1989:22). As European explorers and traders first began to ply the waters of the Long Island Sound, trade along the coastline, and make initial forays into the interior, these long-standing regional interconnections and intersecting homelands provided a social framework and spiritual base for navigating the often dramatic changes of the ensuing centuries.

## THE ACCUMULATION OF DISPOSSESSION[xv]

European settlers who spread along the western coastlines of Connecticut and into the interior highlands of the Housatonic Valley precipitated intentional and unintentional changes in Native connections to the lands which underlay and nurtured Native life (Handsman and Williamson 1989:8). European colonists imposed particular ideas of landscape, property, and partition in their acquisition of New England lands. They altered both the topographic and social place of Native communities (Tall 1996:106). Increasingly, English notions of private property and land ownership were etched on the landscape. By the second half of the 17th century, land transfer and loss along the coast had reached a critical point. Native communities were increasingly restricted or denied access to particular locales on their homelands. They began to loudly complain of English settlers living on, and using, lands which they had not sold.

In order to understand the scope of these protests, the discussion needs to briefly take a step back to survey the fundamentally different concepts of place and space at

play. The partitioning of property, and accompanying property descriptions, reflected European, specifically English, notions of land ownership, rather than Native conceptual models of space and place (Cronon 1983). English land use was guided by Roman and Enlightenment philosophies which drew strict physical boundaries between land parcels and which assigned ownership to everything within that area. Space could be bounded, and property boundaries delimited, by reference to visible geographic features, such as mountains, hills, rivers, paths or roads.

For Native peoples of southern New England, however, the natural environment and the material objects that compose it could not be owned or individually possessed.[xvi] These conceptions of space and place are reflected linguistically, Blair Rudes (2005:35) explains, in the utter absence of possessed forms of the word for "land" in the records of all southern New England Algonquian languages. Even further, he argues, there is no evidence to suggest that the Native peoples of western Connecticut used permanent or semi-permanent features of the terrain, such as rivers, hills, paths, and the like, as boundary markers for territory (2005:43).

Although Native groups were tied by a sense of place, heritage, and identity to particular locales and terrains, the limits of these areas were not rigidly bounded. Instead, the complexity of signature patterns in 17th and 18th century land deeds suggest that ties to particular locales could be shared, as reasonably expected given the extensive kinship and social connections which linked groups throughout the region. In this way, Native groups might have a core homeland area which was intensively utilized and also share locales and resources radiating out from this core with nearby communities.[xvii]

Given these overlaps, colonial settlers discovered that it was no easy task to clarify the boundaries of lands being sold and bought.[xviii] Even where the bounds of land were clear, it was not always certain who controlled the resources it contained or how permeable the borders might be. Since "rights" to land or homelands among Native groups did not confer exclusive control over land as it did for Europeans, many Native communities had assumed that they still maintained their rights to hunt, trap, gather, and pass across their former land holdings, even where it was not specifically spelled out as such (Cruson 1991:87). The complexities of this landscape usage have been as much a puzzle for contemporary researchers, politicians, and publics, as they were for colonists.

The dispossession and displacement of Native communities from particular locales on their homelands did not inevitably or necessarily entail that alienated locales ceased to exist in the emotional or cognitive dimensions of Native people's memories and communities. As Fairclough (2006:57) elucidates, "whereas the environment is a physical and material thing that can be measured and quantified…landscape is ideational, exists in memory and perception, and is highly personal." The very goods which Native communities gained through land sales also perpetuated these continuing attachments. They further complicate our understandings of "alienation." While Native settlers commonly received material objects, such as "trading cloath and other good pay" (Stratford deed, July 1, 1671; Stratford Land Records I:492), they also gained non-physical considerations of value, such as "liberty to sitt down for shelter in some place near the town" in case of "danger" (Milford deed, September 12, 1661; Lambert 1838:86-7). Such provisos, written into the very legal agreements which seemingly

estranged Native communities from their ancestral lands, built a continuing relationship to ‘place’ into the structure of colonial affairs.

Though subject to such controversy and qualification, land sales along the western Connecticut coast and immediate interior proceeded quickly. Colonists followed Native trails from the coast into the interior, settling a town at Derby (1651), and later Woodbury (1672) and Danbury (1684). (Figure 2.10) In a significant court decision in 1657, the Connecticut Colony General Court further accelerated colonial settlement by deciding in favor of Stratford settlers who petitioned for all the lands surrounding Stratford on the basis of right of conquest from the Pequot War. With this favorable decision, the colonists gained “legitimate” claim lands that had been occupied by Native communities at Aspetuck, Cupheag, Pequannock, Sasqua, and Uncoway (see Figure 2.3). The only exclusions was a reserved parcel of land in Pequonnock homelands that became known as Golden Hill (Wojciechowski 1992:150-151). By 1665, almost all land along the coast, its immediate interior, and the area surrounding the lower Housatonic River had been sold or appropriated. (see Figure 2.5)

## PATTERNS OF SPACE

Native communities across New England responded to this colonial constriction by enacting various landscape relationships. They (a) consolidated with one another in less affected areas; (b) “stayed” on homelands by relocating to less-used locales on their homelands, or (c) stayed by relocating to reservations; and (d) moved inwardly to kin in the mid- and upper-reaches of the Housatonic. Tracing these four strategies rebuts

historical reports and anecdotes which characterize Native communities as ever-increasingly spatially marginalized. The locales into – and across - which Native communities moved as land dispossession intensified were not ones alien or marginal to them. They were further extensions of community-keeping sites on which they, and their ancestors, had long relied, as will be shown subsequently. They were, in other words, continuing practices of dwelling across a landscape.

*A. CONSOLIDATION*

As scholars have recently been quick to point out, dispossession – including the alienation of land, enclosing of territory, and restriction of resources – is a cumulative transition (O'Brien 1994; Merlan 2005; White 2008). The Native communities that had for centuries lived along the Long Island Sound did not, as is often implied, disappear with the acceleration of early land sales. Instead, many Native communities in southwestern Connecticut increasingly consolidated in response to population loss and colonial encroachment.

Neighboring communities associated with such placenames as Aspetuck, Cupheag, Uncowey, and Pequannock had long been highly integrated and closely affiliated (DeForest 1851:49-50; Orcutt 1882). Along the coastline and southern interior areas of western Connecticut archaeological assemblages illustrate the continuous and closely integrated histories of Native settlement. Numerous archaeological collections of CRM firms, local collectors, and university research projects contain triangular projectile points and thin-walled, incised pottery which speak to the community clusters,

rockshelter sites, burial places, planting fields, and shellfish reserves which made up coastal homelands since 1000 A.D. On the east bank of the Uncoway River in Bridgeport, where fresh- and saltwater meet and lamprey eel thrived, generations of Paugussett sachems guided a community on three hundred acres of adjoining planting fields.[xix] In the early historic era, they protected their community with a "fortification defended by a hundred warriors" at the head of Black Rock Harbor (DeForest 1851). In neighboring Stratford, multi-site complexes like that at Muskrat Hill accompany massive shell heaps that were still evident in the 19th century, such as Oronoque Shell Heap which was historically described as a Paugussett fort (Coffin Collection, MHS).

The close connections between coastal Native communities, as up and down the Housatonic, are evidenced archaeologically in the ceramic traditions apparent at these multicomponent sites. Native pottery styles in the lower Housatonic show a high degree of similarity with one another and are distinctive from the assemblages that characterize the Connecticut River Valley and the eastern part of the state (Rouse 1945, 1947; Cruson 1991; see also Lavin and Miroff 1992). These ceramic traditions are in high evidence at the numerous Late Woodland and early historic village and burial sites recorded in Milford. Similar assemblages were recovered by local collectors along the banks of the Housatonic River, along the coast, and on the tidal flats at the interface of the Housatonic and Long Island Sound (Prindle et al. 1991: Zone 116, Zone 118; Coffin 1944, 1963).[xx] At sites like the Indian River Site near Milford, local pottery styles characteristic of central and eastern Connecticut (Shantok and Niantic traditions), as well as of eastern New York (East River tradition), were recovered in contexts associated with European trade goods (Rouse 1945, 1947). (Figure 2.10)

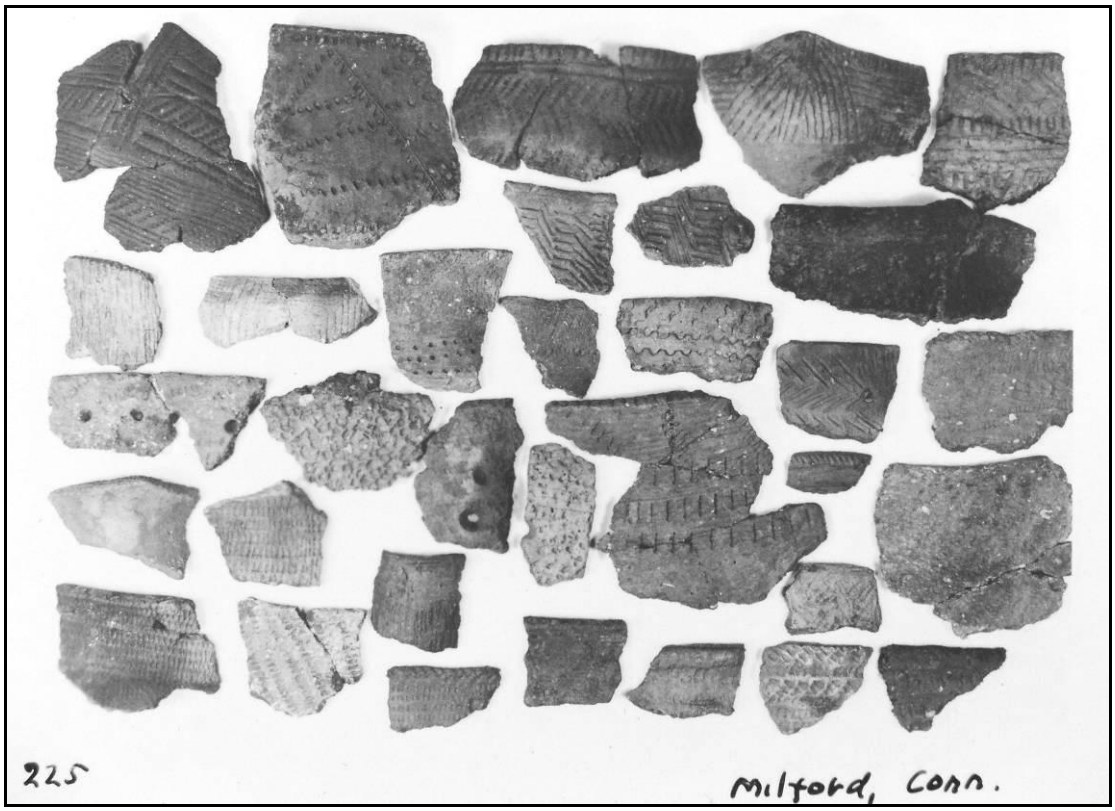



Figure 2.10. Native ceramics in the Housatonic show stylistic similarities which evidence close community interactions and which are distinguished from ceramic traditions to the east and west.
(Native ceramics collected by Edward Rogers in Milford; Rogers Collection, IAIS)

These relationships provided the basis for new community configurations, on both old and new locales, as colonial processes came increasingly to affect Native groups in the region. Groups along the coast and in the coastal interior were the first to be alienated away from their prime lands. It became increasingly difficult for communities to maintain patterns of seasonal hunting, gathering, and collecting in progressively circumscribed areas. Beset by this colonial impingement, neighboring groups consolidated with one another in less affected areas. In a move that reflects anticipation and planning, the Native residents of Aspetuck, Cupheag, and Uncoway, for instance, relocated to their kin at Pequonnock sometime prior to 1659, an area not yet as impacted by colonial settlers (Figure 2.11). Their ties to place continued, however. They were often still referred to by

their earlier place names in land deeds and other records for several generations subsequently, using such language as “We ye surviving Indian inhabitants of Poquonuck, Uncoway, Sasqua & Aspetuck” (Rudes 2005:38).

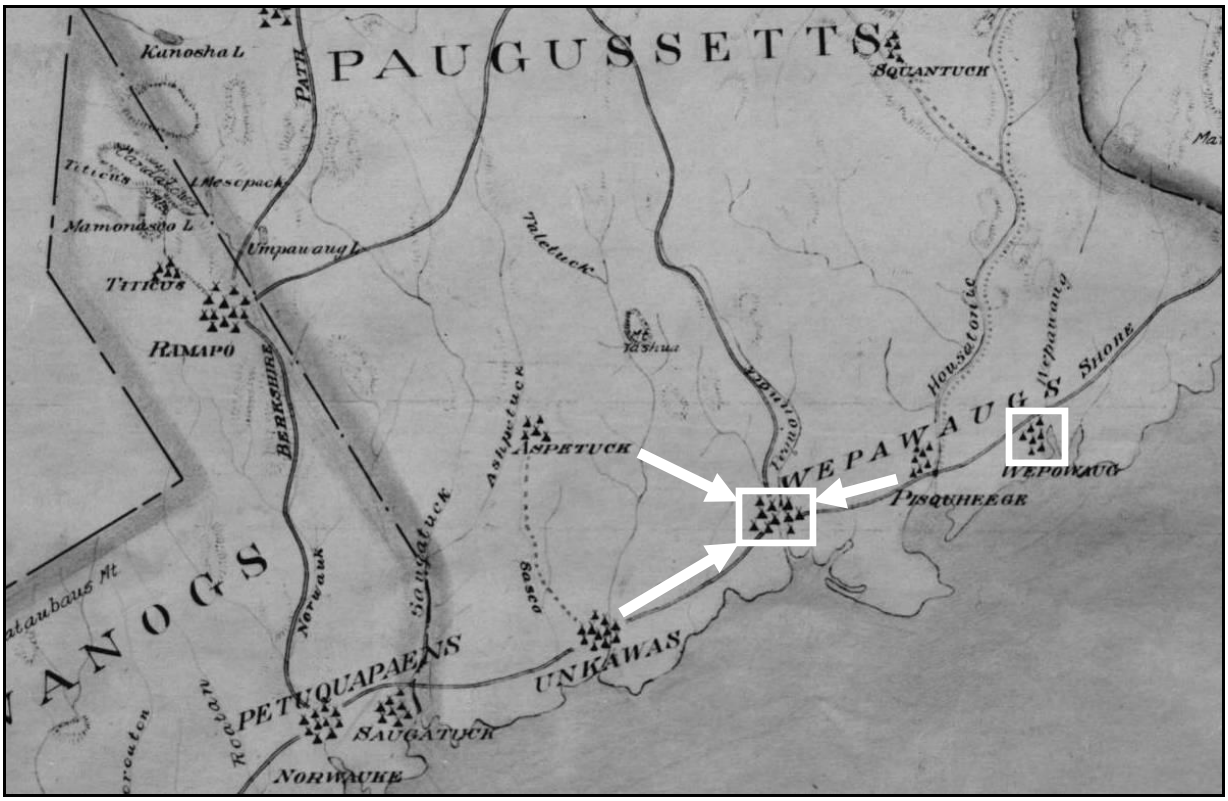



Figure 2.11. Map of the southwestern Connecticut coastline showing the relocation of small communities from places including Aspetuck, Unkaway (Uncoway), and Cupheag to form a larger, consolidated community at Pequonnock. Others relocated from places nearby to form a larger, consolidated community at Wepawaug. These communities were later conjoined and called the “Paugussett tribe.” (Source: Griswold 1930; modified by author)

Such consolidations were not, as colonists often considered, wholesale community transformations, nor did relocations mean abject removal from their homelands. Instead, they frequently represented altered continuations of Native traditions of seasonal gathering and dispersal. In the Oronoke area of Milford, “about the year 1680 there were “8 or 10 wigwams,” but “when the English settled there, they removed”

(Scranton 1816:277). This relocation was neither a complete nor irrevocable action, as attested by the Rev. Erastus Scranton's qualification regarding their annual return: "except a few months in the winter, they had one or 2 wigwams" (Scranton 1816:277). These "one or two wigwams" likely represented the joining of several family units who were continuing Native practices of seasonal rounding and dispersion. During the harsher winter months, clusters of families left their larger spring and summer community gatherings and spread out in small groups across their homelands to better utilize the winter's more limited resources. The small hamlet of "one or 2 wigwams" located for "a few months in the winter" in Oronoke continued this seasonal gathering and dispersal tradition even under the curious and watchful colonial gaze of growing numbers of English neighbors.

Colonial settlers observed these patterns of community consolidation in their written records. Over time, place-based group referents like "Aspetuck," "Uncoway," and "Cupheag" were dropped. In their place, the amalgamated communities along the coast and immediate interior all came to be loosely called "Paugussetts." "They [the Paugussetts] gave their name to the entire group of tribes," 21st century Golden Hill Paugussett leader Chief Big Eagle explains (quoted in Smith 1985:7). This shift presaged similar processes elsewhere in the region.

Corresponding patterns of consolidation and group identification would be echoed up the length of the Housatonic Valley over the course of the 18th century, with deeds and records referring less and less to small place-based community names and increasingly to large amalgamated tribal entities. Through these internal and external consolidation processes, the many Native communities of the Housatonic Valley would be referred to

as just four groups by the end of the 18th century: the "Paugussett," "Potatuck," "Weantinock," and "Schaghticoke."

*B. STAYING ON HOMELANDS: SHIFTING TO "MARGINAL" SPACES*

As Native communities consolidated many turned to areas of their homelands that were less immediately desired or impacted by early European settlement to be newly important spaces for community maintenance. English settlers along the coast quickly took possession of the most fertile areas, particularly those adjacent to the many river and tributary plains which emptied into the Long Island Sound. Their settlements in this early phase were largely confined to river valleys. For Native communities, this correspondingly meant that many areas were still open and relatively untouched, particularly areas with poorer soils, heavily sloping and hilly areas, and ridgetops.

Many communities moved to these kinds of unaffected areas, particularly uplands settings in interior coastal areas. These more "marginal" uplands settings were less often used by Native groups as domestic spaces in earlier centuries. Archaeological surveys from western Connecticut (Lavin 2001a), as well as the eastern highlands of Connecticut (McBride 1984) and the central uplands (Feder 1981, 1990), instead indicate that uplands areas were used on a temporary basis by Woodland groups. The Hoosgow II and Hoosgow III sites in the hill section of Newtown, overlooking the Potatuck River valley at the core of later Weantinock and Potatuck homelands, represent these kinds of uplands temporary special purpose camps (Raber and Wiegand 1988; Lavin 2001a).[xxi] At the

Hoosgow sites, Archaic and Woodland era evidence points to the emergence of seasonal rounds and use of "marginal" uplands environments for economic purposes.

These types of settings became important locales in the changing context of 17th century land ownership and resource access. Ill-defined by European property boundaries, these spaces offered Native communities domestic spaces in the central areas of their homelands well into the 18th century. The Sentinel Hill area of east Derby is one such locale of Paugussett community life, as attested by both historical and archaeological resources. (Figure 2.12) At least two archaeological sites containing "Contact period" Native burial features have been identified in the Sentinel Hill area, including one in East Derby near the confluence of the Housatonic and Naugatuck Rivers (Coffin 1948), and a second 2.5 miles north near the heads of the Moulthrop Brook and Two Mile Brook drainages (Walwer and Walwer 2003:39; CHC 2003). Historical references further support that the area was home to Paugussett families well into the 18th century, including references to Native residents and travelers upon the "Old Oronoque trail," a Native path which ran all the way from Kent in the northern reaches of the Housatonic Valley through Derby and down to the Long Island Sound coastline at Milford (Walwer and Walwer 2003). Although such settings were once considered "marginal," archaeological surveyors today recognize that these kinds of spaces have a high degree of sensitivity as places of Native community life in the historic era (Walwer and Walwer 2003:42).

Even though these kinds of uplands settings were put to new use in the 17th century, layered archaeological evidence at many upland sites indicates that the particular sites Native communities chose were not altogether "new" ones. Throughout the last six

centuries, as relationships to particular lands changed in light of colonial land appropriation and settlement, Native communities maintained long histories of varied resource and landscape use in the Housatonic Valley. Much of the landscape is patterned with “empty spaces” and with “highly concentrated sites” where long histories of land use overlap and fold in the gathering of space and time (Handsman 1992:14; Serres 1991). Archaeological investigations in the Sentinel Hill area in Derby have identified clusters of Archaic and Woodland era sites in close proximity to the 17th century burial and settlement places (Walwer and Walwer 2003). (see Figure 2.12)

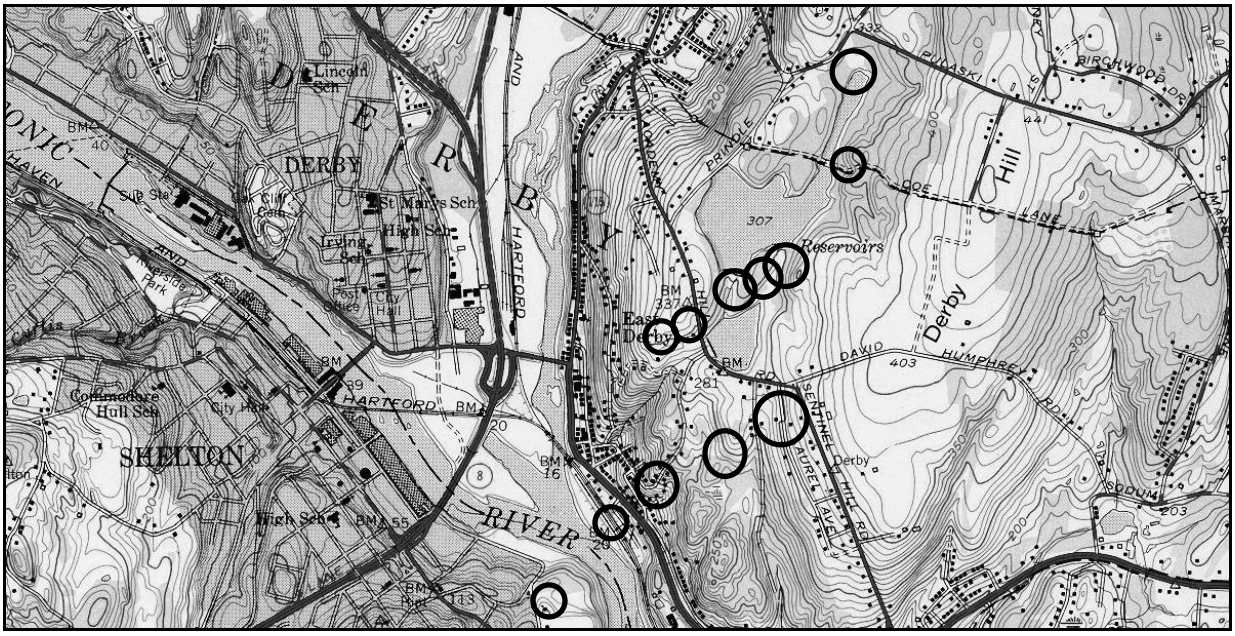



Figure 2.12. Site locations in the Sentinel Hill area of Derby, evidencing patterned Late Archaic through 19th century Native occupations. (Source: USGS Topo, modified by author)

Sentinel Hill was by no means the only uplands locale to be used by Native communities. Archaeological and ethnohistoric resources also indicate the use of uplands settings all along the Housatonic, in places like Redding, Litchfield, and Kent (Reeve 1999; Lavin 2001). The 17th century relocation to upland locales like that of Sentinel Hill

gave Native communities some control in determining the shifting properties of the colonial landscape, in contrast to representations which portray them at the whim of English interests. In a comparative perspective, Binzen (2004) points out that in the the northwest corner of Connecticut, the Mahican towns of Weataug and Wequadnach had been occupied for a considerable time before the boundaries of townships were demarcated. Their placement discredits cause-and-effect explanations which portray Native communities as pushed to the outskirts or edges of towns as they were settled by English colonists (Binzen 2004:81).

Instead, Binzen draws the logical conclusion that "townships may have been placed around the native villages rather than that the native communities were pushed to the edges" (2004:81).[xxii] Closer attention to the spatial patterns at consolidated community locales in the lower Housatonic, as at Wequadnach and Weataug to the far north, spotlight the continuing assertiveness of Native communities in determining the places and practices of their community life. The sites chosen were not "marginal" ones when considered either from longer perspectives of use, or from their significance in maintaining continuing connections and ties to ancestral homelands.

### *C. STAYING ON HOMELANDS: RESERVATIONS AND LEGAL MANEUVERING*

In some instances, staying on ancestral lands was facilitated not only by movement to alternative spaces, but also through the colonial government itself. Native communities worked with colonial officials in creating formally-defined spaces of Native residence, enabling them to stay "in place" in a very recognizable way. In 1659, the

Connecticut General Court established a reservation at Golden Hill for the consolidated Native community that had collected on Pequannock homelands. It encompassed an eighty acre parcel in what is now downtown Bridgeport. It carried the distinction of being the first reservation in North America. Considering the act of establishing the Golden Hill Reservation successful, the colonial government followed suit with similar reserved lands over the next two decades. The Wepawaug community was settled at Turkey Hill on the banks of the Housatonic in Derby (present-day Orange) in 1671 (DeForest 1851:264), while other of their Paugussett relations were settled on the Coram Hill Reservation in Huntington in 1680 (Orcutt 1886:38-39). (Figure 2.13)

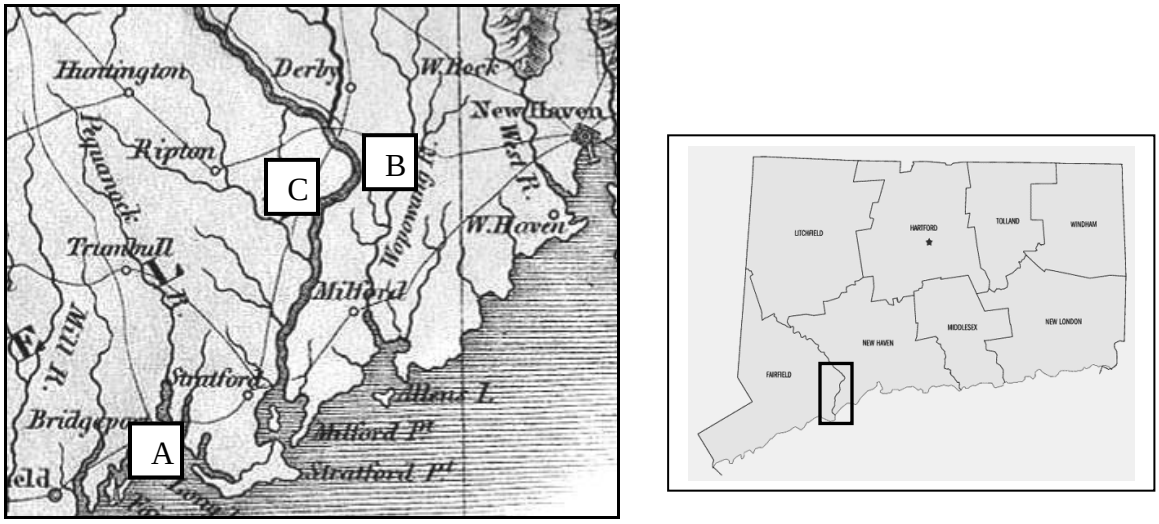



Figure 2.13. Reservations established at (A) Golden Hill, (B) Turkey Hill, and (C) Coram Hill. (Source: Author)

The establishment of the Golden Hill (Bridgeport), Turkey Hill (Derby), and Coram Hill (Huntington) reservations provided centralized and formalized land bases around and to which Paugussett, Potatuck, and Weantinock families and individuals could repeatedly return and settle. Although the legal actions by which these places were

formally designated as Native spaces represented new practices, the spaces which they inscribed had existing significance to Native communities.

Golden Hill had long been a place of community life, as well as a sacred place because of its gushing springs (Brilvitch 2007:14). In the 17th century, a fortification looked out over large planting fields to the north and west, while, to the east, the Pequannock River offered plentiful weir fishing (Brilvitch 2007:14). Three burial grounds in the Bridgeport area, one of which was used by residents of the Golden Hill reservation well into the 18th century, were historically known and "excavated" by local collectors in the late 19th and early 20th century (Orcutt 1886:65-66). The traditions represented in these burials showed individuals buried in a sitting posture with lithic tools, pendants, and colonial trade items like tobacco pipes and pottery, clearly indicative of a 17th century association.

Both reservation and non-reservation communities used legal apparatuses of the colonial government to demand, and exercise, continuing rights to resources. Many land deeds specified that Native communities would continue to have rights for procuring fish, game, timber, water, and other natural resources in the area, a Native survival strategy fought for repeatedly across New England throughout the 17th and 18th centuries (Orcutt 1888:62-63; Handsman 1991; O'Brien 1994; Holmes 2007).

Such agreements were not without limitations. Many carried newly imposed European ideas of both personal property and territorial bounds. A Paugussett community in a 1660 Fairfield deed of lands around Sasqua preserved their hunting rights by proclaiming, "only we will have liberty of hunting in ye woods, - only we are to set noe traps within ye six mile" (Wojciechowski 1992:163). In this same deed, they also held on

to planting rights in perpetuity, so that "if they should want some land to plant on, ye town of Fairfield is to allow them some land to plant on for their livelihood within their bounds." These rights were to be retained, however, only if certain conditions were met. Namely, they had to demonstrate appropriate signs of land "improvement," including fencing their land sufficiently, in order for their ownership and rights to continue.

By living on reserved lands and trying to preserve resource rights, some Native groups worked to maintain their community and homeland ties by maneuvering within the very legal system constraining them. Others directly used the legal system to protest perceived injustices and dubious land transactions. In what was one of the earliest Native land rights and ownership cases in the Americas (Cruson 1991:83), John Wampus, the Native husband of a Paugussett woman named Praske, challenged the 1671 English distribution of lands at Aspetuck (Fairfield) to English settlers (see Figure 2.3 [N]). Ten years before, in 1661, the sachem Romanock had deeded "all of the land commonly called Aspetuck" to Praske, his daughter. In 1671, however, that same land was thought to be included in a land sale between local Native communities and English settlers of Fairfield.

When John Wampus arrived in Fairfield later that year to claim the land, it was already distributed and claimed by two English settlers. Wampus fought his case in the colonial courts for 13 years, aided by a Milford lawyer. His case even included a plea heard in the Lords of Council of the English Parliament. Ultimately, the courts decided in favor of the English settlers, based on the logic that Praske was not entitled to inherit land because she had aided the Pequots during the Pequot War and had been sold into slavery for these transgressions (Cruson 1991:83).

Importantly, a secondary logic was used as further support for the Court's decision. The colonial courts maintained that since neither Praske nor John Wampus had been *resident on the property* that Wampus claimed, they abdicated their rights to it in favor of the two English colonists who had begun to live on and improve the land. In this decision, "residency" became an important basis in deciding what constituted appropriate relationships to land, and therefore, ownership and associated rights to that parcel. The colonial courts would use this precedent over and again in the proceeding centuries to justify their denial of Native land claims. This logic has strong bearing today in Native groups' continuing efforts for reappropriation of their homelands and petitions for federal recognition.

*D. MOVEMENT UP THE HOUSATONIC*

As John Wampus' case suggests, not all Native communities who were pushed away from their rich alluvial terraces and coastal resources chose to navigate community life "in place." By the 1680s, Paugussett settlements along the coastal borders were feeling significant colonial pressures. Some Native communities sought to preserve their communities by relocating to the homelands of their kin who were not yet as affected by colonial settlement. In the context of colonial encroachment and land constriction, long-standing regional kinship and marriage patterns provided a framework for relocation and mobility around the landscape. Based on tribal genealogies, overlapping signatures on land deeds, kinship patterns, and church records, scholars have argued that many Native peoples leaving the lower Housatonic valley traveled first northwesterly to the Potatuck

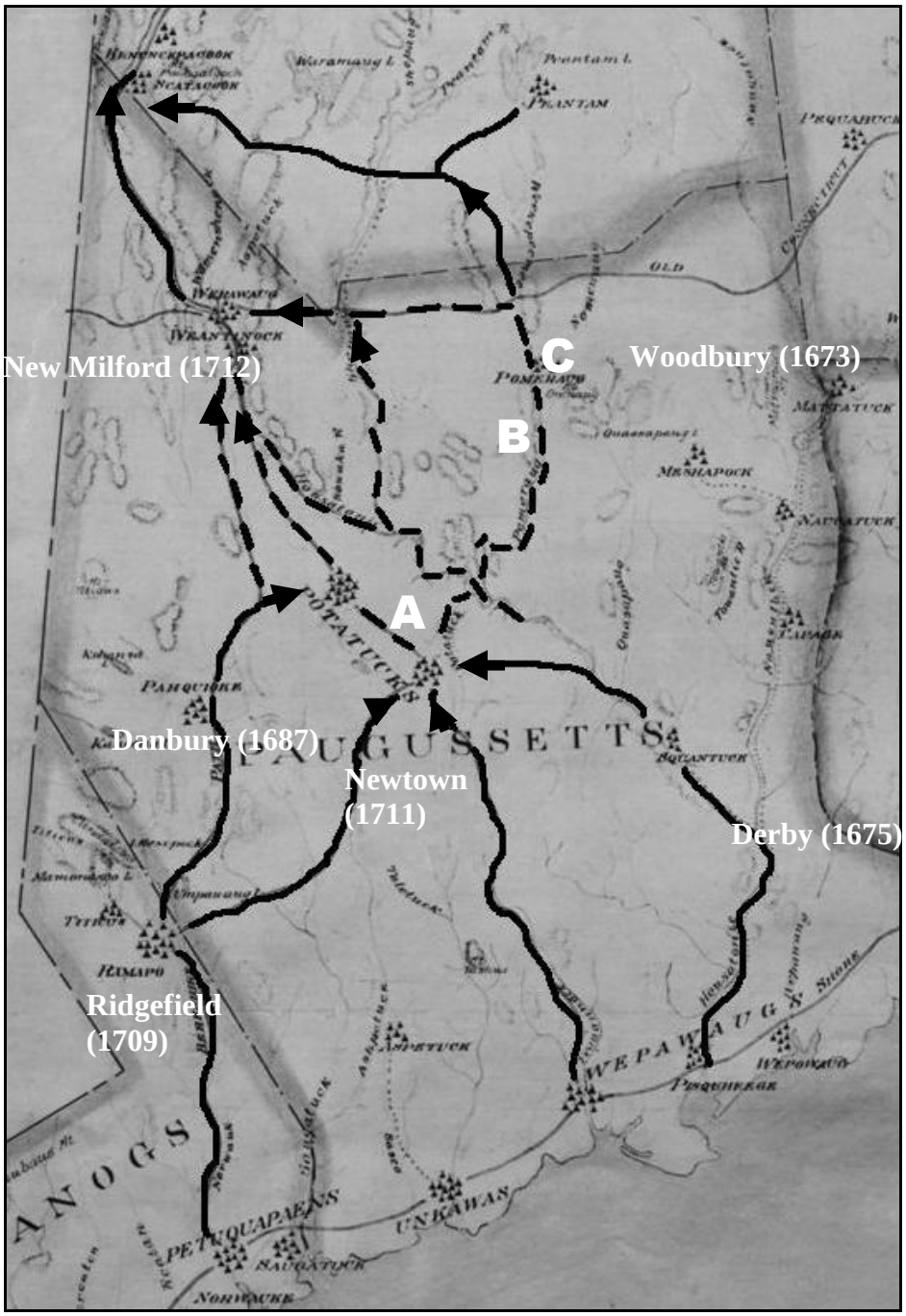



Figure 2.14. First phase: Paugussett communities traveled northerly along long-standing paths to Potatuck homelands in the mid-Housatonic, including (A) Potatuck Wigwams, (B) Pomperaug, and (C) Nonnewaug. Second phase: Movement further up the Housatonic to the Weantinock homelands around present-day New Milford. Third phase: Movement of Native communities from the mid-Housatonic to the northern-Housatonic, around chaghticoke (Kent, Connecticut) in the early 18th century. (Source: Griswold 1930, modified by author)

homelands in the mid-Housatonic Valley around Newtown and Southbury (Rudes 2005; Weinstein and Heme 2005:61). (Figure 2.14) The use of "Potatuck" as a group designation generally refers to Native communities who lived in and around the areas that became the colonial towns of Newtown, Southbury, Woodbury, with whom Native groups to the north, south, and west were intimately connected (DeForest 1851:51).

Many Paugussett families were closely connected with Potatuck communities, having intermarried with Potatuck families. Some even became sachems of Potatuck communities. Quiump, for example, a Paugussett man, appears to have married a Potatuck woman and moved to Potatuck Wigwams sometime before 1660. He acquired territorial rights on Potatuck homelands through his wife, referring to himself as "Quiump Sachem of Potatuck," but continued to maintain his land rights in Paugussett homelands in Stratford in the 1660s (Rudes 2005). For Housatonic Native communities, such cross-community marriages were forms of political kinship and friendship which strengthened the resources and stability of small Native communities dispersed across a landscape.[xxiii]

As increasing numbers of displaced Paugussett families moved north to join their kin on Potatuck homelands, vibrant, amalgamated refuge communities emerged, particularly at a prominent community locale called Potatuck Wigwams, located on the Housatonic River in present-day Southbury. Elsewhere on the Potatuck homelands, in Pomperaug, Nonnewaug, Bantam and other locales, small clusters of Native families maintained ties to one another and to Potatuck Wigwams through shared ceremonial events, joint subsistence practices, and travel along well-connected pathways (see further

below). These actions and their interconnections reflected a socio-spatial organization which crystallized up and down the Housatonic in the Woodland era (Binzen 2002:14).

## CREEPING NORTHWARD

Relative to other parts of New England, English colonists had long delayed in initiating settlement into the region's interior. Their hesitation was a complicated reflection of the relatively unknown "wilderness" of the mid- and upper-Housatonic, their continuing suspicion of Native communities, and concerns for the French and Dutch to the north and west (Walwer and Walwer 2000). If the coastal regions had exhibited a landscape in some ways familiar to English settlers, the forested, narrow-valleyed, and, at times, craggy interior likened itself more easily to English imagery of "dark" and "mysterious" lands.

Rather than recognizing the pathways that linked Native communities or comprehending a shaped landscape, settlers fell back on ideas of a wilderness that featured "beast-clad" people who "fled from each other, or pursued only with intent to destroy" (Anonymous 1810:preface). Colonists who did venture forth into the interior were described as bravely undertaking "a perilous journey into the pathless wilderness" (Woodruff 1845). One of the settlers who did so, New Milford founder John Noble, is still glorified in town histories, children's books, and even commemorative Christmas ornaments. (Figure 2.15)

The Native communities who lived in this "pathless wilderness" were not an invisible presence to English traversers. They had traded and interacted with them for

decades.[xxiv] There were few skirmishes between the Native communities in the Housatonic Valley and their English neighbors. During King Philip's War in 1675, the Potatuck and Weantinock appear to have agreed to peace commitments with the colony. They would do so again nearly 70 years later in the French and Indian War (DeForest 1851). Despite these relationships, Native communities viewed skeptically, at best, and more often than not, as cause for hypervigilance. This was particularly so when Native people gathered for ceremonial and social events, which were frequently interpreted as war preparations.


Figure 2.15. Town of Redding commemorative ornament depicting the first sale of land in Redding, by Chickens Warrups to colonial settler John Read. (Source: Redding Neighbors and Newcomers website)

English settlers remained perpetually fearful of Native raids and uprisings. [xxv] Anxieties of French-inspired Native attack during English wars with France and Spain, namely Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), King George's War (1744-1748), and the French and Indian War (1754-1763), made colonists uneasy throughout the 18th century (Crone-Morange and Lavin 2004:140). Colonial demographies reflected these anxieties.

Among the first 36 colonial settlers at Newtown, for example, there were "two Majors, four Captains, one Lieutenant, and one Ensign" (Boyle 1945:xiii). They rallied this sense of fear in approaching the landscape and in planning their homes and towns. Protective measures including the fortification of homes were common to each new town (Orcutt 1882:128; Walwer and Walwer 2000). The English even went so far as to send an emissary, the often-called upon interpreter John Minor, to the Weantinock and Potatuck homelands in 1703 to compile a list of their community members and to "to pump" them about "anie designe on foot against the Inglish and by whom for what" (Treat 1921:165).

Although the settlement of Potatuck and Weantinock homelands in the mid-Housatonic had been slow to start because of these anxieties, it quickly gathered speed. In the last decades of the 17th century, settlers lost their reluctance to venture inward as land hunger grew and as the presence of the Dutch to the west decreased. They turned their considerable attention to the mid-Housatonic, where rich fertile floodplains promised prime agricultural soils. In 1672 and 1673, colonists from Stratford moved north and settled at Pomperaug and at the present-day town of Woodbury. Over the next three decades, settlers would acquire the vast majority of Potatuck landholdings in a series of six purchases (1673-1706) (Wojciechoswki 1985).

Many of the Native communities who were gathered on Potatuck homelands consequently looked further north up the Housatonic to their Weantinock kin. Much as Potatuck homelands had become an important refuge for coastal communities, the Weantinock homelands to the north became an important gathering place for Paugussett and Potatuck families as colonists began to purchase and appropriate land in the mid-Housatonic. (see Figure 2.14) The Weantinock were centered along the Housatonic and

its interior in the area that became New Milford. Weantinock and Potatuck communities had long been closely connected, with community members moving repeatedly between the Potatuck and Weantinock homelands, sharing news of colonial changes, visiting relatives tied by marriage, and practicing shared spiritual and ceremonial traditions, including powwows.

Historic records from the late 17th and early 18th centuries indicate that Weantinock homelands were used by Native communities for settlements, ancestral burial grounds, fishing spots, corn plots, and trading activities (Orcutt 1882:101-109). Surviving records are peppered with the placenames of important locales within this homeland core: Metichawon, also known as the Great Falls and Lovers Leap, a prolific fishing area at the mouth of the Still River; Guarding Mountain, or Fort Hill, a major village with burying grounds on the banks of the Housatonic; the Indian Fields along the west bank of the Housatonic; and a settlement containing Waramaug's "lodge" and a burying ground to the east in present Bridgewater (Lovers Leap Exhibit, IAIS 1995).

The Weantinock homelands are represented today by a series of archaeological sites, including wigwam clusters, caches, and planting fields (Carlson 1994:24). Superimposed over earlier sites dating as many as several thousand years old, these locales are now extensive aggregations ranging in age between 5000 and 300 years old (Handsman 1990:5). In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the American Indian Archaeological Institute (now the Institute for American Indian Studies), conducted a five year archaeological study of the Fort Hill area on the Weantinock homelands, under the direction of Russell G. Handsman.

Conceptualized as an "archaeology against invisibility," the Fort Hill project was designed to "[link] intensive archaeologic and historic studies to oral histories and the contemporary voices of Native Americans," and "to challenge those who still dismiss and marginalize the histories and living traditions of local Indian peoples" (Handsman 1992:4; Carlson 1994:22). In keeping with this mission, the project was a collaborative undertaking with Schaghticoke and Paugussett peoples, archaeologists, historians, school teachers and local community volunteers.[xxvi] Over half a dozen sites were excavated, and even more surveyed or recorded, as part of the Fort Hill Project, including what appear to be small wigwam clusters, planting fields, short-term seasonal camps, caches, and burial places.[xxvii]

By tailoring archaeological methods to the kinds of archaeological footprints that 17th Native community sites might render, Fort Hill Project investigators located evidence of what they interpret as Late Woodland and/or early historic Native wigwam clusters, planting fields, and other activity sites.[xxviii] At Site 96-026 in Bridgewater, Connecticut, they excavated closely-spaced lines of test pits across a terrace of the Still River. In so doing, they located a wigwam cluster which they believe was occupied about 500 years ago. The 96-026 settlement contains thin-walled, well-fired pottery sherds, quartz and chert tools (including triangular points), and postmold and charcoal stain features, an archaeological signature similar to one observed at a site called Weantinoge to the east. (Figure 2.16) It also, however, significantly yielded gunflints and metal tools such as awls and knives which establish the presence of historic wigwams. In fact, Handsman (1990:5) believes that there may be two overlapping wigwams clusters

represented at the site, each encompassing about 300 square meters in area (collection analyzed at IAIS, 2008).

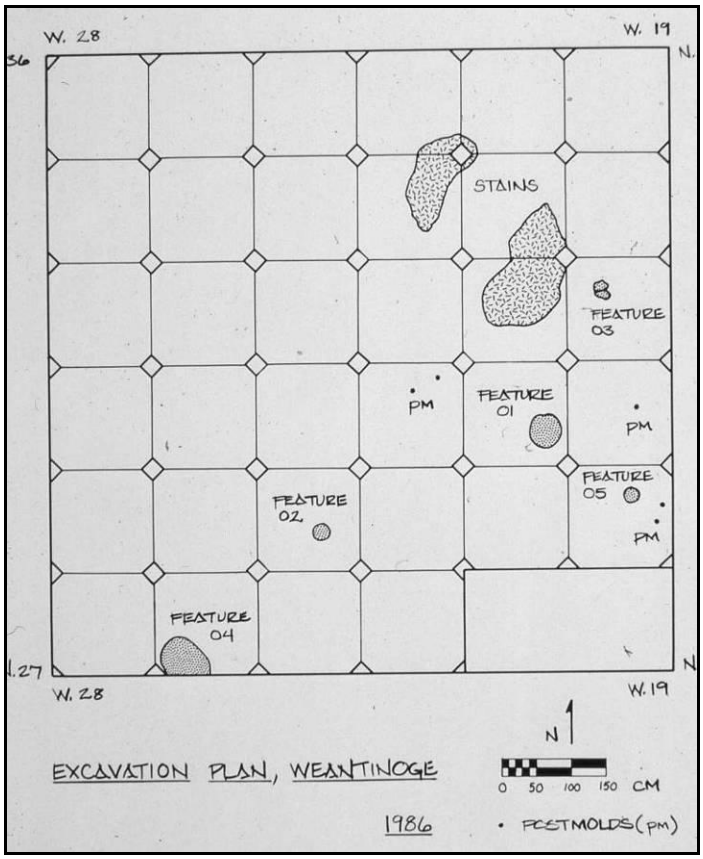



Figure 2.16. Site Plan of the Weantinoge Site, 1986 (Source: Russell G. Handsman, courtesy of IAIS)

West of Site 96-026 and north of the Weantinoge site, the great council fire of the Weantinock was held at Metichawon in the heart of their homelands. Situated on a promontory overlooking the Housatonic, Metichawon was, and continues to be, an important juncture point and gathering place for Native communities throughout the area. Connected by kin and shared landscape resources, the communities in the Potatuck and Weantinock homelands met regularly. Sachems and elders traveled along long-established Native trails, which linked Native communities in all directions (such as the

Berkshire Path [now Route 7] and Oronoke Trail), to convene and discuss the actions of the English to the south and east.

These close connections were highlighted in 1686/7, when Weantinock members declined an invitation by a Mohican community in the Taconic, New York area to join them at their settlement.[xxix] In their reply, the Weantinock (called Wawyachtenok) highlighted clearly the continuing social and kin connections and importance of ties to place which featured strongly in Housatonic Native community keeping of the early colonial era. They informed of their decision not to move because the "other Indians who live further down among the English with whom they are related would be afraid" (quoted in Weinstein and Heme 2005:55-58).[xxx] Connected to one another in these networks of relations, the Weantinock, Potatuck, and Paugussett signed colonial documents and land deeds in complex patterns of shared kinship, heritage, and territory as settlers moved further north, as Weinstein and Heme (2005) detail.

## NEW COMMUNITY CONFIGURATIONS

Colonial settlement followed Native communities as they gathered in the Housatonic interiors and in the lesser used locales away from major floodplains and tributaries. In 1703 and 1705, Weantinock community members sold much of their surrounding homelands, including their "Indian fields," to English settlers from Milford and from Woodbury (Barber 1838:474-475; DeForest 1851:391; Orcutt 1882:103). These purchases became the basis for the town of New Milford. English settlement in the area remained minimal for another decade, but land purchases continued. By the mid-1720s,

nearly all Weantinock lands were sold. In these deeds, however, the Weantinock carefully preserved legal attachments to place, reserving fishing rights around the Great Falls, as well as the right to settle at Metichawon (Trumbull 1881:29; DeForest 1851:393).

As Native communities of the mid-Housatonic lost their formally-held landholdings, some continued further northward up the Housatonic Valley, to an amalgamated community of Native peoples at a locale called Schaghticoke. (see Figure 2.14) Schaghticoke tribal elders, speaking with a Kent lawyer in 1811, related that the Schaghticoke community was founded by Pequots who escaped the Pequot War Sasqua Swamp Skirmish in 1637 and fled northward:

> "The old persons among them relate the transactions of that memorable day as they have been handed down by tradition. A part of those who escaped established themselves at Potatuck in Newtown. From this group, and from another in New Milford who had settled about the year 1724 or 1725, they joined together for a hunting party up the Ousatonic. They soon after formed a small settlement on the west side of the Ousatonic River. Some Indians form Dover in the state of New York soon after joined the group, and by the time the English first began their own settlement, the Indians had become considerably numerous" (Crone-Morange and Lavin 2004:138, citing Slosson 1811:3).

The first mention of the Schaghticoke tribe in the existing documentary record is a reference to "ye Scattacook Indians" made by Milford resident Robert Treat to the Connecticut Governor John Winthrop in a letter of February 2, 1699/1700 (CHS 1921[24]:165).[xxxi]

In the first decades of the 18th century, the community at Schaghticoke grew as displaced Paugussett, Potatuck, Weantinock, Mahican, and other Native people from southern New England gravitated toward the area. In particular, the tribe's first recorded sachem, Mauwehu (Gideon Mauwee), guided a number of families living at Potatuck

northward to Schaghticoke, and subsequently invited other communities in nearby eastern New York and western Connecticut to join (Orcutt 1882:197-198).

## CONCLUSION: THE SPACES OF COMMUNITY

By 1720, Paugussett homelands along the coast were legally lost lost in all but a few reservation lands and some modest acreage further inland (Rudes 1999:301).[xxxii] In the mid-Housatonic, the Potatuck and Weantinock homelands, which had early on fared better, were being increasingly targeted because of their agriculturally rich soils. At the close of the century, the Native communities of western Connecticut were reduced to roughly 90 percent of their size a century before due to the traumas of disease, violence, migration and alcohol (Rudes 1999:302-303).

For many observers, this decimation of homeland and population has led to easy assumptions of community disappearance. DeForest (1851:51) brashly proclaimed that the Potatucks' "insignificance is sufficiently proved by the almost total silence of authors concerning them, and by their noiseless disappearance." "It was at this period," celebratory historians decided, "that [colonial] hardy sons quit the sanguine field, and exchanged their implements of death for such as were better calculated for the tillage and cultivation of their farms:"

> "The forests with which they were encompassed, no longer abounded with fierce and untutored savages - the war-whoop was no longer heard - the great part of the Indians that survived the many bloody engagements, had sought peace and retirement far westward" (Anonymous 1810:62).

More recently, though, Native communities and scholars alike have forcefully advocated for the fundamental strength of ties to place and homeland. As Kalinowski notes, "territory, a sense of place, or 'rootage' is not something easily acquired. Perhaps more significantly, it is not something easily lost" (1996:145). By weaving through familiar spaces, recalling ancestral links and stories, and practicing traditions of social life, 'dwelling' creates a sense of self and of belonging (Clifford 1997; Bender 2001:5). When 20th century Paugussett leader Chief Quiet Hawk was once asked if he remembered when he realized he was an Indian, he answered eloquently:

> "One day I was running in the woods, and I began to run faster than the breeze coming into my face. I felt I was someplace else. I felt I was lifted off the ground. I felt in conjunction with the air and the earth and without a shadow of a doubt knew who I was" (Lang 1994).

In this way, dwelling works in a co-creative fashion in which space and place are socially constructed and meaningfully constituted via spatial practice and memory-work.[xxxiii] Acting as reservoirs of social practices, landscapes encode, reproduce, and inspire practice and memory at individual, familial, and collective levels (Francis et al. 2002; Crumley 2002).

As they were alienated from the prime locales which had sustained their planting fields and fishing spots for generations, Paugussett, Weantinock, and Potatuck communities made use of their local knowledge to identify new spaces for community residence. The locales into – and across which - they moved as land dispossession intensified, were not ones alien or marginal to them, but were further extensions, or different emphases within, their homelands. They settled in some of the same locales

which Native people had used for millennia, choosing the uplands regions of their homelands where they might continue to hunt, gather, and cultivate plants as before.

In colonial eyes, such places were "marginal:" marginal in their ecological offerings, marginal in their geographical placement with respect to other locales, and marginal to civilized life. Yet archaeological evidence such as that at Sentinel Hill in Derby demonstrates that such places had long been part of a regional Native space. This overlapping of time and space underscores that land alienation was neither unmitigated, nor irreversible. These understandings are furthered by the legal strategies Native communities engaged in order to remain "in place." The ties to land which Housatonic Native communities continued to express through the parameters of their land deeds, their agreements to settle on reserved lands on their homelands, and their insistence on communal rights highlight that there can be nothing simple about alienating "territory."

Other communities opted to draw on connections to "place" elsewhere. Many Native families took advantage of long-standing patterns of kinship and social connections and relocated further inland to Native communities further up the Housatonic with whom they were connected. They settled on Potatuck and Weantinock homelands in growing refuges of community amalgamation. As the 17$^{th}$ century closed, however, these more interior areas became the increasing focus of colonial interest. With colonists converging from the south and east on the mid-Housatonic Valley, Native communities again looked to northern locations, past the range of colonial reaches. Growing numbers of Weantinock, Potatuck, and Paugussett clustered in a new community locale called Schaghticoke. Families settled in these "new" locales were intimately connected to their kin who remained on their natal homelands.

While privileging these continuing attachments to place, researchers must be wary of using dwelling as a "romantic, almost ahistorical sense of being-in-the-world," particularly when it is rooted in "seemingly 'timeless' activities and movements" (Bender 2006:307). The Native communities for whom these lands were home were regardless affected by the emerging colonial landscape. Bender (2006) underscores that colonial practices were deeply embedded in unequal and diffuse power relations. Landscapes functioned as tools of community control. They could be manipulated to control movement through space and time (Tilley 1993; Byrne 2003). Competing, and often non-translatable, colonial conceptions of territory, property, land, natural resources, and exchange instigated conflict and turmoil among many Native communities as they sold and were dispossessed of their ancestral lands. Such conceptions continue today to incite controversy, as in legal proceedings for government recognition which remain grounded in bounded notions of territory and community that do not reflect the interconnected nature of Housatonic communities and homelands.

These distinctions point out that while the differences between homelands, or territory, and property are both legal and economic, they are also symbolic, social, and intimate. The language scholars use to describe territory, Kalinowski (1996:145) advises, "is language that draws on the experience of the sacred." In this measure, severing the links to place and homeland is a feat "that no county clerk can accomplish," no matter how alienating the terms of land transfer or sale (Kalinowski 1996). For the Native communities who remained rooted in the Housatonic River Valley, their homelands - albeit changing - continued to manifest a regional Native space that was simultaneously physical, symbolic, emotional, intimate, and very much communal.

[vii] In the region more broadly, stories of European arrival begin with Verrazano's 1524 expedition along the New England coastline and continue with Dutch trading explorations along the Connecticut River in 1614 and in New Haven Harbor among the Quinnipiac in 1625 (DeLaet 1909[1625-1640]:43; Walwer and Walwer 2000:29). By 1635-1636, considerable English settlements had begun along the coasts of southeastern Connecticut. It was not until 1637, however, that the Native peoples of western Connecticut were significantly integrated into the budding English and Dutch colonial empires. Toward the end of the English-Pequot conflict in southeastern Connecticut, after a horrific massacre at the Pequot fort on the Mystic River, Pequot survivors fled westward. They were pursued by Connecticut and Massachusetts colonists, leading to a confrontation in an area that became known as Sasqua Swamp. During the skirmish, the fugitive Pequots were joined by Native groups from Sasqua and other nearby places in the Housatonic valley (Rudes 2005:20). The English were eventually victorious and many Native individuals were killed, taken captive, or sold into slavery in Massachusetts and elsewhere, while surviving Native communities became subject to English law and tribute.

[viii] English settlers arriving in the mid-17th century found "formidable," "great numbers" of Native people in the Housatonic Valley (Lambert 1838:20; Scranton 1816:276). Nevertheless, subsequent attempts to arrive at demographic counts for the Native populations of western Connecticut around the time of European settlement have proven difficult. An early estimate by Mooney (1928) of 400 is considered now far too low, while estimates of 20,000 are likely too high (Trumbull 1818; Ubelaker 1975). Wojciechowski (1992:49-85), based on a thorough analysis of land deeds and other available data, has argued that Paugussett and Pequannock communities numbered around 3000 individuals collectively, Potatuck communities between 500 and 800 people, and Weantinock communities between 500 and 1000 people, for a total population figure of 4000-5000 people around the time of sustained European settlement in 1630 (Rudes 1999:300).

[ix] The nature by which land was acquired in this early period is unfortunately poorly understood. It is well known through colonial records that native groups involved in the Sasqua Swamp Skirmish of the Pequot War were forced to pay tribute to the colonial government following their defeat. The "right of conquest" principle came to be used a rationale for the confiscation of native lands, as for example in the controversial forfeiture of substantial Pequonnock lands on the border of Fairfield and Stratford (Cruson 1991:87-88; Den Ouden 2005). How much of other native lands in the area was acquired through purchase or through simple occupation is unknown, as many of the earliest records for towns in the area, like Fairfield and Stratford, have been lost or destroyed over the ensuing centuries (Rudes 2005:21-23).

[x] An important corollary note is drawn that certainly the flow of material culture exchange went both ways, with colonial settlers relying heavily on Native craftsmen for the production of snowshoes and hides, and of course for indispensable local foodstuffs. A colorful family story passed down through the Smith family of New Haven speaks the long-lasting legacies of this exchange. When the Smith family was delayed in their travels by weather on Thanksgiving day in 1779, the father "quietly [asks] if our host could not get us each a pair of snow shoes." Early colonists had adopted the use of snow shoes from native groups, and though the practice abated over time, the wayward travelers describe that "down to a comparatively recent period there had been a few persons who continued to use them in places where there were no interruptions from fences." This particular family was well-acquainted with such practices, the father having been a teacher among the Stockbridge mission school. Fortunately for the travelers, their host, Judge Tapping Reeve of Litchfield, "had stored away in his garret, more as a curiosity than for any use that he expected to be made of them, two pairs of snow shoes of the finest Indian manufacture" (Smith 1900:308-310). Father and son made the perilous journey through the snow to Woodbury, prompting his aggrieved wife to lament, "*I* say, leave Indian ways to the Indian folk'" (Smith 1900:312-313).

[xi] Native communities, too, constructed fortified homes and villages as colonial presence became a staple on the landscape, altering their patterns of domestic and social architecture. A Paugussett community in Derby built a fortified enclosure on the east bank of the Housatonic less than a mile north of its confluence with the Naugatuck River, while to the south another fortification, similar in structure, was located in Milford about a half mile above what was to become the Stratford ferry across the Housatonic (DeForest 1851:393-394; Trumbull Vol. 1, p. 30). At Uncoway in Fairfield, native planting fields and cleared land which today take up much of the Mountain Grove Cemetery and West End were connected to a fortification at the head of Black Rock Harbor, opposite the corner where today Fairfield Avenue and Orland Street meet (Brilvitch 2007:14).

[xii] An ecologically-influenced sociopolitical pattern has been offered by Bragdon (1996) as a means to understand the differing degrees to which adoption of large-scale maize agriculture in the (Late) Woodland era was accompanied by increased population densities and more permanent living arrangements in larger villages (Walwer and Walwer 2000:24; Lavin 2001b). Coastal southeastern New England groups like the Mohegan, Pequot, and Narrgansett have been described as large, aggregated, and fairly sedentary communities, characterized by discernable social hierarchy and accompanying ideologies, strong centralized leadership, and control of restricted resources and goods (Crone-Morange and Lavin 2004:143). So too further inland along the Connecticut River Valley, where intensive agriculture and sedentism was prominent, is there evidence for large, aggregated horticularal communities (McBride 1992).

[xiii] In some measure, fallacies of absence have been inadvertently perpetuated by archaeological evidence, or lack thereof. In contrast to the well-represented Archaic era, the archaeological record of the Woodland is not well-represented (Weinstein and Heme 2005:50). As Handsman and Maymon (1986:4) more bluntly describe, the archaeological record of the last ten centuries is "barely visible."[xiii] Recently, however, Binzen's (2002:7) examination of archaeological site data from the Housatonic watershed in Connecticut and southwestern Massachusetts suggests that Woodland period occupations in the Housatonic Valley were more widespread than has been previously thought. In particular, as much as one-quarter (24.7%) of all recorded sites in northwestern Connecticut show evidence of Late Woodland occupation (after 1000 A.D.), a number five times greater than Massacusetts (Binzen 2002:12)[xiii].

These archaeological findings discredit those who wish to paint Native presence in the area as a declining trend in the Woodland period onward. Instead, a complex, long-standing picture of movement and residence emerges. The six centuries leading up to European arrival appears to have been a time during which settlement intensified in the lower Housatonic and coastal Connecticut areas, while settlement in the upper Housatonic (i.e. Berkshire County, Massachusetts) decreased (Binzen 2002). This trend would later reverse as colonial incursions into the western and northwestern portions of Conneticut took off and the "strategic advantages of settlement in the remote 'hunting grounds' of the Housatonic were once again recognized" (Binzen 2002:13-14).

[xiv] Further, although they were occupied year-round to some measure, new settlements were likely built every generation or so in order to diversify usage of the local resources.

[xv] cf. Harvey 2003.

[xvi] As linguist Blair Rudes explains, "perfectly acceptable expressions such as 'my tree,' 'my river,' 'my mountain,' and 'my rock' have no translations in (Eastern) Algonquian languages since they refer to objects that cannot be owned any more than an English speaker can own the air or the sun" (2005:35).

[xvii] As William Starna and Blair Rudes believe, the limits of territory were defined then only by the extent to which they intruded upon the core areas of a neighboring group. Where two neighboring groups were well-interconnected or on friendly terms there could be significant overlap in the land that the two communities conceived of as their homelands (Rudes 2005:43). Conversely, in situations in which groups relied on a limited set of the same resources in a given locale, the limits of territory might be more sharply defined.

[xviii] The wording in early deeds from the region indicates that visual means and physical markers were used to partition the landscape in purchasing endeavors. In 1664, "Tatanome Sacham then of Pagasett" walked the periphery of a property and placed boundary marks on physical features such as trees to delimit the sale's border, while elsewhere English buyers constructed a fence as a further boundary marker: "with trees marked by Totanome Sacham of Pagasett And also where ye Said Thomas wheler hath sett any fenc beyond the marked Trees that ye fence in those plasses Shall be the bowns" (Derby deed, January 27, 1664/66; Wojciechowski 1992:119-120). In many other instances, however, such sufficiently vague wording and measurements (like "one days march") were used to outline the boundaries of a land plot so as to render confusion and debate not only within Native communities, but among English ones as well (Cruson 1991:87). Commonly, this required that colonists negotiate multiple deeds to cover the same, or near to same, tracts of land over a period of years (Wojciechowksi 1992:152).

[xix] This is the area where today's Mountain Grove Cemetery and West End now stand.

[xx] An extensive shell heap at Milford Point, some 24 acres in size, was historically lauded as "the largest Indian kitchen midden in New England" (Federal Writers Project History of Milford 1939).

[xxi] Much like their later descendants, Archaic communities appear to have begun moving within a more localized area, emphasizing a riverine focus. At the same time they participated in long-range exchange for

lithic materials and manufacturing steatite implements in a cultural tradition that continued well into the historic period (Lavin 2001b:21; Jones and Centola 2008).

[xxii] In fact, Wequadnach and Weataug were "situated directly upon inter-colony boundaries," and more particularly, "in the extreme corners of the respective colonial townships that had just recently been incorporated upon their traditional homelands" (ca.1740) (Binzen 2004:79). Similarly-designed spatial manipulations would also characterize Schaghticoke community land patterns in the early 18th century.

[xxiii] There were at least three matriclans among the Native peoples of the Housatonic Valley. Where there were larger villages, each clan was represented by several households, while in smaller hamlets one clan might be primary.

[xxiv] The earliest mention of Europeans in the mid-Housatonic area relates to Stephen Goodyear, deputy Governor of New Haven Colony, who in 1646 established a trading post on an island in the Housatonic River, downstream from Metichawon. While Metichawon had been an important gathering place for thousands of years (Weinstein and Heme 2005:54), it now also became intricately - if only fleetingly - tied to the global mercantile trade with England, the Netherlands, and the West Indies (Carlson 1994:28-29). Goodyear's trading post collapsed within a decade, to be followed by the first recorded sale of lands in the area in 1671, which was conducted under such controversial circumstances that Weantinock lands were not further settled until the turn of the 18th century (Lewis 1881:427; Orcutt 1882; Weinstein and Heme 2005:54).

[xxv] Native communities were caught in conflicts between the French, Dutch, and English, and the English were constantly "paranoid" that Native communities would "defect at any moment" to the French or Dutch (Weinstein and Heme 2005). A letter from William Whiting of Hartford to Connecticut Governor John Winthrop, dated December 5, 1704, chronicles the alarm that "a party of the Enemy that are already come over the Lake [from Albany]…the Lass week confirm'd by John Nobles who came from Albany hitheth." (Winthrop Family Papers, Correspondence for Years of Connecticut Governors, (1698-1707), Massachusetts Historical Society, P-350, Reel 17, Boston, Massacusetts).

[xxvi] The Fort Hill project was designed as a collaborative endeavor rooted in the very fundamentals many archaeologists are striving to implement today: "the Fort Hill Project is not concerned with investigating and interpreting an archaeological record solely for other archaeologists and historians, many of whom are not themselves Native American. Rather, this project is oriented towards intercultural participation and understanding" (Russell Handsman, New Perspectives from the Fort Hill District: A Proposal to Conduct Archaeological Studies of an Important Native American Landscape in New Milford, p. 1).

[xxvii] A twenty square mile area of the Weanintock homelands was archaeologically studied as part of the Fort Hill District Project. This twenty square mile core area, which today includes the towns of New Milford, Bridgewater, and Brookfield, stretches from the Housatonic River and Lake Candlewood on the east and west and from the Still River Valley to the village of Brookfield to the north and south.

[xxviii] Not all scholars in the area interpret the archaeological evidence in this way. In spite of specifically-designed field methods, much remains uncertain about the sites. "The boundaries of these Weantinock settlements are not immediately discernable," indicates Handsman, "[They are] highly aggregated sites because of superimpositions so it is difficult to differentiate Late Woodland and early historic Weantinock wigwams from those occupied in the further past" (Handsman 1990:6). For example, the Weantinoge site is located on "a poorly-drained floodplain of the Still River," below its juncture with the Housatonic (Handsman and Maymon 1986:7). Investigated initially in the fall of 1983, the site contained two clusters of artifacts and features whose sizes and relations were difficult to discern. Various features and organic stains were located, including several which have been interpreted as possible postmolds from the construction of a dwelling or racks, and two pits used for storage or garbage. While the frequency of materials in each unit was low, artifacts were recovered from all excavation squares and included: Native pottery sherds; quartz, quartzite, and chert flakes which indicate the manufacture and repair of stone tools; and fire-cracked rock (Handsman and Maymon 1986:7). Because few of the artifacts recovered are diagnostic the assemblage and site are difficult to date, but the presence of grit-tempered, thin-walled pottery sherds, from both the body and rim of vessels, points to a Late Woodland occupation less than 1,000 years old (Handsman and Maymon 1986:7). Handsman and Maymon believe that the site represents a small Native hamlet with one or more wigwam floors, surrounded by spaces used for a range of activities (Figure). The evidence for these living floors, however is spatially ambiguous (collection analyzed at IAIS, 2008).

[xxix] While there is some controversy as to whether the "Wawyachtenok" to whom the surviving historical memo refers is indeed the Weantinock of western Connecticut, linguistic and documentary evidence suggests this to be the case (Wojciechowski 1992:233-234; Rudes and Stupic 2003:12; Weinstein and Heme 2005:55).

[xxx] They ask instead to be "considered as brethren and to be in a covenant since Tachkanik lays near to them." These interchanges point to the colonial power plays involved in the tensions between residence, emplacement, and mobility. At the time of the memo exchange, the New York colonial government was highly interested in luring Native groups fleeing from the turmoil of King Philip's War in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut over to New York. They hoped to settle Native communities near Albany so that they could serve as protective buffer zones against the French to the north (Weinstein and Heme 2005:58).

[xxxi] "Although he does not define their place of residence," Lavin and Dumas (1998:8) explain, "Treat was obviously referring to the Schaghticoke Tribe with its main village in Kent since he was discussing lower Housatonic Valley groups immediately south of that area." Treat references three Native communities adjacent to one another: 'Podatuck' centered at present Newton, Connecticut; 'Oweantinuck', located at present New Milford; and 'ye Scattacook Indians' (Lavin and Dumas 1998)

[xxxii] They retained 80 acres at the Golden Hill reserve, 100 acres at Turkey Hill, some modest acres at the Coram Hill reserve, a few hundred acres in the Lonetown area of Redding, and around 300 acres in the Derby/Naugatuck area (Rudes 2005).

[xxxiii] As this implies, landscape is well more than an issue of scale, size, or physical attribute (Gregory and Pred 2007:4). Rather, landscape is "a way of seeing and understanding," perception that is simultaneously social, emotional, ideational, intellectual, spatial and physical (Fairclough 2006:57).

# III

# COMMUNITY, PLACE, CHANGE, 1720-1750

*"Our Identity is in the Land"*

Over the course of the 18th century, the territory formally held by Native communities in the Housatonic Valley shrank from 500,000 to 600,000 acres at the start of the century to a mere 1100 to 1700 acres in 1799 (Rudes 1999:303). The bulk of this land loss transpired in a rapid 40 year period from 1710 to 1740 in areas along the mid- and upper-reaches of the Housatonic Valley. (Figure 3.1) These transfers shifted the geographies of power on the landscape. As colonial populations grew, settlers more confidently set out to recreate the spaces and institutions of Anglo community life, establishing churches, schools, and public institutions in growing numbers. Their efforts relied not only on establishing their own spaces but on more systematically controlling the spaces and connections of Native community life. Through new legislation and stronger enforcement of property rights, they intruded in growing ways on the spatial practices in and through which Native groups maintained community.

With colonists imposing increasing restrictions on their movements and practices, Native communities accelerated and intensified the processes of consolidation and amalgamation which had featured prominently in their community-keeping efforts since the last century. Three routes to community amalgamation particularly characterized

these processes (see Figure 3.1) One route to amalgamation was through continued reservation living, the advantages and disadvantages of which swung as colonists variably enforced the legal bounds of their formally reserved areas. A second route was amalgamating on lands which Native groups still owned. A third was amalgamating on lands that had yet to be bounded or defined by Anglo-American settlers. These three kinds of community spaces were closely connected, but the differences in their spatial, social, and legal circumstances made for different challenges for community life.

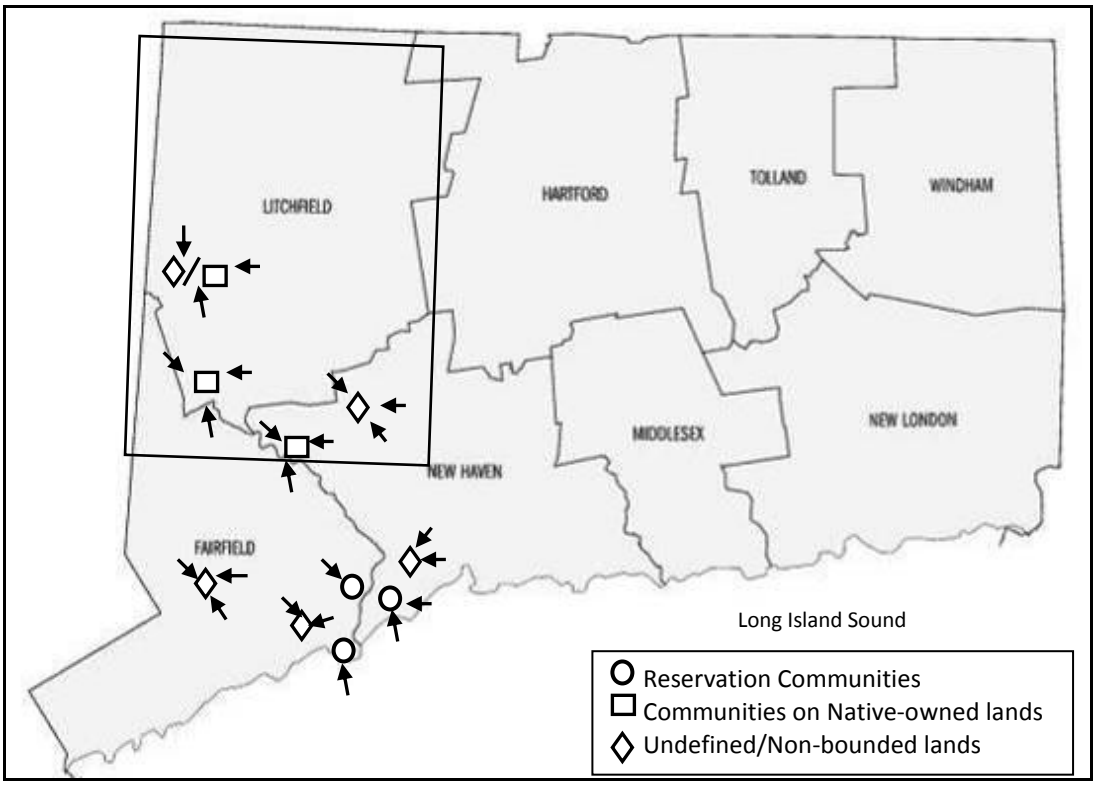



Figure 3.1 Native community patterns from 1720-1750. Communities increasingly amalgamate, on (1) reservations; (2) lands still owned by Native groups; (3) undefined, unbounded lands. Rectangular bounded area shows the focus of land sales from 1720-1750, in the mid- and upper-Housatonic region, which became Litchfield County. (Source: Author)

Places and landscapes, Native groups discovered in the tightening of colonial control, were not accruals of "collective subjectivities of community and cultural practice" down through generations (Gibson 2006:175). Rather, seen through the lens of competitive western concepts of property, places were physical and rivalrous (Gibson 2006:175). For groups for whom places are better described as "localities steeped in kinned history" (Howell 2002:90), and for whom homelands are a whole collection of such meaningful places dispersed widely through geography and time, the imposition of this ideology was dramatic and severe. Landscape provides the habitual space of a community, over and above the social ties nurtured by proximity (Basso 1996; Rubertone 2008). Changes in a community's relationship to their lived and grounded spaces can at times be disrupting, upheaving, and ultimately severing. The particularities of Native understandings of place and landscape (as homelands), however, tempered the alienation that might have arisen from dispossession and displacement (Handsman 1991).

Among Housatonic Native communities, sense of place is restricted not to one locality but is instead projected onto a region (Basso 1996). The "'paths' and 'projects' of everyday life," Agnew (1993:263) explains, "link places along three dimensions: locale, location, and sense of place. These same dimensions tie places to one another in a perception of contiguity and interconnection.[xxxiv] The familiar choreography of these elements perpetuated Native ties to their homelands and communities even as the specific locales of their residence shifted and took on new meaning in the colonial world.

This chapter considers these themes in a larger narrative told through vignettes of Native community locales in the second quarter of the 18th century. It examines the ways in which new and old features of the landscape, including borders, pathways, fences, and

personal property, figured in the community-keeping efforts of increasingly more mobile populations. To better situate future discussions of the hamlets and other small communities through which Housatonic Native communities remained interconnected, this chapter describes the principal locales of Paugussett, Potatuck, Weantinock, and Schaghticoke settlement in the decades following the divestment of their major landholdings in the first half of the 18th century. Across these discussions, it explores the ways locality and sense of place are fundamental to "community."

## THE NORTHERN FRONTIER

Between 1708 and 1730, Connecticut's European population nearly tripled, from 20,000 to 57,000 persons (Garvan 1951). The burgeoning population, most of them farmers, demanded land, and as surveyors scanned the colony maps they could not ignore an expansive, largely unincorporated, nearly "blank" section: the northwest corner. If the mid-Housatonic had once been an unknown region, the "dense, sublime, primitive forests" (Orcutt 1882:1) of northwest Connecticut formed the true "western frontier" during the early 18th century, a "wedge of land unfamiliar to colonial government" (Binzen 2002:8). With good reason, settlers were intimidated by the rugged topography and inaccessibility of the region, the narrow and heavily forested Native trails, and the unnavigability of the Housatonic by most watercraft. (Figure 3.3)

The Reverend Benjamin Wadsworth, one of the earliest travelers to record impressions of the area (1694), described the northern Housatonic as a "hideous, howling wilderness" that was "very woody, rocky, mountainous, swampy" (Spencer 1988). These

physical challenges were complicated by uncertainties in colonial administration in the area. Ongoing 17th and 18th century boundary disputes between Connecticut and New York made settlers reluctant to invest their resources, labor, and selves anywhere near the border (Bowen 1882). The remoteness, too, exacerbated fears of "skulking" and "treacherous" Native people bent on ill will.

Between 1720 and 1750, reluctance to settle in the mid- and upper-reaches of the Housatonic Valley diminished as colonial powers became increasingly established in the region. The opening up of previously restricted lands and the granting of official colonial charters facilitated large-scale land sales in the mid- and upper-Housatonic Valley. (see Figure 3.1) The second quarter of the 18th century was marked with the closest thing western Connecticut had to a "land rush" (Crone-Morange and Lavin 2004:141). In but one example, deeds for 44,250 acres in the so-called "Oblong" strip between Connecticut and New York were granted to a holding company in 1731, who in turn sold off 500-acre tracts to prospective settlers.[xxxv]

"The effect on local Indian settlements," Schaghticoke tribal historian Paulette Crone-Morange and archaeologist Lucianne Lavin (2004:141) relate, "was immediate and disastrous for many." Though few settlers had even ventured to the remote areas of the northern-Housatonic prior to the establishment of towns between 1739 and 1741, including Kent, Sharon, Goshen, Cornwall, and Salisbury, substantial migration began to amount in the 1740s (Crone-Morange and Lavin 2004:133). (Figure 3.2) By 1750 there was sufficient enough population in the region to need public worship houses, gristmills, and ferries across the Housatonic (Hawley 1929).[xxxvi]

Figure 3.2. Settlers skirting the Housatonic River along ox cart paths as they established towns in the mid- and upper-Housatonic Valley, including Kent, Cornwall, and Goshen. (Source: Connecticut Historical Society)

As colonial populations increased, Anglo-Americans set out to strengthen the roots of community they had established in their early settlements.[xxxvii] This social philosophy carried a particular set of beliefs about the way the landscape should be organized, which colonists had not always achieved in the chaos of early settlement (Stilgoe 1982). The notions of community and town were inseparable in their eyes. They considered the strength of a local community to be as a shepherd or guide for the moral and physical survival its members.

Seventeenth century New England Puritan settlers had likened themselves to the 12 Lost Tribes of Israel in the Bible (Archer 1975). They derived a sense of identity from "the wilderness situation" in which they, like the Lost Tribes, wandered. New Haven founders built their town government on biblical models, wanting to gather "tent tribes in the wilderness around the tabernacle of the covenant" (Archer 1975:148). The spatial organization of their community followed similarly, with a central square surrounded by

symmetrical square neighborhoods. (Figure 3.3) So conceived, community locality was fundamental to settlement processes, and the organization of space was an important conduit for physical and moral survival (Scott 1998).

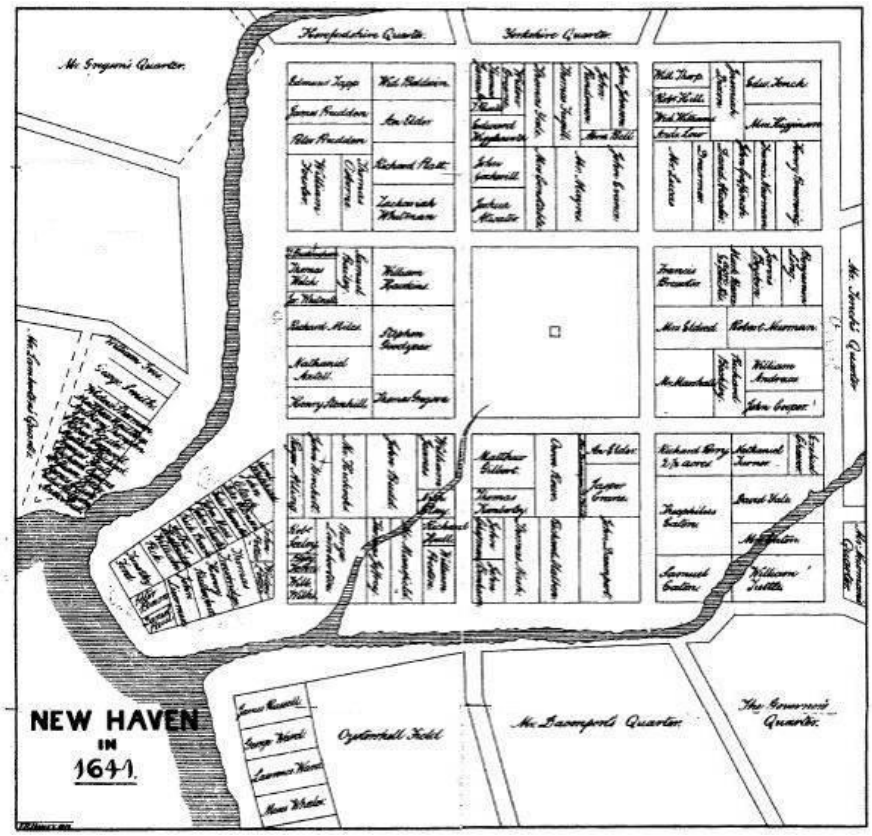



Figure 3.3. Town plan of a part of New Haven, Connecticut, 1641. (Source: modified from Archer 1975)

As settlement continued in the 18th century, colonists worked to strengthen this ideological and spatial footing through the use of principles and technologies that would more clearly establish the boundaries of their communities, typically in opposition to Native communities. They planned settlements around town squares, clustered houses in nucleated areas, laid out roads, and connected their growing towns via ox cart paths and post roads largely built on top of Native trails. Individual homesteaders built mills,

dammed up tributaries for better water access, and continued squaring off their lands with fences and stone wall enclosures.

As the balance of power shifted on the landscape and as colonists grew more settled in their surroundings, they began recreating the institutions and built environments that resonated with their sense of community and home. They constructed churches, schools, meeting houses, and other public spaces. Some of these structures and functions were ones specifically adapted to the New England environment. In Danbury, Newtown and New Milford, a number of the more prominent families erected "Sabbath-Day Houses" near churches, the equivalent of a church hall in which people could gather for warmth and food in between services (Hawley 1929:17). In some instances, these processes of settlement themselves beget further settlement. As New Milford and Newtown began to grow and prosper, English residents living on the outskirts of settlement complained of the hardships of traveling sizable distances to church, particularly in winter. In 1743 they petitioned the Connecticut General Assembly for "liberty for winter parish," leading to the establishment of an entirely new town settlement in 1754.

These settlement efforts carried corollary interests in managing Native communities and their spaces more closely. English colonists in the second quarter of the 18th century continued to focus their relations with Native communities on processes of appropriating land, as they had for the hundred years prior. In addition, however, they also increasingly sought to more systematically control Native communities and their spatial practices. Motivated by a European worldview cornerstoned in Baconian and Lockean materialism and individualism, settlers worked to encourage Native peoples to

Christianize and "civilize" (Vitek 1996:1).[xxxviii] "To ensure that Native men and women be 'brought off from [the] pagan manner of living,'" Den Ouden (2005:82-83) describes, "they were to be 'encouraged to make Settlements in Convenient Places, in Villages after the English Manner'" (citing Indian Papers I, 1:87). The Connecticut Colony ordered that Native communities organize themselves in definable villages, "wherein ye Severall Families of them should have Suitable Portions of Land appropriated to them, so that ye sd Portions, should descent from ye Father to his Children." In addition to teaching the principles and advantages of personal property, this law sought to also "encourage them to apply themselves to Husbandry" (Den Ouden 2005:82-3, citing Indian Papers I, 1:87).

These colonial spatializing practices, and the deeply embedded, unequal power relations from which they grew (Bender 2006:307), demanded new adjustments by Native communities as the landscape of their ancestors tightened geographically, symbolically, and legalistically. As a result, they increasingly amalgamated, intensifying processes of community gathering which had been important to cultural and physical survival in the 17th century.

## IMPINGING ON RESERVATIONS: THE ENFORCEMENT OF BORDERS AND INACCESSIBILITY

One route to amalgamation was through increasing reliance on reservation spaces. A key measure by which English colonists sought to more strongly define the place of Native peoples in the emerging colonial society was by enforcing the boundaries and regulations associated with reservation lands created since 1650. Since the 17th century, colonists had refigured the landscape which underlay Native life by partitioning space

through Enlightenment concepts of borders and the "indispensable weapon" of the survey (Garvan 1951:18-19; Geisen et al. 2004:7; Cobb 2006). They used the same principles which guided the creation of their individual homesteads and public spaces to also formally define "Native spaces," namely reservations or reserved lands (Byrne 2003). For colonists, this not only facilitated land sales, but had the corollary interest of confining Native communities to identifiable and observable places. The latter bolstered the continuing security and protection of New England towns, which they perceived to still be under threat of Native attack.

This was not a one-sided relationship, however. For Native communities, living on reservation lands continued to carry some of the same advantages as it had for nearly the past century, notably the ability to continue residing "in place" at the core of ancestral homelands, in areas now otherwise highly populated with colonists. Many members of Native communities along the coast, including at Golden Hill, Coram Hill, and Turkey Hill, had opted to stay on such reserved areas. Some of these sites were on places of long-standing significance, such as the sacred surrounds at Golden Hill. Others, like Coram Hill, were places in and of themselves less regarded, but they had gained value because of their proximity to continuing ancestral sites, including burial places and resource locales. From 1720 onward, these communities faced mounting pressures as colonists increasingly enforced reservation boundaries and tried to more tightly confine Native communities.[xxxix]

The enforcement of reservation boundaries imposed restrictions on Native communities' spatial movements and their abilities to continue accessing the range of their homelands needed to support themselves. For Native communities used to

practicing seasonal subsistence rounds and to situating their planting grounds in keeping with a fallow system, the strictures of enforced boundary systems were severe and alienating. Paugussett families who chose to remain near the core of their ancestral homelands on the Coram Hill reserve in colonial Stratford (present-day Shelton) contended with arduous daily living. The terms of their reservation agreement demanded changes in community patterns that were ill-suited not only for the Native residents of Coram Hill but for the very landscape itself. The Paugussett community had specifically requested lands for their "planting grounds" in the negotiations and sales leading up to the creation of the reservation. An extensive history of legal petitions documents the unsatisfactory nature of the planting fields ultimately laid out to them. Reservation residents particularly critiqued the rocky soil and its unsuitability for planting and subsistence (Wojciechowski 1992:56). The terms of the reservation agreement had included that the Coram Hill residents "fence" their property, but fencing would do little to help land "so full of stones that it is unfit to plant" (Connecticut Colony Records, vol. 3[1859]:68).

The enforcement of reservations was not just about spatial boundaries and formally-defined Native spaces but also about the ways these spaces were used by both Native and colonial communities. In the 18th century, as colonists sought to define the proper paths to town settlement, community living, and economic success for themselves, they also impinged on how Native communities should live on reservations. Beyond physical delineations and material markers of Native space, the imposition of colonial power and boundaries was reified by discourses and practices of control (Byrne 2003; Nah 2007:36). As constructs of geographical and political imagination, what gives a

border presence, Sidaway (2007:167) explains, “is its reproduction through a complex system of representations,” including, in this instance, practices provided for in reservation agreements.

By the terms of their reservation agreement, the Paugussett residents of Coram Hill had to consent that “sufficient highways” be “allowed in the sayd land, when and where occasion shall be for the inhabitants of the sayd towne.” Moreover, the colonial residents of nearby Stratford would also have “conveniencie for fishing in the river side.” Similar caveats were included to direct the Paugussett residents’ practices, but along more constricting lines. Though the terms of the reservation agreement had provided for their continued liberty to “hunt, fowl and fish in Stratford bounds,” additional instruction also laid out that the land be “improved” by “sufficient fencing” (Connecticut Colony Records, vol. 3[1859]:68).

The spatial separations that reservations, and colonial borders more generally, imposed were thus not only geographical. They were also social and psychological (Geisen et al. 2004:7).[xl] The stringent conditions at Coram Hill made it possible for only a few Paugussett families to reside on the reserved lands, separating clans and families. Nevertheless, Native communities lived and maneuvered within these restrictions through practices very much in keeping with past generations. Historical records indicate that many of the Native community members who were unable to support themselves at Coram Hill relocated to nearby Native locales like Turkey Hill, Naugatuck, and Derby Narrows. Many of these same records demonstrate that they continued to maintain social ties, becoming return visitors to Coram Hill. Their insistence on maintaining these connections to place and community exemplifies that though colonial powers can impose

borders which demand new structured relations they cannot erase the memories and traces of past and continuing practices (Perera 2007:209).

## TRANSGRESSING SPACES: THE AMBIGUITIES OF BORDERS AND PROPERTY

Although colonists worked to tighten the borders around reservations and the Native practices within them, Native communities succeeded often in undermining these efforts (Byrne 2003). Borders, as recent migration scholars and others point out, are not closed and inflexible. They contain ambiguities which allow for manipulations. Even while centered on a reservation parcel, residents of the Golden Hill reservation (present-day Bridgeport) continued to organize their communities in ways that reflected long-standing patterns of dispersed social and spatial organization. The Rev. Nathan Birdsey estimated that in 1710 there were about 20-25 wigwams at Golden Hill, housing around 100-150 people. He also unwittingly recorded the continuing residential practice of clustering small extended family hamlets around a larger core community. In addition to the families at Golden Hill, he referenced several additional settlements of two or three wigwams in nearby locales of Stratford (Birdsey 1809:112). Glimpses of these communities emerge in the documentary record, including of a group living at the "Nimrod Lot," also known as Indian Island, near the Pequannock River in Bridgeport. (Figure 3.4)

Evidence of most of these Native community clusters, however, are not illuminated in documentary sources but instead are materialized in the archaeological history of the region. Collections assembled by Claude C. Coffin and Edward Rogers[xli] in

the 1920s and 1930s evidence the prolific Native settlements of the Milford, Stratford, and Bridgeport areas.[xlii] The reservation at Golden Hill lay at the center of sacred burial grounds, annual summer settlements, long-term village sites, and abundant fishing spots, curated by Native communities for centuries. Three large burial grounds clustered in close proximity to Golden Hill, one within the boundaries of the original reservation (Batchelor and Steck 1941:24).[xliii]

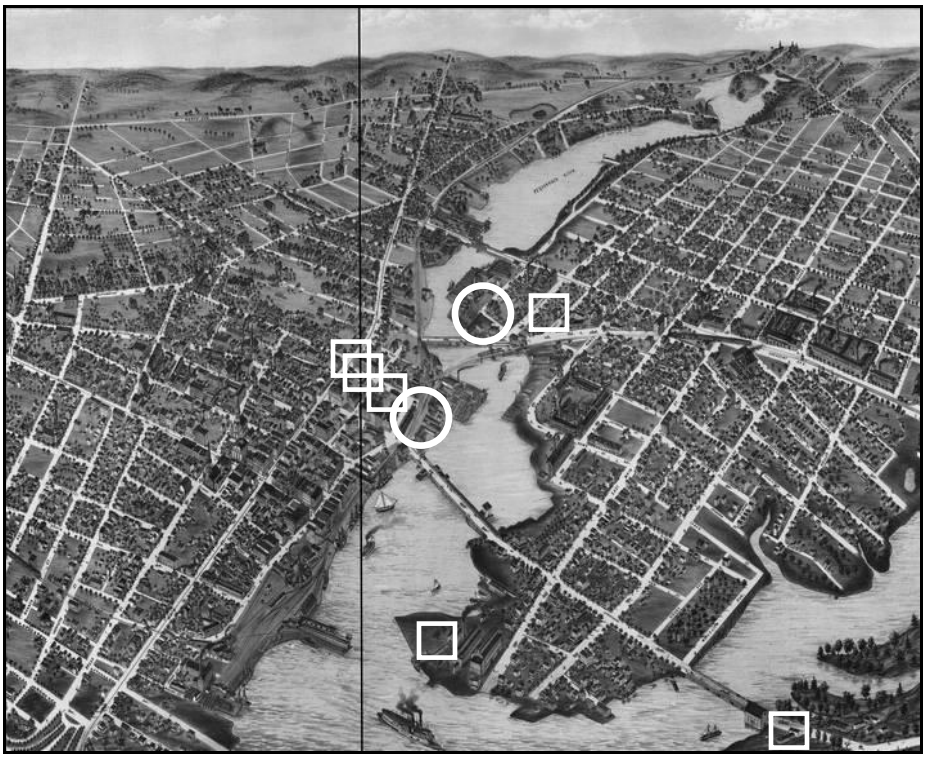


Figure 3.4. Location of the Golden Hill Reservation (bottom left circle) and Nimrod Lot (upper right circle) in the growing town of Bridgeport. Location of select nearby archaeological sites, notably burial grounds, marked by squares. (Source: MAGIC, modified by author)

These sacred sites are complemented by village and resource sites, like the Seaside Village Site and the Berkshire Pond Shell Heap Site, which call forth the ongoing relationships between Native communities and the coastal resources around them (Rogers

Collection, IAIS; Coffin Collection, MHS).[xliv] These extensive assemblages contain shellfish remains, lithic processing tools, and thin-walled decorated pottery styles and Levanna points characteristic of Late Woodland and historic contexts (Rogers Collection, IAIS; Coffin Collection, MHS; Coffin 1963).[xlv] The archaeological findings in the area were so numerous that local collectors C.S. Batchelor and R. Edward Steck were prompted to wonder, "The frequent finding of Indian bones and skulls in different places about the city suggests the question whether Bridgeport may not have been at some remote period in the past, one immense Indian hunting and burying ground" (1941:24-5). On the Golden Hill Reservation itself, excavations conducted during the early 20th century construction of the Bridgeport High School and the renovation of the American Legion Building unearthed several burials and shell middens (Batchelor and Steck 1941:21). In and among such places, small Native communities "off-reservation" continued to support themselves in tandem with their kin at Golden Hill.[xlvi]

The Golden Hill reservation is but one example where despite the cartographies, grids, and ecological geographies emerging, the dividing lines between Native spaces and European spaces were not always stark (Byrne 2003; Cobb 2006). Evidence indicates that residents at the Turkey Hill reservation (present-day Derby) also transgressed the boundaries of their reservation. At Turkey Hill, as at Golden Hill, residents continued to reside both inside and outside of reservation boundaries, in ways which complicate easy understandings of Native-colonial relations. In the 1710s, the Paugussett community at Turkey Hill encompassed an estimated 8-10 families, or something on the order of 40-50 people (Birdsey 1809:112). But historical anecdotes suggest that some of the Turkey Hill

community may have resided not only on the 100-acre plot reserved to them, but also north of it in Derby on lands owned by Major Ebenezer Johnson (Orcutt 1882:14).

Major Johnson, a Justice of the Peace, was tied to Native peoples in several ways. He figured prominently in Derby legislation in the early 1700s as a slave owner and indentured servant holder of several Native Americans, including a Narragansett man by name of Toby and an "Indian woman named Dinah" (Orcutt 1882:38-42; Wojciechowski 1992:133). In a 1709 deed, Johnson acquired lands from a Paugussett man named Chetrenasut in exchange for the freedom of "squaw Sarah," one of Johnson's servants/enslaved peoples. Tradition holds that Chetrenasut and Sarah then married (Orcutt and Beardsley 1880:lxii, 119). That Major Johnson continued to have complicated, close relations with Native communities in the area is suggested by the assertion that he "appears never to have disturbed" the portion of Turkey Hill residents living on his land (Orcutt 1882:14).

The probability that Native communities continued to use their larger homelands, including spaces like that of Major Johnson, even after the establishment of the Turkey Hill Reserve is supported by archaeological findings. Archaeological evidence from the nearby Bock Farm Site in the Wheeler's Farm/Baldwin Station district of Milford indicates that the larger area had been used for centuries by Native peoples as a place for horticulture, hunting, tool manufacturing, and the processing of plant, animal, and marine resources (Coffin Collection, Milford Historical Society).[xlvii] Objects that carry symbolic and social meaning, including stone pendants, hematite paintstones, and banded slate bannerstones, also make clear that the area was more than a stopping point or place of short-term, limited use. A Jack's Reef corner-notched projectile point made of jasper

sourced from Pennsylvania illuminates the extra-regional exchange networks in which Housatonic Native peoples participated.

Although the nature of archaeological techniques used at the site minimizes stratigraphic control, the presence of more than a dozen high quality, retouched Levanna points of quartz and flint dates many of these components to a Late Woodland occupation. There is also compelling evidence for a more recent 17th and 18th century Native presence. Trade goods, including two blue glass, rounded trade beads and a grey English gun flint, were recovered in association with quartz drills, a stylus-like polished slate fragment, lithic tools characteristic of the Late Woodland and early colonial eras, and an object that may be a projectile point fashioned from a quahog shell. A "fire pit" with historic glass fragments and porcelain, as well as flint scrapers and other lithic tools, was also identified at the southern boundary of the project area. Together, such items suggest the continuing associations of Native communities with communities and subsistence resources of the area well beyond those locales currently recognized as early 18th century Native community spaces.[xlviii]

The details of Native life provided in documentary records suggest that there may have been some necessity in continuing to use the range of locales and resources hinted at by the archaeological record. Like their kin at Coram Hill, the Turkey Hill community may have struggled with the limited material resources available at hand on their reserved lands. In 1723, residents of Turkey Hill, and their sachem Tomtonee (or Munshanges), were convicted of having stolen "sundry Sheep from Stratford side, out of Quoram Plain" during the previous May (Stratford Land Records MSS 2:263). Not having the money to pay the restitution of 11 pounds 10 shillings, colonial authorities forced them to pay in

kind with “two parcels of land.” Because this transaction was in fact illegal, an interesting caveat was included that the colonists would have to return the land if called upon to do so (Rudes 2005).

Similar court cases repeatedly recur in the colonial legal records of Connecticut, drawing attention to the transgressive acts by which Native communities continued to express ties to lands beyond their reservation boundaries. They also evoke more complicated relationships to landscape. Court cases like that of the Turkey Hill residents underscore that European concepts of territory and property altered Native relationships with the landscape in a much wider sense than merely land. The spaces which borders created were, from Anglo-Americans’ points of view, largely staging grounds for organizing moral social life and vessels for physical survival. Yet for Native communities, “places” or “sites” could not be separated from networks of kin, ancestors, animals, plants, or spirits, any more than they could be separated from other sites.

This all-encompassing “network of relations” demanded a different relationship to locality and to a locality’s resources than it did for Anglo-Americans (Brooks 2008). “Homocentric” notions of community lead us to neglect the important, interdependent roles that “other members of the biotic system” have in our web of relationships and communities (Kalinowski 1996:141; Leopold 1949). Among Native people of southern New England, these relationships were (and are) both recognized and tremendously valued. Deer, for instance, were regarded “as kin as well as food and a source of invaluable raw materials” and Handsman and Williamson (1989:28) explain that in oral traditions, deer are frequently referred to as friends, children, or brothers. The Turkey

Hill residents' transgression of stealing sundry sheep, while likely an indicator of necessity, also reflects competing notions of human-animal-place relationships.

These changes added another dimension in the alienation Native communities endured in the growing emphasis on borders, individual ownership, and the accompanying restriction of resources. Yet Native communities' continuing transgressions of spatial boundaries highlight that for all its rigidity, a border is also "mobile, perspectival, and relational." As much as a border may seek to imprint a "dominant spatiality, temporality, and political agency" it also enables "hidden geographies of association and digressions" (Rajaram and Grundy-Warr 2007:x). New and ongoing spatial relations and practices like those at Golden Hill and Turkey Hill unsettle what the border is supposed to accomplish (Perera 2007:206-7). Spatial containment, Dennis Byrne (2003:188) sums up, is "largely a fantasy."

Just as Native communities continued to transgress reservation boundaries, English colonists likewise continued to manipulate the borders they created – for their own ends. English settlers encroached repeatedly on the lands at Golden Hill throughout the first half of the 18th century and harassed reservation residents. By 1750, they had so effectively intruded on the reservation that the Native community, which hovered around four families, was restricted to only six acres of their original eighty acre parcel (Rudes 1999:305).[xlix] Even these six acres, save half an acre, had *already* been allotted to a colonist in anticipation that the remaining families would disappear before long (Connecticut Archives, Towns & Lands, IX:62-64; IP I, 2:147-151).

Faced with this constriction, many of the residents of Golden Hill, as at Coram Hill and Turkey Hill, sought more stable circumstances by using the same paths as they

had in the 17th century to travel to kin elsewhere around the Housatonic. A number of Golden Hill reservation families, for example, left to join their kin at Lonetown, Naugatuck, and other communities further inland, including as far north as Farmington.[1] Sarah Wampey (alias Sarah Montaugk), a Golden Hill resident who was a relative of the early 18th century sachem Montaugk, was among several individuals who traveled north up the Potatuck Path and other similar Native trails in the mid-18th century to join Tunxis communities near Farmington in north-central Connecticut. By such travels, Native communities continued the processes of community consolidation which had taken off in earnest in the second half of the 17th century.

## INTENSIFYING AMALGAMATION ON NATIVE SPACES

In complement to amalgamation on and around reservations, a second route to more intensified Native community amalgamation took place on "Native spaces" still owned by Native groups. In the interior areas of the Housatonic Valley, Native communities clustered in the amalgamated community configurations which had taken root during the previous century, including at places like Potatuck Wigwams, Weantinock, and Schaghticoke. (Figure 3.5) As land loss continued and colonial population densities increased in the second quarter of the 18th century, the importance of these Native-owned spaces grew.

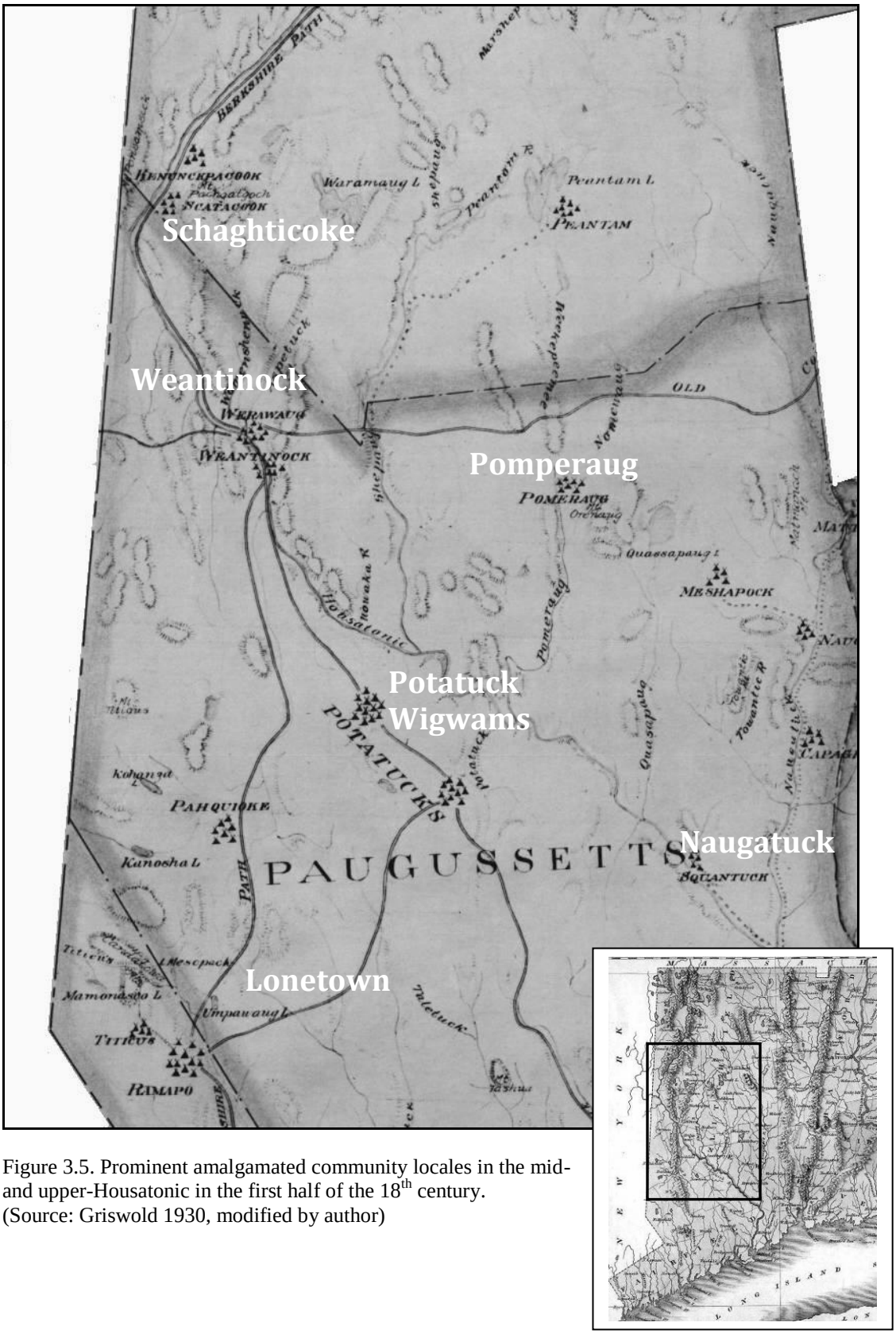



Figure 3.5. Prominent amalgamated community locales in the mid- and upper-Housatonic in the first half of the 18th century.
(Source: Griswold 1930, modified by author)

Prompted, and forced, by colonial pressures and economic incentives, Potatuck, Weantinock, and Schaghticoke communities in the mid-Housatonic deeded large tracts of land between 1720 and 1750. These sales constituted in large measure the bulk of their ancestral homelands. As Native groups deeded these vast landholdings, however, they continued to retain tracts of "Native space" on which they gathered and grew displaced communities. In some measure the hardships that residents faced on these Native spaces differed from those of their kin on reserved lands like Coram Hill and in other settlements located in highly impacted areas.

In the first decades of the 18th century, for instance, the Potatuck had experienced drastic land loss following colonial expansion of the Stratford and New Haven settlements into their homelands. Yet they continued to retain sizeable holdings along the Housatonic River around Potatuck Wigwams (present-day Southbury). Potatuck Wigwams had been a central site of Native refuge and amalgamation since the second half of the 17th century.[li] The importance it held as a place of Native community survivance continued to grow through the first half of the 18th century.

As among reservation communities, the Native communities that increasingly amalgamated on Native spaces continued to practice social and economic traditions which relied on the connections between small, dispersed communities situated over a large spatial area. For most of the first three decades of the 18th century the Native community at Potatuck Wigwams had been able to maintain traditions of communal life and subsistence without significant interference from their colonial neighbors.[lii] Their communal organization included a residency pattern that incorporated multiple settlements and seasonal movements. The Potatuck Wigwams settlement maintained

planting fields nearby, “hunting houses” at Mount Tom, and a fort near the Housatonic River in the Newtown area (Stratford Land Records MSS, 1:384, 464; Wojciechowski 1992:75). They were also connected with smaller Native communities on Potatuck homelands, including at Nonnewaug (present-day Woodbury), at Bethlem, at a fort at Castle Rock, and with a community that clustered on the shores of Bantam Lake (present-day Litchfield) (Cothren 1871:88, 1872:878; Gold 1904:23; Woodruff 1845:7).[liii] (Figure 3.6)

Through continuing land sales, however, colonial settlers tightened in on the Potatuck homelands. (Figure 3.6) In 1728, Potatuck leaders sold a large portion of their remaining lands in two transactions (DeForest 1851:351; Woodbury Land Records vol. 4:212).[liv] Through an additional sale in 1734, the major portion of their remaining ancestral homelands along the Housatonic River was sold. Coupled with the creation of a “highway” between Newtown and New Milford in 1738 and the attendant rise in colonial traffic and development it brought, these developments wrought significant changes among Potatuck homelands (Hawley 1929:116).

As they brokered these sales, however, the Potatuck community carefully and repeatedly preserved the immediate lands around Potatuck Wigwams as a community site and continuing refuge for displaced families. The choice of Potatuck Wigwams as a site over which to retain ownership was significant on several levels. It was, firstly, a spiritual site. All around, ancestral sites of the Potatuck provided connections to their long history in the region and to their inherited traditions, including a burying ground along the Housatonic River just to the south. Its physical location with respect to resources was also significant.

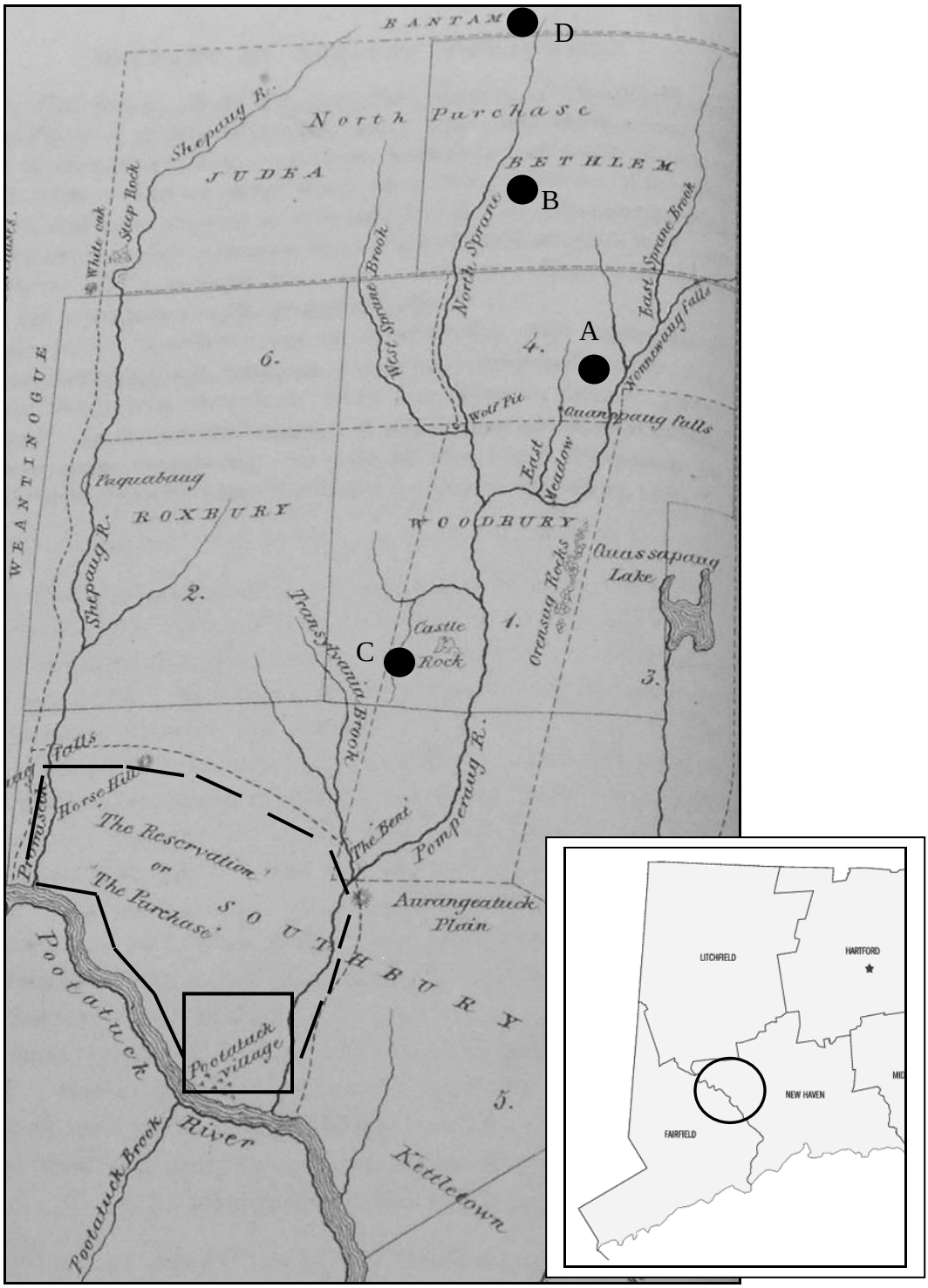



Figure 3.6. Boundaries of land owned by the Potatuck community around Potatuck Village, including lands directly along the Housatonic River and planting fields (boundaries marked by dashed line). Smaller community clusters resided nearby at (A) Nonnewaug, (B) Bethlem, (C) a fort at Castle Rock, (D) on the shores of Bantam Lake. Numbered parcels indicate land purchases by Anglo-American settlers. (Source: Cothren 1871, modified by author)

The natural topography alone makes it little wonder that it was among the last tracts to be sold. Though the acreage of Potatuck homelands was shrinking as elsewhere throughout the Housatonic Valley, the Potatuck Wigwams site sits on a flat terrace directly on the Housatonic River, with ample fishing and well-drained soils that evoke why the site was often called a "plantation" by colonists in deeds (Wojciechowski 1992:72, 76). All of these features of place became increasingly significant as land-hungry colonists encouraged sales of Potatuck homelands through economic inducements and through unabated encroachment on their lands.

The increasing consolidation of Native families into the Potatuck Wigwams area is even better understood through archaeological evidence. In the 1980s, limited archaeological investigations were conducted on the last tract of land to be sold by the Potatuck community at Potatuck Wigwams (1758). Prompted by a town proposal to put a landfill on the site, Kevin McBride and a team of archaeologists conducted systematic surveys of a 114-acre parcel (Potatuck Wigwams National Register Nomination 1989). In addition to several sites that could not be closely dated, they located a particularly sensitive 4.5-acre parcel that coincides with the last remaining Potatuck lands to be sold. The area was clearly distinguished from the surrounding locale, with a defined maximum artifact distribution area that supports conjectures of community consolidation. Within this area, investigators found that the site was patterned with a non-random distribution of late 17$^{th}$ and early 18$^{th}$ century artifacts, including objects of both European and Native manufacture. A sharp drop-off in artifact densities was noticed outside of this immediate area, particularly of mixed material assemblages.

Although many of the artifacts recovered were found in plow zone contexts, a number of historic era artifacts were located below the plow zone, in direct association with both features and lithic tools, indicating the historic era component was relatively intact. Artifacts of European manufacture included a number of kaolin pipe bowls and stems, a variety of green and brown glazed redware ceramics similar to ones found from late 17$^{th}$ and early 18$^{th}$ century Native sites throughout Connecticut, an English trade bead, a French double tournois coin dating to the first half of the 17$^{th}$ century, iron objects, and brass fragments (Potatuck Wigwams National Register Nomination 1989:10; McBride 1990; Bradley 1987). Several of the brass fragments were square-cut and had a hole punched through the center, suggesting use as adornment. Lithic tools were both manufactured and used at the site, including projectile points, scrapers, and abraders, most of which were fashioned from local materials.

Although only a limited number of units were excavated, investigators clearly identified several intact features, including stone hearths and a series of postmold-like features that may be structural remains associated with dwellings. The units in which these features were found contained both Native and European artifacts, which are believed to be associated. The nature of this assemblage points to the Potatuck community's close engagement with colonial society, including trade relationships and cultural influences in the incorporation of European objects in distinctively Native ways. At the same time, the artifact and feature distribution at the site emphasize that Native communities were navigating these relationships within distinctively patterned, and defined, spaces.

The places over which Native communities chose to preserve ownership, and on which they increasingly gathered and amalgamated, were not random ones. Sites like Potatuck Wigwams, Weantinock, and Schaghticoke likely carried ancestral significance. In addition, they shared a common element that only became more important amidst colonial changes: most were directly adjacent to the network of Native paths which transected the region and which formed the continuing basis for routes of connection. (Figure 3.7) One of the most prominent of these locales was at Naugatuck, a major community site generally recognized to have been the "principal encampment" of the consolidated Paugussett groups for much of the 1700s (Rudes 1999:305). It sat alongside the Naugatuck River at "the Falls" in what was then colonial Derby (present-day Seymour). Paths led into and out of this important center, including a path that connected Naugatuck with Quinnipiac communities in New Haven (today's Route 313); and another called the "Potatuck Path" (today's Route 34), which connected Paugussett communities of the coast to their kin north via the Far Mill River; and another that traveled up to the Weantinock communities in New Milford (today's Route 7).

The paths which connected Naugatuck to nearby locales like Turkey Hill, Coram Hill, Golden Hill, and Potatuck brought new residents into the growing community at Naugatuck in the first half of the 18th century. A census taken in 1703 of "warriors able to bear arms" had noted 21 warriors at Naugatuck (J. Minor Census). Based on this number, the total population may have been around 100 individuals (Wojciechowski 1992:56). To this number should be added another small community which continued on Paugussett ancestral homelands at Derby Narrows, 4 miles to the south of Naugatuck at the junction of the Housatonic and Naugatuck Rivers.

Between these locales, the hilly terrain is peppered with a high concentration of single and multi-component sites dating thousands of years, including four Archaic era sites, several indistinct sites along the Wepawaug, Naugatuck, and Housatonic Rivers, and at least one post-17th century Native burial ground (Walwer and Walwer 1996, 2003).[lv] Both the Rogers and Coffin Collections contain intricately designed Late Woodland collared rim vessels from the Naugatuck and Derby areas, which attest to the use of the area in the centuries preceding.

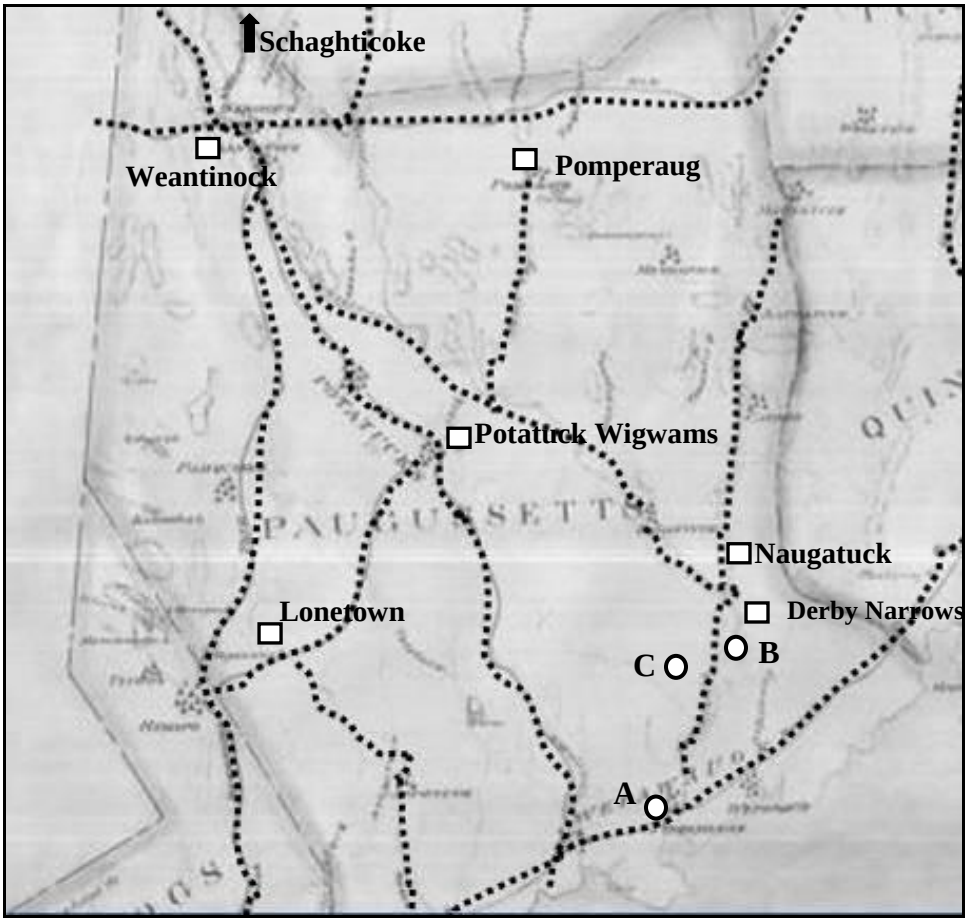



Figure 3.7. Prominent 18th century amalgamated Native community locales along long-standing Native paths. Also noted for reference: Native reservations at (A) Golden Hill, (B) Turkey Hill, and (C) Coram Hill. (Source: Adapted from Colley 2009)

"UNINCORPORATED" SPACES

Native communities drew on a third route to continuing amalgamation, clustering in places still undefined by colonial borders and settlements. Although most of the prominent Native community sites in the 18th century were situated along long-standing paths, not all of those paths were similarly well-traveled by English settlers. Unlike Naugatuck and Potatuck, many amalgamated community spaces continued even in the mid-18th century to be in spaces on the "outskirts" of colonial settlement. To the west of Naugatuck, an amalgamated Pequannock and Paugussett community was guided by Chickens Warrups[lvi] at a place called Lonetown (present-day Redding).

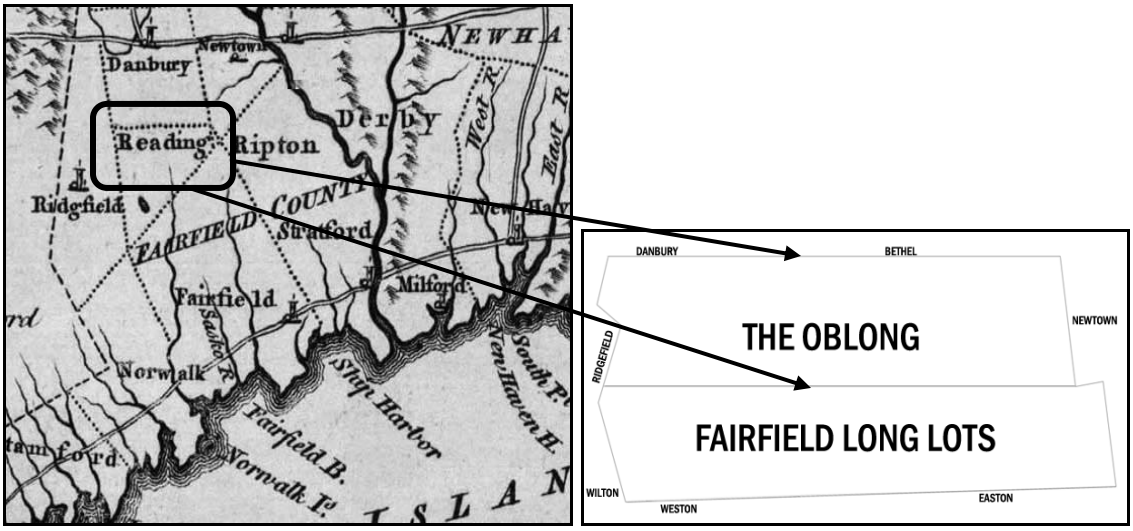



Figure 3.8. Depiction of the "peculiar," "country land" where the Native community at Lonetown gathered. (Source: MAGIC, Town of Redding website)

At the turn of the 18th century this area represented one of the largest areas of land near the interior-coast that remained unsettled by Europeans. The growth of colonial Fairfield had prompted increasing encroachment on Paugussett homelands along the

coast near Bridgeport, but to the north a 2 by 6 mile stretch of "country land" (called at time the "Oblong" or even the "Peculiar") lay unoccupied between Fairfield and the border of Danbury and Bethel (Rudes 1999:306). (Figure 3.8) It was, in fact, not even owned by a town prior to 1729 (Colley 2007).

This area was not, though, an "empty land," to borrow Russell Handsman's (1991) meaning. Interior uplands areas of the Housatonic Valley had been extensively used by Native communities (Chapter 2). An archaeological assessment of the Redding area conducted by Reeve (1999) documented at least nine Late Woodland era sites as well as two Middle Woodland era sites in the vicinity of Chickens' Lonetown community. Though the majority of these are represented only by surface collections, several have been formally investigated, including the New Pond Farm Sites (I and II), the Dietzel subdivision, and the Gallows Hill Sites (I, II, III) (Wiegand 2001:16). The Gallows Hill II site is one of the largest sites in the interior uplands of present Fairfield County. It contained Late Archaic and Woodland/early historic era evidence which suggests it was used recurrently either as a hunting camp or seasonal camp (Wiegand 2001:16). In this area, Chickens and the "petty tribe of Indians" he guided lived in a "fortified village" on a high crest known as "Wolf's Ridge" (Todd 1880:2).

Though off the colonial radar, the Lonetown area (and others like it) was certainly not isolated in Native community eyes, as demonstrated by events in 1720. To the colonists' great alarm, a wampum belt was passed from Hudson River communities eastward to Chickens, who further sent it up the Housatonic Valley "to Potatuck or Newtown, and from there to Wyantenock or New Milford, where it stopped" (DeForest

1851:349).[lvii] Concerned that the exchange might represent plans of an organized uprising, the General Assembly investigated the matter.[lviii]

Deciding that it was sufficiently innocuous, the General Assembly nevertheless endeavored to curtail the long-standing tradition of exchanging wampum, directing that the Native communities of Connecticut were "not to receive such presents in future without giving notice to the magistrates" (DeForest 1851:349). Such "presents," whether of wampum or of birchbark elsewhere in New England, were communal stories – and, in effect, communal spaces themselves. They represented "the relationships between people, between places, between humans and non-humans, between the waterways that joined them" (Brooks 2008:12). These stories, Brooks (2008:12) elaborates, "would even connect people with their relations across time, bringing the past, present, and future into the same space."

## REGULATING NATIVE LIVES: THE CIRCUMSCRIPTION OF MOVEMENT

The connections and travels among Native families, such as the wampum exchange in 1720 exposed, fell under the watchful gaze of New England settlers, who distrusted the gathering of Native communities for fear that they represented ill intent. Colonists traveling around the Housatonic landscape along the same pathways as Native peoples recognized the processes of community amalgamation in continuing Native spaces. Although they could not regulate Native communities in and on lands still owned by Native groups in the same ways as they could reservation communities, colonists nevertheless sought to control the way they moved *around* these Native spaces. Drawing

on bureaucratic and legal technologies, they passed legislation designed to increasingly define the spaces in and among which Native peoples could move.

Colonists remained fearful of French-inspired Native attack, particularly during English wars with France and Spain (1702-1713; 1744-1748; 1754-1763). The Deerfield Massacre of 1704 in central Massachusetts raised such regional alarm that residents of Danbury in southwestern Connecticut fortified their homes and prepared the town as an outpost with garrisons. In town of Litchfield alone, "five houses were surrounded with pallisadoes" between 1720 and 1750 (Woodruff 1845:23). Such garrisons and the symbolism of them long remained part of the landscape, as White (1920:26) suggests in describing that "one of these Garrisons stood on Chestnut Hill and was remembered by Elisha Mason, who died in Litchfield on May 1st, 1858." These fears were also inscribed on the landscape in the clustering of homesteads in "frontier" towns and in the physical expressions of the routes between them. Town streets and interconnecting country roads across New England were "extremely wide" early on in order to "prevent Indian surprise and attack" – so wide that the "Town Street" in Newtown, Connecticut was reportedly 132 feet in width (Boyle 1945:xiii)

As Den Ouden (2005) has shown, colonial powers drew on these panics and the "violent threat" that Native communities posed to justify regulating Native peoples' behavior and intruding on their lands. Their actions highlight the inextricable connections between practice and landscape, particularly in manipulations of spatial practice. Because politics operate in, through, and often for, places, "landscapes are more than just an assemblage of sites and places of struggle" (Rajaram and Grundy-Warr 2007:xxvi). They affirm hierarchies of land use, correct (and incorrect) behaviors, and particular moral

geographies. In so doing, they function as instruments of govermentality (Rajaram and Grundy-Warr 2007:xxv).

Citing fears of "French Indians" coming "over the lake towards Connecticut," the General Assembly ordered in 1723 that sachems "call in all their Indians that are out a hunting in the woods, and that they do not presume to go out again into the woods to hunt" in the Housatonic Valley north of New Milford and the like latitudes (Den Ouden 2005:79).[lix] These orders were to be "published," with the additional corollary that "all Indians, that are such as are found north of the said paths in the woods…must be expected to be treated…as enemies." Such actions reinforced the boundaries between Native and non-Native communities. They also reified a hierarchy of landscape in which townships were bounded, definable localities and other spaces were the non-defined "rest." "The" woods came to be a defined space, but only in relation to township features and not for the particularities of ecological and topographical features which had made them distinctive places for generations of Native people.

Yet while spaces "may be produced by faceless powers," they are consumed by individual subjects in personal ways that often run counter to their intended parameters (Thomas 1993:29). The intimate ways through which "people weave their way through spaces, encountering and interpreting the world" endows space with a creativity that cannot be dominated or controlled fully (Thomas 1993:29, after DeCerteau 1984). For travelers for whom "territory," "borders," and "place" meant very different things, the legibility of a posted sign, even if seen, was likely minimal. "Native men engaged in a hunt," Den Ouden (2005:79) asserts, "surely could not be certain when they had entered officially forbidden territory at any given moment." The likelihood that Native

communities continued to hunt along the prohibited paths is suggested in the need to reiterate the intentions of the Act again in 1724.

Though the colonial government ultimately removed the geographical and hunting restrictions placed on Native communities, the criteria by which they did so reinforced the marginalizing work of the legislation. In October 1724, Native communities were returned the "right" to hunt "as usually" – but only on qualification that they "wore something white on their heads" and further that they "had some English with them during the first fortnight" (DeForest 1851:349). These stigmatizing requirements attempted to force a re-identification of Native communities, negating both members' individuality and that of the community's individuality. By demanding the adornment of a visible icon, it at once separated Native communities from the colonial social world while at the same time creating a new, all-encompassing group of "Indians." In this liminal space, Native groups were no longer considered as distinct (yet interconnected) communities, nor were they to be significant participants in the growing colonial communities.

In 1725, colonial authorities "appeared to concede that restrictions on movement that had been imposed on 'the Western Indians' of Connecticut threatened their survival" and the restrictions upon them were changed, albeit in still encumbering ways (Den Ouden 2005:80-81). The regulations did not stop there. In similar spirit, Native people were prohibited from living within a quarter mile of established towns. Significantly for the maintenance of Native social networks and regional systems of alliance and support, Native groups were forbidden to "entertain stragglers from other tribes" (DeForest 1851:271).

They were further prohibited from carrying guns or other weapons into towns on penalty of seizure, and at times even from discharging a weapon anywhere "in the western frontier" (Connecticut Colony Records 4:680; Den Ouden 2005). Perceiving that powwows were war preparations and that practices of decorating the body with paint were synonymous with a "badge of war," colonists forbid Native people from painting. (Figure 3.9) Though ultimately removed, Native communities "never forgot" this pattern of legislation, handing down the memory and trauma of these acts in oral tradition to this day (Handsman 1990).

Figure 3.9. Depictions of a Wepawaug (Paugussett) "pawaw" ceremony" in which "Indians shouted and danced around a large fire, in a wild and fantastic manner, often sacrificing their choicest treasures, by throwing them into the fire" (Barber 1849:236). (Source: Connecticut Historical Society Collections)

The cumulation of such laws and sentiments created a harsh environment for many Native communities, particularly as Native peoples found they had few courses of redress against either blanket legislations or specific legal encroachments. For Chickens and his community at Lonetown, these impediments repeatedly hit home. By the 1720s, the uninhabited colonial character of the Lonetown area had begun to significantly change. In 1711, John Read, a Stratford lawyer, had purchased 500 acres in Lonetown, which became the colonial town of Redding. Read was joined by settlers from nearby towns within three years, all of whom clustered in continuing apprehension along the only non-Native path in the area for fear of their Native neighbors (Todd 1880).

When the Native community at Lonetown participated in the wampum exchange in 1720, the Redding colonists quickly and loudly brought it to the General Assembly's attention. Four years later, the Native Lonetown community would again be the target of the General Assembly's attention. In 1724, Chickens deeded lands to an English settler, while reserving lands and other concessions for himself and his "posterity." This proviso, however, was ignored. Chickens repeatedly attempted redress from the General Assembly, but his petitions were likewise ignored.[lx] Eventually, the English colonists in the area, fearing violence from the frustrated Native community, took it upon themselves to petition the Assembly both on behalf of Chickens and on behalf of themselves, so that conflict would be circumvented.

As Chickens' plight makes clear, the "bureaucratic technologies" of legal petitioning, testimony, and courts were largely inaccessible to Native communities and offered little recourse for complaint (Todd 1880:30; Strong 2005:258).[lxi] Frustrated by the situation and by continuing encroachment on his lands, in 1748 Chickens exchanged

Lonetown lands for a 200-acre parcel next to the Schaghticoke Reservation. He cited that the land "is much more convenient and advantageous for him, the said Chickens, being well situated for fishing and hunting" (Orcutt 1882:17; Stiles 1916:133). The following year, Chickens led his family and other Lonetown community members to Schaghticoke. Even so, he maintained attachments to Lonetown, returning there repeatedly throughout the remainder of his life (Chapter 4).[lxii]

## THE REACHES OF DISPOSSESSION

For Native communities of southern New England, as elsewhere across the continent, dispossession was as much about intentional and unintentional changes in spirituality, gender, identity, and grouphood as it was about physical dispossession. Dispossession, as much as it is about borders, property, resources, labor, movement, travel, and access, also goes much beyond the taking of land. As Mullings (2005) critiques, it can include such features as "stigmatization, exploitation, [and] exclusion." These "non-material" dispossessions were likewise embedded in the relationships of Native communities with the landscape, as they are in the memories of Native people today.

The actions and concerns of the Weantinock and their kin demonstrate the many, and reaching, modes of dispossession encompassed in colonial processes. Guided by the sachem Waramaug, the Weantinock and their kin maintained a strong network of relations with the Native communities surrounding them. A vibrant community gathered among the Weantinock homelands, linking communities of the southern Housatonic to

those of the north and communities to the west in Hudson Valley with those to the east in the Connecticut River Valley. (Figure 3.10) As colonial settlement in the area swelled, this network provided the social and physical presence for the gathering of Native peoples displaced from their ancestral homelands in points south, east, north, and west.[lxiii]

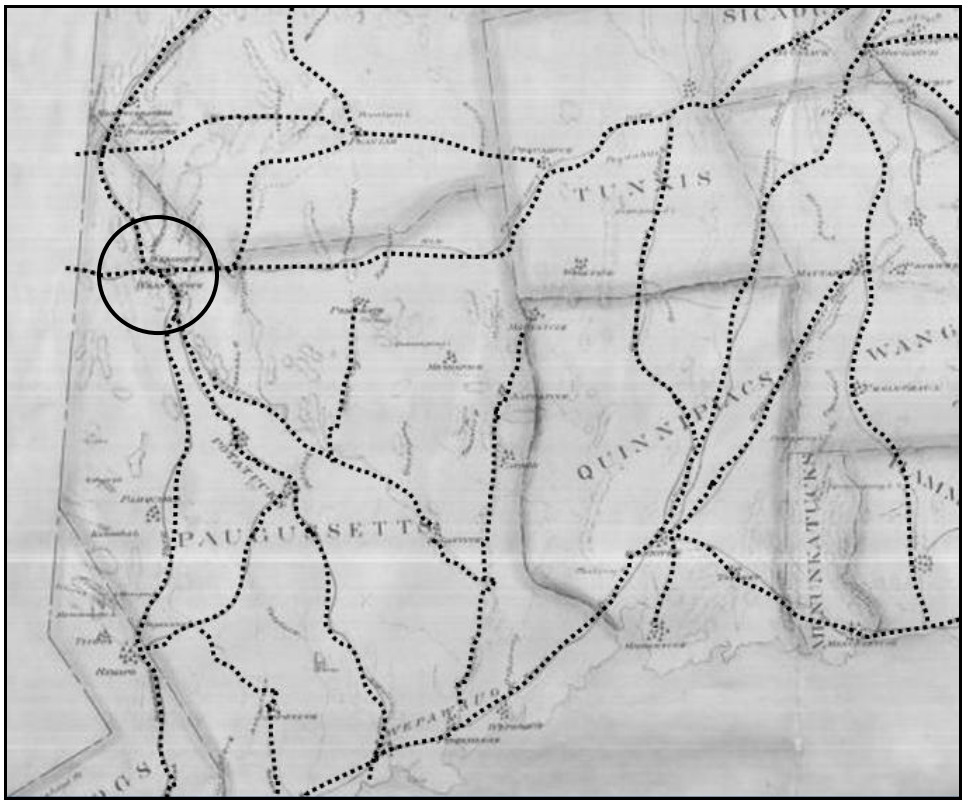



Figure 3.10. Location of Weantinock, at the crossroads of paths linking Native communities along the coast with those to the north, and Connecticut River Valley communities with Hudson River Valley communities. (Source: Modified from Coley 2009)

This area had largely escaped European settlement in the 17th century, but the early18th century brought a reversal of fortune. Through a series of lands sales between 1703 and 1729 the Weantinock lost the majority of their ancestral homelands (Rudes 1999:310). But this loss was not wholesale. By the time settlers turned their attention to

the Weantinock homelands, Native communities had well begun to manipulate the appropriate language and parameters for deeds of sale. In land sales of the 1710s and 1720s, for example, Weantinock leaders knowledgeably retained not only fishing rights at the falls where their ancestors had fished for centuries, but also several tracts of land.

Having been wronged in the past by colonists who claimed they had not provided for particular activities in the language of their deed agreementss, they carefully named each of the activities they could engage, including "hunting, fishing, fowling, planting, building, fencing, and any other improvements" (Wojciechowski 1992:82).[lxiv] In gestures of "accommodation," European American principles of landscape cultivation noticeably surfaced in intentions of "fencing" portions of the reserved areas. Even these areas, however, were nevertheless repeatedly encroached on by colonial neighbors.[lxv]

The subtle processes of dispossession which occurred despite such attempts at formal retention are illuminated particularly in the trajectory of Weantinock planting fields. As communally-worked endeavors, planting fields (particularly corn) were "sites of social importance and sustenance," as well as a source of spiritual connection (Carlson 1994:8). In Native New England, corn is considered to be "an enduring seed," with which Native communities share "spiritual and cultural connections" (Lamb Richmond 1989:24).[lxvi] Archaeologically, the symbolic dimensions of corn are reflected in the disproportionately high number of simple, flexed burials found oriented towards the southwest, asserted to be the "acknowledged direction for the origins of corn and the Spirit Land" (Walwer and Walwer 2000:25).

Native communities, as they planted, harvested, and processed corn, "sustain[ed] that connection between the people and the spirit world" (Lamb Richmond 1989:25).

However, settlers' appropriation of Native planting fields impinged on the practices by which these important spiritual connections were maintained. At first, Handsman (1996:6) describes, "Native peoples shared their fields, working side by side with the new settlers." New Milford town records document the joint cultivation of a 25-30 acre parcel of wide floodplain on the west side of the Housatonic River, immediately across from New Milford village and called the "Indian Field" (New Milford Land Records, 1714-1719). A portion of the Indian Field, called the Whitlock Site, was excavated in 1992 as part of the ongoing Fort Hill project. Over 2500 artifacts were recovered, including a Levanna point, hammerstones, scrapers, edged tools, lithic debitage, kaolin pipe bowls, historic ceramics, fire cracked rock shell, bone and large numbers of Woodland era Native ceramics (Carlson 1994:34).[lxvii]

Planting fields, however, were a "highly contested and desirable commodity" of Native homelands. As such, they did not remain cooperatively worked by Native and English communities for long (Carlson 1994:3). Within the space of 10 years, colonists had surveyed the area into individual parcels (Handsman 1991:6). Fifteen acres were set aside for Native use, but by 1730 this tract, too, was appropriated and divided, completely closing off Native access.[lxviii] Carlson makes the provocative suggestion that the interface between a seemingly Late Woodland horizon and a stratigraphic unit, which is marked by early colonial plowscars, colonial pipe fragments dating from 1680-1710, and thin-walled, incised Late Woodland ceramics, may be "an archaeological indicator of [such] colonial appropriation" (1994:57, 119). By such measures, the Weantinock and their kin were dispossessed of the lands that vitally sustained many of their spiritual and symbolic relationships.

This dispossession not only strained the practices by which Native spiritual bonds were strengthened, but also the gendered traditions of whose roles they were to perform. The care of corn was largely the domain of women. Native women in New England often held prominent community roles as sachems, clan leaders, or shamans, the latter of which also had an active role in leadership and decision-making (Speck 1909:195-196; Simmons 1986:43; Starna 1990:42-43; Handsman and Williamson 1989:27). But in the colonial period, women's influential positions in traditional politics were repeatedly undermined and challenged by the patriarchal gender mores of European societies (Den Ouden 2005).

Native women's continued prominence in corn production (a key staple in colonial trade), as well as the embedded nature of their authority and respect in Native communities, meant that "their voices and concerns could not be ignored or silenced" (Handsman and Williamson 1989:27). Together with sachems and councils of elders, clan mothers fought to retain access to their planting grounds in repeated petitions to colonial authorities. Their sentiments were mirrored by Native groups across New England. In such manners, routines of community life continued for Native communities even as they navigated changes on the landscape and in their subsistence and spiritual practices.

## NEW SPACES AND STRATEGIES IN DISPOSSESSION

Although colonial processes of dispossession held the power to exploit, stigmatize, and exclude, they also held reciprocal power to animate creative and syncretic

processes of place-making and community-keeping. As colonial presence in interior towns like Derby and New Milford grew, Native communities increasingly incorporated new, European-inspired strategies by which to control the circumstances of their community life, including drawing on the tools and principles which had been used to dispossess them of their homelands. These processes are closely illuminated in two examples, “Chusetown” (colonial Naugatuck, present-day Seymour) and Schaghticoke.

*Chusetown (colonial Naugatuck; present-day Seymour)*

Through colonial growth patterns, most Native communities found themselves in close proximity to English settlements. For some, this geographical proximity was complemented by a social proximity. The Paugussett-Potatuck community at Naugatuck was not only spatially near to the growing town of colonial Derby, but also closely integrated with it socially and economically.

The community at Naugatuck was guided by Joseph Mauwee, the younger son of Gideon Mauwee, the sachem at Schaghticoke. Gideon Mauwee had previously guided community members at Naugatuck north to Schaghticoke. He had then sent his son Joseph back to Naugatuck to receive instruction and care from an English family named Tomlinson in the north part of Derby (DeForest 1851:406). His actions were a rather common practice among leading Native families across southern New England (Bradshaw 1935:31). The Mahican sachem of Stockbridge, Aaron Umpachenee, and other Stockbridge leaders had likewise sent their sons for instruction among the Reverend John Sargent (Dunn 2000:365).

Under the Tomlinson's care, Joseph – or "Chuse" as he became known – gained literacy skills in reading and writing English, converted to Christianity, and began to dress in English clothing. Yet, for all his education and introduction to English customs and language, and for all his general favor among English settlers, Chuse remained staunchly connected to the Native traditions of his ancestors and contemporary kin:

> "Chuse…and his family were in the habit of going down once a year to Milford 'to salt,' as it was termed. They usually went down in a boat from Derby Narrows: when they arrived at Milford beach, they set up a tent made of the sail of their boat, and they stayed about a fortnight, living upon oysters and clams. They also collected a considerable quantity of clams, which they boiled, dried in the sun, and strung them in the same manner as we do apples which are to be dried. Clams cured by this method were formerly quite an article of traffic. The Indians in the interior used to bring down dried venison, which they exchanged with the Indians who lived on the sea coast for their dried clams. Chuse used to kill many deer while watching the wheat fields; also great numbers of wild turkeys, and occasionably a bear" (Barber 1849:200).

Armed with both this traditional knowledge and the skills of colonial language and practice, Chuse gathered and grew the Native presence at Naugatuck. From the 1720s well into the 1760s, while colonial Derby developed around them, he led a substantial community at the traditional settlement site near the the Tingue Falls in what is present-day Seymour.

The community at Chusetown maintained a distinctively Native space, with families living in wigwam clusters, planting communal cornfields, and burying their community members in a burial place that had been used for generations. They were also increasingly integrated with the growing colonial community. The English colonists relied on many of the same Native paths for travel, and the Native community at Naugatuck was a familiar and well-known presence. According to local lore, Chuse was on such good terms with the colonial families living in the area that he moved from the

Falls to "Indian Hill" to join them. He continued there until the land was developed by a Mr. Whitmore, at which point Chuse returned to a wigwam at the Falls "in a grove at the foot of the hill" (Bassett 1900:314-315). Chuse and others continued, though, to be active members in local church congregations. Chuse used these colonial relationships and skills to advocate for, and petition on behalf of, his community and kin at Naugatuck, and later at Schaghticoke.

Similarly, the Native families that remained at Potatuck Wigwams to the northwest sought to acquire fluency in the skills and values of their colonial neighbors, in order to better strengthen their community position. The Potatuck community, like their kin elsewhere, had needed to rely on interpreters in executing deeds of sale in the 17th century and well into the 18th century.[lxix] Desires to end this reliance and to be better spokespeople for their own interests may have precipitated the "forty souls" at Potatuck in 1742 to request colonial support in enhancing their knowledge of Christianity and their literacy (Rudes 2005; Indian Papers I, 2:241). The year prior, a Potatuck man, Hatchet Tousey, had successfully entered a "Prayer" to the General Assembly that he and his family might receive instruction in "the Christian religion" and that his children might be given instruction in "reading and writing" (Connecticut Colony Records 1850-1890, 8:372-3).[lxx] As Wojciechowski (1992:80) describes, "The Potatuck were not slow to recognize that a Christian Indian apparently had more chance to have his rights protected by the Connecticut government."

Such strategic actions enabled Potatuck community members, and Native communities throughout New England, to better protect their land bases and community livelihood (e.g. Wyss 2000; Bross and Wyss 2008; Liebman 2008). These literacy and

cultural skills were increasingly critical as the colonial world was brought closer and closer to Housatonic Native communities, and Native participation was demanded on both Native and non-Native terms. (Chapter 4)

*Schaghticoke*

In complement to these "new" strategies, there were "new" Native community spaces. Colonial interference followed the Paugussett, Potatuck, and Weantinock families who made their way into the northwest corner of colonial Connecticut to the Native refuge at Schaghticoke (Crone-Morange and Lavin 2004). These colonial processes - and the physical and symbolic dispossession which accompanied them as both means and ends – were undeniably alienating. Yet, as is observed at Schaghticoke, they could also be generative of place-making and community-keeping. A focus on the Schaghticoke landscape in the second quarter of the 18th century illuminates the intersection of new physical and social spaces that arose from the landscape of dispossession. These spaces particularly coalesced around the presence of Christian-guided ideologies and education.

By the end of the 1720s, the amalgamated community at Schaghticoke was home to Native families who had resettled there, permanently or temporarily, from virtually all directions. (Figure 3.11) In addition to kinship ties with the Paugussett, Potatuck, and Weantinock, Schaghticoke was closely connected by marriage, alliance, and joint resources with Mahican communities to the east at Shekomeko (present Pine Plains area) and near Indian Pond in New York (Crone-Morange and Lavin 2004:135; Dally-Starna and Starna 2004:3). To the north, Mahican families in and around Wequadnach and

Weataug (the vicinity of what became Sharon and Salisbury) clustered in sizeable numbers "in sheltered places or along the lakes and the Housatonic River" (Pettee 1957).[lxxi] Additionally, Crone-Morange and Lavin (2004:139) point out, the presence of family names such as Sokenoge (aka Sockonok, Sucknucks), a Narragansett surname, assert the presence of other southeastern New England Native families (citing Stiles 1916).

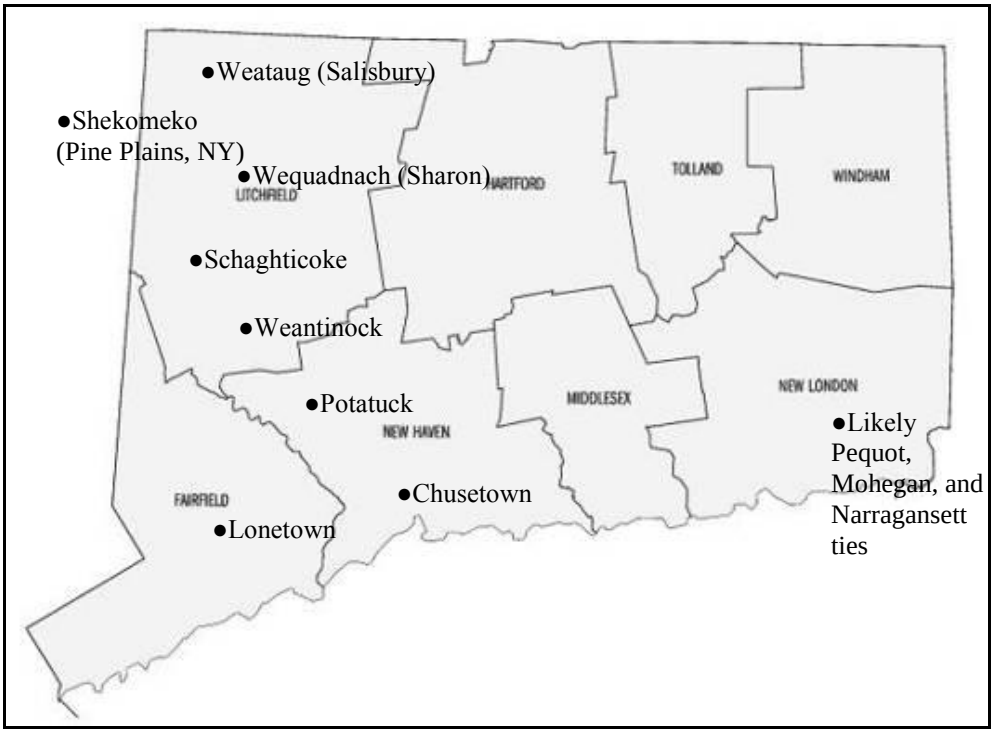



Figure 3.11. Community locales with which Schaghticoke community members were closely connected. (Source: Author)

The early 18th century community at Schaghticoke may have been a new configuration of long-standing social ties, but community life at that place was hardly new. The area around Schaghticoke had been a "traditional meeting place for centuries" (Lamb Richmond 1987; Handsman 1991). In settling at the place "where the rivers

joined" or "at the confluence of two streams" (the meanings of the Algonquian derivatives *Pishgatikuk* and *Pishgachtigok* on which the Anglicized "Schaghticoke" is based), community members continued long histories of landscape use. Archaeological findings such as a Paleo-Indian fluted point in the Webutuck drainage, an Early Archaic Kirk style point from Kent (9500 to 7000 years BP), a cremation burial and cache of Meadowwood blades at the Bristol Site in Kent (3200-2800 BP), and flexed Native American burials characteristic of the Late Woodland early historic period found in Kent Center provide testimony to the continuous presence of Native communities in the region for the last ten millennia (Lavin and Dumas 1998:7; Cassedy 1992:54-55; Slosson 1812:2-3).

Although artifacts recovered from both the east and west sides of the Housatonic River attest to the many generations of Native people who used both drainages, the Schaghticoke community in the mid-1730s was increasingly limited in their access to the east side of the River (Crone-Morange and Lavin 2004; Barber 1836; Reed 1985). Like Native communities in the Housatonic River Valley and elsewhere, the Schaghticoke community seems to have employed an initial strategy of selling off parcels of homeland farthest from their community centers (Binzen 1997; Crone-Morange and Lavin 2004:140). This included areas north and south of the main community settlement.[lxxii] This practice was echoed by Mahican communities at Weataug and Wequadnach to the north (Binzen 2004). However, as Crone-Morange and Lavin (2004:140) and Binzen (1997) observe, the effectiveness of this strategy lessened, predictably if not inevitably, as lands were reduced.

By the mid-1730s, the Schaghticoke community was increasingly vocal about concerns for land preservation and against continuing sales and encroachments. The colonial government responded - with the tried and true tactic of creating reserved lands. In May 1736, the General Assembly granted the Schaghticoke community a reservation parcel in the area surrounding their main winter village on the west side of the Housatonic, where the Schaghticoke Reservation continues today. The colonial government's actions acknowledged the Native community that had amalgamated in that area. They also acknowledged that the amalgamated community now had legitimate ties and claims to those locales. In their own way, then, they recognized, roundabout, the creative processes of community ethnogenesis and place-making which went hand in hand with colonial efforts to refigure the social and geographical landscape.

## CONCLUSION: EMPLACING COMMUNITY

Across New England, growing Native dispossession in 1720-1750 was hallmarked physically in the increasing numbers of fences, dwellings, churches, schools, mills, and fields which partitioned the landscape to create Anglo-American ideals of community-townships. The intensification of this material and non-material dispossession continued to transform Native communities' relationships to locality and landscape in the 18$^{th}$ century. Emergent property boundaries, loss of lands, and shifting access to resources initiated new relationships to the places and resources which underlay Native community life. Villamil (2007) makes the case that "all social relations become real and concrete, a part of our lived social existence, only when they are spatially

‘inscribed’ – that is, concretely represented – in the social production of social space” (2007:186, citing Soja 1996:46). As she elaborates:

> “The organization of society in space is a material product that results in patterns in the built environment. It is this concrete, material dimension of social space that becomes instrumental in producing and reinforcing social differences and inequalities, as well as in promoting social integration and group cohesion” (Villamil 2007:186).

These colonial actions and technologies simultaneously define the criteria of who can be included as a member of a given community-locality. Or even, who can access it. Hand in hand with the creation of communities in place, then, is a process of spatializing those who are not to be included as full members. Colonial powers and governments enforce these spaces and exclusions through laws and other “tools” (Rajaram and Grundy-Warr 2007:xiii, following Foucault 1977). These messages of power are circulated, spatially, in the ways they are encoded in landscape changes, like newly built structures or fenced enclosures (Schirmer 1994).

Boundaries and laws, which are set in conceived space, eventually strengthen in perceived space and create difference in people’s daily lives (Dean 2007:197). Despite the requests of Coram Hill reservation residents that different boundaries lines be drawn for their reservation because of the unfit planting soils, for example, no such actions were taken by colonial authorities. Frustrated, poor, and seeking better placement, Paugussett leaders sold 20 acres of the reservation in 1714 and the remainder of it by 1735 (Rudes 1999:304). The former residents joined their kin at Naugatuck, Lonetown and other locales not yet subject to the same formal “reserved land” status and restrictions. Colonists, observing these kinds of continuing amalgamation processes up and down the

Housatonic, distilled at this time their descriptions of Native communities into the four main groups handed down today – Paugussett, Potatuck, Weantinock, and Schaghticoke.

Laws and boundaries, however, can also be manipulated as resources. Housatonic Native communities reinforced their community boundaries through continuity in their spatial and communal traditions, even as the specific nature of these practices shifted. New objects were introduced into communal and domestic relationships, just as new structures sprung up on sites whose significance has "already been produced by an existing pattern of life." So while new eras, like that of colonial settlement, "can be seen as bringing about a transformation of indigenous society," Thomas (1993:33) explains, "it was a transformation which took place through the insinuation of new cultural media into existing rhythms of movement and understandings of the world." These rhythms of movement featured prominently in the make-up of a Housatonic communal world rooted by place and homeland.

As Native people of New England describe of the Schaghticoke, Weantinock, Potatuck, and Paugussett peoples, "Their identities are all closely linked to specific places. A sense of community - living together in a place - linked those who lived near one another" (IAIS 1989). Scholars today routinely hallmark that sense of community involves such situated practices and embodied relations (Meskell and Preucel 2004). Drawing attention to this phenomenological sense emphasizes a being-in-the-world attachment to place and landscape that is a critical element in sustaining social relations through time (Tilley 1994; Ingold 2000). Yet this attachment to place is not equivalent to a bounded "locality" as conceived by early colonial town proprietors. The dimensions of colonists' and Native communities' respective relationships to land, resources, and

community varied accordingly. Informed by history, ancestors, animals, plants, and other expressions of Manitou, “places” for Housatonic Native families were not alienable locales. They were part of a larger network of space and kin that extended backward and forward in time.[lxxiii]

Colonial settlers wrought changes to the relationships of Native communities to their locales, but long-standing practices of community-keeping provided the resources by which to maintain connections to these important places. Community settings like that of Naugatuck, Potatuck, and Schaghticoke offered vibrant refuges for the gathering and re-gathering of Paugussett, Potatuck, and Weantinock families. The patterns of connection between these prominent locales underscore the importance of mobility for maneuvering continuing ties to land and community. Coram Hill, Golden Hill, Turkey Hill, Naugatuck, Lonetown, Potatuck, Weantinock, and Schaghticoke are the prominent western Connecticut Native places remembered and described in colonial legislation, records, and accounts. But as alluded to in references to the Nonnewaug community, Derby Narrows community, and Bantam community, many other small communities remained on the landscape, as connected with one another as in the generations preceding. These many small community spaces are the focus of the next chapter, as I shift attention to the specific practices of continuing communal life they encompassed and to the importance of movement in sustaining these practices.

[xxxiv] A sense of space, in addition to that of place, comes to figure preeminently in this regional outlook (Rubertone 2000; 2008). Though "place" is often most closely identified with the intimacy of personal viewpoint, "space" is likewise experienced materially and symbolically by individuals (West et al. 2006:264, drawing on Lefebvre 1991, Harvey 1989).

[xxxv] This process of land distribution, a "two-tier action" system, was unique to New England and reinforced New Englanders' close associations between locality and community. Price (1995:13) explains: "In most of the colonies, the desire of individuals for land soon came to drive the process of selection and division. Only in New England did the interest of the colonial society long keep the independent thrusts of individuals in check…[T]he New England colony granted townships to proprietors who in their turn surveyed the land and assigned it to settlers in accordance with their perceptions of equity among families." The empowerment of the "township" in managing the organization and division of space further conflated New Englanders' sense of township, residence, and community.

[xxxvi] The first town to be established north of Woodbury was Bantam (now Litchfield), founded in 1719. It would not remain a lone outpost for long. Within forty years, no less than 15 towns were established in the same area, all founded between 1730 and 1760 (Garvan 1951:67-8).

[xxxvii] Population growth across the Connecticut Colony rose sharply and exponentially throughout the course of the 18th century (from Garvan 1951:5):

| Year | Population |
|---|---|
| 1670 | 9,500 |
| 1700 | 15,000 |
| 1708 | 20,000 |
| 1730 | 57,000 |
| 1756 | 127,000 |
| 1761 | 146,000 |
| 1774 | 191,000 |
| 1790 | 238,000 |

[xxxviii] As Vitek (1996:1) explains, according to Francis Bacon's thinking, "God gave nature to man as a puzzle to solve," a challenge best met through careful dissection of the world. In complement, the "labor theory of property" proffered by John Locke avowed that "land becomes valuable only after humans transform and improve it." The individualism and materialism of both philosophies together lay at odds with the communalism of Native groups.

[xxxix] The parameters of reservation areas had been carefully delineated and materialized. Borders, while a construct of geographical and political imagination (Nah 2007), are often made visible and tangible through concrete physical alterations of the environment. The Paugussett Coram Hill "Reserve" was invented, for instance, by marking trees along the edges of the Housatonic River and along a colonist's abutting land. Native communities on reservations experienced a tightening of borders that significantly impacted their social and economic patterns.

[xl] Sidaway (2007:163) elaborates further on the need to think even more comprehensively through these dimensions: "Nearly fifty years ago, the Romanian American geographer Ladis Kristof (1959:272) reminded us that 'boundary stones are not the boundary itself. They are not coeval with it, only its visible symbols.' Such classic papers on borders…bear rereading in the contexts of subsequent geopolitical and theoretical developments."

[xli] The Edward Rogers' Collection includes nearly 5,000 artifacts and is now curated by the Institute for American Indian Studies in Washington, Connecticut. The collection spans the Housatonic River Valley and beyond, and contains artifacts from as many as 10,000 years old to as few as 100 years (in the case of some "fakes" unwittingly collected).

[xlii] The names of other local collectors are frequent references in the fieldwork and collecting notes of Coffin and Rogers, as well as in newspaper coverage. They include: Anson Dart, William Holmes, Alonzo Beers, Carrol Alton, and another major Connecticut collector, Norris Bull. Portions of the collections amassed by these individuals are included in the Coffin and Rogers Collections, while some are to be found

in the Stratford Historical Society, Milford Historical Society, Institute for American Indian Studies, and Yale Peabody Museum, and continuing private collections.

[xliii] Each of these sites, as well as the numerous burial grounds (small and large) in the surrounding environs, has been heavily impacted, if not entirely destroyed or desecrated. While much of this destruction began in the 20th century with the adoption of invasive construction practices, in some instances the history of damage goes back much further. Burials at the "Harbor Bluff site" on Bridgeport Harbor (to the east of present Main Street and south of the Connecticut Turnpike), for example, were disturbed when houses were constructed in the 1830s and 40s (Golden Hill Paugussett Nation Land Claims).

[xliv] Among other locales, village sites have been located at today's Seaside Park (Main Street), Yellow Mill Pond (intersection of Connecticut and Seaview Avenues), Tomlinson Farm Lowland Garden (north of the Sikorsky Memorial Bridge in Stratford), Frash Pond at the mouth of the Housatonic River (Stratford), Holmes Place Spring Brook (Meadowmere Road in Stratford), Fall Mill River Mouth on the bank of the Housatonic (Stratford), Gulf Pond (Milford), Laurel Beach (Milford), and Wilcox Farm (Milford). These are complemented by substantial shell heaps at Berkshire Pond (William Street and Boston Avenue) and East Main Street (at the intersection with Stratford Avenue near the Yellow Mill Bridge) (Coffin 1939; Batchelor and Steck 1941; Goldblum n.d; Edward Rogers Collection; Claude C. Coffin Collection).

[xlv] The presence of Levanna points, and at times of European-originated objects, at many of these sites evidences these continued relationships in the 17th century and later.

[xlvi] In total, the Rev. Birdsley speculated that there were 70 or 80 "Indian warriors" in the colonial Stratford area, including those also at the Coram Hill Reservation, for a total population of about 250 (Wojciechowski 1992:67). Though these numbers were sharp reductions from the previous century, Golden Hill residents nevertheless maintained an organized, recognizable community structure. In 1707, colonial authorities acknowledged this survivance when it "delivered an Indian who had committed a murder to the tribe to be tried according to tribal custom" (Wojciechowski 1992:67, citing Connecticut Colony Records 1850-1890, 5:28). Though 17th and 18th century colonial officials tried to introduce European conceptions of "rulership," personal property, and hierarchical leadership structures, Native communities continued to be guided by sachems and councils of elders in long-standing patterns of community structure. Among the Golden Hill Paugussett, this community structure was present in the 1720s under the guidance of the sachem Montaugk, and continued after his death in 1735 through the leadership of his brother John until his passing in October 1761 (Stiles 1916:133; Bureau of Indian Affairs 1996:10). Sachems and the councils of elders who advised Native communities were not "chiefs" in the widely held sense but, instead led their communities through consensus and cooperation, given to their position through kinship and relatedness. Multiple surviving records attest to the manners by which 17th and 18th century colonial officials tried to use the leadership of such sachems to introduce European conceptions of "rulership," personal property (and personal gain), and hierarchical leadership structures.

[xlvii] Artifacts in the assemblage include bone awls, atlatl weights, well-polished celts, scrapers, drills, projectile points, and other lithic tools that speak to the full-range of village life at the site (Coffin Collection, Milford Historical Society).

[xlviii] Coffin found such evidence echoed at the Wojsicki Farm site in the Wheeler's Farm District, where he unearthed a pit feature containing a small copper tube bead and historic bottle glass sherds mixed in with quartz Levanna points, charcoal, clam shells, and deer bones (Coffin 1939: 41). In addition, colonial records tease at mentions of close connections to other smaller communities at the Derby Narrows (the junction of the Housatonic and Naugatucker Rivers) and further up the Naugatuck River at Rimmon Falls.

[xlix] Though in 1725 it was estimated that there were some 40 people living at Golden Hill, by the 1730s this number hovered around four families (Indian Papers I, 2:151). Many families left either temporarily or permanently to join their kin at Lonetown (Redding, Connecticut) and other communities further inland, including as far north as Farmington. Anticipating further population decrease and little protest, in 1734 the town proprietors of Stratford allotted the Golden Hill Reservation to individual colonists, following a "sham" deed purportedly obtained from the Golden Hill community. As Wojciechowski (1992:68) argues, "that this deed was fraudulent appears from the fact that Stratford did not even mention this supposed land transaction in the 1760s, when the Indians started a court case to recover their lost lands."

[l] Descendants of Golden Hill community members were still living at Farmington in the 1770s when they joined other Native (Tunxis) families in Farmington in relocating to Brothertown, New York (Rudes 1999:306).

[li] Its population numbered around 150-200 people in the 1710s, a sizeable group for the area at that time. Following the 1705 sale of lands in the southern reaches of Potatuck homelands, substantial portions of lands to the north of Potatuck were sold in 1710 and 1716. Despite these sales, in 1710 there were still around 50 warriors residing there or around 150-200 people, according to recollections by Rev. Nathan Birdsley 50 years later (Birdsley 1809:112).

[lii] Tensions between them, however, were considerable and provided the colonial government with ready excuse in managing the landscape around them when deemed "necessary." Though, for example, a Potatuck community had sold an enormous tract of land in the southern reaches of their homelands in 1705 they were not granted their promised payment until four years later. When payment finally did occur, they discovered that the settlers had liberally interpreted the bounds of the sale to their advantage (Wojciechowski 1992:79). Faced with complaint by both parties, in 1711 the town proprietors of Newtown appointed a commission to more clearly determine the boundaries of the sale. This committee was aided by members of the Potatuck community. Lest this collaboration move too far in favor of the Potatuck, four gallons of rum were provided "to treat the Indians" (Wojciechowski 1992:79).

[liii] It may be that the Native community at Bantam, located on the shore of Bantam Lake in what is now Litchfield, was a hunting camp associated with the Native community at Nonnewaug.

[liv] One transaction was a 1728 sale of 48 square miles near Woodbury to Stratford settlers and the other, a 1733 sale of three-quarters of their land at Southbury

[lv] Walwer and Walwer (2003:24) report the presence of two Late Archaic era sites near the upper reaches of the Ansonia Reservoir (Walwer and Walwer 1996; 37:013-18), a Late Archaic era short-term habitation site on Two Mile Brook one mile east of the Witek site (37:001), a Terminal Archaic era site on a tributary of the Wepawaug River some two miles to the northeast (167:018), as well as several other "indistinct sites" along the Wepewaug, Naugatuck, and Housatonic Rivers.

[lvi] Also known as Chickens, Warrups, Chickens Wallups, and Sam Mohawk.

[lvii] These continuing practices of solidifying diplomatic and spiritual relations across networks and distance continued throughout the 18th century, demonstrating that as Native communities entered into colonial political systems, they simultaneously maintained their own.

[lviii] The General Assembly was advised by a Native informant, Tapauranawako, that "the belt was in token that, at each place where it was accepted, captive Indians would be received and sold." Tapauranawako further indicated that the belt would be returned respectively to the locations from which it came.

[lix] Though no incidents of significance transpired, "yet the Inhabitants…did not consider themselves in a state of safety" (Allen 1985:101). Continued alarms, propagated by "false alarms" of French and "enemie Indians" in the area, continued to plague the northwestern corner of the colony through the 1740s, as in the case of a 1744 alarm in the town of Cornwall which inspired residents to flee to a fortified enclosure in town and to the neighboring town of Litchfield.

[lx] The petition at once illuminates the close relationships – and even respect – which colonial settlers held with their Native neighbors and yet simultaneously plays into settlers' continuing fears of Native violence. In February 1724, Samuel Couch made a purchase of Native land in Lonetown adjacent to John Read's property (Wojciechowski 1992:200). While Chickens believed he was selling 200-300 acres of property, the deed described the sale as "all the lands between the aforesaid towns of Danbury, Fairfield, Newtown, and Ridgefield." A proviso was added on Chickens behalf and his "posterity," but would go generally ignored:

> "Reserving in the whole of the same, liberty for myself [Chickens] and my heirs to hunt, fish, and fowl upon the land and in the waters, and further reserving for myself, my children, and grand children and their posterity the use of so much land by my present dwelling house or wigwam as the General Assembly of the Colony by themselves or a Committee indifferently appointed shall judge necessary for my or their personal improvement, that is to say my children, children's children and posterity" (Indian Papers I, 2:25-31).

When the latter proviso was disregarded and the true intention of the deed for "all the lands" found out, Chickens was reportedly so incensed that his English neighbors petitioned the Court along two interesting, if seemingly contradictory, lines. First, on the basis of their close acquaintance with Chickens, they argued for Chickens' trustworthy character and the injustice of deceit perpetrated upon him: "his design as he saith, and being well acquainted with him, living many of us near him have a great reason to believe him,

was to sell but a small quantity, about two or three hundred acres, but in ye deed ye whole of the land is comprehended."

As a second strategy, however, the petition entreated that the Court dismiss the deed in consideration of the repercussions it might engender: "when the Indian heard of it he was greatly enraged, and your petitioners humbly beg yt such a sale may not be confirmed, lest it prove greatly disadvantageous to this Colony and cause much bloodshed, as instances of ye like nature have in all probability in our neighboring provinces."

[lxi] Similar patterns are widespread in 18th century annals from around the Housatonic Valley. Tensions between the Potatuck and the settlers nearby, for instance, were considerable throughout the first decades of the 18th century, and provided the colonial government with ready excuse in appropriating and managing the landscape around them. Though the Potatuck sold an enormous tract of land in the southern reaches of their homelands in 1705 they were not granted their promised payment until four years later. And when payment finally did occur, they discovered that the settlers had liberally interpreted the bounds of the sale to their advantage (Wojciechowski 1992:79). Faced with complaint by both parties, in 1711 the town proprietors of Newtown appointed a commission to more clearly determine the boundaries of the sale, aided by members of the Potatuck community. Lest this collaboration move too far in favor of the Potatuck, four gallons of rum were provided "to treat the Indians."

[lxii] Chickens' legacy in Lonetown (Redding) continues to be marked by "a large rock on the shores of Great Pond near the southwest corner, which is still called Chicken's Rock, as it was a favorite spot where the old warrior used to sit" (Rockwell 1927). Interestingly, the area of the former Native settlement at Lonetown was converted in the 19th century into a chain of artificial ponds (and lighthouse). The owner, Commodore Luttgen, cruised these ponds in a small paddlewheel steamboat (Town of Redding website). Since that somewhat curious usage, the area became part of a 878-acre Collis P. Huntington State Park, which today recognizes, if briefly, its connection to the Native history the land shares.

[lxiii] Even as the Native communities on the Weantinock homelands grew from the relocation of Native peoples, they continued to suffer population loss. A 1703 census of warriors at Weantinock had listed 19 men. On top of the already drastic population loss that these numbers represented from the previous century, Weantinock communities suffered further decimation in 1707 by an epidemic that also hit Potatuck communities (Wojciechowski 1992). Such epidemics would recur repeatedly. Over and again in the following decades and centuries, Native communities would fight to maintain their traditional family structures, social rhythms, gender roles, and subsistence rounds in the face of massive community loss from small pox, cholera, diphtheria, malaria, measles, scarlet fever, trichinosis, typhoid fever, whooping cough, and yellow fever, among others (Walwer and Walwer 2000:32; Newman 1976:671).

[lxiv] In a deed of February 8, 1703, the Weantinock sold a portion of their homelands but reserved for their own use "their present planting field and a privilege of fishing at the Falls" (Wojciechowski 1992:82). They repeated similar intentions in 1720 when they deeded a substantial area in the northern part of their homelands but retained a likewise large area for "hunting, fishing, fowling, planting, building, fencing, and any other improvements," as well as a second, smaller area on the east bank of the Housatonic River for the same (Wojciechowski 1992:82).

[lxv] These area included a tract along the east bank of the Housatonic River near New Milford and a tract above New Milford west of the Housatonic River

[lxvi]These connections, today as in the past, are "celebrated in ceremonies, blessings, and in oral traditions (Lamb Richmond 1989:24). Native oral traditions inform that corn was "brought from the far Southwest by the crow, a bird to which Algonquian peoples of southern New England] showed great respect'" (Carlson 1994:13, citing Richmond 1991:13).

[lxvii] The collection is now curated by the Mattatuck Museum in Waterbury, Connecticut and was not analyzed firsthand in the course of this research. While few features were located, numerous plowscars were identified. In addition, in one excavation block (Block B) of the same horizon containing plowscars there was some evidence for a living area, including a shallow pit or surface fire and concentration of pottery sherds. In an older horizon below, 1-3 possible postmolds were identified. Carlson (1994:63) interprets that this "may lend support to the various historical accounts which suggest that habitation areas were an integral part of traditional planting fields" (Carlson 1994:63).

The range of lithic artifacts indicates "tools were made, used, and sharpened in the planting fields during the Late Woodland period (date established using ceramic vessel lot analysis), primarily sharpening

and reworking chert, quartzite and quartz tools" (Carlson 1994:108-9). The presence of heat-modified jasperoid artifacts sourced from glacial erratics in the upper Housatonic Valley in southwestern Massachusetts reflects a local lithic production tradition, involving a very labor intensive heating process, which appears peculiar to the Housatonic Valley clans (Carlson 1994:103). Yet, the presence of retouched grey chert flakes from the Hudson Valley also suggests that the Weantinock and their ancestors were in communication with Native communities from the Hudson Valley and upstate New York (Carlson 1994:75, 108-9).

[lxviii] As Handsman (1991) and Carlson (1994:31-32) note, however, the Indian Field has continued to be remembered in the town's history and is still labeled as such on USGS Topographical maps of the area. Archaeologically, the later history of the Indian Fields is evidenced in a horizon of organically enriched sands and gravels that remain from intense farming and charcoal industry-related forest clearing in the 19th century (Carlson 1994:65), as well as histories of repeated flooding.

[lxix] While there were at least a few Native interpreters in the region, as indicated by a 1681 Fairfield deed in which "Trustee, an Indian which speaks very good English, was improved as interpreter," generally most interpreters were Englishmen whose questionable services were sometimes employed "for want of any better" (Mr. Higginson, Wojciechowski 1992:156, 175, 180). Unsurprisingly, the latter were not always highly concerned with fluency or fidelity of translation. Even in instances where rapport had been established, as in a May 28, 1706 sale by Potatuck signatories Nunnawauke, Mauquash, Chesquaeneag, and Wussockanunckquene that was assisted by 'Interprur' John Minor, the uncertainties must have been considerable.

[lxx] The following year, in a joint petition to the General Assembly which evidences the strong continuing connections between the Potatuck and their kin at Weantinock, the two communities petitioned for the educational benefits of a minister (Indian Papers I, 2:241). Rather than granting the communities a resident minister, the General Assembly returned with only a small fund by which to obtain services from the existing ministers in Newtown and New Milford (Cothren 1854:103). Unsatisfied with this response, the Schaghticoke sachem Gideon Mauwee invited Moravian missionaries from Shekomeko, New York to set up a mission and school at Schaghticoke. The missionaries accepted the invitation, as well as devoting attention to the community at Potatuck (Crone-Morange and Lavin 2004:147; DeForest 1851:410-1, Orcutt 1882:132). For the Potatuck, this success was tempered. As Rudes describes (1999:309-310), this action "further alienated the Potatuck from the neighboring settlers and resulted in additional land encroachments." By the mid-century mark they formally retained only very limited acreage. Though the Potatuck village suffered from a gradually declining population from the 1740s onward it has continued to be an important historical and sacred place for Native communities, as considered more fully subsequently.

[lxxi] Pettee (1957:49-50) describes these locales further: "At the base of the mountain east of the Moore farm, 'Hamlet Hill', is an Indian cave where arrow heads used to be found, a probable site of Indian wigwams. In a grove on the east shore of Lake Wononscopomuc, on the property of Dr. Knight's former Asylum, stood a tall pine tree, long known as the Indian tree, under which the Indians held their councils. On the banks of Furnace Pond in Lakeville a group of Indians had wigwams." Colonial observes in 1720 reported a "large village east of the Twin Lake's North Pond and north of Dutchers Bridge" and two other hamlets south of Dutchers Bridge near the River."

Trumbull suggests that as late as 1740 there were some 70 wigwams still to be found in the Native village of Weataug (Salisbury). According to some sources, by 1742 they had deeded away most of their remaining lands. Some removed nearby to Schaghticoke and others to Stockbridge, while "the remaining families, unmolested, built their primitive shelters on the unimproved colony lands, and, adopting the customs of their white neighbors, particularly their 'fire water', lived on for some years in a degraded condition until their families finally became extinct" (Pettee 1957:49-50). It is fitting to such description that the land on which their council house once sat became "the site of Dr. Knight's asylum."

[lxxii] For example, a 1720 deed for tracts in New Fairfield and Sherman and a 1741 deed of land by the mouth of the Ten Mile River (Crone-Morange and Lavin 2004:140).

[lxxiii] The intimate, communal, and highly political nature of such place attachments has been the focus of intense attention in the last two decades. The 1990s, as Dirlik (2001:15) indicates, "witnessed the eruption of place consciousness into social and political analysis" (particularly in its links, or opposition, to "that other conspicuous phenomenon of the last decade, globalism"). Place, we understand, is intimate and personal, yet it is also formed by multiple social relations. Together these perspectives give place their

uniqueness, specificity, and historicity (Escobar 2001:206; Dirlik 2001:15). Schaghticoke, as a place, carries such importance for past and present Schaghticoke community members. As they assert, "Here Indian people live, continuing a presence now more than ten centuries old…Much of our identity comes from the heritage and living traditions of this place" (IAIS 1989).

# IV

# LIVING THROUGHOUT HOMELANDS, 1750-1780

By mid-century, the territory formally held by Native communities had plummeted. Anglo-American populations in the Greater Housatonic had increased exponentially, and their settlements were ever more extensive, elaborate, - and permanent. In response to these expansions, Native people had intensified the processes of community amalgamation which had begun the century earlier. As borders tightened and their access to resources shifted, they joined one another on locales of long-standing significance. Places like Golden Hill, Potatuck and Schaghticoke were important nodes in the landscape of 18th-century Native community-keeping, as they had been in centuries prior. But they were not the only sites of community life.

Contrary to historical and popular representations, which depict mid-18th century Native communities as confined to only a few prominent locales, the homeland model which had guided Housatonic Native communities in centuries past was still present. Native people continued to move across the landscape to live, gather resources, hunt deer, shellfish at the coast, visit kin, and honor sacred sites. Increasingly, however, they combined these long-standing practices with sustained interaction and integration into Anglo-American colonial spheres.

This chapter builds on the previous chapter, and complicates the picture of spatial practice and community-keeping that arises when researchers focus too narrowly on the

few prominent Native sites that have been handed down in historical memory. Using Schaghticoke, a "village" place, as a lens, this chapter shows how the community aggregates described in the previous chapter (like Naugatuck, Potatuck Wigwams, and Weantinock) were actually more complicated than a village model perspective would suggest. (Figure 4.1)

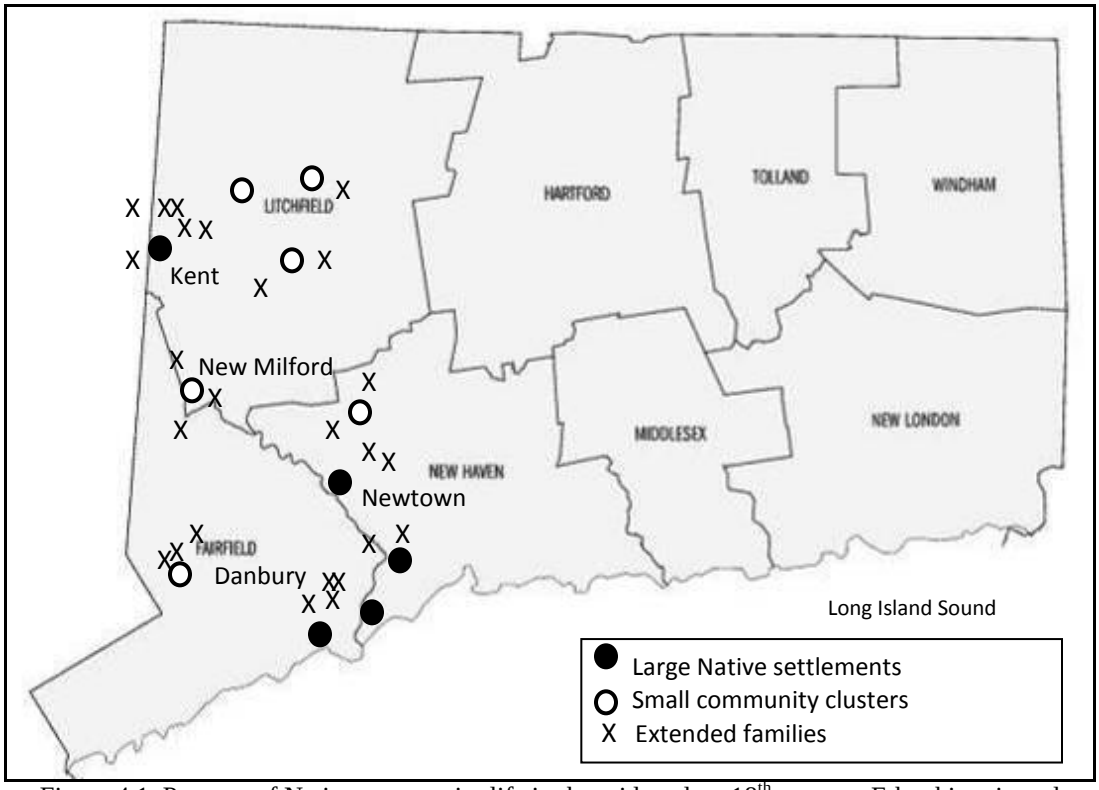



Figure 4.1. Patterns of Native community life in the mid- to late-18th century. Ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence indicates that Native families clustered in small communities surrounding larger settlements, living out a model of homelands across the Greater Housatonic. They moved in and among Anglo-American places in increasingly sustained ways. (Source: Author)

The discussion illuminates the diversity of places which continued to characterize a Native regional space. Native families drew on their collective understandings of place and local knowledge to mitigate mounting poverty, land loss, and resource constriction in the third quarter of the 18th century. Significantly, they did so by living out a model of

homelands which still made use of nearly the full range of their ancestral territory. Native "community" was not located only within the boundaries of the most prominent settlements, but was furthered through the extensions of small, networked hamlet communities. The continuity of this spatial practice, and the geographies and choreographies of this community organization, was not passively inherited. It was fought for, in strategic, thoughtful ways.

The corollary to where Native families were living is *how* they were living. The features of Housatonic community life had changed in the 100-year (plus) negotiations with European settlement, but they drew their pulse from the long traditions of communal living preceding European arrival. Native families and individuals were moving regularly, dispersing and re-gathering in various community sizes. Across these movements, they maintained the patterns of a shared life. These negotiations appear in sharpest relief in the intersections of Weantinock, Potatuck, Paugussett, and Mahican community ties at Schaghticoke and its tentacles outward. The records of the Moravian missionaries at "Pachgatgoch" (Schaghticoke) detail Native groups' communal decision-making, mixed economies, seasonal calendars, production and craft, resource gathering, spiritual practices, and, above all, communication across dispersal and mobility.[lxxiv]

The persistence and shifts in these practices demonstrate clearly that Housatonic Native groups of the mid- to late-18th century maintained their communities in the strongest sense of the word: they were interdependent social groups, with shared ties. The concept of a shared life figures centrally, if complexly, in understanding how community continues over space and time. As manifoldly expressed in the depth of Native community ties, community both begins with and is supported by expressions of

interdependence and reciprocity (Selznick 1996:198).[lxxv] Conceived from this perspective, community takes its cue from the ways people understand and express their shared existence (Edyvane 2007:37).[lxxvi] This understanding of community is a strong one, not adaptable in every instance to the kinds of groups often described as "communities." However, this concept of a shared life is central to the ways Native communities understand and pass down their heritage, and a sense of life in common. Not insignificantly, it is this "strong form" of community that lies at the foundation of contemporary Federal Recognition requirements regarding community continuity.

## LANDSCAPE PRESSURES

For the many Weantinock, Potatuck, Paugussett, and Schaghticoke people who clung tenaciously to their homelands in the third quarter of the 18th century, the new and changing colonial relationships with the landscape were not easy ones to navigate. Colonial settlements pushed increasingly at the seams. At Lonetown, Chickens Warrups found his lands so repeatedly encroached upon that in 1748 he decided to exchange his remaining lands altogether for lands next to the Schaghticoke Reservation (Orcutt 1882:17; Stiles 1916:133). Those at Schaghticoke, however, were not faring significantly better. English settlement in the Kent area had early on been confined to the east side of the Housatonic. However, by the 1750s, illegal encroachment on the Schaghticoke community's lands on the west side was a rampant and serious problem. These intrusions were so flagrant that when they petitioned in protest, the General Assembly sided with

the Schaghticoke, and returned a portion of their lands to them in May, 1752 (Indian Papers I, 1:76).[lxxvii]

Even still, encroachments persisted in such an unabated manner that the General Assembly felt compelled to appoint an overseer to support the Schaghticoke community's interests. It employed the same strategy to "protect" the interests of Native communities living on the Golden Hill reservation (Bridgeport) and Turkey Hill reservation (Milford) near the coast. At their best, overseers provided a measure of legal advocacy and local support for Native communities who struggled to stop the thieving of their resources. More commonly, however, overseers fed into the bureaucratic illegibility through which Native people continued to be dispossessed of their remaining lands and assets. Native people became a growing presence in colonial and early national court cases for "stealing" resources like firewood, plants, and wild and domestic animals from lands they no longer "owned." In particular, colonial and Native communities fiercely debated rights to firewood, which was becoming a scarcer and scarcer resource throughout the Greater Housatonic.

As much as the continuing land grab by settlers impacted the resources of Native groups, an equally troubling pattern was the ways the growing numbers of colonists shaped the landscape in increasingly intrusive, unfamiliar, Westernized ways. Though most settlers were farmers, some took quick advantage of the Housatonic and its many tributaries, establishing industries along the riverways (Lavin 2001a:29). Saw mills and grist mills were early additions to the colonial landscape. Early industrialists began to capitalize on rich iron deposits, introducing iron works throughout the mid- and northern

Housatonic. In each town, blacksmiths, tanners, and shoemakers set up trades. The growth of these cottage industries put new demands on the landscape and its resources.

For all these developments, though, northwest Connecticut was still the "most rural, least settled, and least economically developed" area of the colony, giving it a distinctive history in the region (Finding Aid to Litchfield County Court Files 1751-1855:2). Much of the landscape remained unknown, traversed by only a limited number of colonial routes. Colonists were still apprehensive of their position and safety in the area, particularly in relation to their Native neighbors. The 1770 travel diary by 27-year old Bethiah Baldwin, describing her journey from Norwich to Danbury, relays her fear in traveling across the relative unknown of the landscape, "still a new country" even in the last quarter of the 18th century. Her fears mounted every evening of her journey; each night, she complained was marked by "wak[ing] up in a fright," feeling "vapory and afraid," particularly when she "could not fasten the door" (Baldwin 1918). These imaginings continued to favor Native communities' abilities to maneuver around colonial development, as it influenced colonists to settle and move through a limited number of places.

The spatial parameters of colonial growth contributed to the creative continuation of Native groups' long held practices of community-keeping. Because of ongoing boundary disputes between Connecticut and New York, the colonial towns that sprang up in the mid-18th century were still concentrated along the Housatonic River and its navigable tributaries. (Crone-Morange and Lavin 2004:140). (Figure 4.2) This pattern was much as it had been in the 17th century, but instead of being confined to the coastal and coastal interior areas, colonial settlements now stretched all the north to the upper

reaches of the Housatonic. Yet the narrow population distribution along waterways enabled Native communities, with some ease, to continue relocating their community clusters of wigwams and house lodges beyond the centers of colonial settlement – to the more remote ridgetops, wetlands, and upland valleys which had become increasingly important sites of community-keeping since the 17th century (Handsman 1989:20). These actions facilitated a continuing sense of distance from colonial and administrative reaches which likely appealed to Native communities as they felt the pressures of land-tightening and colonial population growth (Binzen 2002:8).

Yet, Native communities could not hope to fully separate themselves from colonial interests, nor could they afford to ignore the realities of the changing landscape. Their ongoing petitions throughout the first half of the 18th century, in which they demanded their land and resource rights, requested ministers, and appealed for education funds, demonstrate their clear understanding of these circumstances (Holmes 2007). Native communities did not try to preserve their communities only by shoring up their community boundaries and spaces. With mounting frequency, Native men, women, and children moved into and out of colonial spaces.

Some local townspeople, particularly religious leaders, encouraged these increasingly sustained interactions because they believed they could help convert Native people to Christian beliefs. In the Great Awakening zeal of the 1740s, Native communities throughout Connecticut and New England built close relationships with missionaries. Missionaries provided religious teaching and support designed to help Native people on their paths to Christian, civilized life (Fisher 2008).

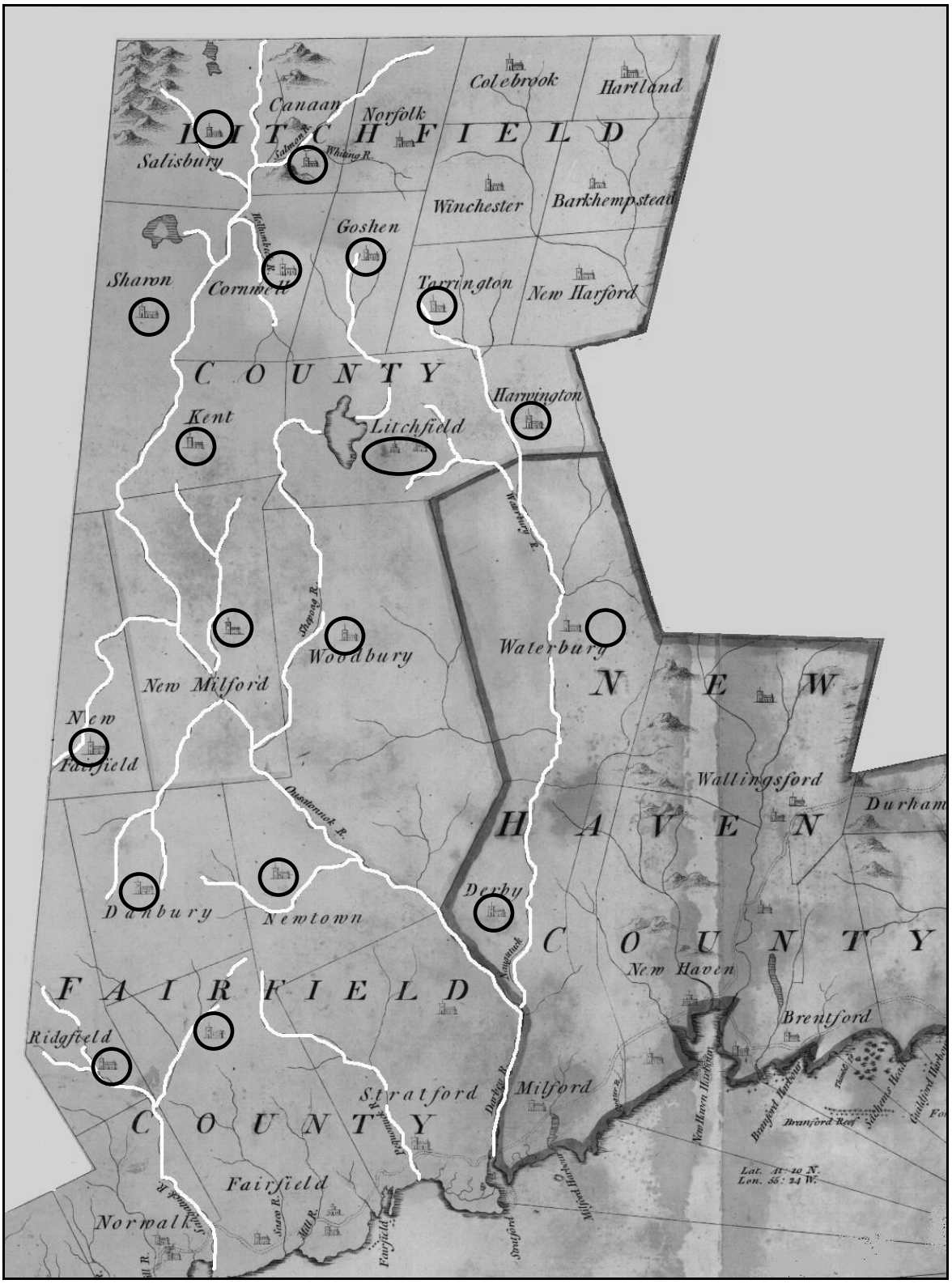



Figure 4.2. Townships in New Haven, Fairfield, and Litchfield counties, c. 1766. In the mid- and northern-Housatonic, most townships continued in close proximity to major waterways (highlighted). (Source: Moses Park Map, MAGIC; modified by author)

From Native communities' perspectives, missionaries offered language instruction and education, domestic and agricultural training, legal consultation, and economic arbitration.

At the invitation of Schaghticoke sachem Mauwehu (Gideon Mauwee), Moravian Brethren missionaries visited Schaghticoke, Potatuck, and Weantinock in the early 1740s.[lxxviii] Within three years, the Schaghticoke and Moravians had agreed to establish a mission settlement at "Pachgatgoch" (Moravian renditions of *Pishgatikuk*) and had collaborated in constructing a mission house at the main village site (Lavin and Dumas 1998:9). Moravian missionaries, a Protestant sect organized in Bohemia (Czech Republic), were "linguistic and religious aliens" in the area, disliked and mistrusted by the local English, who freely spread rumors that they were spies on behalf of the French to the north (Berleant-Schiller 2002:6).

The General Assembly even took up the issue of the "foreigners which are Straggling about the Inland parts" of the western lands. A petition, which highlighted the Moravians' "conversant" nature with Potatuck and Schaghticoke communities, alleged that the "foreigners" were estranging the Indians "from his majesties Subjects." It went so far as to order the foreigners be removed from the area (Colonial War Records 1743, vol. 4, 204:126). Townspeople further disliked the Moravians because they encouraged abstinence among Native converts, which cut into the profits of shopkeepers and cider producers (Crone-Morange and Lavin 2004:148). As a result, Moravians were much abused by the English authorities and settlers who represented the force of colonial interests in the area.[lxxix]

Though Moravians may have been considered aliens in the area, the nature of their interests were not. Missionary interests had been a steady feature of the ideological and physical landscape since the end of King Philip's war in 1676, if not earlier (Berleant-Schiller 2002:1). Few of these conversions efforts had succeeded in gaining a stronghold in the Housatonic, but the Moravians proved an exception.[lxxx] The Moravians' "success," if defined by the number of converts they inspired and the longevity of their mission establishments, reflected a distinctive religious worldview that enabled them to blend their evangelical efforts with features of Native community life already in place. "Rejecting original sin and predestination," Berleant-Schiller (2002:6) explains, "[the Moravians] preached the radical doctrines of universal salvation and personal religious experience." These guiding values encouraged Moravians to tolerate cultural difference in ways Calvinist and other Protestant sects did not embrace, and this was discernible in their interactions with Native communities. "Ideally they were to feel no moral superiority to Indians, nor believe that only one way of life was inherently right," Berleant-Schiller elaborates (2002:6).

These beliefs attached rather easily to existing patterns of Native community-keeping. Moravian practices promoted "sharing and economic equity," which resonated well among the communal values and reciprocity of Housatonic Native groups (Berleant-Schiller 2002:6). Similarly to Housatonic social organization, Moravian teachings emphasized that the nuclear family was secondary to a larger social network and organizational scheme. Solidarity among individuals and across nuclear family lines was bolstered by frequent ceremonies, services, and group meetings. The latter, "love feasts,"

were services in which music and food was shared by participants, who met as equals, a practice which echoed among Native communities who valued shared celebration.

The Moravians introduced a mission space and organization that reflected their willingness to blend cultural elements. The mission economy was a cooperative one in which missionaries tried to cultivate and use Native skills to complement Anglo-American ones. The Moravians introduced livestock and plows. At the same time, they encouraged long-held traditions of Native subsistence and manufacture. Particular features like Native hunting, horticulture, craft production, and resource gathering continued, as did broader patterns in subsistence organization, trade manufacture, and the gendering of work (Berleant-Schiller 2002:2, 14).

In this fashion, even as the Schaghticoke economy grew and diversified, still, long-standing Native patterns of subsistence and exchange had prominence. The Moravians' willingness to blend spatial, material, and social elements stood out against some of the mission practices elsewhere in New England (O'Brien 1997; Mandell 1991, 1996). For example, in Massachusetts, John Eliot established "Praying-Indian" missions, with the vision that Native communities would demonstrate an "English Style" materiality. As Mrozowski et al. (2009:438) elaborate, this impacted architecture, the physical layout of the mission space, and daily objects used for labor and domestic practices.

The Schaghticoke mission was an important place and vehicle for Native community survival in the mid-18$^{th}$ century, as scholars have shown and as Native communities today recall. For the Schaghticoke and other Native communities across New England, missionaries introduced a source of great power and promise in bringing

education, specifically literacy in English language and legal customs. Also importantly, the Moravian mission created economic opportunities. Yet, as important as the Schaghticoke mission was to Housatonic Native community life, it was not the only place of community-keeping. Documentary sources from the Moravian mission, including the recently transcribed Moravian diaries (Dally-Starna and Starna 2009; abbreviated in the remainder of the dissertation as DS-S2 2009), have typically been plumbed to understand community persistence and daily life at the mission settlement (see Berleant-Schiller 2001, 2002; Dally-Starna and Starna 2004, 2009; Crone-Morange and Lavin 2004; Fisher 2008). Significantly, however, these sources also reveal a complex choreography of movement *around* Schaghticoke and throughout the Housatonic, across a geography largely hidden from colonial observers' eyes.

## FINDING SPACES

*"What is most difficult is that they live so dispersed"*[lxxxi]

Faced with diminishing resources and increasingly tied to colonial interests, Native people adroitly identified a range of spaces on the shifting landscape in which they could support themselves and one another. They relied on sites of long-standing importance, but also on moving more frequently and more integrally into colonial spaces. Even at Schaghticoke, perceived by colonial and present-day observers to be a central and defined Native place, families lived in places all around. The Moravians lamented the challenges of their missionization efforts, pinpointing that "what is most difficult is that they live so dispersed" (Sensemann, 12/16/1751, DS-S, 1:255). Up and down the Housatonic,

however, processes of gathering and dispersal figured centrally in how Native people could maintain the connections fundamental to their community survival.

At Schaghticoke, the community clustered in two main villages, a "winter village" in the area of the present Schaghticoke Reservation, and a "summer village" further north up the Housatonic where the Moravian mission was located. (Figure 4.3) Extended families also lived in huts on the surrounding mountaintops and floodplains (Lavin and Dumas 1998:9; DS-S 2009, 1:270). In addition to this most visible community geography, an intricate patchwork of small, unnamed hamlets circled Schaghticoke. Countless references are made to individuals and families living 3, 4, 6, 8, 20, or more, miles from the Moravian mission.[lxxxii]

Schaghticoke leader Gideon Mauwee and "old Sr. Erdmuth" went "4 miles from here to visit one of her sick relatives," the Moravians document (Büninger and Rundt, 12/1/1755; DS-S 2009, 1:596). "Justina and several other sisters, who had been working in the swamp six miles from here, returned home" (Sensemann, 12/18/1762; DS-S 2009, 2:405). "Br. Samuel came home…bringing us word from Martin and his wife, [who] are working about 8 miles from here up the river, making *canoe[s]* and brooms" (Sensemann, 08/19/1753; DS-S 2009, 1:431). Such references make plain that Native communities were not living only in centralized community locales such as Schaghticoke, Chusetown, and Golden Hill. They peopled the landscape with small hamlets, continuing to rely on small task-oriented work sites in supplement to large community settlements.

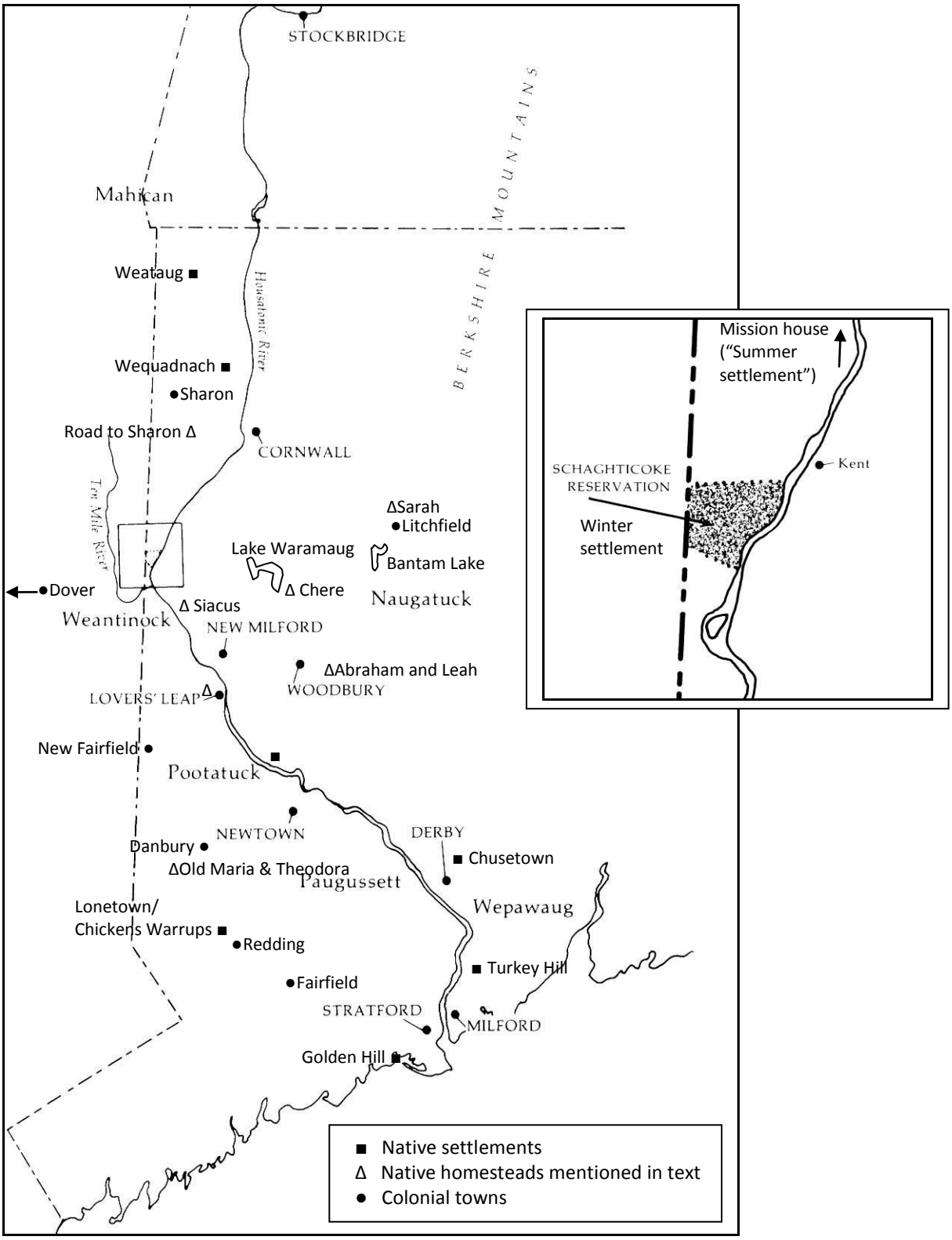



Figure 4.3. Examples of small clusters of extended families and work groups stretched in all directions away from Schaghticoke. (Source: Modified from McMullen and Handsman 2005)

In some instances, the locations of these sites were highly visible, integrated places at the heart of the emerging colonial landscape. Siacus (or Seyakes), a Weantinock or Schaghticoke man, lived with his extended family in a wigwam near the colonial village of Gaylordsville, once the heart of Weantinock planting orchards. (see Figure 4.3) Although the land had been sold by 1725 to Ensign William Gaylord, Siacus was permitted to remain on the land in thanksgiving for reportedly having saved members of the Gaylord family in a raid (Abbott 1907:361-363).[lxxxiii] (Figure 4.4)


Figure 4.4. Adze, possible netsinker, knife/scraper, and steatite vessel fragment collected from Gaylordsville, the ancestral homelands on which Siacus and his family continued their connections. (Source: Rogers Collection, IAIS. Photograph by author)

In this location Siacus was a visible presence to colonial eyes, for "certainly Gaylordsville and the adjacent tracts were a thriving industrial hamlet by 1780 with numerous sawmills, gristmills, tanneries, and charcoal burners in existence" (Handsman 1977:11; Flynn 1972). Siacus was closely connected with Schaghticoke, just six miles to

the north. In July 1751, he and his wife moved to the winter huts at Schaghticoke, where community members built him a house in welcome (Büninger, 07/2/1751; DS-S 2009, 1:204). But Siacus did not remain "in place" at Schaghticoke. He returned repeatedly to live on his ancestors' homelands in Gaylordsville, initiating a frequent pattern of movement between Gaylordsville and the winter huts at Schaghticoke (Eberhardt, 05/01/1756, DS-S 2009, 2:69).

Locales like Siacus' homestead often reflected new relationships to "old" places of Native community residence. Although Native peoples' relationships to these places changed through colonial transformations, they continued to use many sites in ways that were long familiar. To the east of Schaghticoke, Native groups had seasonally visited the Bantam Lake and the larger Litchfield vicinity for centuries. (see Figure 4.3) Connecticut census records enumerate a dwindling Native population of only 7 persons in the Bantam/Litchfield area in 1774. In contrast, Moravian sources repeatedly reference Native work-groups living in and around Litchfield, clearly indicating that such numbers would have been highly variable according to the particular period of census enumeration (DeForest 1851:417). Schaghticoke community member Sarah, for example, returned with her family to Schaghticoke from Litchfield in February 1760, where she had been "living all winter." Her actions followed in the tradition of Housatonic communities to winter there (Grube, 02/24/1760; DS-S 2009, 2:242).[lxxxiv] Native communities of 30 or more continued to practice seasonal migration patterns by visiting the shores of Bantam Lake in the winter and "encamping on Pine Island." There, men hunted while women made and peddled baskets and brooms (Kilbourne 1859:62-3).[lxxxv]

Archaeological evidence supports the long-standing use (or reuse) of the area in these patterned ways. Investigations of the shores near Pine Island and around Bantam Lake in 1983 identified archaeological patterns consistent with the kinds of small camps and short-term occupations that such residential patterns would reflect (Nicholas et al. 1984). The 33 sites identified in the greater Bantam Lake area range from Early Archaic era through Late Woodland era components, with a particular concentration of Late Archaic era sites. The Bantam Lake sites also hint, however, at the more ephemeral and "mixed" qualities of colonial and later historic occupations. Archaeological surveyors conducted limited transect testing on Deer Island, just off the western shore of Bantam Lake. Several of their test areas revealed mixed deposits, including ceramics, bottle glass, metal, brick, and bone alongside lithic artifacts like quartz flakes and a grooved axe (Nicholas et al. 1984:55). (Figure 4.5)

Given lake sedimentation processes and soil disturbance it is not possible to ascertain chronology for these contexts; however, these kinds of material footprints mirror the short-term, seasonal occupations of 18$^{th}$ century Native communities investigated elsewhere. Nineteenth century newspapers corroborate earlier findings of similar assemblages, asserting that "specimens of arrow heads, axes, bowls, pipes, and beads have found their way into nearly all the college collections of Indian relics, and curiosity seekers may often be seen hunting the fields for rare objects" (undated article on file in the Bantam Lake Site Files, IAIS).

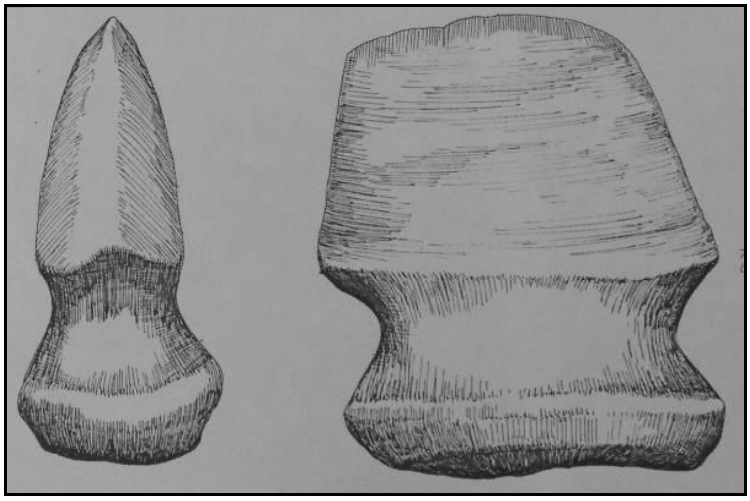


Figure 4.5. Left: Archaeological investigations on the shores of Bantam Lake, 1983 (Source: IAIS).
Right: Grooved, bifacially ground axe found on the shores of Bantam Lake
(Source: Rogers Collection, IAIS)

Not all places of late 18th century Native community life were ones superimposed on sites that had been used for centuries. In some instances, impromptu Native community spaces were ones given meaning because they took direct advantage of the developing arteries between colonial and Native locales. In these instances, the "routes of

community" could, indeed, be literally routes. In June 1755, Moravian missionary Brother Jungmann departed the Schaghticoke mission with "handiwork" he had made for settlers living ten miles north of Schaghticoke in the direction of Sharon. At the same time, "he visited several of our Indian sisters, as well as some of the unbaptized from here, who had pitched their huts in the woods along the way and were working" (Büninger and Rundt, 6/28/1755; DS-S 2009, 1:578). (see Figure 4.3) A week later, Schaghticoke leader Gideon Mauwee returned to Schaghticoke, bringing "greetings" from these same "baptized" and "unbaptized" community members, still "working together in the woods" along the road to Sharon (Büninger and Rundt, 7/2/1755; DS-S 2009, 1:579).

More often than not, however, the spaces among and around which clusters of Native families and individuals congregated were ones beyond the peripheries of colonial settlement, in the un-thought-of spaces which still predominated the area. Small clusters of extended families and work groups stretched in all directions away from Schaghticoke: north through Sharon and on to Stockbridge; east to Litchfield, Woodbury, and even Farmington; west to Dover across the New York border; and south through New Milford, Danbury, and all the way to the coast. (see Figure 4.3) They were not isolated in these areas. They clustered in small community configurations in keeping with past residential practices. Old Maria, a prominent Christian Schaghticoke community member, traveled to Schaghticoke for extended periods of time, but spent much of the year near Danbury, the area of Chickens Warrups' Lonetown community.[lxxxvi] Chickens and his family continued to visit and reside at times in the area, as did Siacus' son and daughter-in-law, and Gideon's wife's son and his wife.[lxxxvii] (see Figure 4.3)

Since many such smaller community locales were not directly viewable from colonial towns, they have been largely "forgotten" in historical accounts. This is particularly true of clusters of Native families living on spaces mis-characterized as alienated from them, such as the coast. Moravian records, however, substantiate oral testimonies of the thriving communities that continued at the coast well past colonial settlement. Census records from 1774 indicate that communities along the coast were small in number, but they encompassed a full range of age groups (Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society 1809, 10:118). (Table 4.1)

Table 4.1. Account of the Number of Inhabitants in the County of Fairfield, on the First of January, 1774

| Towns | Indian males under Twenty | Indian Females under Twenty | Indian Males above Twenty | Indian Females above Twenty |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Danbury | | | 2 | 1 |
| Fairfield | | | 2 | 2 |
| Greenwich | | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| New-Fairfield | | | | |
| Newtown | 1 | 1 | | |
| Norwalk | | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| Redding | | | | |
| Ridgefield | | | | |
| Stamford | | | | |
| Stratford | 7 | 12 | 9 | 7 |
| Total | 8 | 18 | 19 | 16 |

Demographic data gathered from Moravian records adds to this picture by suggesting that these individuals, and likely others who went unrecorded, represented inter-connected kin from a number of families.[lxxxviii] Even fleeting observances by the Moravians reveal a complex coming together of inter-group marriage and residence patterns along the length of the Housatonic. A brief mention that "Erdmuth's grandson

came for a visit from the seaside" (1757, DS-S 2009, 2:136) untangles into a much more complex picture when it is considered that Erdmuth, a Potatuck woman, had been living among the amalgamated community at Schaghticoke for many years, but was being visited by her grandson (who would have inherited Potatuck heritage through matrilineal descent), then living on Paugussett homelands at the seaside. Such records begin to importantly show the continuing presence of Native communities on homelands thought dispossessed and "settled."

Where documentary records fall short in remembering the presence of Native communities on their familiar locales, archaeological evidence provides further testimony to the creativity and complexity of their engagements with colonial life. Perhaps nowhere is this more evident than in the village sites in and around colonial Stratford, Bridgeport, Milford, and Derby.[lxxxix] Sites with long-ranging, multi-component assemblages have been documented throughout these and other interior-coastal towns. In Stratford and Milford, histories of 17th century coastal life are evidenced at extensively used community settlement sites containing common 17th century trade items like beads, iron knives, and clay pipes. But in at least some instances, elaborate artifacts suggest a much longer, and later, history.

At the Meadows Site in Stratford, Edward Rogers and Claude Coffin recovered a European-inspired button mold with a fleur-de-lis pattern (The Meadows Archaeological Site, Rogers and Coffin Collections, IAIS and Milford Historical Society).[xc] (Figure 4.6)

Figure 4.6. Steatite button mold from the Meadows Site, Stratford. (Source: Rogers Collection, IAIS)

The mold is fashioned from steatite, a material of long-standing importance for Native communities as a manufacturing material and as a social marker. Although the provenience information of the Meadows Site mold is not well understood because of the nature of recovery efforts, it was found in contexts clearly associated with Native manufacture and community life. Similar steatite buttonmolds have been found in Native sites elsewhere in the state, in contexts associated with the 18$^{th}$ century. Although coastal areas like Stratford are commonly understood as the first western Connecticut lands to be alienated from Native groups, such hybrid archaeological materials add corroborating evidence to documentary sources which complicate this timeline.

CONNECTING PLACES

*"They all came at once; not one stayed away"*[xci]

If it is important to realize that small, dispersed community locales (in keeping with Housatonic models of homeland) continued to surround larger core settlements like Schaghticoke, Weantinock, Potatuck, and Naugatuck, it is arguably even more important to understand that these dispersed locales were vibrantly, closely connected to one another. The small Native community clusters that come into focus through Moravian records and archaeological sources were far more than isolated individuals or singular extended families. The families living together crossed kin and clan lines. They also integrated people of Paugussett, Potatuck, Weantinock, and Schaghticoke descent.

Actively connected across distance, community members drew support from one another in moments of stress as well as in everyday interaction. As the Moravians described repeatedly of dispersed Schagticoke members called to Schaghicoke for particular occasions, "they all came at once; not one stayed away" (Büninger, 07/09/1750; DS-S, 1:124). For Native communities, connectedness across this network of Native places was inextricably intertwined with survival itself:

> "As the historical record frequently attests, to be separated or otherwise estranged from family, in life or in death, was to Native groups everywhere the worst of all possible situations" (Dally-Starna and Starna 2009:66).

The persistence of mobility patterns figured importantly in how Native communities maintained connections with one another in a communal life that extended across individual locales.

Although the Moravians and other Anglo-American observers viewed frequent movement as anathema and crippling to the well-being of Native communities, it was quite the opposite. Movement was central to expressions of a shared life. Growing colonial presence and influence brought changes to the routines of Native movements and communication, as it did to all aspects of life. Shifting relationships to the locales, paths, routes, and other material spaces of communication altered Native networks. The Moravians themselves succeeded in triggering some such alterations by requesting that their Native Christian converts advise them of the exact timing and location of their travel plans (Rundt, 4/20/1752; DS-S 2009, 1:316). Still, continuing movements and interconnections enabled dispersed Native communities to both take best advantage of the resources locally available to them, while also positioning them within strong, far-ranging support networks. These elements provided the basis for continuing long traditions of a life in common.

The closeness of community relationships, and their extension over space, was remarkably apparent in community response when Schaghticoke community member Theodora fell ill while in residence in Danbury in December 1754. Theodora summoned her nephew Christian from Schaghticoke, with the message that she "wished that a couple of sisters would come [from Schaghticoke] and get her." Christian left immediately for Danbury, followed two days later by Chickens Warrups' wife Rebecca and Theodora's great-niece Caritas.[xcii] Carried north to Schaghticoke, Theodora was cared for by Chickens' family, recuperating in their dwelling. By March, Theodora had returned to Danbury, and the travel between Pachgatgoch and Danbury by Maria, Rebecca, and

others had resumed (Sensemann, 12/2/1753; DS-S 2009, 1:448; Rundt, 1/23/1754; DS-S 2009, 1:457).

Extended families and community members remained in this kind of close and constant communication with one another, such that the prolonged silence about any one person generated alarm and community concern.[xciii] This watchful network was often quite elaborate in its organization. In April of 1751, Schaghticoke community member Petrus got into legal trouble while working among colonial neighbors and was taken away by a constable. Concerned, Moravian Brother Sensemann consulted with Gideon about "whether a brother should go and see what they were doing with him." Gideon replied that "[Chickens] Warop had gone [there]" already, and further, that the community would then "receive word through Jephthah, who had gone to the winter houses" (Sensemann, 04/7/1751; DS-S 2009, 1:174). These communication networks could also be quickly activated to re-gather kin and dispersed community members from across the landscape almost immediately.[xciv]

Multiple, and elaborate, communication networks were essential, given the complexity of individuals' movements around the Housatonic Valley and points further. Members of the Schaghticoke, Potatuck, and other Native communities visited regularly around the region.[xcv] At Schaghticoke, Brother Büninger expressed frustration at often having to move religious meetings because Gideon's huts were "too full" on account of "strangers sleeping inside" (Büninger 06/19/1750; DS-S 2009, 1:121). People came and left virtually daily to nearby locales.[xcvi]

They also maintained the long-range networks which connected them with kin in Massachusetts, New York, and elsewhere in Connecticut. Housatonic communities

greeted visitors from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, with whom they were linked by political and kinship ties, and in turn visited Stockbridge.[xcvii] They relied on nearby community locales as refuges in times of community stress, drawing on their kin connections to provide housing and support.[xcviii] Brother Büninger, writing in September 1751, caught a confluence of such networks in the shortness of one day, noting that Schaghticoke community member Benigna had just returned, having "been as far as Albany," while "an Indian came from the seaside to visit" and "from Hartford, an Indian woman" (Büninger, 09/12/1751; DS-S 2009, 1:227).

The converse of this, of course, is that just as such community locales could grow through the influx of visitors, they could also empty. On many occasions, the Moravians noted that "most of the brethren and sisters and other Indians had gone out" and that Schaghticoke "was as if emptied of people" (Büninger, 08/27/1751; DS-S 2009, 1:222). The Moravians vehemently opposed these frequent movements, seeing them as obstacles to steady religious practices. In the Moravians' view, it was "a dangerous time for the poor hearts *because they disperse so*" (Sensemann, 12/16/1751; DS-S 2009, 1:255; emphasis added). Sachem Gideon Mauwee often had to make particular announcements so that community members would "make sure to stay nicely at home" for religious services (Sensemann, 08/14/1753; DS-S 2009, 1:430).

"At home," as the Moravians so-phrased, was a key facet of this social organization, but it was a sentiment which did not translate conceptually in the same way for Native communities as it did for their Moravian and other colonial neighbors. Native families and individuals did not merely travel often around the landscape, but resided multiply (maintained connections with more than one residence), seasonally, and

strategically. Families like the Chickens Warrups family moved with relative ease between central community locales, small dispersed settlements, and even colonial towns, living out a model of homeland that had guided Housatonic community life for generations. After Chickens' widespread community relocation from Lonetown to Schaghticoke between 1749-1760 (Chapter 3), reportedly only "a few scattered families" remained in the Redding area, including Chickens' grandson Tom Warrups. By 1761, the story goes, most of these individuals had also relocated to Schaghticoke (Rudes 1999:306).

But dispossession did not entail wholesale dispersion. Later generations of Chickens' descendants maintained traditions of community and residential networking in the Redding area.[xcix] Chickens' grandson, Tom Warrups or Tom Chickens (also Tom Mohawk), was a prominent Native personage in the second half of the 18th century. Among well-remembered attributes, including distinguished service as a "guide and scout" under General Israel Putnam in the Revolutionary War, local histories portray Tom Warrups as an exemplar of "Native flight" (Bedini 1958). Although Tom remained at Lonetown for many years after Chickens' initial removal, eventually he moved to Schaghticoke. He then moved away from Schaghticoke to New Milford. Regional histories profess this to be because he "soon came among the English, [and] being better pleased to live among them than among the Indians, as tradition in New Milford says,…settled near Great Tom by the side of the highway" (Orcutt 1882:131).

A more likely motivation, however, is that Tom's movements continued to place him squarely in the center of a Native landscape and homelands. (Figure 4.7)

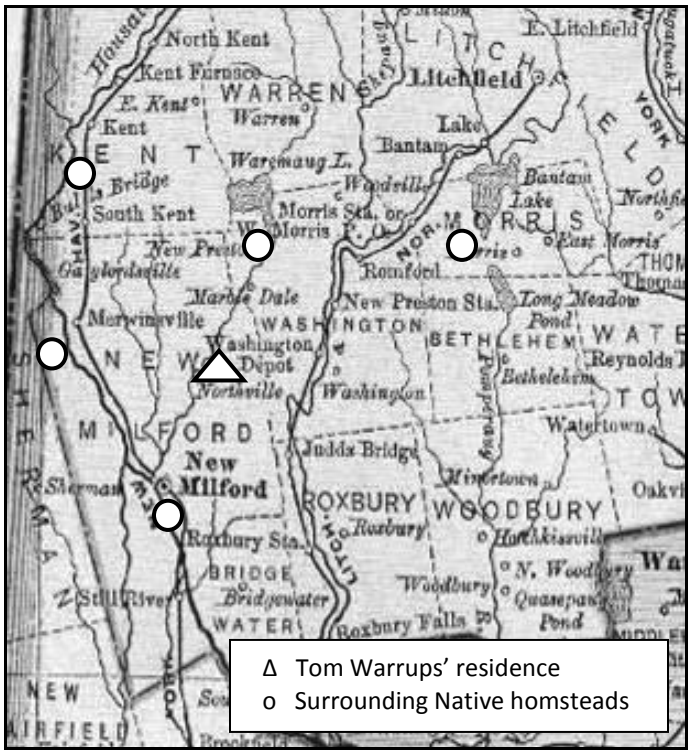



Figure 4.7. Locations of Native community settlements surrounding Tom Warrups' residence just south of the Northville section of New Milford, denoted by circled triangle.

To his south, a Schaghticoke community was growing in New Milford; a mile to the west, Siacus and his family lived across the Housatonic in a wigwam; and fishing places along the Housatonic near Lovers Leap continued to be visited often by Native communities up and down the region. Further, his settlement specifically at the base of Mount Tom situated him smack in the location of important Potatuck and Weantinock winter hunting grounds. The surrounding area has yielded a complex of archaeological sites, including a Late Archaic camp, a Late Woodland small village site, a rockshelter occupation with Native ceramics and bone tools, and a historic era campsite with clay trade pipes (Site files surveyed at IAIS; Dodd Center, Storrs, CT).

In proximity to where Tom's "hut" was situated, limited testing by archaeologists in the 1970s identified a multi-component site characterized as part Archaic-era

occupation and part “historic dump.” Investigators excavated three units, identifying three hearth features and recovering projectile points, stone knives and scrapers, and also an interesting red earthenware effigy (Site 79-22-43; IAIS Site Files). The only diagnostic artifacts recorded, a chert Brewerton side-notched point and a Levanna point, suggest Archaic-era and Late Woodland-early historic era occupations. The presence of quartz, chert, and flint flakes indicates that some stone tool manufacture took place at the site, using some materials that were locally-available and others that required participation in regional exchange networks. At least one non-local lithic flake had a utilized knife edge, hinting at efforts to use or re-use more scarce materials. In contrast to this diversity of lithic sources for specialty tools, all but one scraper recovered at the site was fashioned of locally-available quartz. This narrow artifact range indicates a limited use or short-term camp site, but the effigy recovered suggests a more complicated place-relationship.

The red earthenware effigy is carved with Native symbolism and motif but from what may be a very European material - brick. (Figure 4.8) The animal figure that the effigy portrays is unknown, but it may be a bear or beaver. Bears are revered animals among many New England Native groups, and symbolism of their form is apparent in many contexts. In the uplands area of the Schaghticoke Reservation, archaeological surveyors located an upright, carved rock alongside what may be one of several roads which connected northwestern Connecticut towns with towns to the east in New York, like Dover Plains (Lavin and Dumas 1998). The edges of the rock have been worked into a form that the investigators interpret as a bear. They point out that Mauwehu, the name of the Schaghticoke community’s first recorded sachem, means “bear” or “large animal.”


Figure 4.8. Red earthenware effigy, Site 79-22-43, IAIS. (Source: Author)

The extended, multigenerational Warrups family was by no means the only one moving north and south among Native community locales along the Housatonic drainage. Nearby, the Native community at Potatuck Wigwams remained an important node in the routes of connection between locales to the south and those to the north. Like Chickens, the Potatuck leader Chere guided kin to locales around Potatuck and Weantinock homelands as they lost their major landholdings at Potatuck (Southbury, Connecticut). In 1759, Chere drew on his connections at Schaghticoke, where his brother Petrus Sherman and son Sam Tscherry were living, and moved many Potatuck families north to Schaghticoke (Rudes 1999:310; Birdsey 1809:112). Chere became a Christian convert at Schaghticoke. But, to the Moravians' great consternation, he also continued to practice patterns of seasonal movement.

In winter, Chere often relocated to the shores of Lake Waramaug, some seven miles east of Schaghticoke. (Figure 4.9) There he maintained a "winter house," in which

he was frequently joined by his widowed mother, Gertraud, and son Sam (Sensemann, 1/15/1752; DS-S 2009, 1:267; 2:467).[c] Immediately across the lake, Weantinock, Potatuck, and Schaghticoke community members continued to camp and fish, making "summertime camps in the field" as late as 1870.[ci] (see Figure 4.9)

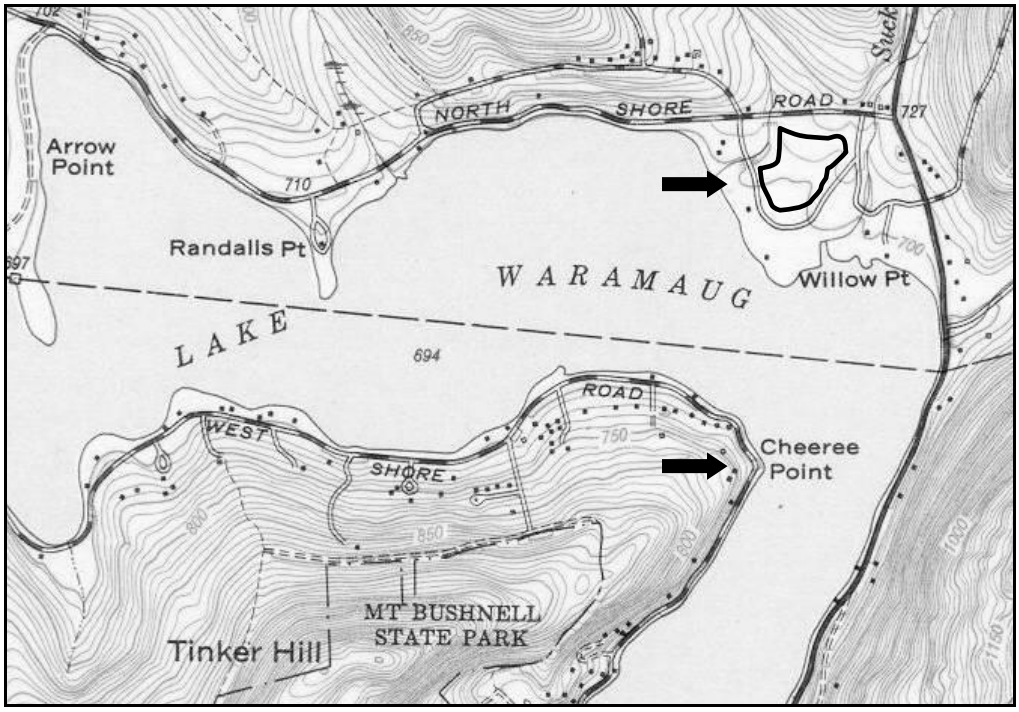



Figure 4.9. Map of Lake Waramaug showing "Chere Point" and approximate location of the Hopkins site (6LF71) immediately across. (Source: USGS Topo; modified by author)

Weantinock leaders, including Waramaug, had deeded these lands to the Hopkins family in the 1730s and 1770s; however, they were allowed to continue using the locale. Reportedly they were on such good terms that even in 1870 they shared a "groundhog dinner" with landowner William Hopkins. Archaeological excavations at the site, called the Hopkins Farm Site (6LF1) demonstrate the regular use of the site as a seasonal camp for thousands of years, with artifacts dating as many as 7,000 years old and as recently as the 19th century (collection analyzed at IAIS).[cii]

BLURRING NATIVE-COLONIAL SPACES

Though undertaken frequently, as they had been for centuries, these movements were by no means easy ones, for reasons both long-standing and new. Stressors brought by colonial cultural impositions created both external and internal challenges for Native communities. For the families and individuals who sought to maintain their traditional lifeways in increasingly marginalized environments of the Housatonic Valley, their limited access to resources - including deer, fish, firewood, and planting fields - was often of critical concern.[ciii] A sustained drought in the 1760s only exacerbated these challenges (Allen 1985). Native groups fought off land and resource encroachments, and balanced long-standing subsistence economies with Anglo-American horticultural and husbandry practices. They complained repeatedly of poor growing conditions, depleted soils, lack of firewood, and shrinking game populations. They lamented the resulting need to travel a wider and wider arc around their community locales to sustain their families because of these depletions and encroachments. As just one example, hunting parties were forced to travel as many as 100 miles away for adequate hunting, a significantly longer distance than would have been characteristics of preceding centuries.

The poverty and loss felt in the Greater Housatonic was echoed in Native communities across New England. At the Mashantucket Pequot reservation, faunal archaeological evidence corroborates documentary sources which suggest that the third quarter of the 18$^{th}$ century was a time of particular change (Vasta 2007:190). Faunal remains reflect a period of high transition, in which Native families shifted the resources on which they built their diets.

To survive in resource-restricted areas, Native groups integrated colonial economies with their communal economies. Increasingly, Native men, women, and even children, were closely tied with the livelihoods of their colonial neighbors. Men and women alike participated in emerging capitalist economies, working for wages on nearby colonial homesteads, particularly around harvest time. In the same general area where a Native community had gathered at Nonnewaug, extended families such as that of Schaghticoke members Abraham, Sarah, and Leah continued to go to the town of Woodbury. (see Figure 4.3) There they worked, likely as farm hands and domestic laborers, among colonial families and set up residence for weeks and months at a time (Sensemann, 4/11/1752; DS-S 2009, 1:299).[civ]

Members of the Housatonic communities also provided labor through indentured servitude in towns like Derby, New Milford, and Kent. The circumstances of indenture varied tremendously. For some, it offered an opportunity for education and steady resources (Silverman 2001; Sainsbury 1995; Kawashima 1978). For others, however, indenture was a violence brought very much forcibly and against the will of individuals, their families, and their larger community. Chicken Warrups' son Johannes and his wife Leah's two children were forced into indenture for debts Johannes owed (Sensemann 12/6/1753; DS-S 2009, I:449).[cv] Even a generation after that, Warrups family members were still in indentured servitude. Thomas Warrups, a descendant of Chickens Warrups, was indentured with Joshua Lovell in Sharon in 1790, before running away. (Figure 4.10) Yet in some happier instances, indenture could also lead to a return to family networks, as in June 1756 when Gottlieb brought a female kin relation and another woman to

Schaghticoke, both of whom had been bound to English settlers, “but [who] will now live with him” (Eberhardt, 06/20/1756; DS-S 2009, 2:96).

RUN-away from the ſubſcriber, the night of the 27th inſtant, an Indentured Indian Boy, named Thomas Warrups, 18 years of age, rugged and hearty looking, Whoever will return ſaid runaway, ſhall have ſixpence reward and no charges paid.

JOSHUA LOVELL.

Sharon, Jan. 28, 1790.

Figure 4.10. Runaway notice for Thomas Warrups. (Source: Connecticut Courant, 02/18/1790)

Through labor volunteered and coerced, Native communities participated with increasing diversity in the growing colonial economies. On an intimate level, these patterns are illuminated in the longer history of the extended family of Chickens Warrups and the Lonetown community. Chickens moved regularly between Schaghticoke and Danbury (near Lonetown), as did members of his family, alone or together.[cvi] Kin and community members like Tom Chickens, “Indian Hannah Warrups,” “Indian Amos,” “Indian Ben,” and “John Afternoon Indian” moved in and out of the Danbury/Lonetown area throughout the 18th century. By moving between Schaghticoke and Danbury, Chickens and his kin expanded and diversified their resources. Chickens and his kin left for Danbury, Moravian Brother Büninger explained on one occasion, “where they intend to stay for a while to earn something to satisfy their needs” (Büninger and Rundt, 7/10/1755; DS-S 2009, 1:582).

Often, as judged from Moravian records of Chickens' activities, they achieved this by selling an array of goods and crafts, including baskets, wooden buckets and troughs, wooden bowls, spoons, mats, brooms, hides, and dugout canoes (Sensemann, 3/16/1752; DS-S 2009, 1:290).[cvii] They were successful enough in doing so that they established accounts with local shopkeepers to purchase goods, with both men and women holding individual accounts (Read Account Book, Connecticut Historical Society).[cviii] Chickens bought food items such as beef, pork, cider, corn, and cheese, and material staples like blankets and shoes, which he paid for in part through money and in part by labor.[cix] (Figure 4.11)

At times the labor that Chickens and his relatives provided to pay their debts took form in English traditions of work, like planting, washing sheep, and hoeing. When they worked as farm laborers, they often did so cooperatively. "Warrups' squaw" and "Eunice" hoed settler John Read's land together to defray their debts. More commonly, Chickens and his relations paid through continuing practices of Native manufacturing and production. They made baskets, built snowshoes, and dressed skins which were in turn offered into the colonial economy. Their flow into and out of the accounts of the same settler, John Read, reflects not only a multigenerational relationship with the prominent colonial family, but also the continuing nexus of Native social connections in both Native spaces *and* colonial spaces.

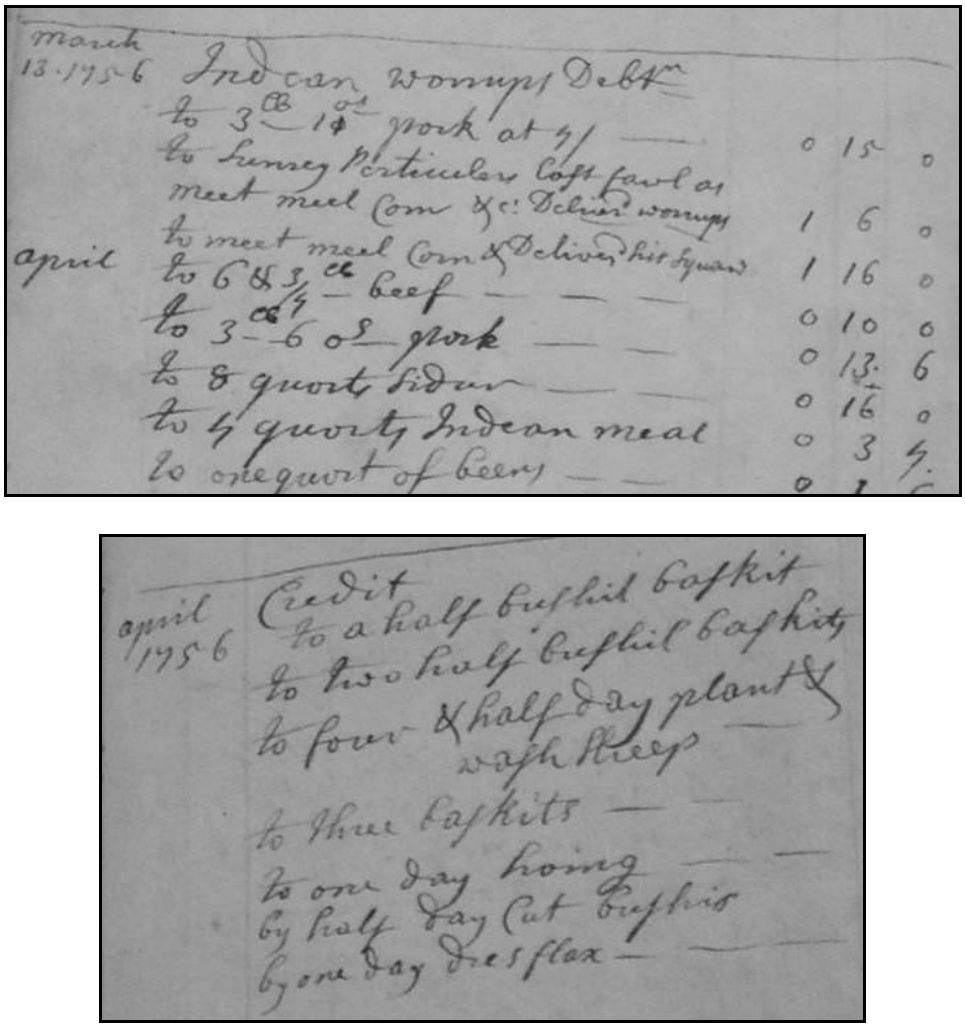


Figure 4.11. Purchase (upper) and payment (lower) entries for “Indian Warrups” in John Read’s account book (Redding), March-April 1756 (Source: Connecticut Historical Society)

The blurring of Native-colonial spaces was not always smooth for the individuals who ventured between and among multiple communities. The continued travel around the full range of Housatonic homelands was not easy, either collectively or individually, physically or emotionally. The topography of the area had always made challenging physical demands on the travelers. At Schaghticoke, families made extensive communal preparations prior to departing south along the Housatonic River, “for they have to carry

the goods for a distance of 3 miles down along the water, since they cannot get over the falls with the canoes" (Büninger, 05/14-16/1750; DS-S 2009, 1:114).

Colonial transformations to the landscape imposed new obstacles to these long-standing challenges, changing the relationships to Native groups' patterned movements and routes. As Cameron-Daum (2007) has pointed out, routes and footpaths have "convoluted histories," particularly when negotiated between landholders and the landless. Paths are not the property of landholders, yet they hold the power to deny, hide, or grant access, making some sites highly contested, even over long stretches of time. Travels to the coastline, or conversely to the northern reaches of the Housatonic Valley, required journeys of several days. Native families broke up their journey at long-used stopping-places like the "Cat's Paw" by New Milford. Yet, where once they had camped freely, they now had to seek permission from colonial farms to break journey in their back fields and barns.

In their travels, Native peoples frequently came into conflict with colonial authorities and neighbors, whether because of "disorderly conduct" in towns, accumulated debts, or alcohol-related skirmishes. Violence erupted with some regularity, affecting Native individuals living within and around colonial towns, within prominent Native settlements like Schaghticoke and Chusetown, and those along the many paths and locales in between.[cx]

Even for those physically within the "boundaries" of "Native spaces," colonial interference could not be escaped. Far from being isolated locales, prominent Native community places were visited regularly by colonial settlers - perhaps so often as to be a daily occurrence. "Not one was seen here over the course of these four days," Brother

Mack observed, "which is very unusual here, for they usually go in and around the Indian huts every day" (Mack, 02/22/1761; DS-S 2009, 2:298). At times such visitations were innocuous requests for labor, for shared religious services, for friendship, or for ongoing legal resolutions. On many occasions, however, colonial settlers entered Native communities bent on recuperating debts and monies, seizing property, and issuing arrests. Chickens Warrups maintained accounts in good standing with John Read in Redding, but even he was "taken to the *Justus* [justice] on account of a small debt he had guaranteed" on at least one occasion (Sensemann, 3/24/1752; DS-S 2009, 1:292). Colonists from Kent, New Milford and nearby towns also frequently turned up at Schaghticoke to inquire, accusingly, about the presence of runaway Native indentured servants.[cxi]

Conflicts over changing "rights," and access, to important resources on their homelands grew even more tense throughout these interactions. Schaghticoke community members were "yelled at" for "stealing bark" from trees for firewood. On another occasion, "Jonathan had built 2 *conue* [canoes] in the woods," Brother Sensemann related, "[but] a white man took both from him, saying it was wood from his land" (Sensemann, 10/22/1753; DS-S 2009, 1:441). Stripped of their canoes because the wood no longer "belonged" to them, Schaghticoke community members faced a difficult challenge. "Now they have to carry their brooms and things down to the seaside on their backs," Brother Sensemann lamented (Sensemann, 10/22/1753; DS-S 2009, 1:441).[cxii]

At the seaside, Native communities faced similar accusations of trespassing and stealing. Centuries and millennia of access to the Long Island Sound's plentiful shellfishing resources came to an abrupt legalistic close in 1763, when a vote was taken to "prohibit the taking of oysters from the Indian River during the few summer months"

(Stowe 1917:84). Not content to merely leave it at that, the court appointed a committee to physically "perambulate and fix monuments to mark the [boundary] line" (Stowe 1917:84). So, too, at the Falls in New Milford, Native groups lost open access to the fishing rights they had guaranteed for themselves, when a company of 13 men leased the rights to fish at the spot in 1773 (Hawley 1929:12).

As difficult as these colonial-Native tensions were, incidents of violence among Native individuals were particularly hard on community relations. Alcohol often accompanied these occurrences, further straining group relations.[cxiii] At Schaghticoke, there was growing tension between the baptized and unbaptized community members, particularly around the changes in social life which the Moravians advocated. Counseling one Schaghticoke member, a baptized man named Christian, Brother Sensemann advised that "things could no longer go on in the same manner as with the unbaptized Indians, intent on following their old ways" – a change which Christian reportedly acknowledged, "with sadness" (Sensemann, 1/16/1752; DS-S 2009, 1:268).

Yet Christian remained a prominent and contributing member of the Native community at Schaghticoke long after this recorded conversation, participating in communal work and regional movements. Members of a community can, as this illuminates, certainly disagree about even such important facets as religiously-based life differences and still be members of a community. They can "act irresponsibly from time to time and still be members, as Wood and Judikis (2002:13) point out. Members can, in fact, disagree about what constitutes responsible and irresponsible behavior with respect to their community obligations. What they cannot do, Wood and Judikis (2002) suggest, is deny having a responsibility to the community.

## LIVING COMMUNALLY

*"For on all occasions when I am in need of their help, they are willing with all their heart"*[cxiv]

Native communities may have been moving into and out of Native and colonial spaces with more frequency, integrating their livelihoods, residences, and community structures in deeper ways with their Anglo-American neighbors, but they did not lose the patterns of a distinctively Native life. Just as Moravian and other documentary records show the extensions of Native communities across this wide landscape, in complement they reveal the practices of community-keeping encompassed within it. Together with archaeological evidence, oral histories, and other documentary lines, a striking picture of shared life and community survival along the length of the Housatonic emerges. Within and across Native spaces, community continued in the strongest sense of the word.

Documentary records make clear that Native community members living in small hamlets around the landscape not only remained interconnected but continued to participate in the communal life of central locales. Colonial observers widely disregarded Native social life as heathenish and uncivilized, but even they at times recognized and respected the strength of these communal bonds and collective spirit. Moravian Brother Büninger admitted that "I must praise the preparedness of the Indian brethren and sisters to serve others, for on all occasions when I am in need of their help, they are willing with all their heart. They have done many [things] without me being asked, of [their own] free will, because they saw that it was needed" (Büninger, 08/21/1850; DS-S 2009, 1:137).

Lauding these initiatives was not a stretch for Brother Büninger, nor for his contemporaries. Such sentiments were likewise valued in Anglo-American conceptions

of communalism. Colonial communities, too, placed emphasis on the importance of a shared communal life. They gave particular preeminence to the public's needs (Shain 1998:42). By and large, however, they worked to achieve this communalism by placing strict limits on individual autonomy. They believed that individual constraints were needed to foster virtuous behavior and to see to it that individuals maintained a moral, communal life (Shain 1998:40). Emphases on autonomy had no real corollary among Housatonic Native communities, prompting intercultural tension regarding the proper path to participation in group life.

Despite these competing tensions, Native patterns of communalism, including distinctive practices of communal work and living, did not weaken but strengthened over the 18th century. Housatonic groups relied upon communal work as their primary social organization. Community members met in council frequently to discuss the growing hardships created by colonial over-hunting, the sacrifices made in working for colonists, and the threats to their land base (Sensemann, 1/21/1752; DS-S 2009, 1:270). Indeed, the Indians, Moravians noted, "usually are in the habit of getting together every evening" (Bruce 03/30/1749, DS-S 2009, 1:91). Their council meeting discussions make it clear that they consciously fought to preserve communal life in spite of alternative possibilities. Sachem Gideon Mauwee proposed on one occasion that male community members go as a small group "out into the forest alone," to make canoes, "without taking along their entire families" (Rundt 04/16/1752; DS-S 2009, 1:305). Female community members could meanwhile "get wood out of the forest and make brooms from it at home." Community members debated this proposal, ultimately determining that "it was

much easier for them if they were there with their entire families and made everything where the wood stood."

Consensual decision-making extended to practices of shared living. They lived as extended families in communal dwellings, and often ate with one another, as at Schaghticoke where they "all went into Gideon's hut to eat" (Eberhardt, 06/19/1756; DS-S 2009, 2:95).[cxv] So, too, they shared childcare. Extended networks of kin provided childcare support in the form of subsistence, housing, and educational opportunities. This enabled certain community members to travel as needed for work and sales, as when "Br. Samuel with his wife Lucia went out with a sled full of brooms and baskets to sell," while "meanwhile, Sister Thamar kept house for the children" (Sensemann, 01/24/1763; DS-S 2009, 2:412).

For children, this distribution of care offered important educational opportunities, considered both from the perspective of traditional teaching by elders, as well as new forms of colonial education. At Schaghticoke, Moravians provided Christian-European teaching to community youth, including fundamental literacy skills.[cxvi] Communities and extended families cooperated to provide care at Schaghticoke for children from around the region so that they could attend Moravian schooling while their parents returned home.[cxvii] The Moravians, for their part, abhorred the way children seemingly "roamed" at will between families and dwellings. They were clearly abject at what they saw as wanton disregard for proper childcare. "I spoke with the parents today about the children," Brother Büninger deplored, "I asked that each one please watch out *for his own children*. They should especially see to it that the children *not stray too far* – that they always knew where they were and kept them in their huts at night" (DS-S 2009, 1:124;

emphasis added). Their sentiments failed to recognize – or at least respect – the distributed communal childcare practices which underpinned Native child-rearing and which motivated such movement between dwellings and families (McCullough 2009).[cxviii]

Similarly, cooperative land-working and resource gathering remained the backbone of Native communities' physical survival, although they also increasingly incorporated colonial economies (see further below). Historically among Housatonic groups, in the spring while women planted and tended corn and other crops, men fished for shad, herring, and lamprey eel in the river. These gendered divisions of labor continued over the 18th century, although modified. At Schaghticoke, women continued to provide the bulk of childcare, food gathering and preparation, planting, and clothing mending, while men hunted, fished, maintained community dwellings, and acted in warfare (Berleant-Schiller 2002). Yet, with some frequency, work that had typically been performed by one sex was taken on communally by work groups comprised of both sexes.[cxix] The Moravians observed both men and women tending planting fields, sowing and harvesting corn and beans. Fishing, too, while predominantly a men's activity, was undertaken cooperatively by families and mixed-sex work groups (DS-S 2009, 1:45).[cxx]

Native communities drew on extensive knowledge of place and resources, particularly in times of food shortage. The Moravians' noted families at Schaghticoke moving into and out of the community almost daily as they left to "work in the woods" – a generalization that encompassed a number of different activities including gathering local foodstuff when "their corn was used up" (Sensemann, 3/8/1752; DS-S 2009, 1:288).[cxxi] In some instances, almost the entire Schaghticoke community population

would “go into the woods” en masse, as when they relocated “about 7 or 8 miles from here, all to one place” in April 1751 (Sensemann, 04/5/1751; DS-S 2009, 1:173). But most often, smaller work groups - composed of men, women, or both – would travel around the landscape to undertake specific activities such as hunting, fishing, berrying, and gathering of raw materials for the manufacture of baskets, wooden utensils, brooms, and canoes.[cxxii]

Resource-gathering excursions were characteristic of groups throughout the Housatonic valley, and could last a few hours, a few days, or even quite a number of weeks. If Schaghticoke is any example, during May and June when fish spawned in the Housatonic, often “only a few remained at home” (Sensemann, 04/21-23/1753; DS-S 2009, 1:413).[cxxiii] Plant remains from 17th and 18th century Mashantucket Pequot sites indicate a similarly high degree of continuity in the incorporation of gathered and domesticated native plants (McBride 2005:42). Native people living in small hamlets around the Greater Housatonic landscape continued to participate in the seasonal gathering and dispersal around important work times.[cxxiv] Chickens Warrups’ “entire family,” for example, returned from the “seaside” in time to participate in harvesting “Welsh corn” at Schaghticoke in the fall of 1755.[cxxv] Their task completed, they “again departed thither” (Büninger and Rundt, 10/20/1755, DS-S 2009, 1:605). These work calendars often corresponded to ceremonial calendars. In the fall, when the crops had been harvested, a Thanksgiving was offered and portions of the harvest were stored in grass-lined pits for the approaching winter.[cxxvi]

These horticultural endeavors were more challenging as Native communities across New England were dispossessed increasingly of their fertile lands. Many groups,

including the Schaghticoke, Mashantucket Pequot, and Pawcatuck Pequot, practiced shifting field, or swidden, horticulture (McBride 2005:47). These practices required clearing new planting fields every 2-3 years – a circumstance increasingly impossible given land constrictions. The Schaghticoke complained in 1754 that they had had to plant the same locale for 17 consecutive years (Büninger and Rundt, 10/15/1754; DS-S 2009, 1:516).

These circumstances, together with encouragement from Moravians and other Anglo-Americans, may have influenced Native communities across New England to diversify their subsistence economies and to draw more on Anglo-American agricultural techniques and animal husbandry. At Mashantucket, McBride (2005:49) argues, "it is no coincidence that use and/or intensification of Euro-American faming strategies and domestic animals were adopted by the Pequots shortly after the effective loss of the west side of the reservation between 1740 and 1750." By mid-century, the community at Schaghticoke began to raise pigs, an animal well-suited to both the forested and cleared areas which made up the northern Housatonic. Pigs, and similarly goats, may have been well-suited to Native spatial practices because they (unlike cattle) could range freely and required little care.

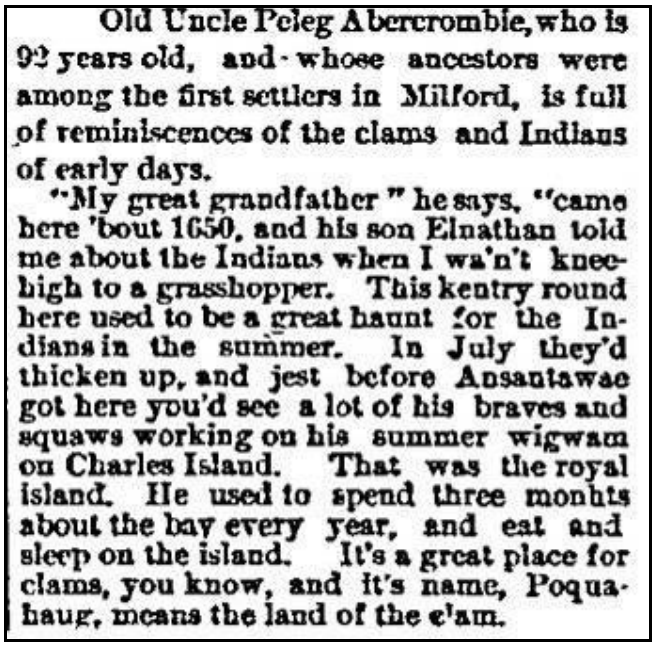
For all these European-influenced subsistence additions, Native communities across New England continued long-standing patterns of a mixed subsistence economy. Faunal archaeological evidence from Mashantucket indicates that "changes in protein resource acquisition occurred slowly" following European settlement (Vasta 2007). Although archaeological evidence at Mashantucket, as at the Eastern Pequot Reservation and other Native community sites, indicates a growing reliance on animal husbandry, it

also points to the persistent hunting of wild mammals (Cipolla et al. 2010; Fedore 2008; Vasta 2007). Moravian references embellish on these archaeological findings. As in past generations, Housatonic Native men communally hunted for small game, deer, and bear, on trips lasting anywhere from 3 days to 4 weeks or more. They traveled ever increasing distances from central community locales as game grew scarce.

Via hunting parties, and other work parties, Native groups frequently visited their kin nearby.[cxxvii] Younger generations received instruction in hunting and forest ecologies from elders, as during a two-month stretch in 1753 when the "older boys who usually attend [Moravian] school" at Schaghticoke were absent because they had been included on a hunting expedition (Sensemann, 11/5-12/41753; DS-S 2009, 1:443-6). Hunting parties also enabled traditions of honoring elders and leaders. On one occasion, a hunting party returned, having shot "only one buck, ½ of which Gottlieb presented to [Chickens Warrup], and ¼ to Martin [Gideon's son]" (Büninger, 12/12/1751; Dally-Starna and Starna 2009, 1:254). Colonial officials were inclined to view these hunting efforts disfavorably, believing they contributed to wandering, idleness, and trouble-making (Vasta 2007:172; Den Ouden 2005).

As they had for centuries, Housatonic communities continued to travel to the coast for social, economic, and ceremonial reasons, using the familiar Native trails, like the Old Berkshire and Oronoke paths. "After planting time [in the spring], the Moravians describe, "most of them want to go to the seaside" (Büninger, 4/15/1750, Dally-Starna and Starna 2009, 2:486). Residents of the Naugatuck and Potatuck communities were especially long noted by settlers for their "summer wigwams" around Milford, where they collected oysters and clam. (Figure 4.12) The evidence of these activities was for

many years seen plainly on the landscape around Potatuck (Lambert 1838:130). Cothren, writing in 1871, observed that "large deposits of clam and oyster shells" were still visible near the Potatuck Wigwams settlement (1871:109).



Old Uncle Peleg Abercrombie, who is 92 years old, and whose ancestors were among the first settlers in Milford, is full of reminiscences of the clams and Indians of early days.

"My great grandfather" he says, "came here 'bout 1650, and his son Elnathan told me about the Indians when I wa'n't knee-high to a grasshopper. This kentry round here used to be a great haunt for the Indians in the summer. In July they'd thicken up, and jest before Ansantawae got here you'd see a lot of his braves and squaws working on his summer wigwam on Charles Island. That was the royal island. He used to spend three months about the bay every year, and eat and sleep on the island. It's a great place for clams, you know, and it's name, Poquahaug, means the land of the clam.

Figure 4.12. 19th century remembrances of coastal visits (Source: New Haven Register, 03/03/1884)

The discovery of a complex of sites along the coast in Milford shows these continued circulations.[cxxviii] The Laurel Beach site in Milford is a large site that contained elements from Archaic through 18th century life (Rogers Collection; Coffin 1951). While provenience information is only very limitedly available, an extensive assemblage of artifacts demonstrates the full range of village life which the locale supported. Activities at the site included horticulture, gathering, and the food processing of land and water resources.[cxxix] The material assemblage recovered includes food processing tools like hammerstones, pestle, gouge, adze, axe, an incised pestle, and Native pottery sherds; fishing tools like netsinkers; hide processing tools like sinew stones; bone awls and shell

debitage indicative of wampum production. A square-head wrought iron nail that looks to have been used as an awl implies continuations of wampum-making, and the trade glass fragments it was found with speak to colonial exchange. A cache of twenty-two conch shells placed neatly in three rows and piled upon one another speaks to intricate spiritual and ceremonial traditions.

A range of artifacts also reflect active involvement in the continuing colonial trade, including kaolin pipes introduced into long-standing patterns of tobacco smoking, a copper sheet-metal tinkling cone, a metal knife, glass bottle fragments, a pair of scissors, and a square-head wrought iron nail that looks to have been used as an awl. As at the Meadows Site (Stratford), a steatite button mold was recovered, carved on one side with a flower and on the reverse, an animal and square (Rogers Collection, IAIS). The mould was recovered in a context alongside other colonial objects such as tobacco pipes and sheet cooper, but also Native-made objects like a small lithic axe.[cxxx] Of relevance to discussions about continuing reliance on coastal resources and seasonal return, a metal "trade knife" was found at the base of four feet of shell debris. Though archaeological indicators of "continuations" can be ambiguous at best, the presence of such contexts bespeaks continued practices of shellfishing and depositing in an area of long-standing importance to Housatonic communities.

## CONFLICTS IN A SHARED LIFE

Native communities had to work hard to maintain these long-standing practices of communal living. The Greater Housatonic landscape changed more and more rapidly as

the end of the 18th century approached. Anglo-American towns in the upper-Housatonic, which had been largely confined to the major waterways and nearby valleys, were quickly spreading outward. More and more, Anglo-American farmers were willing to risk the "wilderness" in order to gain larger homesteads and cheaper lands. For Native communities, this meant an ever-diminishing supply of resources. It also meant that the "unoccupied" lands on which many continued to seasonally or temporarily reside were shrinking in availability and in area.

These developments encouraged Native families and individuals to further merge their community practices with strategic integration in colonial communities and economies. Long-standing trips to the coast, for example, afforded larger colonial markets for the sale of Native commodities. Native sellers paused in colonial towns along the way, peddling their baskets, brooms, and other objects to Anglo-American homesteaders and shopkeepers. Eighteenth and nineteenth century account books indicate that the prices Native people received for their wares could be fair, and comparable to the prices offered to Anglo-American suppliers (e.g. John Read Account Book [Danbury]; John Harrison Account Book [Cornwall]). But this was most certainly not always the case. On several occasions, Moravian missionaries recorded their complaints about grossly the unfair prices given to Schaghticoke community members (Grube, 10/10/1759; DS-S 2009, 2:220). Trips also presented other sources of conflict. The timing of sales trips shifted, to some extent, the calendar and pacing of customary trips to the coast, inducing travelers to leave much earlier and later in the year than may have been common in centuries preceding.[cxxxi]

Even so, sales trips up and down the Housatonic continued to serve multiple purposes. Moravian Brother Grube, while criticizing the unfair sales practices his community members received, suggested all was not for wont in their travels, as "they mostly go to the seaside for the oysters, which they have for free" (Grube, 10/10/1759; DS-S 2009, 2:220). They also reinforced kin and social connections. The routes that families and individuals took were not direct or immediate. They were circuitous, with stopping off points and hiatuses. They paused in their journeys to visit kin and important locales along their routes, maintaining social, ceremonial, and even economic connections.

Many who traveled down from the northern Housatonic lingered with their kin who lived in the New Milford area, taking advantage of the opportunity to fish near the Great Falls.[cxxxii] Sometimes these visits lasted only a matter of days. At other times they extended several months of duration, as for example in Schaghticoke sachem Gideon's son's two-month-long summer visit to the seaside with his family in 1751 (Büninger, 09/1/1751; DS-S 2009, 1:224).

Trips also served to facilitate the visitation and relocation of Native individuals up and down the Housatonic Valley. Members of the Schaghticoke community frequently returned to Schaghticoke with relatives from the seaside in tow, either to visit with kin at Schaghticoke or at times to settle there permanently. "Old Sister Erdmuth," Gideon's wife Martha's mother, regularly traveled to the seaside to deliver and pick up "her angels" - children (perhaps relatives) for whom she cared in Schaghticoke (DS-S 2009:120).[cxxxiii] Her actions may represent the traditional role of a clan mother in taking youth under her wing and providing education and care (Brilvitch 2007:91).

The negotiation of communal obligations with colonial opportunities appears in sharp relief in sentiments surrounding the participation of Housatonic Native men in colonial wars, including the Seven Years War and the Revolutionary War. The Seven Years War had a profound effect on Native communities throughout the Housatonic. For Native men, army service offered opportunities to continue long-held traditions in maintaining social networks and alliances, in demonstrating bravery, and in temporarily escaping reservation poverty. At Schaghticoke, few initially enlisted, "no one [having] a mind for that trade" (Büninger and Rundt, 5/1/1755; DS-S 2009, 1:560). Despite this early reluctance, Native men began in late 1755 to join the war efforts in some number, expressing obligations to care for their families "so that they would not suffer want" (Eberhardt, 03/03/1756; DS-S 2009, 2:42).[cxxxiv]

For Native individuals for whom free mobility lay at the foundation of social life, the restrictions imposed by military rules were alien. The diary of an Anglo-American soldier in the same company as John Hatchettousey (or John Hatchet), a Potatuck man, lends insight into the harsh punishments Native men received for actions which carried no similar pejorative meaning in Native cultures (Diary of Luke Gridley, Massachusetts Historical Society). Hatchettousey was whipped for killing a deer without the permission of his commanding officer, and was given 20 lashes in front of his entire company on another occasion for "not obaying orders." It is perhaps no surprise given such experiences that Hatchettousey deserted the army together with Warrups Chicken (likely the elder Chicken Warrups' son) in 1761.[cxxxv]

The absence of so many adult men in Native communities was a blow that struck collectively and at individual family levels.[cxxxvi] Still, many enlisted in the same

company, providing an extension of their natal communities across space. They also forged ties with men from other New England Native communities, sometimes returning from war to a joint locale where they continued new community ties (Mancini 2009). The periodic, and eventual, return of Native soldiers to Schaghticoke and other Native communities was hard on the social fabric of family and community life. They returned home with contagious diseases, and "all too frequently, addicted to drink" (DS-S 2009, 1:69). Brother Mack lamented, "a good deal of noise was made by some scoundrels who had let themselves be recruited this spring, such as Joseph, Jeremias's son, Saagajio[?], and Paulus, and 4 others from the seaside, who had deserted and arrived here several days ago and are roving about here and are causing nothing but mischief" (Mack, 08/06/1761; DS-S 2009, 2:316).[cxxxvii]

Worse, however, was the already devastating population loss which military service exacerbated. The Golden Hill population was significantly reduced in the second half of the 18th century. By the close of the 18th century, the number of adult Golden Hill men was grossly disproportionate to the number of women. This demographic trend, reflected across Native New England, would play a key role in intercultural interactions, as Native women increasingly intermarried or partnered with African-American and Anglo-American men. (Chapter 5) These demographic trends influenced changing perceptions of Native people's cultural and community survival at the turn of the 19th century.

# CONCLUSION: COMMUNITIES IN PRACTICE

Given long and ongoing histories of regional under-representation, it is important to understand that western Connecticut Native communities were still living out a model of homelands in the mid- to late-18th century. Rather than being confined to a few prominent locales, they were living in diverse and far-ranging places and spaces on their ancestral homelands. Moravian and other documentary records reveal the extensions of Native communities across a wide landscape. They particularly disclose reference to the many small, unnamed hamlets and large amalgamated communities which formed the backbone of community "residence" throughout the Housatonic Valley. So, too, do they begin to suggest that in tandem with long-standing communal routines, Native communities integrated residence, employment, and community gathering in colonial towns like Milford, Newtown, Woodbury, New Milford, Kent, and Sharon. Together, these sources place individuals in space and time, illuminating complex patterns that belie historical assertions that Native communities were either concentrated in a few prominent locales or were scattered, isolated families and individuals.

Merely understanding the places of Native community life, however, is not sufficient. It is more critical still that these sources demonstrate that communities were connected with one another in a shared life that extended across individual locales. Ethnohistoric and archaeological evidence show that ties to community and homeland were far from severed. Native individuals remained closely, vibrantly connected with one another through a flurry of movement and communication, across community locales large and small. This movement was neither unidirectional, nor inevitable, but is instead

better understood as circular and patterned. Further, mutual dependence and a shared life did not just exist in the central places of gathering. Native community members living in small hamlets remained active contributors to group cultural survival. Their practices demonstrate that interdependence and a shared life need not be diminished by movement or by dispersion over space. Community relations can equally be sustained by mobility under conditions of interconnection.

The particulars of this shared life were dynamic, capable of shifting in the second half of the 18th century to accommodate as Native families became increasingly tied to colonial economies for their livelihoods, and even for their residences. The spectrum of Native community spaces may have grown accordingly as men and women took advantage of local resources and colonial needs. Tensions could erupt around these changing practices, whether in disagreements about the adoption of Christianity, about how to best make a living, or about where to build a winter settlement (Berleant-Schiller 2002; Dally-Starna and Starna 2009). Although historical observers and social theorists often view such conflicts as evidence of community collapse, when researchers focus their attention on "community in practice" it is clear that possibilities for mutuality are not erased (Edyvane 2007:31).

When people describe their lives and how it is shared with others, Edyvane (2007:38-39) suggests, they do not do so with the assumptions of consensus and fixity that predominate in uses of community theory. Instead, in their practices they carry out the domains of a shared life. Focusing on these practices, and on the creative and dynamic qualities they encompass, leads to an understanding of community that is capable of sustaining flux – and movement. "The focus here is on a life in common,"

Keller (2003:6-7) explains, "resulting in…strong emotional attachments toward those who share one's life space."

Housatonic communities negotiated the changing social, economic, and physical landscapes as individuals, as families, and as communities. Though their individual strategies varied, they maintained their community attachments across distance. The life history of a small child, "orphan Anna," as she was named by the Moravians at Schaghticoke, poignantly demonstrates the strength of these connections (Büninger and Rundt, 1/10/1755, DS-S 2009, 1:532). Anna was born in Potatuck around 1745, but she did not live there long. Her mother passed away when she was still a small child, so her father sent her north to live with Hannah and Timotheus, Christian converts at the Mahican community at Wequadnach (Sharon), who were presumably kin. Shortly thereafter, Timotheus decided to join other Wequadnach community members in moving to a Moravian mission in Pennsylvania. So Hannah gave Anna to "old Erdmuth" at Schaghticoke. Erdmuth was herself Potatuck, as Anna's father, but she often lived at Schaghticoke, where she cared for "little angels" who were in circumstances like Anna's.

Anna moved in with Erdmuth, but at age ten, having already in her short years moved among kin at Potatuck, Wequadnach, and Schaghticoke, she passed away. Schaghticoke leaders immediately called Weantinock, Potatuck, and Mahican kin to Schaghticoke to gather for her burial. "Orphan Anna's" story demonstrates on an intimate level the devastations and traumas of illness and poverty on 18$^{th}$ century Housatonic families and communities. Yet it also calls forth the strong social structures and support networks still in place. These connections enabled Native groups to cope with colonial changes, as communities, even as the physical distances among them continued to grow.

[lxxiv] Scholarly interest in Moravian missionary efforts among the Schaghticoke, Mahican, and other Native groups, is, as Berleant-Schiller describes, "flourishing" (Berleant-Schiller 2001:5, 2001; Starna and Starna 2009; Wheeler 2008, 2001). Dally-Starna and Starna's recent publication of translations of all extant Moravian records relating to the Schaghticoke mission offers unequaled insight into the Native community at Schaghticoke in the mid-18th century.

[lxxv] Members of a community are tied by mutual dependence, shared history, common interactions, as well as some consensus on the boundaries, physical and ideational, of the community (Freie 1998:28). In turn, conscious identification with a community provides members with a sense of rootedness, the "realm where we find our origin and definition, the roots of our lives, the roots of communities in which we live or from which we may escape in order to live" (Fowler 1991:40; Freie 1998:28-29).

[lxxvi] While these are attachments and emotions of a tall order, Charles Taylor's idea of a "social imaginary" provides consideration of how they are experienced on the ground. Informed by Benedict Anderson's "imagined community," "social imaginary" describes "the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations" (Taylor 2004:23; Edyvane 2007:37).

[lxxvii] Agreeing on the justness of their claim, the General Assembly "returned" 150 acres to the Schaghticoke community and reserved 2000 acres at 'Scaticook' for Native use.

[lxxviii] Missionaries from the Moravian Bretheren had earlier established "headquarters" in the Bethlehem, Pennsylvania area and had been making outreach efforts among Native groups in Pennsylvania and New York for some time (Fisher 2008). Their first mission settlement had been established among the Mahican community at Shekomeko, in the Oblong strip between the Housatonic and Hudson Rivers, in 1740 (Berleant-Schiller 2001:6).

[lxxix] This ill-treatment and harassment went so far that it ultimately precipitated the closure of the Shekomeko mission after only five years of establishment (in 1745) (Berleant-Schiller 2001:2).

[lxxx] The Moravians were not the only ones to continue offering ministering and educational services. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel continued its much beleaguered work throughout the northeast and beyond. Unlike the Moravians, the SPG missionaries did not devise and construct whole mission settlements, but instead "preach[ed] to them month[ly] in ye wigwams and places where they lived," an accommodation with which at least the Narragansett of Charlestown, Rhode Island "seemed very pleased" (Letter from Joseph Torrey (South Kingston, R.I.) to Benjamin Colman about his mission to the Indians, 3 Dec. 1734, Benjamin Colman Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society).

Yet, as one Society for the Propagation of the Gosepel missionary, Rev. Henry Caner, described of his failing efforts among Native communities in Fairfield County in the 1720s: "As to the Indians in this county, their number is now become very small, by reason of distempers brought among them by the English, together with the excessive drinking which destroys them apace; and of those few that remain, to the eternal shame of the English in these parts, it must be said that, although I constantly labor with them, as I find them in my way, yet very seldom conceive hopes of doing them any good, who have taken up an inveterate prejudice against Christianity, grounded on the shamefully wicked lives of us, its professors" (Caner 1728).

[lxxxi] Sensemann, 12/16/1751; DS-S 2009, 1:255.

[lxxxii] See for example, such references as: Büninger, 11/1/1750; DS-S 2009, 1:147; Sensemann, 4/4/1752; DS-S 2009, 1:296; Sensemann, 08/19/1753; DS-S 2009, 1:431; Sensemann, 03/24/1751; DS-S 2009, 1:170; Sensemann, 10/6/1753; DS-S 2009, 1:438; Büninger and Rundt, 3/31/1755; DS-S 2009, 1:552; Büninger and Rundt, 12/1/1755; DS-S 2009, 1:596; Sensemann, 05/13/1762; DS-S 2009, 2:368.

[lxxxiii] According to Gaylord family oral histories, "[Old Siacus] attached himself as a follower of the family, and, on an Indian uprising, 'carried my grandmother and her child on his back to safety in the woods'" (Abbott 1907:361-363).

[lxxxiv] Later that same year, two Native men returning from the French and Indian war paused only briefly at Schaghticoke before going "to Litchfield to see their friends who are working there" (Grube, 11/24/1760; DS-S 2009, 2:278).

[lxxxv] Kilbourne elaborates poetically "…the Indians yet wandered through [Litchfield's] broad streets, and hunters as wild as our present borderers, chased the deer and the panther on the shores of the lake" (1859:62).

[lxxxvi] There she was visited often by her sister Theodora, her son Petrus (with his wife Thamar), her son Christian, her granddaughter Caritas (Petrus' daughter) and Caritas' two children. In addition to visiting Old Maria, her kin also used the occasion to sell goods, like baskets and "backs" (wooden bowls), to Danbury residents.
[lxxxvii] For further detail, see: Büninger, 07/2/1750; DS-S 2009, 1:122; Büninger, 08/31/1751; DS-S 2009, 1:223; Büninger, 12/8/1751; DS-S 2009, 1:253; Büninger and Rundt, 4/11/1755; DS-S 2009, 1:556; Büninger and Rundt, 7/10/1755; DS-S 2009, 1:582; Büninger and Rundt, 8/16/1755; DS-S 2009, 1:593.
[lxxxviii] Gottlieb, a Schaghticoke community member, traveled frequently to the coast to visit his mother, "who live[d] on the seaside." Later in her life, he facilitated her relocation to Schaghticoke from "Old Milford" (Büninger, 05/14-16/1750; DS-S 2009, 1:114; Sensemann, 11/4/1752; DS-S 2009, 1:371). Even after his mother's relocation to Schaghticoke, Gottlieb and his family continued to make regular visits to relatives who remained at the seaside, returning to Schaghticoke on one particular visit five years later with "3 grown girls who want to visit their relatives here" (Eberhardt, 07/9/1757; DS-S 2009, 2:159). Similar constellations appear numerously, if briefly, in documentary records relating to "the seaside."[lxxxviii] Moravian Brother Sensemann noted "I came upon Gottlob, who had been at the seaside for a while to visit his friends," while on another occasion Moravian Brother Rundt recorded that Gideon's wife, Martha, "went to the seaside to bring back from there a sick Indian woman" (Sensemann, 04/28/1753; DS-S 2009, 1:410; Rundt, 8/12/1754; DS-S, I:501).
[lxxxix] Artifacts evidencing the creativity of skilled Native tool-makers and artisans in the 17th and 18th centuries have been recovered from locales throughout Potatuck and Weantinock homelands, including copper points in New Milford (Rogers Collection, IAIS).
[xc] Artifacts from the Meadows Site contained in the Edward Rogers Collection and Claude Coffin Collection are indicative of the full range of an extensively used, long-term village site, including: food procurement and processing tools like mauls, scrapers, sinewstones, netsinkers, plummets, and drills, as well as great quantities of projectile points, including Levanna points; objects reflecting the symbolic dimensions of social life including bannerstones and stone pendants; and indicators of closely tied relations with growing numbers of colonial settlers, including black trade beads and a steatite button mold (Rogers Collection analyzed at the Institute for American Indian Studies, Spring 2008; Coffin Collection analyzed at the Milford Historical Society, July 2008).
[xci] Büninger, 07/09/1750, DS-S 2009, 1:124.
[xcii] Though plans were delayed a month, eventually four brethren carried Theodora north to Schaghticoke through the aid of a horse and two poles.
[xciii] As for example: Old Sister Maria, having not heard from her son for nearly two months, traveled to New Milford "in order to learn something about [him]," for she had grown increasingly "worried" (DS-S 2009, 1:114).
[xciv] When Rachel, a Schaghticoke community member, passed away in July 1750, Lucas went to New Milford "to call home the brethren and sisters who are working thereabouts." "Indeed," Moravian Brother Büninger, recorded, "they all came at once; not one stayed away" (Büninger, 07/09/1750, DS-S 2009, 1:124).
[xcv] The Moravians found it hard to keep up with the changing community composition at Schaghticoke, and their records reflect detail on only a portion of the members that contributed to community life. They under-report the many unbaptized individuals who were regular members of the community, as well as the "strangers" who came and went from nearby community locales.
[xcvi] Brother Büninger described the events of one day: "Most of the brethren and sisters again went out to work. Br. Joshua and Jeremias went to Newtown. Nacban, Gottlieb's son, traveled to Potatuck to get his father, because Sister Magdalena is once again ill. Simon, along with his whole family, went to make brooms and other wares, as did Martin with his family. Priscilla went with her daughters [to a place] about 30 miles from here. Caritas, Gottliebe, and Leah also went out as a *companie*. Old Maria and her son Christina went to visit a sick Indian who is one of their kindred" (Büninger, 10/26/1750; DS-S 2009, 1:145).
[xcvii] Gideon was cousins with Aaron, a Stockbridge leader, and towards the end of Aaron's life parties of kin and friends regularly made the trip from Schaghticoke to Stockbridge to visit the ailing elder, often splitting up into different traveling parties so that some could stop at the Native community at

Wanachquaticok and others among the Native community near Sharon (Büninger, 07/2/1751; DS-S 2009, 1:217).

[xcviii] As for example, in the Schaghticoke community's communal decision to provide refuge for community members from Wequadnach in April of 1749, after protracted land disputes with colonial settlers left the Mahican residents of Wequadnach precariously positioned (Bruce 04/18/1749, DS-S 2009:91). Further examples occur frequently in accounts of military deserters who "hid out" in nearby communities other than their own.

[xcix] Chickens himself returned repeatedly to Lonetown over the remainder of his life. His residence in Lonetown may have actually increased in frequency in the years preceding his death. In Redding, he contracted an illness in 1761, which would lead to his death and burial two years subsequently in Lonetown (Redding). Prior to, and following, his death, Chickens and members of his family slowly sold portions of their 200-acre parcel next to Schaghticoke. In 1759 and 1761, Chickens Warrups undertook two transactions with Isaac Bull in which he sold 40 acres of the 200-acre parcel that the Lonetown Pequannock community had acquired in exchange for their lands in Redding (Rudes 1999:312; CSL, IP ser., 1, 2:126-7). In December of the latter year, Chickens Warrups contracted a sickness while in Redding. His neighbor, John Read (the son of the original settler) obtained doctors and supplies on his behalf. Despite these efforts, Chickens passed away in 1763 and was buried in Redding. Subsequently, Read petitioned the General Assembly in 1763 for repayment and a portion of Chicken Warrups' remaining lands to defray the debt incurred (CPR 18:215). This series of actions has prompted considerable attention on the nature of the relationship between Chickens and Read, particularly regarding the presence or absence of true affection and friendship by both parties. Their relationship continues to be "preserved" and commemorated in some measure today, notably in a commemorative "holiday ornament" issued by the Town of Redding (1998) which portrays Read purchasing land from Chickens, the two shaking hands amiably.

Read was ultimately granted some of Chickens' lands near Schaghticoke. Much of the remainder of these lands were sold in 1775 and 1778 by Thomas Warrups, Chickens' grandson, to "pay their [family] debts and defray their expenses" (DeForest 1851:417). Many of these debts had been incurred paying for medical treatment for the "old squaw of Chickens" who was still living, but was blind (DeForest 1851:417). Some of these debts may also have accumulated by the passing away of Chickens' son Captain Thomas Chicken Warrups (father of Thomas Warrups) at Scahghticoke in 1769.

[c] Across residences at both Schaghticoke and Lake Waramaug , Chere continued his leadership role in sustaining political and social networks with Native communities around the northern Housatonic, traveling regularly among Mahican communities at Stockbridge and Wequadnach and Tunxis communities at Farmington. He remained particularly closely connected with Gideon and with the family of the prominent Potatuck community member Hatchet Tousey, who in 1741 had notably petitioned for a minister and education for his community (Eberhardt, 05/28/1757; DS-S 2009, 2:153).

[ci] This information is based on oral histories taken with the site landowner in the 1960s, who remembers his grandfather, William Hopkins, describing these interactions (Hopkins Site Files, IAIS).

[cii] Investigations at the site have recently resumed under the direction of Dr. Lucianne Lavin, director of research at the Institute for American Indian Studies.

[ciii] As communities turned to locales elsewhere on their homelands in the mid- and upper-Housatonic they discovered anew that the Housatonic Valley is a widely variable environment in which not all community adaptations are equally appropriate or successful. In the northern reaches of the Housatonic Valley, the flatlands and broad valleys of the interior-coast give way to mountainous terrain, narrow sloping river gorges and valleys, rocky soils, and rapid falls (Lavin and Dumas 1998:6; Rossano 1997). Much of this uplands environment was, and continues to be, an unforgiving one for intensive land use and resource procurement.

[civ] In 1774, the Connecticut census enumerated nine Indians in Woodbury, a number which may be grossly under-representative of the number of Native individuals and families who routinely passed in and through there, if references provided in Moravian records are any indication (DeForest 1851:417).

[cv] In December of 1753, "all of Pachgatgoch was greatly unsettled" by a merchant from Woodbury who took it upon himself to settle debt claims against several Native community members by seizing their property, "[going] into their huts during [their] absence" and taking deer skins. More alarmingly, he took further recourse against debts owed by Johannes, Warrups' son, by taking two of his children and selling them immediately to "one of our neighbors" (Sensemann, 12/6/1753; DS-S 2009, 1:449). "Because Leah

[their mother] did not want to yield her children right away," Brother Sensemann agonized, "this affair produced here, for a full 3 days, indeed, well into the nights, a mob of people and many a disturbance." A month later, Johannes' and Leah's extended family and the Schaghticoke community again rallied when the merchant sought to take their other two children as well. Leah's mother Sarah, Johannes' father Warrups (David), and "the whole family" went to the justice of the peace in New Milford, as did Gideon, to argue their case (Sensemann, 1/8/1754; DS-S 2009, 1:455).

[cvi] Native community members traveled individually (women included), as families, and as small groups up and down the Housatonic selling goods to individuals and to stores in places as near and distant as New Milford, Kent, Sharon, Newtown, Derby, Milford, the Oblong, Dover, and Quaker Hill. For example, members of Warups' family, alone or together, traveled frequently between Lonetown and Schaghticoke. Brother Sensemann, in visiting Warrup and Kihor at the winter settlements noted that Warrup's wife Rebecca (also known as Quarpem) was absent, as she had gone to Danbury (Sensemann, 04/13/1751; DS-S 2009, 1:176). She later returned via New Milford with "the old mother Maria" formerly mentioned.

[cvii] Their craft production was not small in scale; as the Moravians noted on one occasion, "Jeremias alone had 156 brooms to sell" (Grube, 09/29/1759; DS-S 2009, 2:218).

[cviii] Eunice Warrups, Chickens Warrups' granddaughter and Tom Warrups' sister, in particular is noted in town records as late as 1814.

[cix] Native sellers throughout the Housatonic used the income generated to purchase food such as sugar, corn meal, milk, pork, cheese, bread, alcohol, and material staples like clothing, shoes, and blankets. When it came to non-food items, individuals were not hapless consumers, but instead often had specific, targeted needs in mind when undertaking production, as for example in the collective efforts of Gideon, [the] Joshuas, and [the] Martins who went "into the woods" to make *canuhs* and brooms so that they could buy blankets for the winter" (Sensemann, 8/29/1752; DS-S 2009, 1:35).

[cx] Yet certainly not all interactions were accompanied by animosity. When the grandmother of Wanawahek (Martin), Gideon's son, passed away "near the seaside" in Derby, "several white people…joined them [Martin and other Native families] at the grave" to pray (Büninger, 09/20/1751; DS-S 2009, 1:230).

[cxi] On some occasions the runaway individual was found in the community, but in many more instances no information was known, leading to much bullying by the colonists. See for example, accounts such as: Rundt, 4/22/1752; Dally-Starna and Starna 2009, 1:318; Sensemann, 07/11/1753; Dally-Starna and Starna 2009, 1:423.

[cxii] These conflicts continued on both personal and collective scale. In 1761, a "big stir suddenly unfolded" at Schaghticoke as "[Six] white people from the neighborhood came here, along with a *constabl* [constable], and all of the menfolk who were of *age* were arrested. They reason as that they had peeled [bark off] chestnut trees. Joshua, Jeremias, [and] Samuel went to *Mr*. Swift; the matter was settled so that they should not have any more *trouble*" (Mack, 07/08/1761; DS-S 2009, 2:312). Such conflicts have not abated, although at times the roles are now reversed. As recently as the spring of 2009, Schaghticoke tribal members sought injunctions against trespassers on their reservation lands who were illegally cutting and harvesting timber. The Schaghticoke community's protests, and those of their supporters, to the State of Connecticut for legal enforcement of their guaranteed protection rights by the Department of Environmental Protection were not timely met.

[cxiii] In May of 1756 for example, news reached the Schaghticoke community that Susanna, who had been baptized in Shekomeko twelve years prior, "was stabbed to death in Poughkeepsie by her husband. He also fatally injured another Indian who was trying to prevent him from killing his wife. In the end, he stabbed himself to death as well" (Eberhardt, 05/20/1756; DS-S 2009, 2:79).

[cxiv] Büninger, 08/21/1850; DS-S 2009, 1:137.

[cxv] As demonstrated for example by a notation that "this week the brethren and sisters went together and got bark and wood for a *wigwam* for Caritas, because she does not have enough room for herself and her children [living] with Petrus and Thamar [her parents]" (Eberhardt, 06/19/1756; DS-S 2009, 2:95).

[cxvi] These skills were highly valued by Housatonic Native communities (see previous chapter), though the Mahican language very much "remained the language of the community" (Berleant-Schiller 2001:10-11).

[cxvii] As for example in September of 1751, when an "Indian stranger" who had been visiting Schaghticoke left, saying "he was now going hunting. On his return from hunting he intended to come here for a visit with his wife and children, and leave the children here so that they could go to school" (Büninger, 09/6/1751; DS-S 2009, 1:225). In August 1750, Jacob, a former resident of Schaghticoke, and his traveling

companion, an "Indian from Peekskill [New York]," arrived at Schaghticoke so that Jacob could visit his son "who goes to school here" (Büninger, 08/16/1750; DS-S 2009, 1:136).

[cxviii] Brother Eberhardt attempted to delicately broach these concerns with the Schaghticoke community, without much success: "It was also discussed with them that it was doing their children harm when the parents let them roam about like this" (Eberhardt, 05/02/1756; DS-S 2009, 2:70).

[cxix] Continued exceptions occur repeatedly in the Moravians' records, demonstrating the continuations of gendered divisions along traditional lines. As late as 1761, Brother Mack noted that, "The womenfolk were engaged in planting beans Welsh corn and beans. The menfolk were engaged in…rebuilding several huts" (Mack, 05/25/1761; DS-S 2009, 2:307).

[cxx] Communities located within proximity of the Great Falls at New Milford continued to make use of the great scores of fish which spawned in May and early June every year. Mixed work parties of men and women spread out along the length of the falls and further downstream. For those communities close to the coast, like Golden Hill and Turkey Hill, the shores of Long Island Sound provided plentiful oysters, clams, mussels, and lobster.

[cxxi] In one particularly stark example, Brothers Büninger and Rundt describe that "Gottlieb's family went into the woods to work because they have absolutely nothing more to eat" (Büninger and Rundt, 2/5/1755; DS-S 2009, 1:538).

[cxxii] In some instances, raw materials, including wood and food sources, were brought back to main settlements for processing, while in other instances the finished products, like canoes, were brought upon completion.

[cxxiii] As Brother Sensemann described of these movements in June of 1751: "As almost all of the brown hearts had gone to the falls below New Milford…I made up my mind and went to New Milford, and then to our brethren and sisters. I found a number of them there; others had gone farther down. Those who were there were overjoyed that I had come to visit them…Gideon, along with his Martha, Johanna, Joshua, Jeremias, Erdmuth, and several others, returned to this place from Potatuck" (Sensemann, 06/01/1751; DS-S 2009, 1:195).

[cxxiv] Groups throughout the Housatonic, including at Golden Hill, Potatuck, and Schaghticoke, persisted in practicing seasonal rounds, usually involving a winter-spring settlement and a summer-fall settlement. Floral and faunal archaeological evidence from the Mashantucket Pequot Reservation suggests that Native communities elsewhere in Native New England likewise continued to make seasonal movements a common practice (Benard 2005:85; McBride 2005:35).

[cxxv] Months previously, Magdalena, who had been living with her unbaptized husband in Danbury, informed the Schaghticoke community that she would be moving to Schaghticoke "once the time for planting approache[d]" (Büninger and Rundt, 4/11/1755; DS-S 2009, 1:556).

[cxxvi] Corn figured centrally in Native and colonial descriptions of Native ritual activities (Speck 1909, 1928; Tantaquidgeon 1972). Many of these were misunderstood because of continued mistrust of Native communities. As the first corn was harvested in late summer, communities prepared for their annual Green Corn Ceremony of thanksgiving, which involved "great preparation of corn, songs, dances, and special prayers" (Lamb Lamb Richmond 1989:25). Schaghticoke elder Trudie Lamb Richmond describes, however, that "the early settlers often interpreted this flurry of activity as being a preparation for war because the warriors always carried a pouch of *yokeg* (traveling corn) to feed themselves. When they saw the intense involvement in processing the dried, parched corn, colonists became alarmed and determined that 'the Indians were planning to rise up and attack their white neighbors'" (Richmond in Handsman and Williamson 1989:25).

[cxxvii] On a visit to the Native community at Wequadnach, Moravian Brother Büninger by chance encountered a hunting party that had earlier left Schaghticoke, consisting of Joshua, Martin, and Lucas, who had gone first to Wequadnach to stay over with their kin (Büninger, 08/24/1750; DS-S 2009, 1:138).

[cxxviii] The Wilcox Shell Heap (Milford) contains similar indicators.[cxxviii] The site complex sits roughly along today's "Old Field Lane," a Paugussett trail which stretched to the coast of the Long Island Sound. It contained mixed deposits bespeaking Late Woodland and 17th and 18th century contexts (Coffin Collection, Rogers Collection). Representing both village components and burial grounds, the sites contained complex bone technologies, pendants, gorgets, awls and shells indicative of wampum production, and massive quantities of Native ceramics, including Late Woodland pottery. In mixed deposits bespeaking 17th and 18th century contexts, Claude Coffin and Edward Rogers found kaolin pipe fragments, silver and other metal

buckles, copper awls, blue and white trade beads, brick fragments, green wine bottle glass, and musket flints. Unfortunately, the nature of archaeological recovery and recording efforts at the site in the 1920s and 30s does not permit closer interpretation of these contexts (collection and field notes analyzed at the Milford Historical Society, July 2009).

[cxxix] The Edward Rogers Collection contains artifacts from the Laurel Beach Shellheap which include food processing tools like hammerstones, pestle, gouge, adze, axe, an incised pestle, and Native pottery sherds; fishing tools like netsinkers; hide processing tools like sinew stones; bone awls and shell debitage indicative of wampum production. A square-head wrought iron nail that looks to have been used as an awl shows continuation of wampum-making, while the trade glass fragments it was found evidences the colonial exchange which accompanied, and often drove, its continued production (collection analyzed at the Institute for American Indian Studies, Washington, CT; 2008).

[cxxx] Unfortunately, "although many days were spent in search for the other half of the mould, it was never found. The other half of it still lies buried beneath the ground at Laurel Beach" (Field notes by R. Edward Steck) (Collection analyzed at the Institute for American Indian Studies, spring 2008).

[cxxxi] Brother Sensemann related the reasoning behind one such occasion. "Because some families [at Schaghticoke] are very poor and do not have any *blenet* [blankets]," he recorded, "they said that they needed to go down to the seaside with their canoes and baskets to sell them. Thus, the brethren and sisters agreed to go together, because some had otherwise wanted to go only in 3 weeks… There were few who stayed home" (Sensemann, 10/16/1752; DS-S 2009, 1:368).

[cxxxii] Such "patterns of route" and of communication are demonstrated by Jeremias' and Agnes' travels in May of 1753: "Jeremias and his wife Agnes returned home from the seaside in good spirits, bringing word that the other brethren and sisters were still back at the river catching fish." (Sensemann, 05/7/1753; DS-S 2009, 1:411).

[cxxxiii] See, for example: Büninger, 06/14/1750; DS-S 2009, 1:120.

[cxxxiv] Members of the Schaghticoke community who eventually enlisted included Warrups' son Johannes (presumably Tom Warrups' father), Samuel, Gideon's son Martin, Gottlieb's son Phillipus, Simon's son Gomop and two other sons, Caritas' son Kakaja, Lucas, Paska, Moses, Paulus, Joseph, and Stephen.

[cxxxv] Similar patterns of collective desertion characterized Housatonic Native soldiers. Thomas Sherman enlisted in the 2nd company of Lt. Col. Smedley's Company on May 13, 1761, and deserted July 16, 1761 with Thomas Warrups, John Afternoon Indian, and Jn. Nickerman. Many Native soldiers "deserted" their regiments, temporarily or permanently. Because of the danger in returning to their natal communities, many "hid" in and around Native communities in eastern New York, western Massachusetts, and western Connecticut. Schaghticoke soldiers hid out at Stockbridge and Westenhook, while those from Stockbridge took refuge at Schaghticoke, Potatuck, and other locales.

[cxxxvi] When Gomop, Simon's son enlisted, the strain it put on the family was evident in the Moravians' dismayed observation that "now he [Simon] has 3 sons who are soldiers" (Eberhardt, 05/08/1756; DS-S 2009, 2:72).

[cxxxvii] This discord may have been explicitly recognized and discussed by the Native community at Schaghticoke, for the Moravians recorded that "the Indians themselves say that, as a result of this war, they have become more wicked than they had ever been before" (Mack, 09/23/1761; DS-S 2009, 2:325).

# V

# THE SPACES IN BETWEEN, 1780-1820

In both reality and imagination, there were increasing distances and temporal, physical, and social spaces between Native groups by the last decades of the 18th century. Hard hit by land loss, diminishing resources, population decline, gender imbalances, and poverty, Native families and individuals were casting their nets wider and wider to sufficiently support themselves. They entered new spaces and returned to old as they expanded their 'circuit' of movement to maximize their opportunities. The efficacy of this community survival strategy was largely lost on Anglo-American observers, who perceived Native people to be physically and culturally vanishing because of their "wandering and mixed condition:"

> "There is but one family of Indians residing in this town [East Windsor, Connecticut]; but not descendants of its original inhabitants; and such has been the wandering and mixed condition of their ancestors, that they are themselves ignorant to what tribe they originally belonged" (McClure 1806:38).

McClure's sentiments were echoed throughout the region by contemporaries who were quick to point out what they saw as a failure to share heritage down through generations because of Native communities' mobility – both a literal mobility and a metaphorical mobility across social and racial boundaries. The landscape over which Native families moved was shifting with new definitions of race, citizenship, and "civilized life."

Emergent sciences of race imposed ideas of purity, identity, and ancestry which institutionalized criteria for Native "community" and continuations of it. The landscape was also physically altering with technological and industrial developments. Native communities who had thought, or hoped, the resources and boundaries of their remaining lands to be clearly defined found their resources threatened by individuals who poached their resources to feed new economies and growing populations.

The following examines how Native groups, who were socially and spatially mobile over increasingly large distances, negotiated space, distance, and refigured homelands. It does so particularly through the lens of the growing Native diaspora which characterized much of New England. As both lived experience and analytic concept, diaspora is useful in studying the social worlds which result from displacement, flight, exile, migration, and other relocations (Agnew 2005:4, citing Hua 2005). The Moravians themselves adopted the notion and terminology of diaspora, renaming themselves the "Diaspora of the Church of the Brethren" in 1750 (Dufoix 2003:16-17). There has been significant scholarly debate, however, over what does or does not "count" as diaspora. Many typologies have been proposed to define the parameters of a diaspora and its criteria, including dispersal, collective trauma, memories of homeland, "cultural flowering," troubled relationships with a majority, a sense of community transcending borders, and desires for eventual return (Agnew 2005:5; Anthias 1998; Clifford 1994:305).

More encompassing understandings of diaspora emphasize the importance of shared histories of displacement, suffering, adaptation, and resistance (Agnew 2005:5; Bhabha 1990; Appadurai 1996; Clifford 1997). These shared histories underscore that

diaspora is not merely a theoretical concept but a lived reality. Individuals living in diaspora do not live suspended in space but in particular locales.

Although Native families were living in diaspora by the end of the 18th century, the experience of diaspora was not altogether new for Native communities. They had long managed their community structures over large distances. Living in diaspora at the turn of the 18th century, however, produced some noticeably different tensions and community relationships than in the centuries prior. These changes beg questions of Native communities' shifting practices of connection. Where were Native individuals living, and what were the patterns of their places on the landscape? What did dispersal and connection look like in this period, and how was "proximity" maintained? How does attention on the material and archaeological manifestations of these phenomena shift our understandings of the experience of diaspora? These lines of thought open up considerations of how knowledge is reproduced across distance and how notions of "rootedness" can persist even in dis-location (Casey 1987; Hodgkin and Radstone 2003). They do so particularly through their material insights into "diaspora space," as Avtar Brah (1996:242) has termed "the entanglement of the genealogies of dispersal" with those of "staying put."

A growing trend today recognizes movement as fundamental to social organization since time immemorial. Yet, for Anglo-Americans, practices of regular movement conflicted deeply with their well-entrenched ideas of the requirements for community, residence, moral life, and proper personhood. They questioned how individuals could properly contribute to (and be kept in line by) society if they were constantly shifting around. This became a pressing issue at the turn of the 19th century

because Anglo-Americans were increasingly adamant in their desires to see Native communities on paths to "civilized" life. They viewed the Native diaspora as a pattern of life which would thwart the adoption of bedrock principles like property, marriage, and education. They villanized Native communities who had not embraced these principles.

In a nuance of earlier practices which set criteria regarding land "improvements" as benchmarks for land possession, these concerns were manipulated as justification for the further alienation of Native groups from their communal lands. Officials configured specific ideas of residence, including spatial placement, demographic composition, and economic viability, which they used to assess community survivance. Mounting discourses of "wandering Indians" – and worse still, "mixed Indians" – played heavily into their abilities to erase community connections and to displace Native families and individuals further on the physical and social landscape.

Yet for all their "wandering" into places both new and old, Native communities were maintaining their connections with one another and were continually (re)establishing distinctive patterns of communal life. They were, to borrow a concept from diaspora studies, recreating "home" in movement. "For anthropologists and other intellectuals," Stefansson (2004) argues, "it might make sense to talk about 'being at home in continuous movement,'…but it would be foolish to expect that refugees and other unprivileged people embrace such dissipated notions of belonging" (2004:184-5, citing Rapport and Dawson 1998:27). Archaeological evidence of continuing hamlet communities fleshes out these processes of emplacement and community-keeping, providing specific indicators of cooperative domestic production, communal foodways, and distinctive subsistence traditions. These practices ensured that Native families and

individuals continued to reinforce a sense of "belonging" even though they may not have been in steady physical proximity.

## THE LANDSCAPE OF DIASPORA

*"A scattered, separated, wandering, migratory race"*[cxxxviii]

It seemed obvious to observers in the early republic that Native communities were crashing, numerically and culturally. Native Americans, newspapers proclaimed, were "a scattered, separated, wandering, migratory race" (American Indians No. III, New England Weekly Review, 01/18/1830). Ready discourses were at hand to characterize and proclaim their diminishment:

> "The rapid diminution and final extinction of numerous tribes of Indians in new England [sic], is a subject of wonder, and perhaps unparalleled in the annals of mankind. The Podunk nation, as before observed, were numerous, at the first coming of the English. They did not emigrate; but unaccountably disappeared with the game of the woods" (McClure 1806:38).

Anglo-American observers pontificated at length as to this "unaccountable" disappearance. They offered variously trite and complex theories of why Native communities seemed so ill-adapted to survive in the modern world. Most explained it via Enlightenment and Christian philosophies of "civilization." Some, though, had far more imaginative and grandiose explanations at hand. McClure (1806) continued his musings with an explanation for the Podunk nation's demise: "The last man of the Tribe, whose name was Coggery, and who lived in a wigwam in a swamp,…in a fit of intoxication, murdered the last Indian woman, and then put an end to his own life by stabbing himself. Mysterious are the ways of providence!"

Although McClure's theories, and others like it, hastily and incorrectly heralded the total loss of Native cultural and community survival, it was nevertheless a difficult time for Native communities. Even from contemporary perspectives, the history of Native groups in decades surrounding the turn of the century is often described with qualifying language like "scanty," "silent," "invisible," "fragmented," and "murky." "A number of Indian groups," Mandell (1996:206) describes, "would seemingly disappear between 1790 and 1825." State officials, local authorities, church leaders, and historians were busy trying to make sense of, and position, the new American republic, and their records reflect these preoccupations.

The activities and spaces of Native communities in this timeframe also did not readily lend themselves to a significant documentary footprint. Continuing loss of tribal lands and concomitant growth of the Native diaspora meant that "Native spaces" were not as well-defined as in preceding decades. The itinerant, landless, and largely property-less circumstances of many Native families and individuals has made them less visible in town and vital records. Recognizing their identities, too, has its complications because Native men and women took increasingly Anglicized names, which do not always connect with previous names or with the kin networks of which they continued to be a part. And as ideas of "race" and "color" became entrenched, these masking designations further obscured patterns of identity and connection.

The under-visibility of Native people in turn-of-the-century observer's eyes played out in their portrayal of Native demographics. Tales of cultural demise were accompanied by continuing statistics which "documented" and "predicted" the soon-timely demise of Native people in the area. Ezra Stiles, Yale President and well-known

historian, reported "30 wigwams and about 150 souls" at Schaghticoke just after the midpoint of the 18th century. But by 1789 he updated that number to only "about 7 or 9 family belonging there, of which 3 or 4 only present" (Stiles 1916, 1:606 and 5:173).[cxxxix] By 1801, it was reported that they were so reduced as to be "25 idle, intemperate beings who cultivated only six acres of ground" (Todd 1968:211).

This visibility of this (reported) demographic decline had more to do with the shrinking spaces of formally-held Native lands than it did their actual continued presence in the area. By the end of the 18th century, the territory held by Native communities amounted to a mere 1100 to 1700 acres (Rudes1999:303). The remaining acres, concentrated at Golden Hill, Turkey Hill, Naugatuck ("Chusetown"), and Schaghticoke, would lessen still. Some lands, such as those held near Schaghticoke by the descendants of Chickens Warrups, were sold on the initiative of Native heirs, like Chickens' grandson Thomas Warrups, who in 1775 and 1778 brokered sales to pay family expenses and debts, including those of "the old squaw of Chickens, still living" (DeForest 1851:417). Most lands, however, were more insidiously alienated by tribal overseers or the Connecticut Assembly on "behalf" of a tribe to "pay their debts and defray their expenses (DeForest 1851:417).

The lands that were alienated from tribes went toward supporting the physical and environmental needs of a region and population in rapid transformation. "The independence of the United States brought drastic changes to western Connecticut," Brilvitch (2007:23) describes. Old economies grounded in subsistence-level farming and small-network trading "changed almost overnight to a market economy" that linked western Connecticut tightly with New York, Europe, South America, the West Indies,

and China (Brilvitch 2007:23). New roads and new seaports were built to take advantage of lumbering and shipbuilding industries. Farmers, supplied with new markets, experienced a short-term boom and the landscape reflected the prosperity: "Rudimentary farmhouses were replaced with commodious dwellings, and village centers saw the construction of churches, schools and business structures" (Brilvitch 2007:23). The prosperity of the interior was also reflected at the coast, where towns on the Long Island Sound constructed a dense fabric of ports, wharves, and docks, transforming the shellfishing resources at which Native communities had long gathered. (Figure 5.1)

Figure 5.1. Wharves at Black Rock Harbor in Bridgeport, c. 1808.
Mural by Robert L. Lamdin. (Source: Fairfield Historical Society)

Newly "American" families continued to move to the Housatonic Valley from elsewhere in Connecticut and from surrounding states. Anglo-American populations in many interior towns reached numbers that would not be replicated until suburbanization trends 150 years later (Brilvitch 2007).[cxl] They showcased their modifications of the natural environment in slurries of newspaper advertisements. One ad for lands in the

heart of Weantinock-Schaghticoke homelands evidences no less than three different kinds (and stages) of land use in close proximity, including residential use, farming use, and industrial development:

> "To be Sold…three FARMS, in New Milford, near Kent Ore Hill. Each containing something over one hundred acres of land. One of which has a good Dwelling-house and a Barn thereon, and an Orchard that has made 135 barrels of cider in a year…The other two lies on the new road leading from New Milford to Kent, one of which had a house and Iron-works thereon and a prospect of a great plenty of Iron ore, may be sold with or without said works. The other has good improvements but no buildings" (American Telegraph, 03/23/1796).

New towns were spun off of old ones as populations grew around the sale of such lands (Finding Aid to Litchfield County County Court Files 1751-1855:2). The Connecticut landscape was, indeed, a very "peopled" one. At the end of the 18th century, Connecticut's population density of 49.1 persons per square mile was second only to Rhode Island (Garvan 1951:2).

The Connecticut demographic landscape was thus changing from previous generations, and this change extended itself to shifts in the spatial patterns of Anglo-American town- and community-building. Spatially nucleated town centers, which had been the ideal since the 17th century, grew to be even more prominent in size and importance. Handsman (1981:7) explains that this growth was not merely a reflection of increases in population density, but was also due to increasing economic specialization and labor differentiation. Though population increases may have been somewhat spatially circumscribed by nature of this town planning, their effects on the landscape were not confined. In some parts of western Connecticut, the previously forested landscape had been cleared by as much as 80-90% for agriculture, charcoal, and other wood products. The woods around Lonetown (Redding, Connecticut), which had for generations been

home to Chickens Warrups' kin and other Native families, had been decimated to fuel the largest lime kiln in Connecticut (Highstead 2008). (Figure 5.2)

Figure 5.2. View of the increasingly-cleared hills around Barkhamsted, Connecticut (village of Hitchcocksville), in the 1830s. Sketch by John W. Barber. (Source: Connecticut Historical Society)

Native communities were hard hit by these social, environmental, and economic changes. Rampant deforestation altered the visible landscape. More importantly, it decimated ecologies that Native families and individuals relied upon, including woodland hunting-gathering food sources and materials for baskets, brooms and other saleable items. These changes also strained the spiritual links between Native people and the spirit forces of their homelands. Traditional forms of economy – and even some initiated in the colonial era, like growing corn and hunting for profit – were increasingly constrained by

lack of access to land, resources, and movement. Many of the colonial economies on which Native groups had depended fell out of favor entirely.

Native communities grew increasingly impoverished, and with it, increasingly dependent on state authorities and other New Englanders. "By the turn of the 19th century," Schaghticoke elder Trudie Lamb Richmond (2005:139) outlines, "a pattern of exploitation was well established:"

> "Sickness and death had become the logical partners of constant indebtedness. The people owed for everything, from purchasing grave clothes for family members to being charged by outsiders for building their houses…The overseers' continuing solution to settling tribal debts was to sell off portions of reservation land they claimed were not being cultivated and could not be leased" (Lamb Richmond 2005:139).

These vicious cycles required that Native families live more and more dispersed. They entered, and became integrated into, multiple community structures in order to survive, including burgeoning urban environments, interethnic enclaves, and individually-purchased homesteads (Chapter 6). The diaspora, in short, was growing.

## THE NATIVE DIASPORA(S)

The experience of diaspora may not have been a new one for Native communities, but the changes to the physical, social, and economic makeup of their homelands had certainly complicated and stressed prior patterns of connection. Several important patterns emerge in the expanded circuit of movement which characterized Native community-keeping at the turn of the 19th century. First, many trends from previous decades continued, including the reliance on reserved lands as central spokes of

community gathering and connection, and the increasing integration into Anglo-American community locales. Secondly, patterns of extra-regional relocation accelerated. Thirdly, however, small clusters of Native families and individuals fought for strongholds near significant ancestral places of their homelands, reclaiming important locales of communal life by either purchasing or squatting on lands. Many of these Native sites became very visible to Anglo-American eyes, bringing the Housatonic diaspora into prominent relief.

*CLUSTERING AROUND RESERVATIONS*

In continuing patterns from previous generations, some Housatonic Native community members stayed on their reservation lands, eking out a living. Tom Warrups' son Benjamin Chickens continued at Schaghticoke, a "careful and industrious farmer at this place" (Todd 1968). He and other reservation residents relied on the use of increasing legal petitioning and public voice to enforce their continuing property rights, to protest the leasing and sale of their lands, and to request additional schooling and other monies. They maintained ties with their kin and communities members who were induced by livelihood and educational opportunities to become even more closely integrated in New England economies, towns, and families.

Some families and individuals made the difficult decision to leave their homelands and traveled further and further away from the Housatonic Valley. Many Native families sought out spaces within not only their homelands but those of their nearby kin. In 1801, faced with large debts incurred after the outbreak of an epidemic, the

Schaghticoke community's Anglo-American overseer sold the northern part of the Schaghticoke reservation, where once the Moravian mission and "summer huts" had stood (IP II, 2:66-71). In doing so, the Schaghticoke lost virtually all their arable land. Most of the community moved and re-gathered just to the south, where today the Schaghticoke Reservation stands (Dally-Starna and Starna 2009:72). Others, however, moved outward in all directions around Schaghticoke to neighboring Native homelands. (Figure 5.3)

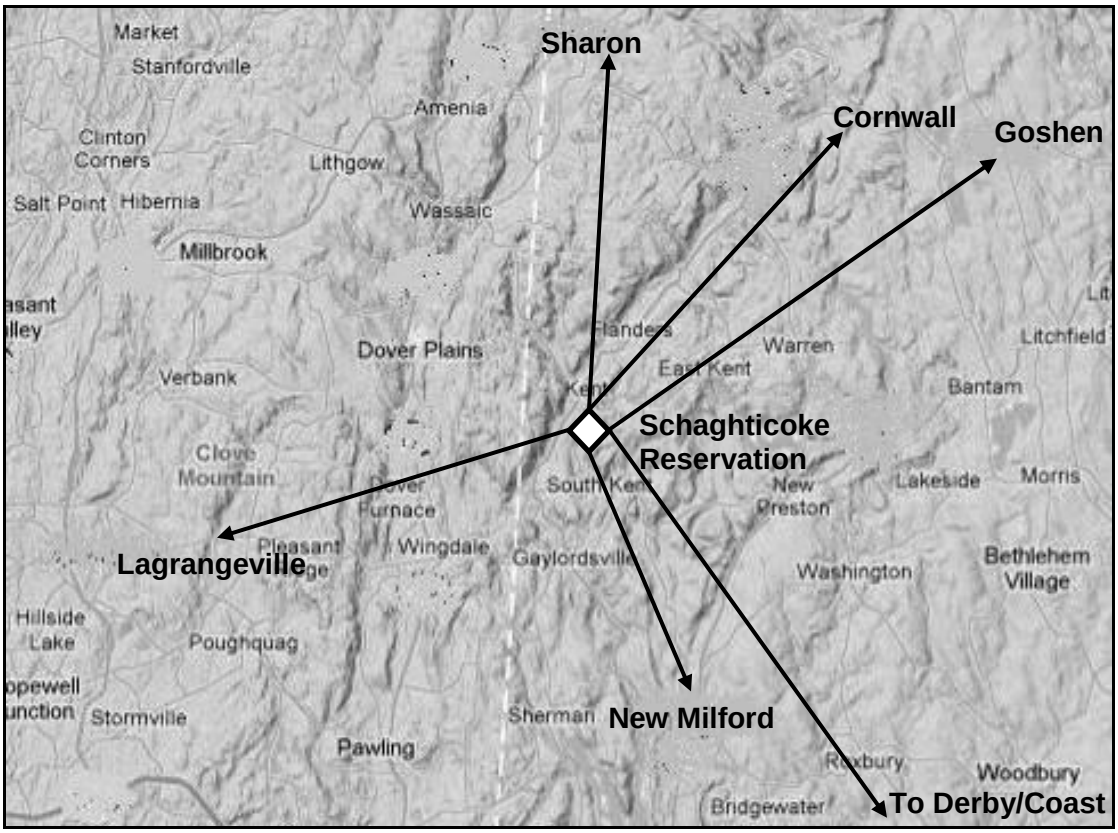



Figure 5.3. Hard hit by shrinking resources, many Schaghticoke families moved from the Schaghticoke Reservation in Kent to nearby locales at the turn of the 19th century. (Source: Author)

Schaghticoke community member Truman Mauwee changed his surname to Bradley and moved south, past New Milford where many Schaghticoke families resided, as far as the coast, where he labored as a basket maker (Lamb Richmond 2005:143). Jonas Cockshure (Coshire) moved 16 miles west of Schaghticoke to Lagrangeville, New York (Mahican homelands) with his wife and their two children, Steve Jonah and Hannah Jonah (McMullen 2005:106). Jeremiah Cogswell (Cotsure) and his family relocated further up the Housatonic to Cornwall, where they remained for several generations and were joined by at least three other Schaghticoke families (Gold 1903:453; Lamb Richmond 2005:143). Eli Bunker purchased land in Goshen, immediately to the east of Cornwall, while others moved further north to Sharon.

Colonial settlers in the Housatonic Valley had plainly observed the evidence of these kinds of long-range networks and relationships before them, both in the narrow cris-crossing paths which stretched through the forests and in the materialized forms of the journeys upon them. "Judge Church says the first setters could accurately trace [the] Indian path [from Schaghticoke, through Weatogue (Salisbury), to Stockbridge] by the apple-trees sprung up on its course from the seeds scattered after their repast," Abbott (1907:220) relates.[cxli] Members of Housatonic communities would continue to utilize some of these same paths into the 19th century.

*REGIONAL OUT-MOVEMENTS*

These regional movements were complemented by regional out-movements, organized by Connecticut River Valley groups, southeastern Connecticut groups, and

others. Various Paugussett residents of Golden Hill, like Sarah Wampey (alias Sarah Montaugk, relative of the early 18th century sachem, Montaugk), had joined Tunxis communities near Farmington over the course of the 18th century. There they were still living in the 1770s, when they joined Tunxis and other Connecticut River Valley Native communities in their relocation to Brothertown, New York. Sarah, like other Brothertown movement members, still continued to return periodically to the Housatonic and Connecticut Valleys, making social rounds and maintaining kin connections. In 1793, Sarah's acquaintance, Eunice Meesock, testified that she had once been in Kent with Sarah, where they had seen "some Pequannock men and women who were very fond of Sarah" because she said, "they were her relatives" (IP II, 2:153-154).

*FIGHTING FOR ANCESTRAL STRONGHOLDS*

Significantly, many Housatonic families fought for new strongholds on their ancestral homelands. They returned at times to "old" spaces which had altered and/or "reopened" as the landscape shifted and shaped under new development. Some Potatuck and Paugussett community members, for example, returned south to their ancestral lands around Golden Hill. Potatuck members Thomas Sherman and John Chops, who had together served in the English militia, married Pequannock (Paugussett) sisters Eunice Shoran and Sarah Shoran, respectively, and settled at the Golden Hill reservation (Rudes 1999:310; Orcutt 1886:42-3). At the end of the 18th century, this extended family and several other individuals continued to live on the reservation, which survived as 20-acres in two separate locations, so called the Nimrod Lot and Rocky Hill (Rudes 1999:305;

CPR 12:433). Their "devotion to the sacred place of their ancestors" is passed down among today's Golden Hill Paugussett community with the knowledge that they were "the keepers" (Chief Quiet Hawk, quoted in Brilvitch 2007:21).

The Golden Hill community's stronghold, however, would be challenged by industrial and other economic transitions. In the last decades of the 18th century, Bridgeport became a thriving seaport and industrial center, a new urban spot for young people seeking to escape rural life. "In this new circumstance," Brilvitch (2007:23-24) describes, "the continued existence of a reservation inhabited by rude Indians adjacent to the center of such commerce became untenable." The town of Stratford petitioned to dispose of the Golden Hill tribe's lands in 1797, under the logic that there were only around 20 remaining tribal members and that they had "no fixed residence but are generally traveling from place to place" (IP II, 2:1). In 1802, following a subsequent petition by Golden Hill residents, the twelve remaining acres of the Golden Hill Reservation were sold, and the proceeds put into a tribal fund.[cxlii]

For the community members of Golden Hill, this did not sever their ties to the sacred place, nor their presence in the area. Without formal landholdings, many of the community members, about 15-20 in number, moved a few miles inland from the Rocky Hill parcel. There, they resided "as squatters in the then still sparsely populated part of Trumbull, north of Bridgeport" (Wojciechowski 1992).[cxliii] They remained a recognized tribal community, as evidenced in their continuing oversight by a General Assembly-appointed overseer (Fairfield Probate Records 1769-1819; Fairfield County Court Records 1836).

Their determination in squatting on their alienated homelands and their recognized community continuity importantly contradict logics of residence that are used in contemporary assessments of historical ties to place/community. As claimed in response to recent 20th century Golden Hill petitions for Federal Recognition: "Deeds concerning the Golden Hill land transactions have relevance to the acknowledgment process to the extent that *a land sale meant that the individuals no longer lived in a settlement*" (Golden Hill Paugussett Technical Report 1995:23). Certainly the Golden Hill "squatters," like their Turkey Hill Paugussett kin who lived on Major Johnson's land in Derby throughout the 18th century, complicate such stark claims.

Other members of the Golden Hill Paugussett community fought for a stronghold by appealing to the logics of Anglo-American property practices and ideals of moral self-improvement. In 1803, Eunice Sherman (later Eunice Mack), daughter of Thomas and Eunice (Shoran) Sherman, petitioned the state on behalf of herself for funds to purchase her own residence for herself and her family in Woodbridge, Connecticut.[cxliv] Skillfully using language and sentiments that would resonate with state authorities, she indicated that:

> "[She] endeavored to live an honest sober life and to gain her sustenance by industry and labor agreeable to regular modes of Civilized people. And a few years since she lost her husband by whom she has three children, all she has and is educating in manner agreable [sic] to practice of the steady white people of this State and that she flatters herself that her children tho' Indians may be useful members of society And that she is desirious of obtaining a few acres of land whereon to keep a Cow & raise some granin [sic] and there by not only more convenient support her family but also the more easily habituate two sons to industry and daily labor which may also prevent them entering into those vicious & idle courses so common to Indians" (IP II, 2:8).

Her petition was granted, she was assigned her own "trustee and agent" (distinct from the Golden Hill overseer), and she settled in Woodbridge. She set up a home on the south side of the turnpike that led from Seymour to New Haven, on a "rocky and thorny patch of territory" about three miles from Chusetown (CSA RG002, General Assembly, Native Americans, Box 42, Folder 14; DeForest 1851:357).

Eunice Mack's individually-acted petition did not signify a break from the Golden Hill community. She continued to maintain ties with her kin and community members, as indicated in February1810 when she was noted by the Golden Hill guardian for "keeping" Golden Hill Paugussett Ann Sherman when she was sick (CSA, Connecticut Guardian Report, Josiah Lacy accounts).[cxlv] Hammond (2004b) has characterized such actions as "homemaking," in which individuals consciously choose to settle not in areas on their former homelands but in areas which will improve their livelihood opportunities. Such approaches are "proactive," "creative effort[s] oriented toward constructing better and more satisfying futures" (Stefansson 2004:12).

While Eunice's request to individually own land seemingly departed from Housatonic Native practices, the ways in which she used and integrated the space reflected distinctively Native settlement practices. A small complex of community settlements grew around her homesite in Woodbridge, closely reminiscent of the dispersed community clusters which characterize models of Housatonic homelands. (Figure 5.4) A small hamlet community lived a quarter of a mile to Eunice's south, just over a hill. Called the "Indian settlement," it included Eunice's son "Jerry [or Garry] Mack and four other Indian men, two squaws and three children" (Orcutt 1880:liv). They lived in "modern wigwams," perhaps an architectural amalgamation of stone foundations

and a wigwam frame seen elsewhere in Native New England (see further below), and kept a communal garden.[cxlvi] Today, depressions, cellar holes, and gravemarkers at the settlement are still visible (Lucianne Lavin, personal communication). Their neighbors, the Freemans/Hulls who lived on an adjoining parcel called the "Rock House Lot," were another branch of the Paugussett community (Brilvitch 2007:83).

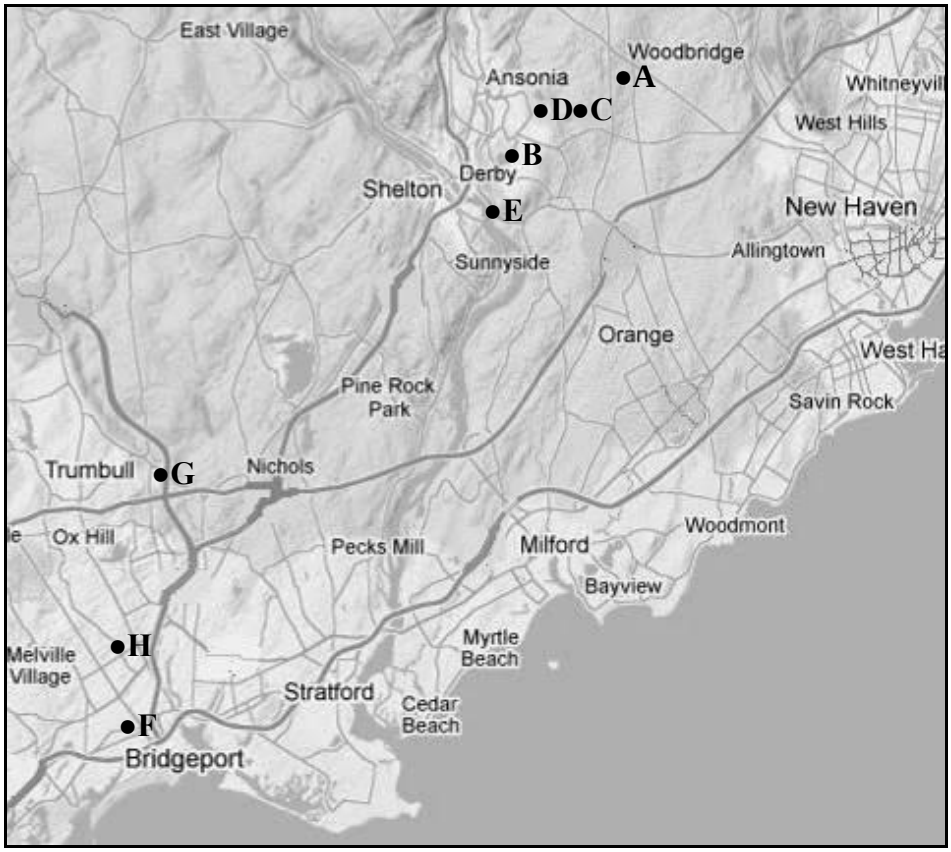



Figure 5.4. Approximate locations of lower Housatonic Native families described: (A) Eunice Mack's homestead; (B) Chusetown/Naugatuck community; (C) "Indian Settlement; (D) Paugussett family of Freemans/Hulls; (E) Paugussett-Potatuck families in Derby; (F) Paugussett-Potatuck families continuing near the Golden Hill reservation and in surrounding areas of Bridgeport; (G) Golden Hill and other Paugussett-Potatuck members squatting on lands in Trumbull; (H) John Chops' residence in north Bridgeport. (Source: Author)

This cluster of Paugussett tribal members was additionally joined by individuals and families who continued to reside in Derby, Bridgeport, Trumbull and the surrounding

environs, including the Golden Hill community members, at times 15-20 in number, who squatted on lands in Trumbull. Eunice's maternal cousin,[cxlvii] John Chops, lived nearby in North Bridgeport, where "his name is perpetuated by the appellation of a hill upon which his wigwam stood" (Hurd 1881:68). Eunice herself continued to live with her son James (or Jim) and her daughter or daughter-in-law, Ruby, until her death in 1841 (Woodbridge Church Records 1934:89).[cxlviii]

As the extensions of the Golden Hill community at the turn of the century make clear, Native families and individuals continued to traverse the landscape, integrating dispersion and movement in their community-keeping, as they had in previous generations. They frequently returned to their natal lands, and maintained ready communication networks which facilitated these exchanges. They still relied on out-of-the-way, less visible, or less legally defined spaces in their homelands for community locales. Yet, they also organized concerted efforts to formally reclaim lands previously dispossessed of them. This pattern, one which would continue and grow in the coming decades (Chapter 6), would prove to be an important demonstration of residential community life by Native groups whose survivance was judged ever more critically.

## INSTITUTIONALIZING COMMUNITY AND DIFFERENCE

Though diaspora had long been a feature of Native social organization, in the new early American landscape the practices of connection across diaspora were viewed disparagingly by many non-Native observers. Rather than seeing diasporic relationships as ones built upon structured, historical relations, Anglo-Americans saw only unpatterned

wandering. This social organization was deeply problematic for Anglo-Americans because it directly challenged their views of proper community relationships, moral integrity, and emerging ideas of racial purity. The newly established American society continued to place utmost importance on the role of an individual in his or her community. Men and women should "intelligently discharge their obligations as members of society, and as Christians," Samuel Chipman (1836) pronounced. Moreover, "Every man should know that his own prosperity and happiness is indissolubly linked to that of the community in which he dwells, and that it can never be well with him while vicious habits and criminal indulgences are destroying his neighbors" (Chipman 1836: Preface).

"Community" was thus necessarily built on the participation of "moral" individuals, with morality requiring some degree of constraint on individual autonomy. Individuals were to focus on taking care of the community, which would reciprocally care for and nurture the moral and ethical individual. The individual was considered "radically incomplete outside a defining, nurturing, and morally invasive communal environment" (Shain 1998:47).

Being on the "outside" of community, however, was a growing phenomenon. "The community" was subject to increasingly strict measures of exclusivity because it "served as the front line of defense against the encroachment of undesirable individuals, groups, and ideas" (Shain 1998:46). As they had done in the preceding century, local leaders and other officials "guarded their neighbors against physical, social, and religious pathologies, internal as well as external, that might draw the weak away from their Guard-appointed duties" (Shain 1998:46). Heading the top of the undesirable list in the

early 19th century were Native Americans, African Americans, and, the most feared of social pathologies, individuals of mixed ancestry.

Native Americans had, of course, long been viewed as "curiosities," an interest which grew at the turn of the century as scientists, philosophers, and explorers pored over the natural and social world. The public could access the latest information on "aboriginals" at home and abroad via a steady stream of newspaper accounts, traveling lectures, and shows like that of "natural curiosities from around the globe" at the City Assembly Room in New Haven in fall 1789 (Davis 1789). Such depictions were often accompanied by paternalistic, disparaging, and even derogatory tones. These worsened and became institutionalized with the development of scientific racism.[cxlix]

Scientific racism provided the analytical ammunition by which to categorize, rank, and sometimes subordinate "internal and external populations," thereby shoring up community boundaries (Mullings 2005:672). "New racialized domains of [an] internal borderscape emerged," justified variously by distinctions between "civilized" and "uncivilized" behaviors, by scientific classifications of ethnic groups, and by maps which further carved up not only physical space, but social space (Toyota 2007:108-109). By the end of the 18th century, officials were drawing lines between 'whites' and people of color (Shoemaker 1997; Sweet 2003; Den Ouden 2005; Mandell 2008).

Native communities, by all features discernible to Anglo-American eyes, seemed to express virtually none of the hallmarks of moral and civil life. Describing characterizations of the Mohegan in southeastern Connecticut, Den Ouden (2005:196) elaborates: "Depicted, in 1773, as lacking the key features of 'civilization' – written records and 'civil polity' – Mohegans are historically positioned in a time and way of life

(i.e., a ‘state of nature’) that are politically remote from and inferior to ‘civilized society.’”

Native Americans were obviously not the only ones spatially and socially marginal to “civilized society.” African Americans were often comparably described as “immoral,” “badly educated,” “Profane Indolent and thievish” (Treadwell et al. 1810:70).[cl] By the end of the 18th century, there was already an extensive history of lumping the two “races” in social observations and analyses. Native Americans had long shared some of the same spaces as African Americans, whether in circumstances of labor (voluntary, indentured or enslaved) in homes and fields, religious services, neighboring residences in “marginal areas,” or growing urban settings. At times these relations were accompanied with tension, as hinted at in Moravian mission records which relate instances in which Schaghticoke community members and African Americans physically fought with one another, and over material resources. Schaghticoke families traveling to the seaside in the fall of 1757 were robbed by “3 Negroes [who stole their] belongings…during the night, while they were sleeping in a barn” (Eberhardt, 09/01/1757; DS-S 2009, 2:169).

With mounting frequency, patterns of Native American-African American interactions were also characterized by marital and inter-communal relationships (Mandell 2008; Ingersoll 2005). Interracial or intercultural relationships had been a feature of the colonial landscape since the 17th century. English settler John Read, who “founded” the town of Redding in the area of Chickens Warrups’ Native Lonetown community in the first half of the 18th century, had a number of African American and Native American enslaved people and servants. His household included “my servant

Negro man," Andrew, "marryed to my servant Cate," "an Indian" (John Read Account Book).

Such marriages, particularly between Native American women and African American men, became increasingly common throughout the 18th and 19th centuries (Mandell 2008). For New England Native communities, intermarriages with African Americans not only helped to redress gender imbalances in Native communities, but also provided opportunities for improved economic conditions, expanded social and kin networks, and new spaces within which to work and live (for further discussion, see; Mandell 1998, 2008; Plane 2000; Mancini 2009).[cli]

Anglo-Americans were dismayed at the company kept between Native Americans and African Americans. They viewed this "intermixing" as concerning, at best, and disastrous for humanity, at worst. The fact that many such unions were informal and non-Christian by Anglo-American institutional standards further drove the critiques that they undermined racial purity and civilizing, Christianizing projects.[clii] Marriage, for Anglo-Americans, "stood as a metaphor for the entire fabric of relationships that made up an 'orderly' society" (Plane 2000:178).[cliii] The content of the family seemed under attack in interracial marriages, particularly with regard to the 'mulatto' offspring they engendered, like Andrew and Cate's children, Philip, Titus, Damarie, Dorcas, Johnas, Peter, and Simon (John Read Account Book).[cliv]

'Mulatto' children, evaluated according to "emergent racial notion[s] of 'Indian blood,'" were portrayed as widely compromised in their "scientific," social, and cultural makeup (Den Ouden 2005:33). Under the guise of promoting "civilized life," Anglo-Americans placed many of these children with Anglo-American families through a

system of "pauper apprenticeship" (Herndon and Sekatau 2003). Although this policy was effectively a manipulation to supply labor, it was marketed as an effort to improve the welfare of "degraded" peoples. An early 19th century traveler through Charlestown, Rhode Island described the Narragansett communities with which he interacted: "Met many of the Natives, who had been mixed with blacks or whites all of them in the lowest & most degraded state; the inhabitants call them blacks" (Anonymous Travel Journal 1821-1824). Such communities were represented as having lost their cultural heritage by virtue of shared parentage(s). This fallacy has subverted understandings of Native community continuity then and now (Strong and Van Winkle 1996; Herndon and Sekatau 1997).

Though European-Americans viewed such intermarriages in a particular – usually negative - light, it did not hold the same meaning for the Native communities for whom cross-community marriage was a long-held tradition. Liang (2004:110) points out that "intermarriage" is in fact one of many terms for similar phenomena like "mixed marriage," "exogamy," and "interracial marriage." In each of these scenarios, the definition is based upon a conceptualization of social/group boundaries which depend on social context and even personal judgment. As such, the meaning of marrying outside one's community carried very different parameters in Native communities' perceptions than it did for the colonial settlers observing them. Multiple ancestry did not mean loss of identity, cultural, or tribal/community relations. Heritage can be reckoned in different ways than just on an idea of "'descentism' based 'solely on the grounds of biological parentage'" (Watkins 2005:431, quoting Thiele 1991:180). Today, such competing

viewpoints emerge still – and with high stakes – in the Bureau of Indian Affairs' definitions of 'exogamy.'

## RACE AND SPACE

While grounded in 'scientific' and other philosophical shifts, ideas of race, marriage, and interethnic relationships were not without concrete manifestations for early national society. Racial ideologies fit conveniently into continuing justifications for the alienation of Native individuals from their lands, property, and other desirable resources (Den Ouden 2005:7). Intermarriages were feared for the ways in which they seemed to be "replenishing" population-depleted Native communities (Den Ouden 2005:34). These worries were manifest clearly among reservation communities in southeastern Connecticut, where officials agonized over the ways Pequot and Mohegan communities were "reconstituting" themselves: "what was troublesome for government officials was that Pequots – impoverished and desperate as their circumstances were throughout the 18th century – had *produced* and *sustained kin and community ties on their own terms*" (Den Ouden 2005:34; emphasis in original).

Native communities living throughout the Native diaspora had likewise "produced and sustained kin and community ties" through such practices. These connections extended across space to the new and old locales incorporated via intermarriages and influenced by racial designations. Conceptions of marriage (Anglo-American or otherwise) did not only have economic, social, political, and spiritual elements. They also had a spatial dimension, helping to "structure the 'settlement' and

domestication" of land and locales (Plane 2000:179). Local histories anecdotally describe the marginal physical and social spaces that they perceived many of these unions to occupy. Seymour Gregory and his wife Lydia, both "not full blood, but part negro" lived in a hut in Ridgefield, while Black Pete, so called because of his "swarthy appearance," and Indian Jane had several "camping places" around Ridgefield where they would set up their "small wigwam or lean-to" (Bedini 1958; Rockwell 1979).

Such huts and cabins were of a "type of many to be seen in out-of-the-way places in New England, [where] the wives are not often of pure Caucasian parentage [and ] the fathers…are usually of African and Indian descent" (Mann 1885:62). Such "squalid cabins" were perceived to suit interracial couples, and to be appropriate locations for them on the "civilized" landscape: "they confine themselves to their own business, and wish the rest of the world to do the same. And, indeed, the world, as a rule, leaves them alone in their ignorance and immorality" (Mann 1885:63-64).

Certainly not all interracial, or interethnic, couples lived in remote places, hidden socially or geographically from their respective communities. If social placements have spatial locations (and the reverse), the roving, marginal, and diasporic habits of Native communities seemed to confound properly-placed community life. This was all the more the case because of the diversifying circumstances and locales which Native American-African American intermarriages produced. "The power of the color line to thwart the central tension of diaspora -'a term that evokes movement and mergers as it conjures up as well images of prior purity rooted in one specific place' – is by now well recognized," Markowitz describes (2005:323). Interethnic couples defied Anglo-American assumptions of communal and cultural loss by living closely integrated with their natal

communities, by living closely intertwined with Anglo-American communities in growing urban centers, and by residing in rural and urban enclaves of people of color, among many other diverse circumstances.

In contrast to these actual spatial patterns of Native communities, there was a ready discourse about where Indians *should* be living. Officials tried to enforce their paternalistic insights by more vigilantly surveilling Native community composition. Den Ouden (2005:28) has shown how the practice of counting Indians on reservation lands was used as a "means of evaluating that community's social viability." In western Connecticut, this was also felt keenly in the increasing role of tribal overseers. The government more forcefully instituted and more consistently monitored the appointment and duties of tribal overseers. Overseers were mandated to keep accurate lists of tribal members and of monies outlayed. These actions formalized ideas – and oversight - of what a "community" was supposed to look like. Such practices effectively set requirements for community, and with it, for identity. Shaped by racial ideologies, they produced "specific notions of Indian 'illegitimacy' and with it, of grouphood (Den Ouden 2005:7).

The monitoring of "residence" became a focal point of these efforts. The importance of "residence" grew at the turn of the century as the newly established government adopted more consistent and formalized census-taking practices. As both a concept and a category, residence was the bedrock of the census. It functioned as a defining criterion in the identity of a person and in the makeup of a community. Censuses reflected the sharpening of this focus, and the crystallizing ideas of race which lay at the heart of these concerns, by becoming increasingly attentive to the geographies of people

of color. The 1762 Connecticut Census had enumerated “Whites,” “Blacks,” and “Indians,” but Native populations had been grossly under-presented, numerically and spatially. In Litchfield County, “Indians” (totaling 127 people) appeared only in the town of Kent. By 1774, however, Native people had “appeared” in 8 of Litchfield County’s 17 towns. (Tables 5.1 and 5.2)

The nuances of *who* was resident in a community and household carried implications for the way community viability was characterized. Because of Anglo-American patriarchal biases, demographics which showed a gender imbalance and an absence of adult men were targeted as unstable communities and households. Native men needed to be present in balanced numbers in order for a “community” and “residence” to be complete from Anglo-American perspectives. These characterizations, however, did not fit with Native family and social organization, which gave particular emphasis to the role of women.

Under tribal oversight, it came to be that Native individuals could express ties to only *one* community and *one* residence. To do otherwise required justification and legislative finagling. Schaghticoke community members Jemima Suckanux and Daniel Suckanux, together with Joseph Mauwee and others, petitioned the Assembly in 1792 for permission to sell around thirty acres of land in Derby (IP II, 2:52a).

As part of the petition process, their “conservator,” or overseer, Abraham Fuller, had to provide testimony to the Assembly justifying and legitimating Jemima and Daniel’s identities and their claims to the lands (IP II, 2:53a). Jemima and Daniel “have ever been considered as belonging to said Scaticook tribe,” he attests, “& have been inhabitants of sd Scaticook.” With that acknowledged, Fuller took considerable care in

outlining that despite this community belonging and residence, Jemima and Daniel had long maintained their claims to the land in Derby. Jemima and Daniel's petition was ultimately granted, but only after proper authorities had validated their claims to multiple places of belonging. The fact that Sucknucks is a surname with southeastern Connecticut ties suggests that the multiple heritages involved were even more complicated.

**Table 5.1. 1762 Census, Litchfield County**

| ***Town*** | ***Whites*** | ***Blacks*** | ***Indians*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Barkhamsted | - | - | - |
| Canaan | 1,084 | 42 | - |
| Colebrook | - | - | - |
| Cornwall | 553 | 9 | - |
| Goshen | 719 | 3 | - |
| Hartland | - | - | - |
| Harwinton | 585 | 3 | - |
| Kent | 1,298 | 6 | 127 |
| Litchfield | 1,514 | 12 | - |
| New Hartford | 655 | 18 | - |
| New Milford | 1,708 | 23 | - |
| Norfolk | 367 | - | - |
| Salisbury | 1,220 | 20 | - |
| Sharon | 1,386 | 21 | - |
| Torrington | 513 | - | - |
| Winchester | - | - | - |
| Woodbury | 3,514 | 53 | - |

**Table 5.2. 1774 Census, Litchfield County**

| ***Town*** | ***Whites*** | ***Negroes*** | ***Indians*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Barkhamsted | 250 | - | - |
| Canaan | 1,573 | 62 | - |
| Colebrook | 150 | - | - |
| Cornwall | 957 | 10 | 7 |
| Goshen | 1,098 | 13 | - |
| Hartland | 500 | - | - |
| Harwinton | 1,015 | - | 3 |
| Kent | 1,922 | 12 | 62 |
| Litchfield | 2,509 | 37 | 8 |
| New Hartford | 985 | 3 | 13 |
| New Milford | 2,742 | 34 | - |
| Norfolk | 966 | 3 | - |
| Salisbury | 1,936 | 9 | 35 |
| Sharon | 1,986 | 1 | 25 |
| Torrington | 843 | 2 | - |
| Winchester | 327 | 12 | - |
| Woodbury | 5,224 | 80 | 9 |

For as much as Anglo-Americans wanted to demand that the boundaries of "community" and identity be grounded in particular places, they too were dispersed. New Englanders had to deal with how to maintain ties over distance in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Early ideals of closely nucleated villages had not upheld in the realities of Housatonic topographies. Archaeological investigations along the western shore of Bantam Lake in Litchfield reflect this "early and continuing tradition of dispersed settlement" (Nicholas et al. 1984).

Some colonial families and individuals built homesteads and farms not within the boundaries of center villages, but in the lands widely surrounding. They struggled, though, to maintain adequate routes of communication between the dispersed locales, an area in which Native communities excelled (Brown 1989). Often, in effect "each home lot became an isolated farm" – an experience highly uncommon for Native communities in similarly dispersed circumstances (Garvan 1951:63). Archaeological evidence suggests that the patterns of life, meaning, and use of such places may be "very different from those isolated in center villages" (Handsman 1980:2).

Native families caught in the crux of these differing spatial and communal ideologies had the difficult task of simultaneously maneuvering practices of dispersal and expectations of fixity. Though in the former they exerted control, the latter was subject to interpretation and representation by Anglo-American observers. The net result was that discourses of dispossession, displacement and community loss not only continued to dominate understandings of Native communities at large, but were also increasingly applied on individual household levels to particular families and particular individuals. A closer look at Native families and individuals brings out the patterns of connection which

continued to bind communities in a shared sense of belonging, even as they worked to (re)create home and community across diversifying spaces.

## "MANAGING DISTANCE:"[clv] EMPLACEMENT AND HOMECOMING

A macro-scale perspective is important in illuminating the patterns and reaches of diaspora, but in a discussion of community-keeping the gaze must also be narrower. It requires, as archaeologists would characterize it, a "household perspective." Attending to diasporic places and spaces begs consideration of how a sense of "home" is repeatedly reproduced in movement. This carries particular resonance in understanding how Native families traveling among hamlet communities created and re-created home and community amidst frequent travel, relocation, varying residents, and wider social change. The daily routines of home-building reauthor new, or changing, spaces of community life into places of community-keeping. Archaeological methodologies are particularly effective in discerning the spatial and material patterns which characterize these processes of homecoming and domestic life.[clvi]

In both old and new locales, Native families and individuals reproduced the routines of daily life that provided the glue for continuing community-keeping. These were not new processes at the turn of the 19th century, but they are brought into sharp relief by the expanding circuit of movement in which Native individuals created and recreated homes and community locales. A richer archive of archaeological evidence from this period lends particular insight into these routines – including shared dwelling,

cooperative food production, and domestic architecture – and their extensions across space.

The "Lighthouse Village" settlement in Barkhamsted, Connecticut is one of the most regionally famous examples of such a "marginal," "outsider" community that built "home" and rendered a new space meaningful.[clvii] According to pervasive popular legends, the Lighthouse settlement was "founded" by a Narragansett man, James Chaugham, and his wife, Molly Barber sometime between the 1740s and 1770s (Mills 1952).[clviii] Molly was a young white woman from a wealthy family in Windsor, Connecticut.[clix] According to lore, she was vexed at her father for denying her marriage to a local man, and vowed to marry whoever next asked. In a play on classic captivity narrative themes, when that man proved to be local itinerant Native laborer James Chaugham, they eloped and journeyed northwesterly to the "wilderness" (Feder 1994:30). They paused for a month among a Tunxis community living near Canton before moving interior still to Barkhamsted, where they settled on the slope of Ragged Mountain. (Figure 5.5)

In 1779 "James Chogan" purchased 70 acres at Ragged Mountain in Barkhamsted.[clx] Three years later, his son "Samuel Choggum" purchased 49 additional acres immediately to the north (Feder 1994:78).[clxi] Because of the nature of land division and settlement, Feder (1994:81-2) contends that James and his family had likely already been living in that area for some time. These spatial patterns were echoed widely throughout the region, drawing attention to the patchwork nature of incorporated places, and conversely to the spatial and physical resources which unincorporated and undivided

areas continued to offer. Woodruff (n.d.:4) explains the particularities of the Lighthouse circumstances further:

> "When Barkhamsted was simply the 'uninhabited' western territory of Windsor, the Lighthouse's presence may have been overlooked. However, when Barkhamsted became a discrete municipality, with the power to collect taxes, the town may have forced James Chaugham into taking legal title to the land on which he had already lived for decades."

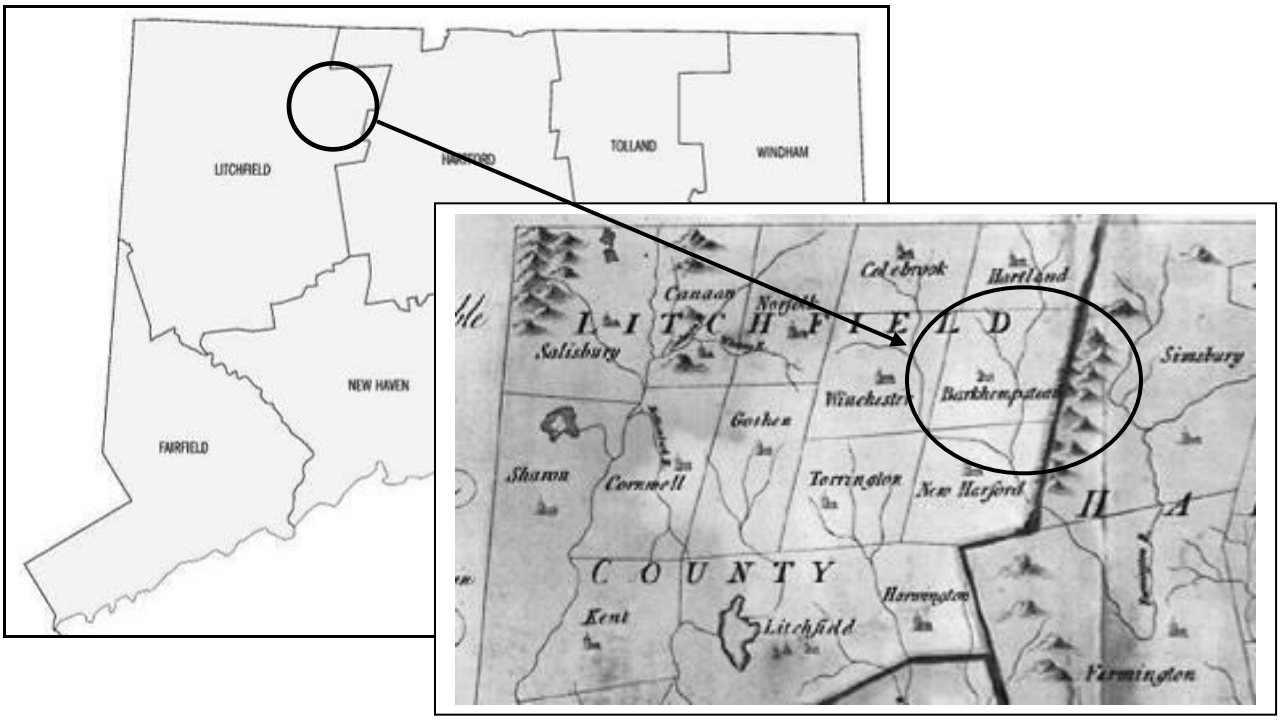



Figure 5.5. Location of Barkhamsted, site of the Lighthouse settlement, in Litchfield County. (Source: MAGIC)

In response, James and Molly, as well as some of their (eight) children, brokered a large number of land transactions in the last quarter of the 18th century.[clxii] By 1784, the extended family owned a "combined total of 138 contiguous acres on Ragged Mountain" (Feder 1994:85). Their collective actions in establishing a formal, recognized space of settlement for their extended family signals that the "process of homecoming" can be as

much “a process of establishing themselves in a new, and largely empty, place” (Hammond 2004:40).

The home they established was distinctive in its social and spatial organization, reflecting the Native American, Anglo-American, and later African-American, heritage out of which it grew. Both intermarriage patterns and descendants’ testimonies indicate that many of the Lighthouse community members forefronted their Native American identity. Descendants of James and Molly intermarried with Anglo-Americans and African-Americans,[clxiii] but they also intermarried with Native Americans through several generations. James and Molly’s daughter Meribah (Mary) married Samuel Lawrence, “an Indian;” their granddaughter Polly Wilson married Joseph Elwell, a basketmaker, and they had a son John who was listed as “Mohegan;” and their great-granddaughter Mary Wilson married Sol Webster, the son of a Mohegan man from Southington (Feder 1993:47).[clxiv]

Around 1855, J.E. Mason of New Haven visited the Lighthouse, interviewing descendants still living in “wigwams.” He spoke at length with Polly Elwell, granddaughter of James and Molly Chaugham, and in their final parting she expressed:

> “We Narragansetts, once great, now poor. Pale faces got our corn and hunting grounds – killed us with bad liquor – and the Great Spirit takes us to white man’s heaven. Narragansetts all gone – me last one” (Mason 1855).

As Feder (1993:45) suggests, this reporting, if accurate, shows that “even some 115 years after the marriage of the Narragansett James Chaugham to the white woman Molly Barber, and after, substantial intermarriage…their descendants still identified themselves as Narragansett.”

This continuing heritage is reflected in the spatial organization of the Lighthouse settlement, which closely resembles the communal organization of Native hamlets throughout the region. Many of James and Molly's eight children remained in the immediate vicinity of James' and Molly's homestead. Purchasing or inheriting parcels of land, they built dwellings of their own for themselves and their families. James and Molly's son Solomon and his wife did so, as did their daughter Mary and her husband Samuel Lawrence, their daughter Polly and William Wilson, and their daughter Elizabeth (Feder 1994:35). Mills (1952) claims that the Lighthouse community eventually grew to encompass as many as 30 cabins on the hillside. Yet despite the fact that between the 1780s and 1830s the Chaugham extended family owned over a hundred acres of land on Ragged Mountain, Feder (1994) and Woodruff (n.d.) point out that they clustered their homes on only four acres. Such organization clearly differed from Anglo-American patterns in which an individual property holder situated his dwelling on his own property.

The dwellings which the Lighthouse members inhabited were distinctive in their architectural style and construction techniques, an amalgamation of Native American and Anglo-American forms. J. E. Mason (1854) described the curious appearance of the abodes as:

> "…huts, or shanties, built upon the side-hill, under over-hanging rocks…Said huts are built after a style of architecture about half-way between a wood-pile and a log fence, and, surrounded as they are by rocks, and scraggy stunted trees, with no outward signs of comfort within, have an appearance of utter destitution and starving indolence" (Mason 1854).

Footprints of these dwelling structures were uncovered during archaeological excavations conducted at the Lighthouse site in the late 1980s and early 1990s, under the direction of Dr. Kenneth L. Feder, as part of the Farmington River Archaeological Project.[clxv] The

dwellings were represented archaeologically by four stone foundations and six four-sided depressions or cellar holes. (Figure 5.6)

Though the dwellings utilize forms and technologies of European-American construction via the incorporation of stone foundations, the foundations did not reflect the European-American 16-foot standard house form. Instead, the foundations were smaller, the sides irregular and non-matching in length. Walls did not meet at right angles, nor were there any obvious rules of symmetry (Feder 1994:156). (Figure 5.7) In fact, only one foundation could be described as rectangular in shape. The walls themselves were composed of dry-laid fieldstone, and in some instances, with rocks quarried from an area immediately adjacent to the settlement. In addition to these structures, investigators also identified six rectangular depressions, presumably cellar holes, of several square meters in size which served as the bases of structures. Such dwelling construction was common among the poor, and its predominance at the Lighthouse is, as Feder (1994:137) sums up, "not surprising."

What *is* surprising in the nature of these dwellings is the ways they seem to reflect a regional style of Native American domestic architecture in the late 18$^{th}$ and 19$^{th}$ centuries. Native communities, both faced with, and open to, the technological and stylistic influences of their Anglo-American neighbors, selectively adopted elements of their domestic construction practices. At varying times and to varying degrees (even within the same community), families and individuals adopted the stone foundations, framed siding, and post-and-nail construction which characterized Anglo-American homes. Many, however, did not do so wholesale.

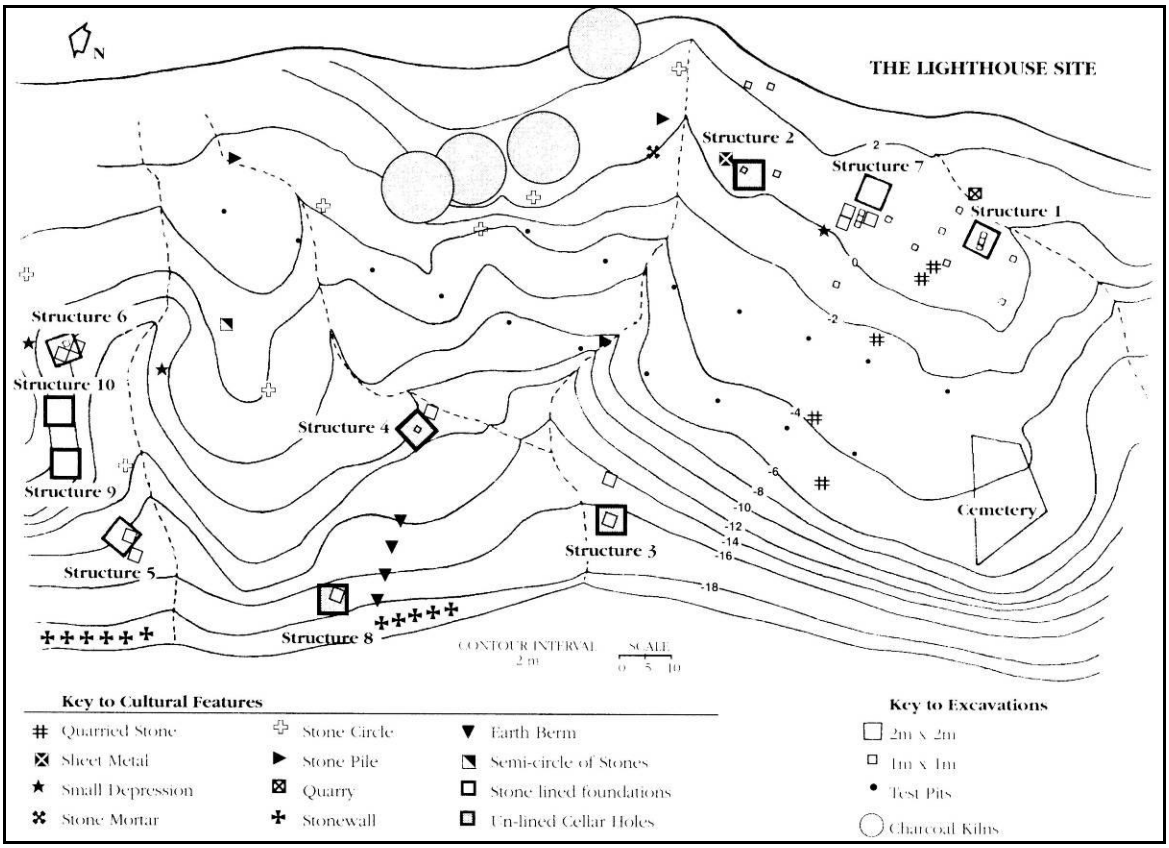



Figure 5.6. Site plan of the Lighthouse Village Settlement. (Source: Feder 1994)

Figure 5.7. Foundations at the Lighthouse site (Source: Kenneth Feder)

They instead incorporated only parts, merging elements like dry-laid, fieldstone foundations with the traditional sapling frame and mats used in wigwam or wetu construction. This was a particularly adaptive feature when the dwelling abutted a hillside. At the Lighthouse, the stone foundations of some dwellings (particularly Structures 5 and 6) were built into a slope on three sides, leaving the south or west side open (Woodruff n.d.:15; Feder 1994). (see Figure 5.6) Archaeologist Kevin McBride sees parallels to styles at the Mashantucket Pequot Reservation in the mid-18th century, where dwellings were:

> "…built into south-facing hillsides with a fieldstone retaining wall constructed against the hillside. A low stone wall two to three feet wide was then built in a U or D shape from the back of the retaining wall. It is not known whether a sapling frame and mats were used in these structures, or if they supported some kind of more formal frame structure with shingles (McBride 1990:113).

The effect, McBride describes, was something "intermediate between wigwams and Euro-American frame houses" (1990:113).[clxvi] Similar amalgamations have been noted elsewhere on the New England landscape. At the New Salem Plantation site in Salem, Connecticut, for example, similar foundations have been identified at the site of a community of freed African captives and Native American laborers (Woodruff n.d.:15, citing Sawyer 2001). Documentary sources also hint at hybrid architectural forms, including in Ridgefield, Connecticut, where "Old Poctocton" lived in a hut on the easterly side of Stonecrest Mountain, near the Norwalk River. His hut on the hillside was "built up [of] a wall of stones" and covered over for shelter, the "ruins" of which could still be seen in the 20th century (Bedini 1958).

Archaeological evidence offers clearer pictures of such dwelling structures, and the advantages they offered. At Magunkaquog, a Nipmuc community locale in

Massachusetts, archaeologists identified a dry-laid foundation built into a hillside slope (Mrozowski et al. 2009). Mrozowski et al. (2009) note that placing the structure on the slope provided extra protection from winds, as well as freeing up space for two entrances into the structure. By building into the hillside, it also enabled flatter areas nearby to be used for planting fields, a spatial pattern characteristic of much of Native New England.

Intriguingly, a recent archaeological survey of the uplands region of the Schaghticoke Reservation identified the remains of a "stone hut," consisting of "stone wall type features between two large bedrock outcroppings, which would form half a circle. The remains of a stone wall complete the circular structure, giving it a diameter of approximately four meters" (Lavin and Dumas 1998:16). The nature and use of the stone hut is unclear, but it is situated in an area where there is no record of an Anglo-American presence. It is in close proximity with depressions that seem to represent structural remains, the form and size of which are characteristic of wigwams.

The persistent incorporation of elements of traditional Native dwellings is not, as Handsman (1989:20) points out, "a nostalgic, artificial perpetuation of long-standing customs." Rather, it was a practice by which Native communities "consciously and actively work[ed] to preserve" their traditions and identities. Wigwams, for Native people, represented the strength of the family and community and were used by some families well into the 19th century (Handsman and Williamson 1989:18; Sturtevant 1975).[clxvii]

Despite the cultural significance of these continuations, such "vestigial" architectural elements were often taken up as symbolic forms to characterize the dejected state of Native communities. The Mohegan were described as a "dilapidated tribe"

reminiscent of their dilapidated dwellings (Sigourney 1824:33-34; Whittridge 2007). Intriguingly, at the Lighthouse site, mean ceramic dates indicate that the structures most associated with this kind of amalgamated architecture (Structures 5 and 6) are among the "youngest" structures at the site. This may indicate a continuing usage of traditional architectural elements well into the 19th century.

Certainly, though, many Native families, at the Lighthouse and elsewhere, did not continue to use the construction practices and forms of wigwam-style dwellings. Great quantities of nails were found at the Lighthouse site, of types characteristic of the late 18th to mid-19th centuries. A lack of handwrought nails suggests they were not used in early construction at the settlement (Feder 1994:180). (Figure 5.8) This may indicate a shift over time toward the construction of frame structures more characteristic of Anglo-American styles. Window glass sherds, found in association with eight of the ten dwelling structures, would seem to support this.

Figure 5.8. Sample of nails and glass recovered from Structure 5 at the Lighthouse Village site. (Source: Author)

Comparative archaeological evidence from the Eastern Pequot reservation in southeastern Connecticut suggests that some mid-18th century residential structures may have combined wigwam architecture with nailed elements and window panes (Silliman 2009:219-220). Later 18th and early 19th century Eastern Pequot structures introduced more significant surface and subsurface components, including a full cellar, a root cellar, chimney, and hearths.

Such European-styled framed houses may have been constructed as an attempt to visibly convey the transformation to becoming "civilized" and Christianized (McBride 2005:41; Lammi 2005). At the Mashantucket Pequot Reservation, structures dating to the late 18th century give the appearance of a permanently settled life, one of the hallmarks of civilization. But this may not have been entirely true. While shifts in material culture suggest "permanent or long-term habitation," as well as a "trend toward more Euro American architecture," it also seems that residents continued to participate in some degree of seasonal movement (Benard 2005:58). As this suggests, where Native families adopted new forms of domestic architecture, they did not do so on a tabula rasa.[clxviii] As Hammond (2004:46) describes, even when new house structures may not "carry as much meaning for their residents, the process of constructing the houses [brings people] into closer interactive relationships" with one another, with their environment, and with traditions of domestic life.

The perpetuation of Native architectural technologies did not only include features like Native "scale" and construction methods, but also the associations of spaces surrounding structures. The spatial placement, and nature, of archaeological features recorded at the Lighthouse site indicates that the residents were not merely living in close

proximity with one another. They in some manner lived communally. There is a near total absence of boundary and enclosure markers at the site. The only apparent stone walls at the Lighthouse settlement are represented today by two small sections of wall. (see Figure 5.6) The lack of boundary markers at the settlement is striking, given what is known of typical property divisions and transactions at the time.

Between 1780 and 1840, individual family lines bought and sold tracts among themselves, in parcels anywhere from 4 acres and up. In spite of these divisions, however, "it seems that they felt no need to demarcate the boundaries of their various landholdings with stone walls" (Feder 1994:158). Feder suggests that this may signify "a generally communal attitude toward ownership of land," which he likens to similar practices at Parting Ways, Massachusetts and free slave communities in Maryland (Deetz 1977; Jones 1985). Similar patterns are seen at the Mashantucket Pequot Reservation where stone walls have been noticeably absent, save for in the vicinity of one large community locale called Indiantown (McBride 2005:53). Though land was thus formally and legally carved up at the Lighthouse, in lived practice it was not partitioned for individual use.

Concomitantly, it may be that the bulk of activities performed at the site were accomplished in a central middlespace bounded by the dwelling structures, rather than within dwelling structures themselves. The ten dwelling structures at the Lighthouse are situated in a roughly oval pattern across sloping terraces. (Figure 5.9) In the spaces between many dwellings, small semicircular (n=1) and circular (n=8) accumulations of stone were recorded, which seem to be outdoor fireplaces (Feder 1994:137).[clxix] It is uncertain how many of these fireplaces date to the Lighthouse occupation, as no artifacts

were recovered that might contextualize their usage. Their spatial proximity to dwelling structures suggests that at least some are concurrent with residence at the Lighthouse.

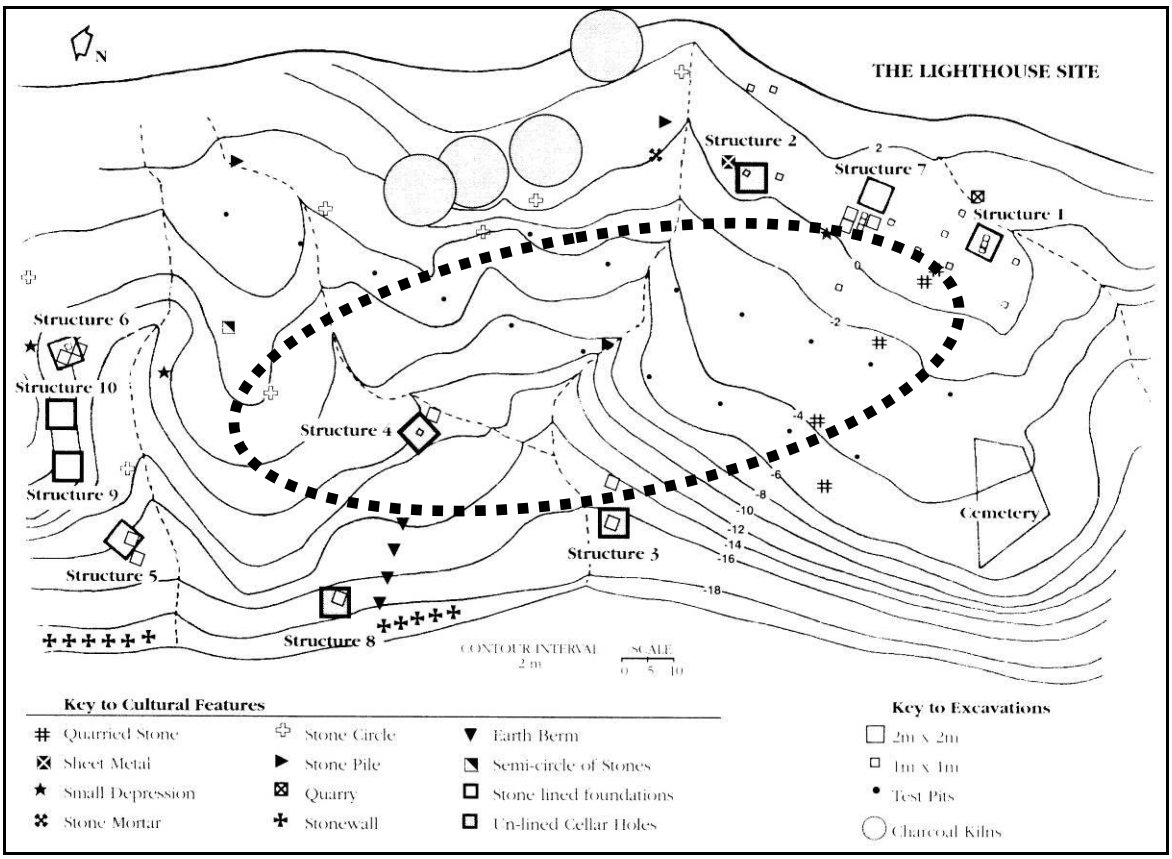



Figure 5.9. Middlespace area surrounded by dwelling and other structures.
(Source: Adapted from Feder 1994)

The significance of their placements in a central, shared middlespace, rather than within home interiors, typifies the organization of domestic space at traditional Native settlements. Archaeologists have identified the persistent use of outdoor hearths, rather than interior fireplaces, at many 17th through 19th century Native sites in New England. Like at the Lighthouse and Mashantucket, a 17th-18th century structure at Magunkaquog in Massachusetts is accompanied by an outdoor hearth immediately adjacent to the structure (Mrozowski et al. 2009).

Within a shared middlespace, Native communities historically processed and prepared foods, manufactured Native technologies like lithic tools and pottery, and otherwise cooperatively managed the day to day tasks of the community. At the Lighthouse site, there are archaeological indications that features of this collective domestic life endured. These continuations are particularly notable in distinctive modes of Native production and consumption around food. Practices and objects that are connected with food can be an important and intimate lens into changing social patterns, because "new foods…and new ways of eating intervene into events of people coming together to eat, transforming them into occasions for the learning and remembering of cultural rules (Thomas 1993:33).

Although early settlers had relied upon local game for subsistence, by the end of the 18th century most only needed it as variety from farm-raised beef and pig (Woodruff n.d.:16-17). Members of the Lighthouse community, however, appear to have depended both on locally-available game and on food they produced themselves for far longer than was characteristic of other New Englanders.[clxx] This seems to be borne out archaeologically in the composition of faunal remains which suggests proclivities for white-tailed deer (although these findings are significantly hampered by poor preservation and small sample size) (Feder 1994).[clxxi] So, too, at Mashantucket do faunal remains indicate a high degree of continuity in Pequot subsistence practices, which continued to emphasize a mixed economy of hunting, gathering, agricultural, and animal husbandry (Vasta 2007). European domestic animals like cattle are represented at Pequot sites and the Lighthouse settlement alike, but at neither do they appear to have been the

"most important aspect of...subsistence practices" (McBride 2005:54). Instead, residents continued to rely on local and regional game.

Not only might the kinds of food produced and consumed be distinctive, but the means by which it was prepared may have had resonance with Native cultural heritage. Excavations at the Lighthouse recovered 73 lithic tools made of local raw materials like quartz and granite schist. Although this represents a low percentage of the overall assemblage (nearly 14,000 objects), the recovery of these items from sound stratigraphic contexts with objects of European-American manufacture makes their presence highly significant.[clxxii] The tools, most of which are cutting and scraping tools, are "simple" and unlike the finely crafted tools that characterize the Archaic through Woodland eras (Feder 1994:175). In fact, seemingly the only technological pattern present is in a small number of unifacial, blade-like granite schist cutting tools (Feder 1994:176).

This lithic work "does not correspond with any known, local Native stone tool-making tradition," yet it very clearly sets it apart from Anglo-American material culture patterns (Feder 1994:176). At the Eastern Pequot Reservation, archaeological evidence indicates that Native communities likewise continued to use lithic technologies alongside Anglo-American technologies in food procurement and processing (Cipolla et al. 2010; Silliman 2009). Cut marks on faunal remains show evidence of lithic tool use in some places, while the distinctive patterns of metal tool marks are also apparent (Cipolla 2005). These complementary strategies indicate the inclusive, rather than substitutive, practices of Native communities in their community-keeping.

Patterns in the locations from which lithic tools were recovered at the Lighthouse also raise interesting questions about the nature of their production and use. Most of the

lithics were found in early stratigraphic units, and 89% (n=65) of the total lithic assemblage was associated with Structures 5 and 7. A concentration of 21 lithic tools in one level of a unit associated with Structure 5 suggests the presence of a special activity area, just outside the walls of the dwelling.[clxxiii] The possibility that this production was concurrent with late 18th and early 19th century occupations is demonstrated by the recovery of nails (n=57), window glass (n=110), ceramics (n=21), metal fragments (n=9), buttons (n=4), brick (n=4), and pipes (n=2) in the same level and unit. Significantly, there is a pattern to these continued expressions of Native cultural elements. Site 5 is notable both for its lithic production and for the Native architectural features it exhibited. The correlation between these elements suggests community-keeping efforts of a multi-faceted, integrated nature.

Similar artifact patterning and feature patterning of refuse areas at Mashantucket indicates that food processing areas were likewise located adjacent to structures for most of the 18th century, rather than within the interior (Benard 2005). These patterns are echoed at Magunkaquog in Massachusetts, where the bulk of the artifact assemblage was recovered from within and immediately around the dwelling foundation, with a hearth immediately outside the foundation walls (Mrozowski 2009:447). This distinctive use of space may have meshed easily with cooperative food processing and lithic tool production. Spatial patterns of separate and distinctive activity areas are characteristic of long-standing Housatonic practices, and are noted in regional Late Woodland sites like the Hicock-Benson site in New Britain, Connecticut (Lavin 2008).

The consumption of foods may likewise have exhibited patterns in keeping with traditions of communal domestic life. The ceramic assemblage, consisting mostly of

inexpensive whiteware, shows a preponderance of hollowware bowls, as opposed to flatware pieces such as plates.[clxxiv] This style of eating, and the diet it reflected, is typically associated with earlier foodways, but it was only slowly and subtly phased out at the Lighthouse (Woodruff n.d.:18).[clxxv] The small number of cutlery found at the site (n=21) suggests that the foods prepared and consumed may have trended more toward stews and porridges than cuts of meat.[clxxvi] All the same, the appearance of plates and individual eating utensils indicates that practices shifted over time to individual rather than communal consumption patterns, a tendency echoed at late 18th and early 19th century sites on the Mashantucket Pequot Reservation (Benard 2005:55).

As much as members of the Lighthouse community appear to have managed their affairs cooperatively and internally, they integrated closely with the communities and economies surrounding their locale on Ragged Mountain. Much about the Lighthouse was "marginal," including its marginal physical placement between "the edge of a river and a cliff," on "thin, rocky soil" – a circumstance and location not unlike the Schaghticoke reservation at the turn of the 19th century. "A more desolate, rocky and forlorn looking locality is impossible to conceive," J.E. Mason (1854) gloomily recounted. Yet, it was a well-known, widely networked place on both the colonial (and later, national) and Native landscape. The Chaugham's frequent and extensive property transactions were conspicuous. Their economic endeavors gave them recognition as well.

Like other Native communities throughout New England, including the Eastern Pequot (Silliman and Witt 2010), Magunkaquog (Mrozowski et al. 2009), and Mashantucket Pequot (McBride 2005), Lighthouse community members created niche economies in the early American republic. Lighthouse residents supported themselves

through traditions of work common among Native communities at the time, including collier activities, the manufacture of baskets and brooms, and the peddling of herbal remedies made from gathered roots – all of which took them into local Anglo-American communities (Feder 1994; Woodruff n.d.; Mason 1854). They, like Native people throughout the region, purchased and bartered for goods from local shopkeepers. This is reflected archaeologically in the composition of the Lighthouse artifact assemblage, the vast majority of which reflects objects of European-American derivation or manufacture. The recovery of five 19th century coins indicates the growing integration into, and perhaps reliance on, national economies. Commercial goods like window glass, tobacco pipes, beads, buttons, ceramics and other materials were acquired through purchase, trade, or other means. (Figure 5.10)[clxxvii]

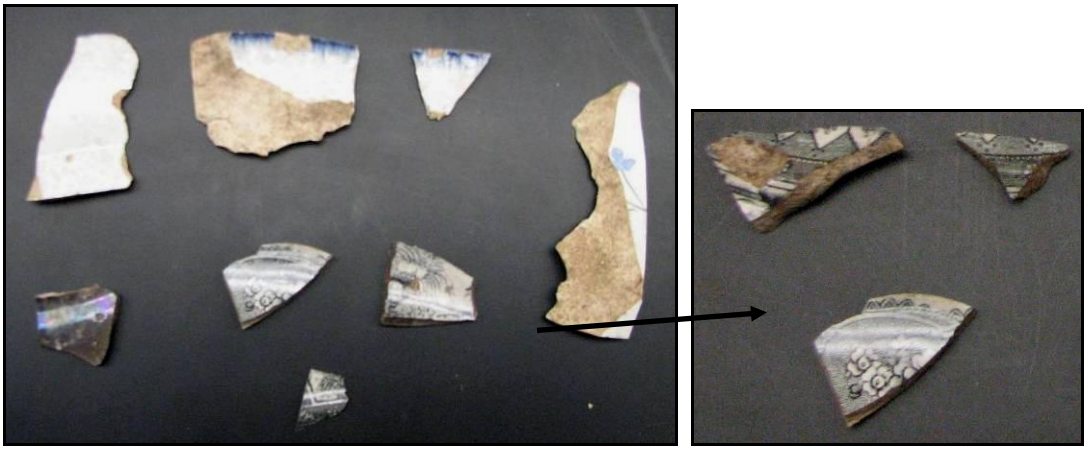


Figure 5.10. Select ceramics recovered from Structure 5. (Source: Author)

An important corollary is that that the Lighthouse community was not integrated only with Anglo-American communities but also very tightly with other communities of color. The Lighthouse community, for example, held social and genealogical relations with a

predominantly African-American community at Danbury Quarter in Winsted, Connecticut (Woodruff n.d.). James and Molly Chaugham's daughter Mary married Isaac Jacklin, a free black man. Mary and Isaac moved to Danbury Quarter, initiating a pattern of movement between the two locales that would be evidenced on an individual level and in generations of intermarriages (Woodruff 2006).[clxxviii]

Lighthouse community members built and maintained such connections with other communities of color, even as the extended Chaugham family continued residing at the Lighthouse. In 1794, Molly Chaugham purchased a little over 22 acres of land on Spruce Mountain in Sharon (Feder 1994:91). Her son Samuel Choggum was already in Sharon, "living in a hut and growing beans and corn" (*Pierce v. Shoggom*, 1787). Her daughter Elizabeth would soon join them. Molly later returned to the Lighthouse, but Samuel and a Benjamin Chogham (likely Samuel's son) continued in the area. They moved to Dutchess County, New York, directly west of Sharon, for some six or more years and then returned to Connecticut, where Samuel purchased five acres in Kent. Samuel's and Benjamin's descendants remained in the Kent area at least through the mid-19th century (Feder 1994:92-101, 104).

As late as 1850, 35-year old John Chogam (likely Samuel Chaugham's great-grandson) was living with the Pratt family in Kent, where he supported himself as a laborer. Just as the Chaugham family's presence in Barkhamsted has been memorialized – and romanticized – through time, their connections in the northwest corner of Connecticut have likewise also been inscribed and commemorated on the landscape in the presence of a "Choggam Brook" in Kent (Kuchler 1993). (Figure 5.11)

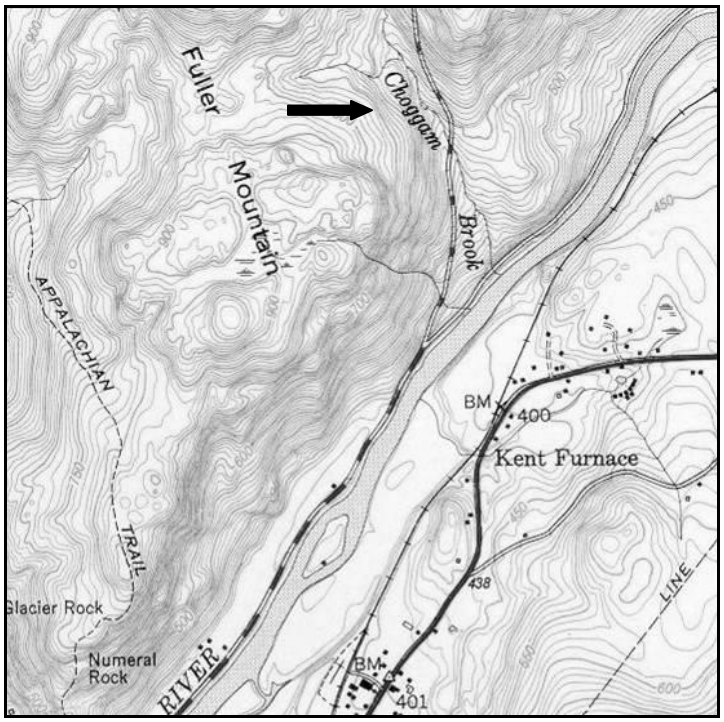



Figure 5.11. “Choggam Brook” in Kent. (Source: USGS Topo)

## THE SPACES IN BETWEEN AND PLACES EN ROUTE[clxxix]

The connections between the Lighthouse settlement in Barkhamsted and its extensions in Winsted, Sharon, and Kent point out that it is not just in the settled places of residence that Native communities were “emplaced” and connected across the Native diaspora. Diaspora, Kalra et al. (2005:3) highlights, “more often than not evokes two social spheres of interaction – the place of residence and the place from which migration has occurred.” Equally, however, diaspora is characterized by the spaces and routes in between, through which people traverse, gather, and encounter.

These “spaces in between” and “places en route” likewise perform important functions of community-keeping across distance (Levy and Weingrod 2005:22). These spaces are physical ones, including paths of travel; farms and rockshelters in which

travelers broke their journey; and woods and rivers which provided important subsistence. They are also social ones – the racial hierarchies Native individuals navigated while in New England towns; the transactions of obligation they established with store clerks and local farmers; and the family and community bonds they strained through their absence.

As Lighthouse members were experiencing, the spaces and places of these travels were certainly shifting in the rapidly industrializing landscape of the early 19th century. With the addition of toll gates on turnpikes, companies began charging Native people to pass across the landscape they once roamed freely, yet another extension and further complication of the partitioning that had begun with the dispossession of land (Hawley 1929:117). (Figure 5.12)

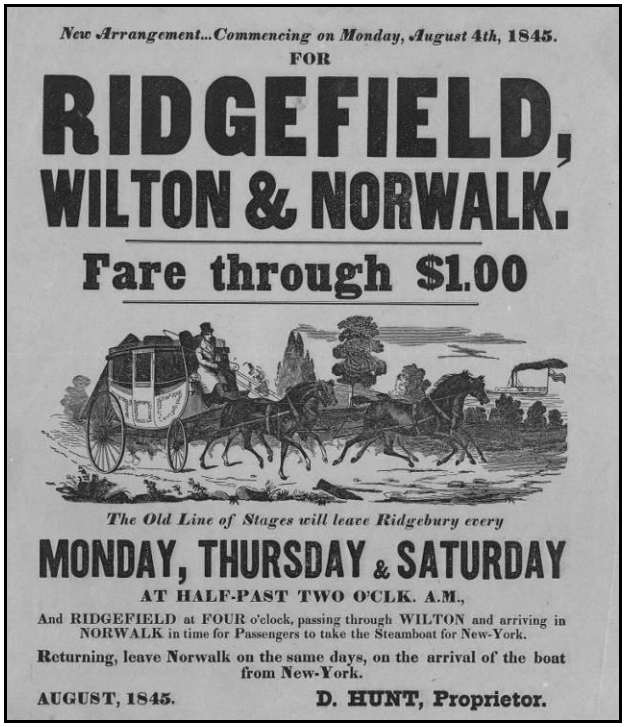



Figure 5.12. Toll gate and turnpike charges are assessed along long-standing Native trails. (Source: Connecticut Historical Society)

Yet Native families and individuals continued to move for many of the same reasons as they had in preceding decades and centuries – to fish and hunt, to visit kin, to maintain political relationships, to care for sick community members, and to perform important ceremonial and spiritual rounds.

The central tension in maintaining community in such dispersed circumstances is in "creat[ing] proximity in spite of physical differences" (Dufoix 2003:80). Dufoix notes that there are many different approaches to "shrinking the distance between individuals or groups and their land, whether it is their own homeland or that of their ancestors" (2003:80). Traditions of Native basket making provide one example of the ways in which the "spaces and places between" intersected in the abilities of Native communities to maintain a sense of proximity. Baskets became valuable commodities in the colonial and early republic economies, and a way in which Native communities could merge long-held traditions of labor with new traditions of "work." Baskets, though, were also mobile elements which facilitated the continuing movement of their makers and peddlers through kinned landscapes. They offered the context for both the spaces in between and the places en route.

The Housatonic ash splint basket making tradition(s) is itself a reflection of routes and travels. Tribal oral histories and scholarly interpretations indicate that the Schaghticoke and their Mahican kin in the Hudson Valley learned the art of splint basketry while in Moravian mission villages in Pennsylvania in the 1740s (McMullen 1983:2; Brasser 1975:20-1). Such patterns of Housatonic exchange with Native communities to the west in the Hudson Valley area and beyond were long-standing. They are indicated archaeologically at places like the Hicock-Benson-Palmer site in South

Britain, Connecticut, where both lithics and pottery styles evidence the regional and extra-regional Late Woodland trade networks that continued in the colonial era with trade, kin, and marriage relations (Lavin 2008; see also Rouse 1947).

These connections continued southward down the Housatonic. "It is likely, although unproven," McMullen (1983:2) contends, "that the Paugussett learned splint basketry from Schaghticoke people, many of whom were their relatives, who were traveling down the Housatonic to trade in Derby, Stratford and neighboring communities." One of the earliest of these apprentices may have been Magiskwa, or Molly Hatchett, a Paugussett woman who lived at the Turkey Hill Reservation in a 12-foot-square hut "a little way up the river from the mouth of Two Mile brook" (McMullen 1983:2; Sharpe 1879:37).[clxxx] Molly became a well-known basket maker at the turn of the century, prominent among both Anglo-American and Native communities.

Baskets offered distinctive features as a commodity. They were a form of manufacture that had value in the Anglo-American economy. But they also enabled Native communities to maintain practices of seasonal movement, seasonal production, and cultural and artistic traditions. Basket making, and other wood-related objects, became one of the most widespread enterprises across Native New England. Anglo-American observers recognized this trend. "Still the distaff, the needle, and the loom were less congenial to their inclinations, than the manufacture of brooms, mats, and baskets," Sigourney (1824:34) described of Mohegan women.

Baskets were sold or traded to shopkeepers, farmers, and even growing numbers of "urban" families. While often produced for anonymous purchasers, at other times baskets were created with specific recipients in mind. One basket, today curated by the

New Milford Historical Society, was made by Schaghticoke member Jake [Jacob] Mauwee around 1815 for 12-year-old Lucy Orton, in return for a shirt she had made for him (Lamb Richmond 2005:137).

Both men and women peddled baskets, a weighty and difficult way to traverse the landscape. Anglo-American observers commented on the sight of Native peddlers, "bending beneath a load of these fabrics, and often the additional weight of a papoose, or babe, deposited in a large basket and fastened around the neck with a leather strap,…walking through the streets of the town, after a weary journey from their own settlement" (Sigourney 1824:34). Molly Hatchett traveled the area in such a manner. According to town histories, Molly Hatchett spent part of the year at Turkey Hill, and at other times "traveled the countryside selling baskets," visiting one hundred or more families "once or twice a year" (Orcutt and Beardsley 1880:li; Sharpe 1879:37). (Figure 5.13)

In addition to exchanging baskets among Native people as gifts, to form friendships, or to return and invite favors - as was the custom of her ancestors – Molly Hatchet also sold or traded baskets to farmers and shopkeepers, introducing them as participants in these networks. Local histories recall that "whenever a child was born Molly Hatchett was sure to appear and present the baby with a basket rattle containing six kernels of corn" (Orcutt and Beardsley 1880:li; IAIS 1989). In so doing, Molly and other basket makers incorporated new elements into long-standing traditions and made sense of a rapidly changing social and physical landscape. Molly Hatchett's actions reflect the circumstance that "people on the move" do not forge community ties on a tabula rasa, but

instead “operat[e] within the context of existing social relationships and divisions of labor, both interpersonal and interinstitutional” (Wellman 1999:xix).

Yet even as Native communities appeared to be increasingly entrenched in emerging capitalist economies, they conjoined these activities with the meanings and uses they had long held. Baskets functioned as both a commodity and as a way to maintain identity, not only in contradistinction to Anglo-American identities, but between other Housatonic Native groups. Settled in new community configurations and among new locales, Native basketmakers seem to place importance on using basket styles to “emphasize the past and to preserve links to that past through ‘genealogies’ constructed with baskets” (McMullen 2005:114).

Figure 5.13. Splint Basket made by Molly Hatchet (Collections of the Harvard Peabody Museum)

Changes in basket styles are thus another measure of the continuing interactions of Native communities throughout the Housatonic Valley in the 19th century. McMullen (1983) describes shifts in Housatonic tribal styles of splint baskets between the 18th and early 19th century, linking these changes to the movements and relocations of Schaghticoke, Paugussett, and Mahican basket makers. "Mahican covered storage baskets took on the upright sides that had been used by the early Schaghticoke," she explains, "while basketmakers at Schaghticoke combined the Paugussett bulge and shoulder with the rectangular Mahican form and heavy use of stamping" (1983:3) (see McMullen 1982, 1983, 1984; McMullen and Handsman 2005 for further discussion of regional basketry styles].

The simultaneously living and changing traditions of basket making carried both individual and communal significance. For Native people, baskets "reveal the continuity of the self through time," a more recent iteration of an "unbroken cultural line" that extends from caches thousands of years old, to 17th century wampum belts, through to the living traditions surrounding basket production and exchange (Handsman and Williamson 1989:13; Csikszentmihalyi 1993:23). Baskets are part of the continuing cultural legacy of Native communities across New England. Throughout the 19th century and into the 20th century, they served as a means of expressing "solidarity with their kin," a reminder of identities and a way to shrink the distance between peoples and places apart (Handsman and Williamson 1989:14).

Descendants of Eunice Mack, of Molly Hatchet, and other Native families up and down the length of the Housatonic continued these traditions throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. Hannah Jonah, the daughter of Jonas Cockshure who had moved his

family from Schaghticoke to Lagrangeville, New York at the end of the 18th century, continued family traditions of basket making in Lagrangeville until her death in 1877 (McMullen 2005:106). Though Native women and men drew on these traditions as a means of economic gain, including in formal employment at the Shelton Basket Factory in Shelton at the turn of the 20th century, they also maintained the cultural, emotional, and symbolic attachments of basket production and exchange. These sentiments and practices continue to resonate among Schaghticoke and Paugussett women and men today:

> "It takes a lifetime to make a basket; a lifetime of growing, of creating and of sharing, to shape what is in your heart; a lifetime filled with customs and traditions. That knowledge is not always visible to the eye. It is so deeply buried in the past. But sometimes only a heartbeat away. There are rare, precious moments when I am privileged to glimpse some of this. That's why it means so much to be a part of Schaghticoke' (Schaghticoke elder Trudie Lamb Richmond, quoted in Handsman and Williamson 1989:35).

## CONCLUSION: SHRINKING THE DISTANCE

Native communities in the Native diaspora at the turn of the 19th century relied on multiple strategies to shrink the physical and social distances emerging in a racialized world. Beset by cycles of poverty and continuing dispossession, increasing numbers of Native men and women went "round about," as one Narragansett man described traveling for labor purposes (Mandell 2008:147, 158). Anglo-American observers looked to the pace of their travels, to the "empty" communities on reservations and in other community locales, and to the complexion of their skin and concluded that Native communities had been "scattered to the winds." That Anglo-Americans regarded the mobile lifestyle of Native communities as deeply problematic is not isolated to late 18th century American social philosophies. These fears manifest today in discussions of diaspora. The shifting

nature of spaces of dispersion and those moving among them has led many to regard diaspora as transgressive and destabilizing to territories, borders, and bounded cultural discourses (Tsuda 2004:140; Dufoix 2003).

Guided by ideological frameworks which rooted individual success and salvation in proper community expression, Anglo-American officials conflated residence and community in interpreting the continuing viability of Native communities. Yet, certainly, movement away from, and around, homelands "does not mean that [people] are also deprived of a stable and familiar place of residence that they regard as home" (Tsuda 2004:141). Even today, "the idea that a person can only have one true home is left unquestioned," Hammond (2004:43) describes, "even as the potential to forge meaningful associations between a person and multiple places is acknowledged." Belonging is both rooted in place, social interactions and local knowledge, and conditioned by the particularities of personal experience, distance, time, memory, and emotion (Hedetoft 2004:24-25). The creation and expression of belonging relates closely to processes of emplacement in situations of movement.

As Friedman (2005:154) rightly points out, however, "no one actually lives in movement, not even traveling executives and salesman, since their traveling cannot be said to characterize entire lives." Movement is never without direction, as circular or repetitive as it may be. It is always "between or among locations," and thus involves situated practices and relations (Friedman 2005:154). "That people can make their homes in [such] contexts," Friedman (2005:154) describes, "does not imply that they are 'dwelling' in movement. On the contrary, they are reproducing a set of relations across spatial boundaries that bind themselves into definite worlds." Native families recreated

"home" in diaspora through continuing practices of community-keeping, connecting families and individuals across the landscape and tying them in shared traditions of domestic practice.

These were not unchanging traditions – new changes were introduced, even as old ones persisted. En route to new destinations, individuals and communities form new emotional and physical attachment to 'home,' which locate continuing practices of community-keeping and social relations. In so doing, they may at times be caught between "living 'here' and remembering 'there," Agnew (2005:5) points out. These dynamic tensions merge past and present, locating diaspora in time that is both communal to larger diasporic group members and intimate to particular individuals.

Yet, for as visible as Native communities were in this increasing diversity of places, they were slowly being erased and re-written as cultural and racial anachronisms on the landscape. In 1920, 400 acres of forested land abutting the former Lighthouse community settlement was donated to the state of Connecticut to found "the Peoples Forest." The ceremonies surrounding the dedication commemorated the relationship of Native peoples to the area. It did not do so by including Lighthouse descendants still living in the area, but instead with a "pageant portraying Indian life" (Milne 1995:23). This kind of "making of anachronism" would hallmark official and public discourses and actions regarding Native communities as the 19th century continued.

[cxxxviii] American Indians No. III, *New England Weekly Review* 01/18/1830.
[cxxxix] Legal petitions in 1786 indicated that there were 36 males, 35 females, and 20 children residing at Schaghticoke (Indian Papers I, 2:218c).
[cxl] Elsewhere in Connecticut, however, the last decades of the century provided a little respite from the rapid population increases of the last hundred years. Garvan (1951:5) explains that "actually migration at the end of the 18th century changed the nature of the colony's population far less than earlier and small increases. These numerical gains obscure a significant decline in the rate of increase in population."
[cxli] Until the first decades of the 18th century, this network of paths had been simultaneously used by Native and settler alike, the "sole arteries" of communication and travel in the region (Hawley 1929:115-116). These narrow 12" to 18" foot- and horse-paths were followed by wagon roads, turnpikes, and public post roads and highways which connected the nascent interior towns of the Housatonic Valley. In each instance, the new construction facilitated not only ease of travel between the towns, but also further transformed the landscape.
[cxlii] In 1802, five members of the "Golden Hill Indians" – "Thomas Sherman (jr.), Eunice Sherman (jr.), Tabetha Sherman, Anne Sherman and John Chops" – petitioned the General Assembly to sell land (IP I, 2:3). Thomas Sherman and Eunice Sherman were likely children of "Old Tom" and Eunice Sherman who had been residents in the last quarter of the 18th century.
[cxliii] These community members included James Sherman, Charles Sherman, Phebe Sherman, Nathaniel Sherman (d. 1818), Ruby Sherman, Ann Sherman, Dolly Sherman (daughter of Ann Sherman; d. October 1825), John Towsey, John Chops (descendant of Sarah Shoran Chops; d. 1818 in North Bridgeport), and Adonijah Chops (descendant of Sarah Shoran Chops; d. 1848 in Harwinton) (Connecticut Overseer Report 1811, Elijah Burritt; Connecticut Guardian Report 04/19/1818; Connecticut Overseer Report 1826).
[cxliv] By 1816, Eunice was Eunice Mack, and her husband, James Mack (IP II, 2:266).
[cxlv] Ann Sherman, who was one of the signatories on the 1802 petition to sell land, had likely been living among the Golden Hill community that continued to reside around the area of Rocky Hill, as she was noted in overseers' expense accountings.
[cxlvi] Yet forasmuch as these were "Native spaces," they were well within the radar of local townspeople, who not only kept tabs on the settlement, but at times physically intervened in it. In 1833, tragedy struck when a smallpox epidemic broke out among the "Indian settlement" hamlet, after a visit by "an Indian woman from Milford." All but three children reportedly died, though there is disagreement on this reporting (Orcutt and Beardsley 1880:liv; DeForest 1851:357).[cxlvi] Local townspeople, fearful of smallpox spreading, came to the settlement with a Dr. Kendall in tow. The children ran into the surrounding woods, but were chased down and vaccinated, while the deceased were buried near the garden. The dwellings were ordered destroyed, and a "torch was applied", reducing the settlement "to the ashes" (Orcutt 1880:liv). Today, depressions of the settlement are still visible. Despite those "carried off by the smallpox" at mid-century still "one man and two women" associated with the "Indian settlement" remained in the area (DeForest 1851:357). Eunice's son Jim and Ruby continued to move in and around Derby, selling "parti-colored baskets" (DeForest 1851:357).
[cxlvii] John Chops was likely the son of Sarah Shoran Chops, who was the sister of Eunice Sherman Mack's mother, Eunice Shoran Sherman.
[cxlviii] James Mack continued to live on the land, called in legal records the "Indian land," but was often supported by the town of Derby as a pauper. In 1845, the town selectmen of Derby successfully petitioned the General Assembly to sell all or a portion of the land in order to use the avails to support James (CSA RG002, General Assembly, Native Americans, Box 42, Folder 14).
[cxlix] "Indian" came to be a derisive adjective, often associated with cunning or cheating, as in a political parody which described disfavored legislation as an "Indian-conning-bill" (Chester 1801:32). Some evidence suggests that "Indian" may have in fact been used as a derogatory term by non-Indians to insult the character of other non-Indians (Finding Aid to Litchfield County County Court Files). Indian "character" was depicted in other scornful ways, often through the "benign" trope of humor, as this anecdote from the *Litchfield Monitor* (January 30, 1787) perpetuates:

> "The Indian tribes consider their fondness for strong liquors as a part of their character. A countryman who had dropped from his cart a keg of rum met an Indian whom he asked if he had seen his keg on the road; the Indian laughed in his face, and said: 'What a fool are you to ask an

Indian such a question; do not you see that I am sober? Had I met with your keg, you would have found it empty on one side of the road, and Indian Tom asleep on the other.'"

[cl] They were not, however, invariably viewed or described equivalently. There was significant regional, local, and individual difference in how the "groups" were perceived. Benton, for instance, argued that "the short and simple annals of the poor Indian are quickly recited. The race, already subdued, was despised by the early white settlers. The useful, if also despised negro, was rated higher" (Benton 1912:11).

[cli] In addition to shared legal, economic, and social conditions, Mandell (1998:469) has argued that significant demographic shifts encouraged the rise in Native-African American intermarriages. New England Native communities in the 18th and 19th centuries displayed growing gender imbalances, a decline in the number of Native men that likely reflected their service in 18th century wars and, later, employment away from reservations and in the growing maritime world.

[clii] Relationships with African Americans were one thing, but Anglo-Americans particularly abhorred when interracial relationships occurred between Native Americans and Anglo-Americans. "While Indians remain their present state, the minds of civilized people must revolt at the idea of intermarrying with them," Jedidiah Morse (1822:73-75) argued, "It is nature, and decent, that it should be so." Such mixings were so despised as to be rendered criminal acts, subject to prosecution, depending on the circumstances. In 1772, a criminal case was raised against Hannah Garnsey, a white woman, who committed adultery on her husband Noah Garnsey, with "Joseph, an Indian, then living in Litchfield (CSA, RG3 Litchfield County County Court Files, Minorities Collection, Native American, Box 3, Folder 2, Joseph Indian, Litchfield [From Box 39, Folder 18], 1772). Nevertheless, such intermixings certainly took place, particularly between Native Americans and the growing white underclass. A mid-19th century traveler passing two hours outside of Providence, Rhode Island described a "lonely" cabin he came to in the woods, where lived "a man of mixed Indian and negro blood" and his wife, "a still young white woman, whose wan but not unattractive features wore a patient and shrinking expression, as if reconciled to her choice of a life partner" (Mann 1885:60). "Here in the forest they lived," the traveler described, "secure from the sneers, if ignorant of the graces and luxuries of society."

[cliii] Plane (2000:179) describes the many parameters of social life influenced by marriage, and thusly the reasons for this high concern. "The English institution of marriage linked many social functions into a single powerful social idea. Marriages were not only sexual, procreative, and productive between men and women; they also structured the legitimation and socialization of children, the transmission of property from one generation to the next, and the meaning and conduct of gender relations," she explains.

[cliv] The parameters of the term-concept 'Mulatto,' as Forbes (1993) explored and Den Ouden (2005) has more recently elaborated, has undergone shifts over time. By the 18th century, it encompassed people of mixed Native American and African American ancestry.

[clv] Dufoix 2003:80

[clvi] In one of the most called-upon anthropological treatments of home, Mary Douglas (1991:290) defined home as "a pattern of regular doings, furnishings and appurtenances, and a physical space in which certain communitarian practices were realized." These once closed conceptual understandings of home as solidary communities in a Durkheimian sense have given way (Rapport and Dawson 1998:7). Though "home" certainly continues to carry such physical and emotional parameters, a sense of home may have a more complicated relationship with ideas of "rootedness," as Rapport and Dawson (1998:10) describe:

"Being 'at home' and being 'homeless' are not matters of movement, of physical space, or of the fluidity of socio-cultural times and places, as such. One is at home when one inhabits a cognitive environment in which one can undertake the routines of daily life and through which one finds one's identity best mediated and homeless when such a cognitive environment is eschewed."

[clvii] Supposedly the community was named by travelers on the Farmington River Turnpike, which passed by the settlement on the route from Albany and which used it as a beacon to indicate their soon approach at New Hartford, the first settlement since Albany (Feder 1994:36).

[clviii] The myth and lore about the Lighthouse crystallizes in Lewis Sprague Mill's (1952) 115-page poem.

[clix] Molly (by given name Mary) Barber was born in 1715 in Windsor, though most historical accounts of the Lighthouse incorrectly describe her as being from Wethersfield. James Chaugham was born on Block Island, Rhode Island (Feder 1994).

[clx] The Lighthouse community which grew was situated on Ragged Mountain, on the West Branch River, just above its intersection with the East Branch, which forms the Farmington River (Woodruff n.d.).

[clxi] By the end of 1770, James Chaugham had purchased a small tract of land in nearby New Hartford, with a second purchase of forty acres acquired the following year from "Cornelius Indian" of Farmington (Feder 1994:78). In May, 1775, James purchased an adjoining parcel of 20 acres, for a total of more than 60 acres in New Hartford.

[clxii] James and Mary had eight children: (1) Samuel, who married "Green of Sharon;" (2) Solomon, who married "Hayes" (3) Mary [or Meribah], who married "[no surname] Lawrence;" (4) Mercy, who married Isaac Jacklin, a free black man; (5) Sally, who died in childhood; (6) Polly, who married William Wilson (7) Elizabeth, who never married; (8) Hannah, who married Reuben Barber (Feder 1994:34).

[clxiii] Isaac Jacklin, who married James and Mary's daughter, Mercy Chaugham, in 1785, was listed in census data as a free black.

[clxiv] More particularly: James and Molly's daughter, Meribah (Mary), married Samuel Lawrence, who was listed as "an Indian" in a 1787 land transaction. In the second generation, James and Molly's granddaughter, Polly Wilson married Joseph Elwell and their son John is listed in Barkhamstead vital records as "Mohegan." John's maternal cousin, Mary Wilson (also a grandchild of Polly and William Wilson) married Sol Webster. Sol's father, Montgumery Webster is recorded as a Mohegan from Southington, Connecticut (detailed in Feder 1993:47).

[clxv] Archaeological investigations of the Lighthouse settlement will resume under Dr. Feder's direction in the summer of 2010.

[clxvi] Very few brick remains were found at the site, a further indication of the reliance on fieldstone as primary construction materials (Feder 1994b:71). However, Feder (1994a) and Woodruff (n.d.) note that an important difference between the foundations at the Lighthouse and those at Mashantucket was the use of quarried stones at the Lighthouse. As Woodruff interprets it, the use of this technology and technique may be an indication of "incorporation into the English way of life" (n.d.:15).

[clxvii] Though their material traces are only rarely encountered in the archaeological record, wigwams were constructed by Native peoples in the area for thousands of years. Today they appear in the archaeological record as ovoid or circular postmolds patterns or as well preserved floors compacted through daily living (Handsman and Williamson 1989:18; Juli and Lavin 1996), such as have been found at sites around Robbins Swamp from more than 8000 years ago, along the terrace of the Shepaug River near Kirby Brook from 3000 years ago, at Griswold Point in Old Lyme from six hundred or more years ago, and arguably all around the Fort Hill district in the sixteenth century (Handsman and Williamson 1989:17-18; Juli and Lavin 1996).

[clxviii] Historically, wigwams were constructed by women, with some assistance form men in erecting poles for the frame (Bragdon 1996:114). Constructing Anglo-American-inspired frame houses may have been an undertaking by men, since it required familiarity with building technologies of which they were aware through their work as laborers on Anglo-American farms (Benard 2005:22). The extent to which these shifts may have precipitated or accompanied changes in gender roles or other domestic patterns is unclear.

[clxix] Several (3-4) of these features were associated with features which have been identified as charcoal kilns and seem to represent collier activities at the site.

[clxx] Surrounded by thin soil and steep slopes, the Lighthouse locale was ill-suited for farming. Molly, nevertheless, maintained a small vegetable garden and a small island in the river was called "James Chaugham's ploughland," suggesting significant efforts were made to grow food in the challenging environment (Woodruff n.d.:16).

[clxxi] Though 1100 animal bones were recovered, just 3% could be identified as to species (Feder 1993:58).

[clxxii] Feder (1993; 1994) elsewhere discusses the number of lithic tools recovered as n=71; however, the Lighthouse artifact catalog enumerates 73 lithic tool artifacts.

[clxxiii] Lithics associated with Structure 5 were confined to Unit 23, and to depths from 132cm to 195cm. Interestingly, 57% (n=21) of the lithics recovered in this unit were concentrated in Level 53, which also contained a high preponderance of nails (n=57), window glass (n=110), ceramics (n=21), metal fragments (n=9), buttons (n=4), brick (n=4), and pipes (n=2). Gun-related items were also recovered in Unit 23.

[clxxiv] On average, the percentage of bowls relative to the total serving ware hovers around 38% (Feder 1994:183). Feder elaborates that two structures contained hollowware percentages above 40% (Structure 1: 58% and Structure 8: 63%). On the opposite end, Structure 5 had hollowware percentages of just 11% of the total serving ware (Feder 1994:183-184).

[clxxv] This is supported by a correspondence between (a) the increase in plates versus bowls, and (b) the mean ceramic dates for each of the dwellings at the site (Feder 1994:184, 192) (Woodruff n.d.:18; Feder 1994:184, 192). This is not to suggest that each household was not differentiable from one another, nor that it was not distinctive in its domestic patterns. The example of ceramics at the site would tell a different story. Ceramic index values over time indicate that there were variations in the wealth of different families (or rather, structures) and that these patterns changed over time (Feder 1993:185).

[clxxvi] At the Lighthouse site, 21 pieces of inexpensive cutlery were recovered, including six spoons, five knives, and two forks (Feder 1993:180). All pieces, except one, were found associated with Structures 3, 7, and 8. No significant correlations are apparent between the ratios of hollowware to flatware and the presence of cutlery. Structure 8 had highest percent of hollowware (62.5%) and was one of the three structures where cutlery was found, but the other two structures show no real significant patterning.

[clxxvii] Ceramics are a particularly high percentage of the total assemblage. As is observed at 19th century Native sites throughout New England, they represent a range of 18th and 19th century ceramic types, including redwares, stonewares, and shell-edged pearlwares (Silliman and Witt 2010; Mrozowski et al. 2009; McBride 2005). The greatest preponderance of ceramics, in every structure identified, is of 19th century whitewares, including brown, black, blue, and green transferprint designs, though more specialty hand-painted porcelain wares are also present. There is no apparent correlation between the mean ceramic dates of each structure and the corresponding minimum number of vessels count. Intriguingly, however, Structure 5, had one of the smallest "minimum vessel counts" at the site and least diverse range of ceramic wares and types. It also displayed Native architectural features and lithic traditions, raising interesting questions about correlations in consumption practices and community-keeping.

[clxxviii] Woodruff (2006) elaborates that individuals with family names like Gardner, Wallace, Hazard, and Daulphin moved in and between households in the two locations with regularity.

[clxxix] cf. Levy and Weingrod 2005:23

[clxxx] Molly Hatchet (Magwiska), born in July 1738, is said to have been a daughter of Joseph Mauwee and granddaughter of Schaghticoke leader Gideon Mauwee (Orcutt and Beardsley 1880:li; Woodruff 1949:162). She is further said to have married John Hatchet, son of the Potatuck individual Hatchet Tousey (Athetoset) who petitioned the General Assembly for educational assistance for his family in 1741 (McMullen 1983; Cothren 1854:101-3). According to Orcutt and Beardsley (1880:li), she had four children, was widowed early in life, and passed away at the age of 91 on January 17, 1829. The "old cellar" of her home was still visible in 1879 (Sharpe 1879:37).

# VI

# URBAN ROOTS AND RURAL ROUTES, 1820-1860

Anglo-American observers did not recognizes the social ties which held Native communities together in the 19th century as being so powerfully constituted. As the nation became increasingly embroiled in decisions over "the Indian Problem," Native communities and individuals were the growing targets of a watchful and critical social gaze. Editorial articles around the country weighed in on the nature of Native community ties, typically with disapproving conclusions. Social critics proclaimed with certainty that, "Government is unknown among [Native groups]…Family feelings keep the several members of the same tribe – not in *society* with each other – but in juxta-position" (*New England Weekly Review* 01/18/1830). Observers argued that Native communities were "utterly without laws," and without any kind of "social compact" to guide proper behavior. For federal and state governments built on institutionalized legalism, the "haphazard" nature of Native community governance was appalling. "Right and wrong are determined by the criterion of might," they fretted at length (*New England Weekly Review* 01/18/1830).

Painted as vestigial forms of social and cultural life, Native communities and their social bonds were thus summarily dismissed. In the rapidly industrializing landscape of the mid-19th century, Native groups seemed, to state officials and publics, to be ill-

equipped. The state conceived new protocols for managing its Native population, to better "improve" and "promote" the continuing survival of Connecticut's Native peoples. In 1821, the Connecticut State Assembly passed legislation which formalized the criteria by which a Native group would be recognized and treated by state officials (CPR 1821:278). "Tribes" were assigned overseers. Their membership was surveyed and recorded. These actions importantly raised public awareness for the conditions of resource encroachment and poverty against which many communities struggled. However, they also further alienated many Native communities from their own decision-making possibilities. Native communities and individuals were forbidden from selling or owning property without permission. They had to appeal to overseers for disbursements of tribal funds accrued through land sales.

These legislative policies fundamentally shaped – both then and now – the recognition of Native community ties. Communities or groups which were not assigned overseers are today regarded as have been disbanded or otherwise "broken" by that time. Native individuals who owned or sold property without clear documentation of an overseer's permission are portrayed as having been "outside" of community membership. And the absence of an overseer's reports of continuing tribal membership and tribal fund allocation is interpreted to mean that families and individuals were not maintaining community connections. Recently Golden Hill Paugussett federal acknowledgment petitions bring the contemporary realities of these practices to the fore:

> "After the 1823 census, the historical Golden Hill community ceased to appear as a group in the documented record. Several members died, left the area, or otherwise disappeared from the historical record for this period. The overseers paid more attention to the Golden Hill fund than to any groups that may have continued, and their sporadic reports after 1826 contained little detail of who

> constituted the survivors…[T]here is no evidence presented of further interaction among the named Golden Hill fund claimants" (BIA 2003:4509).

While the limited (and absent) nature of officially documented Golden Hill reports may not capture the depth of interaction and community ties which characterized Native community-keeping in the 19th century, it does not follow that none existed. A more people-focused representation of community, one that takes its starting point from the rich networks which bind people to one another, leads to a different representation of community extension and survivance.

This chapter takes up the continuing importance of Native diaspora by examining the importance of community as "networks." Networks were not a new feature of community life in this period – they had been the foundation of community all along – but they became particularly important as growing numbers of Native people built intricate networks between rural and urban locales. (Figure 6.1) For Native communities in the mid-19th century, movement in and among growing urban and rural networks was a source of economic, social, political, and family necessity. They moved among, and participated in, multiple communities. This chapter examines these themes through the rural and urban spaces across which Native communities maintained connections. At the core of the diverse places and circumstances in which Native people lived, I focus on four kinds of community spaces: rural community clusters, urban neighborhoods, reservations, and rockshelter sites and other informal spaces.

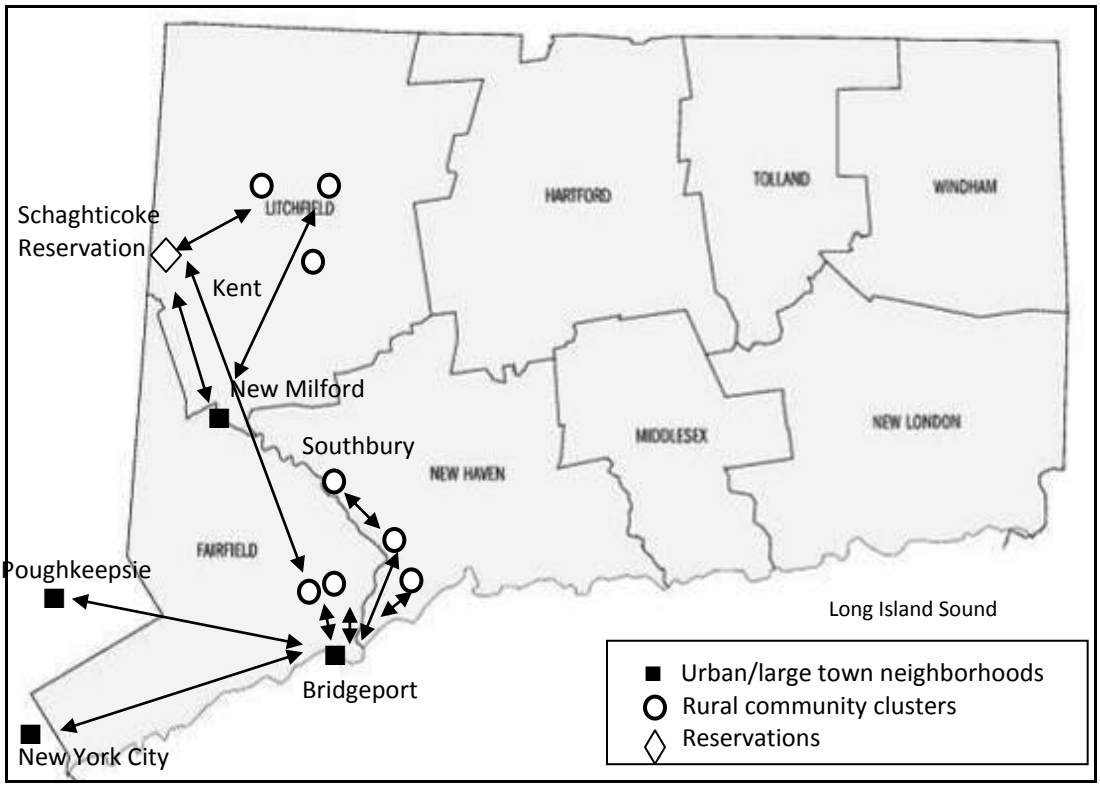



Figure 6.1. Patterns of Native community life in the mid-19th century. Native communities lived in diverse locales, moving increasingly between urban locales, rural community clusters spaces, and individual homesteads as reservations dwindled in size. (Source: Author)

The networks of social relations which bound people to one another were necessarily multiple and entwined on individual, familial, and communal scales. From philosopher John Dewey to sociologist Amitai Etzioni, scholars have long explored the paths by which people conceive and play out their belonging in multiple communities simultaneously (Wood and Judikis 2002:29). According to pluralist conceptions like that of de Tocqueville, community bonds are strengthened, not weakened, by their members' associations with multiple institutions and interest groups, including personal, family, ethnic, locality, and other occupational groups (Selznick 1996:198). Contrary to demands for unitary membership required of native communities by contemporary legal standards, this plurality is normative and creative, not degenerative (Selznick 1996:198).

Housatonic Native communities partook in multiple communities and multiple locales, not as an expression of community "loss" or of "mixed heritage" but as a reflection of long-standing social organization. They were "at home" in multiple places. Federal recognition requirements today demand forms of community which are singular and bounded. Most community and social science theorists recognize, however, that communities are "stronger when individuals bring diverse strengths and talents to communal life (Wood and Judikis 2002:15). Native families and individuals living and working throughout the Housatonic Valley and its reaches outward, contributed diverse experiences and resources to their communities by virtue of their varied pursuits and places.

In such formulations, it becomes possible to consider how community is not conservative but is variable, "capable of sustaining modern and radical social relationships as well as traditional ones" (Delanty 2003:31). Community, in this sense, relies on ties sustained in the present but also on the legacy of shared pasts. As archaeologists Canuto and Yaeger (2000) point out, communities are defined by the spaces, peoples, and synchronized interactions associated with them in the present, as well as by their historical contexts.

The role of memory plays an important part in sustaining communities across these distances. The balancing of communal antecedents and contemporary social change often plays out in histories of Native communities as an opposing tension, in which one side must be egregiously compromised for the other. Instead, however, as Selznick (1996:199) argues, while inherited practices and memories are significant, appeals to "the past" must also balance present circumstances of mutual dependence, participation,

integration, and multiple memberships. Mid-19th century Native communities persisted in their social ties via spaces and networks which increasingly reflected Anglo-American places, economies, and practices. Still they maintained a distinctive Native identity. Their communities were built on lateral networks across their contemporary circumstances, they were sustained by vertical networks stretching backward and forward through time, and they were infused by traditions of place, communal living, labor, and spirituality.

## CHANGING VISIBILITIES

The decades surrounding the mid-19th century were important ones in the development of a powerful national economy and for the fabric of social and political life. The prosperity which the western Connecticut economy had enjoyed in the first decades of the American Republic had faltered as the new nation entered the War of 1812 and embargos were imposed on domestic shores. Agriculturally-based families were hard hit by plant diseases. Many chose to leave for richer soils in New York and in Connecticut's Western Reserve lands in Ohio (Brilvitch 2007:25). Those that remained drew on new emphases on tobacco farming and on burgeoning iron industries to supplement long-standing agricultural patterns. Yet, simultaneously, other economic and technological developments transpired which not only boosted a lagging economy, but which transformed the economic and social landscape. The growth of these new economic pursuits heavily impacted the environmental makeup of Native homelands in western Connecticut. They shifted the spaces and resources on which Housatonic Native communities could draw for continuing attachments to place and communal life.

Unlike agricultural pursuits, industry was thriving. City economies blossomed around manufacturing and industry booms in the 1830s. The waterway corridors of the Housatonic Valley, as with the Connecticut River and Hudson River, became vital arteries for these developments. The advent of steamboats in the 1830s made large rivers important routes of commerce (Milne 1995). Entrepreneurs regarded the Housatonic River so highly in this economic landscape that they proposed to built a canal north to the Canadian border. Investors jumped quickly on the idea, scooping up water rights on the Housatonic River near Kent and Cornwall, areas they believed could become no less than another Lowell, Massachusetts (Brilvitch 2007:25).

For Schaghticoke, Paugussett, and other Native families in the northern Housatonic area, these appropriations further limited their access to the river resources on which they continued to draw for fishing and other purposes. The completion of the Housatonic Railroad in 1840, which boosted local industry by opening interregional markets, likewise impacted ecological resources (Cunningham 2000). The Housatonic Railroad, like the cart paths, turnpikes, and postal roads which preceded it, took advantage of the well-traveled Native footpaths which traversed the region. Its route from the coast to the northern Housatonic Valley travels a footprint nearly exact with a prominent Paugussett-Potatuck-Weantinock trail known as the Berkshire Path. Additionally, rising demand for locomotive and domestic fuel created a heavy drain on Connecticut's woodland forests. By the halfway point of the century, as much as two-thirds of the state was cleared for agriculture, fuel, or other use (Milne 1995:2).

These changes affected distributions of New England settlement. They particularly shifted demographics of rural versus urban living. Transportation

improvements and economic changes led to a decline in rural populations that continued relatively unabated until the suburban migrations of the 20th century (Milne 1995:2). For Native communities, Anglo-American movements into more concentrated centers did not help the fact that the landscape was changing dramatically with the industrial demands. Some of the small Native community clusters which had continued in out-of-the-way places on the landscape quite quickly found their viewsheds transformed and their visibility prominent as forests fell.

For both Native and Anglo-American communities alike, these shifts grew the importance of maintaining connections across distance. Both relied on communication and connection networks to shrink the distance between people living widely apart. Thanks to communication technology improvements, New Englanders were active participants in local, regional, national, and even international, networks. Residents of Connecticut fashioned themselves knowledgeable consumers of global information, and as patriotic participants in the pressing issues of their country. In the 1820s and 1830s, many of these urgent social issues and interests revolved over debates regarding Native groups.

Most residents of western Connecticut ignored the Native people who continued to be in their towns, backyards, and the surrounding landscapes, instead focusing their energies and input on how the government and society should treat Indians "elsewhere."[clxxxi] Local women's societies in western Connecticut formed educational mission interests around Native Americans, but most of their energies were dedicated to Native peoples outside the area. A nationally- and internally-based "Foreign Mission

School" was established in Cornwall, Connecticut. But, again, the bulk of its students came from outside the region.

Mostly, then, the particularities of local Native community presence went unnoted. A New Haven newspaper reported in 1865 that, "the State of Connecticut contains something over 460,147 people of all ages, sexes and conditions," but of this number only "16 belong to the Indian race – 8,627 to the African." "The Indian," it concluded, "has disappeared almost absolutely, and we presume the 16 will be swallowed up in another generation" (*New Haven Daily Palladium*, 09/27/1865).

These disproportionate numbers highlighted the continuing erasure of Native individuals along racial lines. Racial tension, spurred on by national and state debates around slavery, by the Amistad incident in 1839, and by local riots, only exacerbated these tendencies (Beeching 1995:29-31). These actions have made it difficult for subsequent researchers to discern the boundaries of community networks since they were so consistently mis-reported, particularly in western Connecticut. In present-day federal recognition proceedings involving the Golden Hill Paugussett tribe, the Bureau of Indian Affairs concludes that members of the Golden Hill community from the 1820s onward "lived and died in various towns, but seemingly, did not interact with one another" (BIA 1995:30). Alternatively, a broader focus on the nature and spaces of social ties fleshes out a much larger, and more intricate, picture of networked Native life in the mid-19$^{th}$ century.

RURAL, URBAN, AND THE SPACES (STILL) IN BETWEEN

A focus on community as a network of social relations utilizes a scale that is as necessary as it is meaningful for capturing the complexity and depth of Native community ties across the Native diaspora. By the mid-19th century, Housatonic Native people were living in places as diverse as reservations, rural farmsteads, small towns, urban neighborhoods, whaling ships, hotels, traveling circuses, boarding schools, caves, and Anglo-American households. (Figure 6.2) The ways they maintained connections across these places was intricate, extensive, elaborate – and most definitely not bounded by locality or "membership in a discrete solidarity" (Wellman 1999:21).

In these circumstances, a network perspective is an important way to conceptualize a person's community life as "the central node linking complex interpersonal relationships" (Wellman 1999:21). Instead of focusing on where people live, a more important criterion becomes what people do for each other and how they express connections to one another. "Why assume that the people who provide companionship, social support, and a sense of belonging only live nearby?," Wellman (1999:xiv) asks.

Schaghticoke community member Truman Bradley makes the importance of this analytical lens abundantly clear. (see Figure 6.2) In the second half of the 19th century, he went south from Schaghticoke to live at Nichols Farms, a rural Paugussett community locale in Trumbull. Nichols Farms was itself closely connected to an urban Native neighborhood at Ethiope in Bridgeport, as well as to other small rural Native locales like one at Eagle's Nest and at James Farm around Bridgeport (Brilvitch 2007).

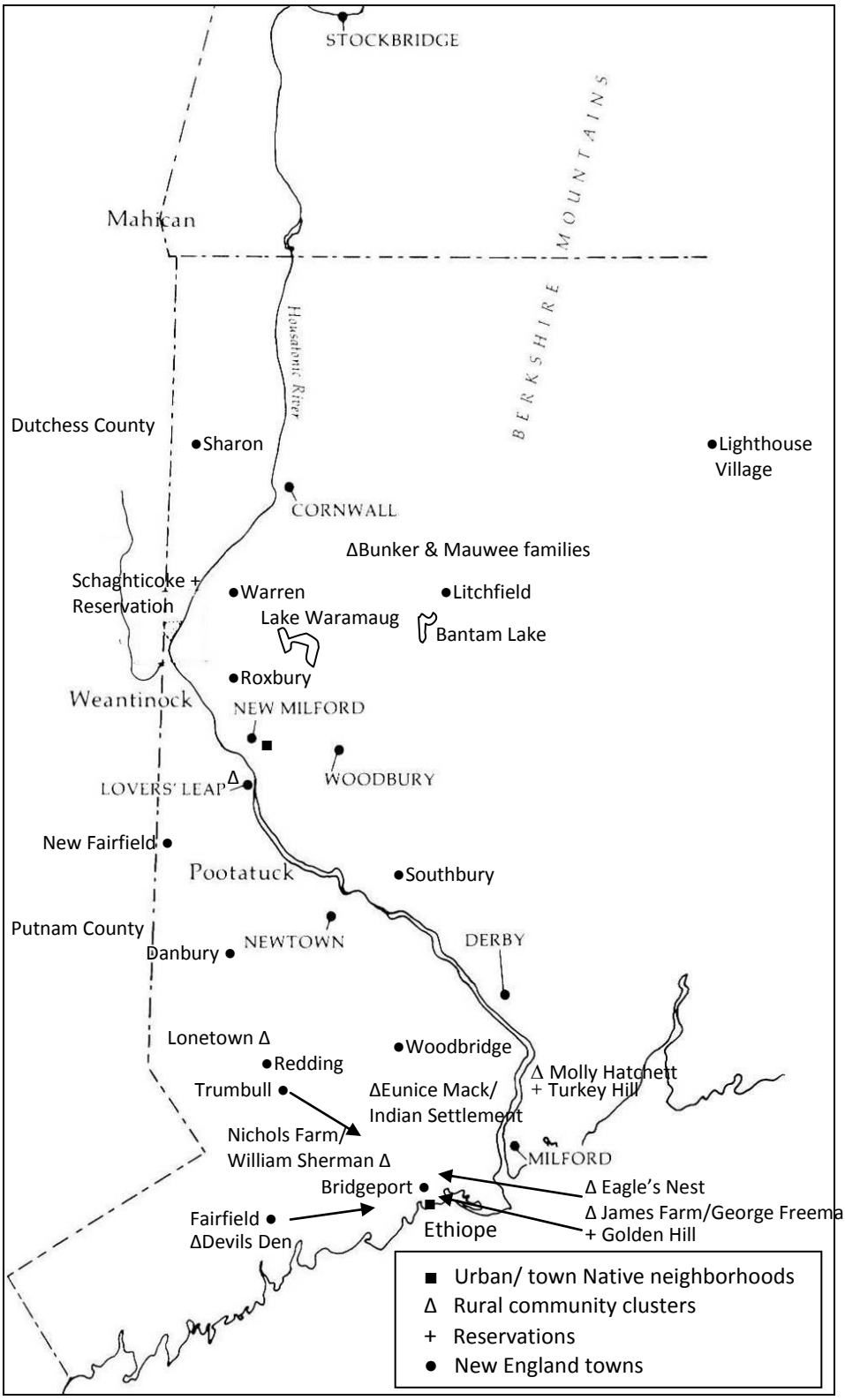



Figure 6.2. Urban, rural, informal, and "in-between" Native community sites in the mid-19th century. (Source: Modified from McMullen and Handsman 2005)

Living in this area, Bradley was surrounded by Paugussett, Potatuck, and Weantinock kin with whom his community was closely connected, as well as by other residents of Schaghticoke who moved in and out of the area. Bradley himself returned repeatedly to Schaghticoke, eventually re-settling there and serving as a leader in the community.

Although Truman Bradley's example highlights that there are plainly advantages in disabusing notions that all communities are local solidarities (Wellman 1999:xiv-xv), a strict network focus has its limits. This is particularly so in the context of describing Native communities who are fundamentally and inextricably bound by a sense of place and continuing attachments to the homelands. Merging personal network studies, which focus on the social nature of community, with landscape perspectives, which stress spatial relationships without presuming boundedness, leads to representations of community which encompass both social and spatial attachments. This joint focus is important in understanding the places Native people chose to reside in, and their reasons for doing so, as the 19th century progressed. The networks they built drew on "old" reservation spaces, growing rural clusters, deepening urban networks, and the still ambiguous spaces which provided informal residences.

*Shrinking Reservation Spaces*

Reservations, as Truman Bradley's travels and "returns" to Schaghticoke indicate, persisted in being important centers of Housatonic Native community life. Their shrinking size and resources, though, made them insufficient in supporting sizeable community populations. This was all the more true as overseers sold off Native land

bases to defray their continuing costs and debts. In 1818, some 15 people lived in three houses on the Turkey Hill reservation, under the oversight of local Anglo-American resident Lemon Stone (Connecticut General Assembly 1818). A series of sicknesses and debts prompted Stone to petition the General Assembly in the 1820s to sell all but 8 acres of the 100-acre parcel, which in his view had become "poor" land nearly "destitute of timber, firewood, and fences." The residents, he justified, are "considerably reduced" by recent deaths and "several of them are wanderers in different places" (CSA, RG002 General Assembly, Native Americans, Box 3, Folder 1, 1823).[clxxxii] Similar justification was used to sell off the Golden Hill reservation land base, with the proceeds put into an annual tribal fund.

*Rural Community Clusters*

Without sizeable community land bases, many families and individuals continued patterns from previous decades and sought "home" in nearby locales on their homelands. Members of groups with tribal funds, including Golden Hill, Turkey Hill, and Schaghticoke, could petition for portions of their tribal funds in order to purchase individual homesteads for their benefit and that of "their heirs." These patterns were palpable at Schaghticoke, where the diminishing land base and stark resources made it impracticable for all community members to reside on-reservation. By 1840, Orcutt (1882:200) describes, less than five families remained on the reservation. They clustered in six dwellings on six acres and amounted to no more than twenty-five people.[clxxxiii]

Orcutt's numbers fail to account, however, for the many Schaghticoke community members living off-reservation who were still intimately tied with the Schaghticoke community, its daily routines, and its tribal funds. The networks between the Schaghticoke reservation and Schaghticoke families living in nearby Cornwall, Connecticut are particularly illuminating in this regard. At the end of the 18th century, Stiles noted that there were four Schaghticoke families living in Cornwall (see Figure 6.2) These numbers grew throughout the 19th century, providing an important satellite locale of community-keeping that was within easy proximity to the Schaghticoke reservation, but which relieved burden on the reservation's limited resources and space.

Some accounts suggest that Anglo-American residents in Cornwall viewed the presence of Schaghticoke community members in their town as a new practice, rather than as the continuing use of a larger homeland area.[clxxxiv] There are many indications, however, that the homesites that Schaghticoke members chose may not have been random. Rufus Bunker and his wife, Roxa (Roxanne), both Schaghticoke community members, lived on a modest farm on the Sharon and Goshen turnpike near the top of the hill named after him (Gold 1903:453-4).

In this location, they were at a crossroads of old and new. Their choice of homestead put them near to an old Native path from Litchfield to Weatogue (Salisbury, Connecticut). Positioned in this locale, Rufus and Roxa had ready access to the routes which connected Schaghticoke, Weantinock, and Potatuck homelands in the mid- and upper-Housatonic. They were also closely connected along an easy and direct route to other Schaghticoke families in Cornwall. Just to the north along the Sharon-Goshen Turnpike, "Petter," likely Peter Mauwee, lived at 169 Sharon-Goshen Turnpike. To the

south, Rufus and Roxa's son Eli Bunker lived in a house on a brook at the foot of Red House Hill, along a road later named Eli Bunker Road (Clark and Pikasky 1977:19).[clxxxv] Later in life, Rufus appears to have moved closer to Eli Bunker, to a location in the Blake Hill Mill area of East Cornwall, about a two mile walk from Eli's homestead.[clxxxvi]

The individual homesteading actions of the Cornwall Schaghticoke families, as throughout the Native Housatonic Valley, signal change in the practices of communal living which had characterized Native community-keeping in centuries preceding. Rufus and Roxa Bunker lived in a "comfortable frame house" on a fifty acre farm that had been cleared and fenced with stone walls (Gold 1903:453-4). This a situation in many ways quite unlike communally-focused wigwam clusters of several families. But more subtle forms of communal living continued. Peter Mauwee, for example, may have resided on an individual plot, but he did so in a wigwam for much of the early 19th century. Moreover, his residence was reported to be home to 14 people, perhaps an indication of an extended or multi-generational family living with one another (Burnham 1812:109).

Even if not residing communally, the Schaghticoke families in Cornwall remained closely connected in their daily routines. They gathered among common spaces in and around Cornwall village, such as John Harrison's general store. (Figure 6.3) Eli Bunker was a regular and frequent customer of John Harrison's, as was Rufus Bunker and Schaghticoke men Joseph Mawwee and Daniel Bunker (Harrison Account Book, CHS). They often shopped on the same day as one another and even purchased similar items, as on December 20, 1839 when Eli Bunker and Rufus Bunker made back-to-back purchases of yarn mittens.[clxxxvii]

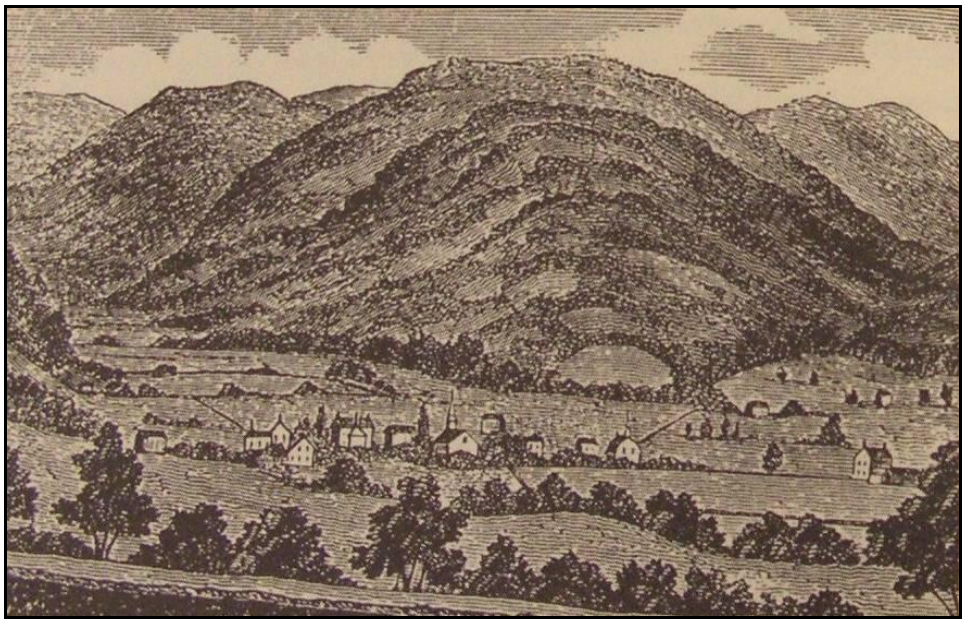


Figure 6.3. The hills surrounding Cornwall village in 1838, by John Barber.
(Source: Connecticut Historical Society)

The intersecting lives of Schaghticoke families in Cornwall extended further to their continuing connections with the Schaghticoke reservation community in Kent. Rufus and Eli Bunker, along with Cornwall resident Jeremiah Cogswell (or Coxell), appear on numerous tribal accounts, demonstrating that they maintained regular tribal relations despite residing at a distance. These relationships were at times obscured by biases and assumptions of place-bound community ties. Like so many other Native individuals residing off-reservation, Jeremiah Cogswell's continuing connections to his community were erased in official discourse – literally, in his case. A petition on behalf of Jeremiah Cogswell labels him "an Indian," but, then, both leaves unfinished, and crosses out, the qualifying designation "of the tribe of…" (RG002, General Assembly, Box 27, Folder 1). (Figure 6.4)

Portrayed thusly as an "unaffiliated Indian," he subsequently had to petition the General Assembly to recognize his rights as a Schaghticoke community member. His

Schaghticoke community connections remained strong down through generations, with members of his family, and those of Rufus Bunker's, returning to the Schaghticoke reservation to live in the second half of the 19th century.[clxxxviii]

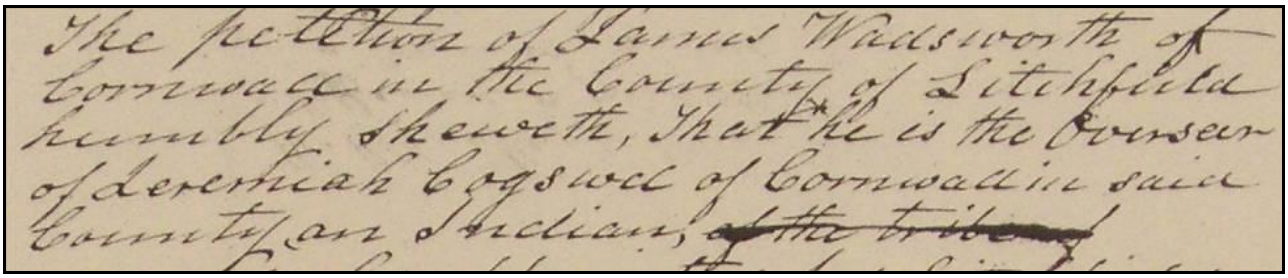

The petition of James Wadsworth of Cornwall in the County of Litchfield humbly sheweth, That he is the Overseer of Jeremiah Cogswell of Cornwall in said County, an Indian, ~~of the tribe~~

Figure 6.4. Petition on behalf of Jeremiah Cogswell, portrayed as an Indian unaffiliated with a particular tribe. (Source: CSA, RG002 General Assembly Papers)

The community networks that Schaghticoke families maintained between Cornwall and Kent also extended across a much wider geography. Throughout the 19th century, most Schaghticoke families resided in Litchfield County, Connecticut and Dutchess County, New York. Importantly, they mostly resided in towns adjacent contiguous to Kent, the site of the Schaghticoke reservation (BIA 2004). Tribal overseer reports describe the continuing care of Schaghticoke community clusters in nearby Warren, Roxbury, and Litchfield, and across the New York border in Dover and Amenia, among other locales. (see Figure 6.2)

Cornwall continued to have one of the largest gatherings of Schaghticoke families, but after 1840 a number of Schaghticoke families also increasingly resided south along the Housatonic in New Milford. In 1849 alone, Schaghticoke Mary Ann Phillips married Riley Cogswell, and Schaghticoke Emily Cogswell (of the Cornwall Cogswells) married Abner L. Rogers in New Milford (Cornwall Vital Records, Barber

Collection Vol 3:83; BIA 2004). They joined other community members already residing there, including Delia J. Kilson and her husband Reuben Rogers, Patty Mauwee, and Jabez Cogswell, the latter of whom had been born in Cornwall (1850 Federal Census).

In this manner, residence patterns both precipitated and followed on the heels of continuing networks of intermarriage ties. Brilvitch (2007:84) points out that marriage and residence patterns, more so than census records, lend insight into the shape, spaces, and membership of 19th century Native communities. He notes that certain recurring family surnames which are identified in deeds and town histories as Native American - names like Jackson, Freeman, Mack, Pease, Phillips, Moses, Cam, and Starr - are consistently intertwined with one another. Nancy Chickens, a Schaghticoke, married James Phillips, a surname which appears in an early 19th century Schaghticoke account book, but which is also closely associated with Turkey Hill Paugussett family lines (BIA 2004:154; BIA 2003).[clxxxix] Larger family marriage patterns are also evident. Just as several Schaghticoke families married into a Rogers clan in New Milford, the Deming family of Southbury, Woodbury, and Middlebury (adjoining towns) intermarried with Paugussett Jackson clans, and the Simon(d)s family of Southbury married into several Paugussett families (Brilvitch 2007:84).[cxc]

The town residences of many Schaghticoke individuals reflect these past and continuing networks of intermarriage. Their locations suggest that some Schaghticoke individuals continued to express attachments to Potatuck homelands, a heritage passed down among some Schaghticoke family lines even today. (see Figure 6.2) Schaghticoke men Jo Pene and Elihu Mauwee were among several who lived 35 miles southeast of

Schaghticoke in Newtown in 1820, around the area of the prominent 18th century Potatuck Wigwams locale.

Other Schaghticoke members maintained ties in patterned ways to Paugussett places. Schaghticoke community member Rachel was living in Woodbridge in 1832, the area in which Paugussett descendants of Eunice Mack and of the "Indian Settlement" continued to live. Some Schaghticoke members lived as neighbors with one another in Trumbull, near the Nichols Farm area where Golden Hill Paugussett community members had reservation land at mid-century and where late 19th century Golden Hill Paugussett leader and culture keeper William Sherman would purchase a homestead in the 1870s to re-grow a tribal base.

To the east, a Paugussett community clustered along a series of farmsteads atop a ridge in the area known as James Farms in North Stratford. At mid-century, Paugussett George Freeman and his wife, Lucy White, lived on James Farm Road in a farmhouse which still stands today. Widely referred to as "Yellow George," George was known as a good shad fisherman and as a man of "considerable influence among all classes in his neighborhood" (Bridgeport Standard 06/13/1888; Brilvitch 2007:59). His name appears prominently in a journal kept by Golden Hill Paugussett William Sherman. Sherman's journal chronicles an intimate look at the continuing Paugussett community ties throughout the Housatonic Valley in the third quarter of the 19th century.[cxci] George and Lucy's neighbors in the James Farm area in the 1840s included the Martinburghs, Whites, and Burrs, all of whom are mentioned in Sherman's diary (Brilvitch 2007:62-65). Brilvitch (2007) argues that George Freeman provided leadership among the Paugussett

community at James Farm, also serving as witness at important functions and providing financial assistance.

*Urban Neighborhoods*

In addition to the rural locales which continued to provide spaces for Native community connections, there was a growing trend toward urban living. Native families and individuals utilized kin and friend networks to facilitate moves to urban centers, establishing closely interwoven residences. An urban Native community of largely Paugussett families and other peoples of color coalesced in the southern section of Bridgeport around 1830, as Charles Brilvitch (2007) has reconstructed in detail. Known as "Ethiope," the community was situated half a mile south of Bridgeport center toward Wells Tongue. (see Figure 6.2) Wells Tongue had long been noted for its rich archaeological deposits, attesting to the significance of the area for Native people. Brilvitch (2007:28) speculates that in the mid-19th century this area may have been considered undesirable by Anglo-Americans because it was near to salt marshlands, and consequently, heightened malaria concerns.

In 1821, two people of color, John Feeley and Jacob Freeman, likely Paugussett, purchased half an interest in land and associated dwellings in this section. Four years later, Jacob's brother purchased a lot immediately to the south, and another relative purchased a third adjoining lot.[cxcii] A few years subsequently, Turkey Hill Paugussett Joel Freeman purchased a harbor-front lot just down the road. Within a short time, they were joined by other Paugussetts, by Native community members from around the region, and

by other peoples of color, creating a vibrant community of peoples of color complete with a school, churches, a hotel and saloon, and stores (Brilvitch 2007).

The community composition at Ethiope drew on continuing regional, and extra-regional, connections. Brilvitch (2007) points out that "plotting the places of origin of Ethiope community members on a township map of Connecticut reveal[s] an almost perfect funnel shape, with the wide top between New Milford and Litchfield, tapering neatly down to that section of the coast from Fairfield to Milford – precisely what is generally regarded as the historic territory of the Paugussett tribe" (Brilvitch 2007:107). Some Ethiope members came from Redding, Connecticut, the site of Chickens Warrups' Lonetown community, many others from Potatuck homelands around Southbury and Newtown, and others still from Litchfield, New Milford, and other ancestral places of the Weantinock and Schaghticoke.[cxciii] (see Figure 6.2)

Many who moved in and out of Ethiope had ties further east to Poughkeepsie, New York. The Dutchess and Putnam Counties of New York had been "a place of refuge" for Paugussett, Potatuck, Weantinock, and Schaghticoke community members since the early 17th century (Brilvitch 2007:34), and was tied by close interregional networks for much longer. Ethiope was thoroughly connected with the rural Native communities nearby, including with William Sherman and the Nichols Farm Paugussett community in Trumbull, with the George Freeman's James Farm community in North Stratford, and with other small Native communities in Ansonia, Birmingham, Newfield (Bridgeport), and Derby.

The community at Ethiope which grew via these connections built a close knit community centered on four intersecting streets.[cxciv] Intermarried and related families

bought lots and properties adjacent to one another. They resided in household compositions that reflected long-standing patterns of extended family, multigenerational, and even age group-related living. Eliza Freeman, the sister of Ethiope founder Joel Freeman, purchased property around the corner from Joel, in which she also took boarders. In a residential pattern familiar for unmarried Native women, her household in 1860 was shared with four women of roughly the same age, all of whom have family surnames associated with Paugussett families (Brilvitch 2007:47).[cxcv] These community ties, both at Ethiope and to rural Native community locales elsewhere, extended multigenerationally. Eliza Freeman's front door neighbor, Tunis Green, left his property to his grandson, a man whom Golden Hill Paugussett William Sherman later described as a friend and co-worker in his journal (Brilvitch 2007:35).

*"Squatting" Places and other Spaces "In Between"*

Not all Native families and individuals were so firmly planted in such legally-defined spaces, however. Local town histories noted the continuing places and routes of Native itinerancy, even as they simultaneously romanticized and criticized these practices. Fairfield resident Helen Pease Van Valkenburg described a Native woman and her son who "lived in a wigwam near the front lawn of her grandparent's home on Congress Street" in Fairfield as late as 1830. In the winters, she asserted, the family "lived in a little low shed-like build further back on the property" (Banks 1960:23). Nearby, a small community of Native families is known to have camped seasonally in the Devil's Den area of Fairfield in the 19th century. (see Figure 6.2)

In the early 20th century, local resident Lottie Burr of Fairfield recollected when, in the spring of 1878, her father and grandfather went into the woods behind their home to make charcoal. Traveling some 3 miles deep into the woods, they stumbled upon a Native family of three, living "under a rock ledge…in a tent with the ledge providing much shelter" (Banks 1960:22). A flooring was made of piles of straw, on which the husband, wife, and their young son slept.[cxcvi] Such natural sites of community protection had long been sites of use among Native groups in the Housatonic Valley.

The western Connecticut landscape is a dense patchwork of multicomponent rockshelter sites which 19th century historians re-authored with ubiquitous "Indian Cave" references.[cxcvii] Rockshelter sites vary widely in size and appearance, but most consist of a rock overhang, against which a lean-to of poles and boughs was constructed to enhance protection (Cruson 1991). They were used by Native groups as small community sites as many as 8,000 or more years ago and as recently as 120 years ago.[cxcviii] In western Connecticut, most rockshelters seem to have been used on a temporary basis, in keeping with patterns of residential and seasonal mobility (Wiegand 1983).[cxcix]

Rockshelters retained their importance as sites of community and family "stopping places" in the 19th century. Quite a number of these occupations follow Native pathways. Plotting the locations of rockshelters which have been found to contain multi-component and mixed (pre- and post-17th century) assemblages shows a pattern much in keeping with the Native trails that continued to feature prominently in the routes of Native community connection. (Figure 6.5) One cluster of such rockshelters is present in the Weantinock-Schaghticoke homelands along the east-west corridor between Dover Plains, New York and Goshen, Connecticut. An even larger number of sites cluster north-

to-south along a Paugussett trail known in colonial and later times as the “Berkshire Indian Path” (today’s Route 7). In Wilton, the Split Rock and Wolfpit shelters contain heaths and evidence of Late Woodland and historic artifacts. Further up the Paugussett trail, the Beaver Brook Mountain rockshelter site in Danbury evidences a Late Woodland through historic occupation (Wiegand 1983). It, and the Boulder Home site in New Milford, are two of the most prolific assemblages in the area (Walwer and Walwer 2008:24).

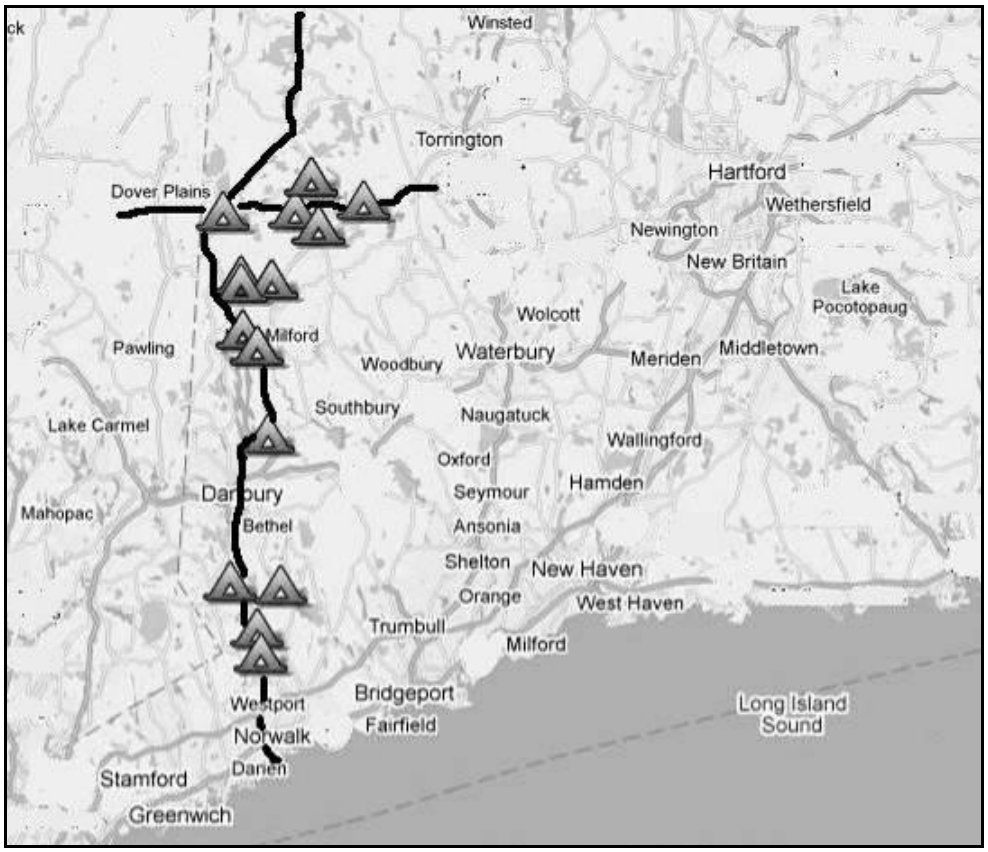



Figure 6.5. Multicomponent and mixed assemblage rockshelter sites along the Paugussett trail and along the east-west transect between Dover Plains, New York and Harwinton, Connecticut. (Source: Author).

Likewise, rockshelter sites were also used as sites of more long-term residence in the 19th century. They provided Native families with economic advantages, as well as possibilities to continue living in a manner more in keeping with past generations. These more sustained residential usages may be archaeologically apparent at the Woodruff Rockshelter site in New Preston. Located at the southeastern tip of Lake Waramaug, in near proximity to Chere Point and the Hopkins Site (Chapter 5), the shelter was variously occupied for at least 5,000 years. (see Figure 6.2) Professional archaeological excavations and avocational collecting at the site indicate it has an extensive Late Woodland component (AD 1000-1500), as well as a post-17th century site usage (IAIS Site Files; Swigart 1987). Feature patterns suggest that there may have been a line of hearths near the back wall of the shelter, and small midden areas along crevices of the perimeter.

In addition to objects of Native manufacture, including lithic tools, Native ceramics, and a steatite bowl fragment, many historic artifacts were recovered, including nails, bottle and flat glass, historic ceramics, iron tools, buckles, bullet shells, and bullet casings. Most of these historic artifacts appear to post-date 1850. An earlier 17th and 18th century presence, however, is also documented by a sheet brass projectile point, kaolin pipes dating to ca. 1710-1750, and French gun flints. Faunal and botanical remains, including bone, shell, seeds, and nuts, suggest year-round usage in at least the Woodland period, though the evidence is not conclusive.

In complement to archaeological evidence, the usage of rockshelter sites in the 18th and 19th centuries is also historically recalled in local accounts and oral tradition. MacCurdy (1914:511) outlines the 19th century residential history of “Fry’s Cave” outside of New Haven, illuminating the high demand for such rockshelters. (Figure 6.6)

The Fry family lived in the shelter until 1826, where they maintained a "neat garden" and earned a living "principally by money received from those who visited their habitation, and by begging." Upon their departure, a "colored man and his wife," Mac and Clo MacDaniel moved in for a year, supporting themselves through basket making.[cc] When they left, "another colored man and his wife came and took possession of the cave," and following their residence, "Indian George" moved in, subsisting on hunting and trapping until about 1856. Archaeological evidence attests to both a much earlier history of use at the site, including an extensive range of Archaic and Woodland era lithic tools, Native ceramics, faunal remains (including animal bone and a shell midden), as well as to more recent 17th and 18th century occupations, indicated by artifacts such as a small collection of coinage. (Figure 6.7)

Anglo-American imaginations overlooked the physical and economic advantages that sites such as Fry's Cave offered, instead often describing them – and those who associated with them – in languages of vagary, mysteriousness, darkness, and marginality. State officials bemoaned the continuing movements of Native individuals about the landscape and of the marginal spaces they occupied in the process.[cci] These sites, however, were closely integrated in Native social and place networks. To the south of Devil's Den was (and is) a large, well-used mortar rock, today commemorated as Samp Mortar State Park, which had been used for generations. To the southwest, an extended Paugussett family maintained seasonal camping sites in the Mill Plain district for much of the 19th century, subsisting as basket makers. (Figures 6.8 and 6.9)

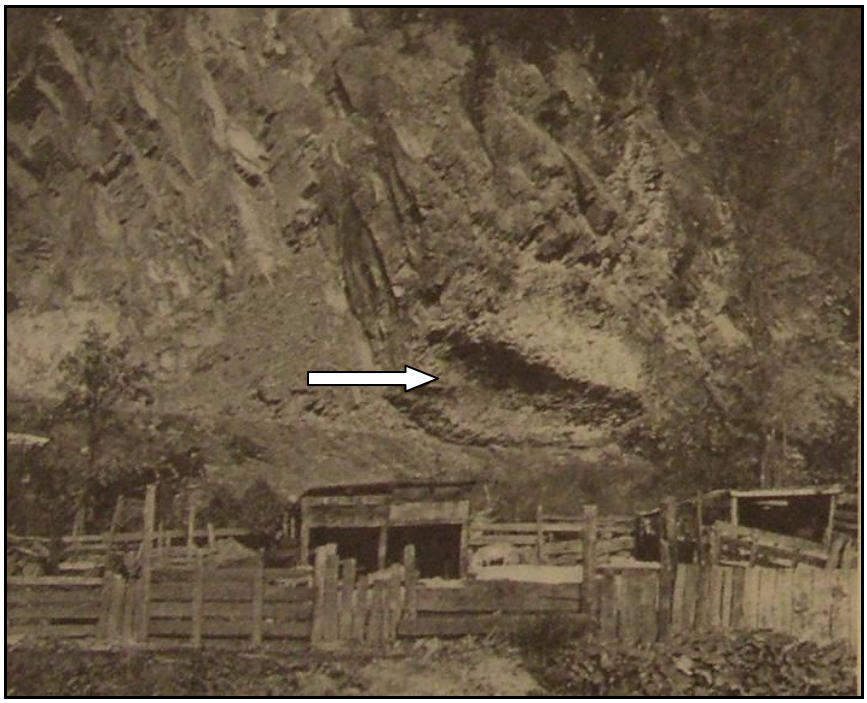


Figure 6.6. Fry's Cave as it appeared in 1912. (Source: MacCurdy 1962)

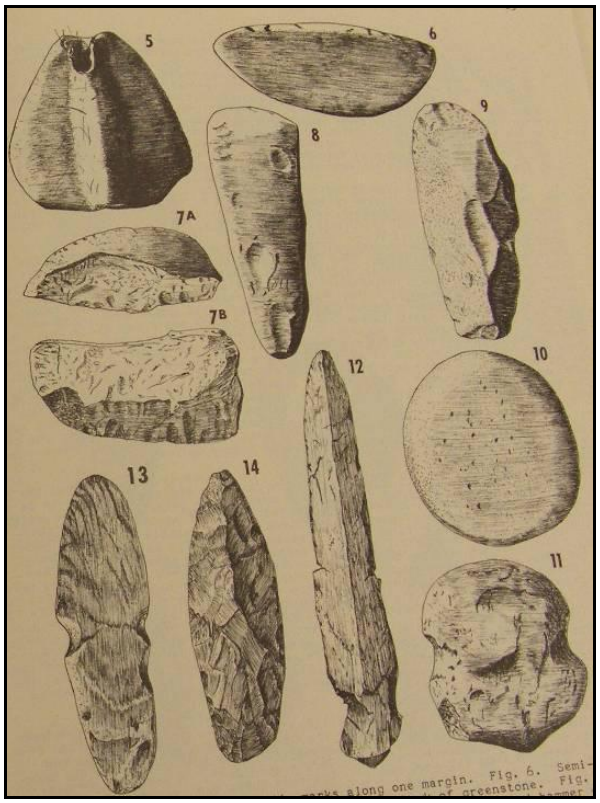



Figure 6.7. Artifacts recovered by local collectors, donated to the Yale Peabody Museum. (Source: MacCurdy 1962)

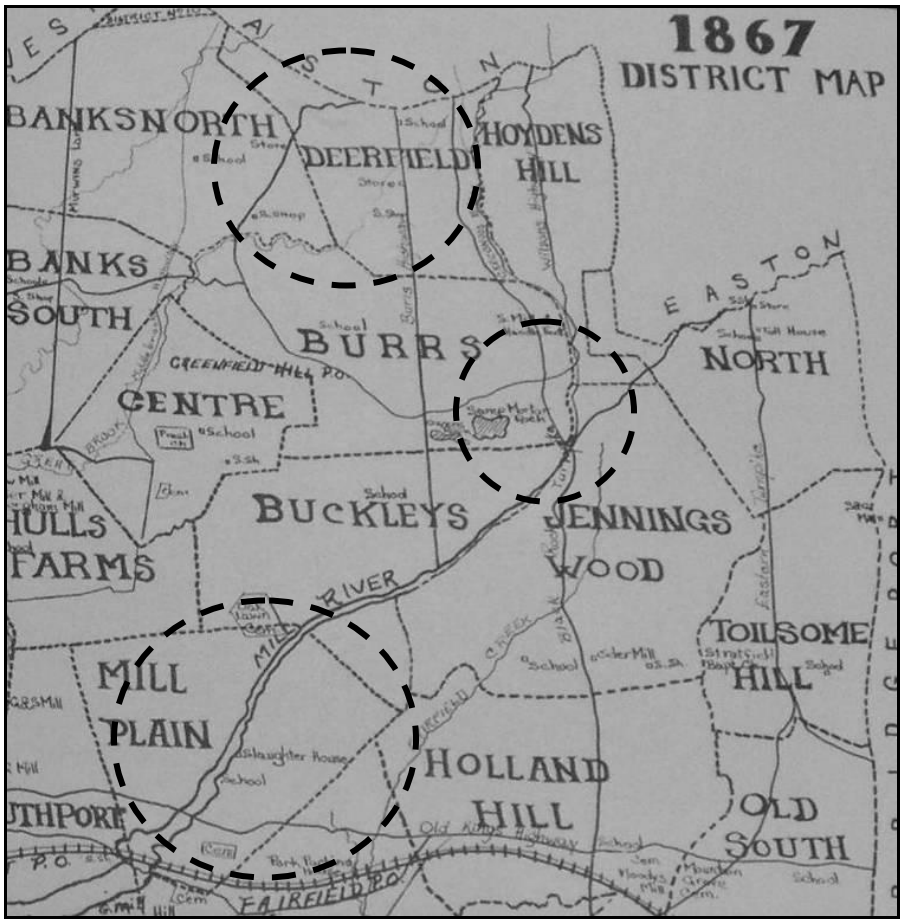



Figure. 6.8. 1867 District map of Fairfield showing area of Devil's Den, nearby Samp Mortar Rock, and the Mill Plain district, where a family of Native basket makers lived for most of the 19th century (Source: Banks 1960)

Figure 6.9. Samp Mortar Rock, Fairfield, Connecticut. (Source: Banks 1960)

This spatial lens offers perspectives of proximity and integration which are complemented in a "follow-up" story about the Native family of three which local Fairfield resident Lottie Burr recollected was living in the shelter at Devil's Den in the 1870s. Though Lottie Burr's first descriptions of their living situation and spatial location in the rockshelter suggest an isolated and marginalized existence (see beginning of section), her later anecdotes portray the family as clearly integrated in a larger community. One day, the story goes, there was a knock at the door of Lottie's home. Her mother opened the door to find a group of sixteen Native men, women, and children, including the Devil's Den family. They asked for permission to spend the night in the Burr's barn and for food, which they received (Banks 1960:22).

Burr's anecdotes, and many others like it, illuminate the social networks which continued to bind Native families and individuals to one another over space. By "conceptualizing a person's community life as the central node linking complex interpersonal relationships," it becomes apparent that Native communities in Cornwall, Trumbull, Ethiope, Devil's Den and elsewhere, maintained extensive ties and relationships with one another (Wellman 1999:21). As much as communities are characterized by social ties and interaction, however, the shape of community relies on much more than a sum of peopled connections. It is equally that clear histories of place remained an important part of the way these networks were maintained and "lived." The rural locales, growing urban centers, and still-amorphous spaces like rockshelters in which Housatonic Native communities lived were situated in much longer histories of community life. As Native families and individuals worked to maintain their networks of

families, traditions, spirituality, and economy in the mid-19th century, these links to the past both provided, and demanded, practices for the present and future.

## NETWORKING OLD PRACTICES AND NEW OPPORTUNITIES

Emphasizing that Housatonic individuals were simultaneously members of present communities and linked to those of past generations underscores that people are not members of a discrete community. They are linked in varied ways with the larger society around them. Moreover, different members partake of different, and multiple, communities according to age, sex, interest, and other qualities (Goldzins 2005). The diversity of Housatonic Native people's economic, social, and residential interests reflected their conscious and ongoing efforts to continue the principles upheld by their ancestors, even while changing for success in the "modern" world. These multiplicities enabled Native families and individuals in the mid-19th century to draw on the many resources needed to survive individually and collectively. Though they were participants in many networks, Native people continued to express the shape of distinctive communal and cultural identities. I focus here on leadership traditions, economic pursuits, and materiality.

Native community leadership in the mid-19th century reflected their integration in familial networks, tribal networks, regional Native networks, and New England town networks. In the Ethiope community in Bridgeport, founder Joel Freeman took on a prominent community role. He was a Turkey Hill Paugussett heir, but he was also closely connected to other Native communities. His parents, Timothy and Sebina Freeman,

owned twelve acres of land known as the ‘rock house lot’ in the Deerfield section of Derby. This property was immediately adjacent to land owned by Golden Hill Paugussett Eunice Mack (Chapter 5) and by Turkey Hill Paugussett Jeremiah Merrick and his wife Sylvia Freeman, likely a relation (Brilvitch 2007:29). (see Figure 6.2) At Ethiope, Joel seems to have “exhibited all the traits” of a sachem, or Native leader, witnessing secured loans, witnessing marriages of tribal (and likely tribal) members, acting as executor for deceased community members’ estates, and acting as a petitioner to the Connecticut General Assembly (Brilvitch 2007:85).[ccii]

As this leadership pattern hints, Native families still traveled widely and often around their homelands, and those of their kin. Even in the mid-19th century, their expressions of communal and material life reflected this richness of heritage. In Cornwall, Schaghticoke community members Rufus and Roxa Bunker maintained a successful farm, where they raised pigs and grew crops and lived in a neat frame house. In addition to being integrated in the Anglo-American community at Cornwall, they remained closely connected with the Schaghticoke community in Cornwall, Kent. Material indicators suggest they also identified with their Paugussett and Potatuck kin (Lamb Richmond 2005:133). They produced splint baskets for trade and sale which display stylistic elements characteristic of Schaghticoke basketry, and also of Paugussett and lower-Housatonic basketry.

The nature of Native economic practices in the mid-19th century likewise carried on important traditions of labor, scheduling, gender roles, and community organization. The mid-19th century American public had a tendency to characterize Native individuals as uneducated, lazy paupers. Many, however, displayed adroit entrepreneurial impulses.

Individuals like Schaghticoke Cornwall resident Rufus Bunker, and his son Eli Bunker, were people of some enterprise. The frequency and nature of Rufus and Eli's purchases at John Harrison's general store indicate that they were relatively well-off. They purchased staples like candles, nails, wheat flour, and a wire sieve but also "luxury" items like a skein of silk, soap, a silk handkerchief, a "pockett book," and pearl buttons. Members of Eli's household, likely his Anglo-American wife, Fanny Watson, if not also himself, were literate, necessitating Eli's purchase of "1 bottle Ink," "3 sheets paper," "indigo," and an almanac.

The manners by which Rufus Bunker, Eli Bunker and many others in rural locales paid for their goods, including baskets, hoeing, towing wood, and dressing skins, reflect long-standing skills and labor in the "rural arts" (Brilvitch 2007). Native individuals, on- and off-reservation, assembled a modest living through occasional work as farm laborers, domestic workers, loggers, butchers, handymen, basket peddlers, and stone wall layers. They produced goods for barter and sale, such as baskets, brooms, and cider, which drew on traditions of Native manufacture. Rufus settled many of his debts by selling John Harrison corn baskets he had made, calf skins he had dressed, and animals he raised, including a 77-pound pig. Rufus's baskets appear to have been in high demand. Many sold within days of their addition to Harrison's shelves.[cciii] These practices built the economic capital of Native communities in more complex ways than 19th century descriptions of "destitute," "wandering" Indians would lead to believe.

There were, however, new pressures on these practices. Individuals could often earn much more as hired laborers. Through one day's work hoeing corn, for example, they could make as much as seventy-five cents, a significant amount more than they were

often paid for baskets and brooms (Lamb Richmond 2005:143). These hired labor jobs could be individual ones. But they often drew on a network of Native labor, built around family and age-group lines. In the southern reaches of the Housatonic, near Stratford, Golden Hill Paugussett William Sherman worked as a farmhand for Ransom D. Curtis, who also employed and boarded Paugussett member Levi Pease (Brilvitch 2007:62-63). These forms of wage labor played into a strategic seasonality that drew its pulse from economic calendars of preceding generations (Raibmon 2000). By undertaking work at specific times of the year and in specific places, Native individuals could continue to schedule their calendars around important social and ceremonial events. William Sherman, for example, took days off to go "a-clamming" and to attend communal picnics on the shores of the Long Island Sound.

The "rural arts" which Native people across New England performed were by no means exclusive or unchanging endeavors. Native families and individuals responded quickly to changing economic, social, and physical landscapes. When timber became necessary for producing charcoal for the railroad and iron industries, many Native communities quickly became steady coal producers. Charcoaling work offered the opportunity to earn a living while staying "in place," drawing on surrounding forest resources. At the Lighthouse village site, the archaeological remains of four furnaces are clearly discernable as low, circular mounds some twenty or more feet in diameter, surrounded by a shallow ditch (Feder 1994). (see Figure 6.2) Fragments of charcoal are so ubiquitous that they litter the surface even today (Woodruff n.d.:12).

To the west, oral history and archaeological evidence confirm that Schaghticoke Reservation community members engaged in charcoaling activities in the uplands

portions of their reservation (Lavin and Dumas 1998). Lucianne Lavin and S. Douglas Dumas's (1998) archaeological survey on the reservation located five sites containing charcoal hearths and related charcoaling activities.[cciv] Many of the charcoal hearths are spatially near to small depressions which may be the remains of colliers' or sawmill crews' huts. Intriguingly, two circular depressions are consistent in scale with Native wigwams.[ccv]

In urban settings, Native men and women worked as domestic servants, construction workers, and herbalists. They also took on newer roles as steamboat cooks, mariners, laundry providers, and barbers. Community members in Ethiope had a near monopoly on barbering, waitering, and laundry (Brilvitch 2007). In larger towns, some people also found employment by taking up activities the Anglo-American public deemed recognizably "Indian" (and therefore appropriate work). At least one individual in the Ethiope community worked for entertainment baron P.T. Barnum in Bridgeport.[ccvi] Native men and women also worked both itinerantly and in towns and cities as "Indian doctors," treating Native and non-Native patients. A city directory for New Haven even included a count of Indian doctors among its "medical personnel." The medicines and remedies that were sold were ones marketable and desirable to broad publics, but they also drew on elders' extensive knowledge of wild plants for medicinal (and spiritual) purposes (Tantaquidgeon 1972).

Similarly, basket production continued to provide important sources of rural and urban revenue, though the dynamics of both production and exchange shifted in the latter half of the 19th century. Basketry experienced something of a "changing space" as resources, markets, and demographics altered (McMullen 1983). Baskets continued to be

peddled by individuals, but so too were they commissioned and produced for tourist trades. Henry Manasseh (or Manasseth), a Native man of unknown tribal affiliation, produced baskets while serving a lifetime sentence in the Litchfield County Jail. His work included a distinctive basket in the shape of a man's top hat (Handsman and McMullen 2005:21; CSA RG002 General Assembly Papers, Native Americans, 1822-1868, From Box 61, Folder 5, 1851). (Figure 6.10)

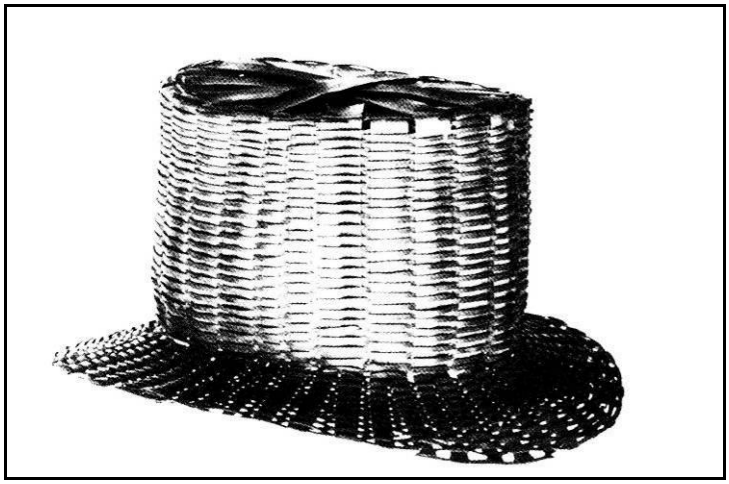


Figure 6.10. Hat constructed in Native basket-making techniques by Henry Manasseh.
(Source: McMullen and Handsman 2005)

Increasingly commonly, baskets were also sold as communal endeavors, brokered by both Native and Anglo-American "agents." A Derby merchants' Christmas fair took out an ad in the local newspaper, promoting that:

> "Gifts of all kinds still remain in great abundance upon the counters, a noticeable feature of which is the line of 'Indian basket work' – the 'exclusive agency' for which has been granted to Whitney & Co. by the tribe of the 'Pequots.' (Said tribe consisting, at the present time, of one 'big injun,' two squaws, four dogs, and – a bottle of whisky.) There are other 'Indian agencies' in town, but the Pequot agency is the only genuine thing." (*New Haven Daily Palladium*)

The ad's bold assertions did not pass unnoticed by other Native communities in the area. In a follow-up editorial a week later, "Powwowhattan," the "chief of the Penobscots," complained that the "'Pequot' article of last week, was a 'derisive fling'" at himself and his nearby basket agency (*New Haven Daily Palladium*, 12/28/1865).

Native communities similarly adapted the spirit of past community and labor practices in other mediums. Native men across New England became integral contributors to the thriving maritime industry, including as seamen, cooks, and shipbuilders. Maritime trades offered good wages and an opportunity to utilize the local knowledge and skills of Native hunters and fishers. Life at sea provided an extension of community ties for many Native men, who often enlisted with other members of their community. In this way, whaling expeditions were not dissimilar from the 18th century "work parties," which had characterized men's hunting trip organization at Schaghticoke and other locales across New England.

Whaling was also an arena in which to build ties with other peoples of color (Mancini 2009). Andrew Moses, a 17-year old Paugussett man from Derby, enlisted as a seaman on the Sandy Shore sloop destined for Bermuda in September 1806 (New London Crew Lists Index, 1803-1878). The small voyage crew included other people of color from nearby Milford, including Edward Brown, Samuel Camp, and William Cooper. With some voyages lasting more than 500 days, the possibilities for sustained community ties to develop may have been easy coming (Young n.d.)[ccvii] The confluence of these many economic practices enabled Native individuals to continue to travel, make

schedules conducive for community gatherings, and otherwise work in ways that could sustain connected community life.

Anglo-American observers were largely unimpressed by the strategic decision-making of Native laborers. They misinterpreted Native people's emphasis on using specific work forms, like seasonal farm labor and basket production, to maintain networks of relations as "laziness," "immorality," and "intemperance" (DeForest 1851:420). They fell back on ideas of labor and work, tying production closely with proper citizenship and community participation. Native communities were villainized for particularly embodying the "wasting and destructive polluting influence of pauperism and crime in the land" which "more than all other causes" threatened and undermined strong communities (Chipman 1836:Preface). Even worse, they were perceived to have – and yet ignore or fail – opportunities for such improvement:

> "For a hundred years they have been surrounded by an industrious and law-abiding community; yet their course has been so steadily downward that they are now on the verge of extinction. Indolence, drunkenness, and intermarriage…are largely responsible for this" (Todd 1968:211).

The fact that many Native families and individuals, whether by socioeconomic circumstance or choice, continued to express traditions of Native materiality only exacerbated these perceptions.[ccviii] Many Native individuals owned comparatively little in the way of personal property, as judged by their Anglo-American contemporaries. Certainly this reflects economic circumstances. But probate records from western Connecticut also suggest that personal property may have been amassed in particular, sometimes patterned, ways.

A number of Housatonic Native individuals who accumulated wealth in their lifetimes concentrated their assets in purchasing land. To own land carried individual importance for livelihood and posterity. The sentiments of individuals such as Golden Hill Paugussett William Sherman suggest that it could also be communally-oriented. William Sherman labored almost continuously over his lifetime to amass money to purchase a ¼-acre parcel of land and homestead in Trumbull, Connecticut. William personally lived on the property, but he conceived it as a land base for the Golden Hill Paugussett community.

Probate inventories which detail personal property also point to patterned curations of Native cultural heritage.[ccix] The probate of Joel Freeman, the prominent Turkey Hill Paugussett leader at Ethiope, reveals the estate of a wealthy man, including four dwelling houses and other outbuildings. On the one hand, the inventory of his possessions seems to indicate "the life of a man of cultural and material success" (Brilvitch 2007:32). Yet in addition to books, portraits, and violins, Brilvitch (2007:33) notes that Joel appears to have remained closely connected to long-standing traditions of coastal resource use, indicated by "2 eel pears," "1 oyster drag," "1 flat center board boat, sail & one oar" and "2 small oars." For all his properties he may also have continued practices of occasional shared dwellings, as his inventory "shows an unusually large number of linen for a household of two people, suggesting the presence of frequent guests" much in keeping with sachem traditions (Brilvitch 2007:33).

As Joel Freeman's material and residential practices suggest, Native individuals provided for themselves, their families, and their communities in ways which enabled them to continue maintaining distinctive identities around their relationships to place,

residence, and landscape. They exercised continuing rights to resources which they had carefully reserved since the early 18th century. Much like the Housatonic communities who had ensured the perpetuity of their landscape rights in the 17th and 18th centuries, James Farms community member George Freeman endeavored to attain formal, legal rights to fishing resources in the mid-19th century. He purchased a 3/24 interest in the Oronoque Meadow fishing place to the east of James Farm, and a 2/20 interest in the Friar's Head Fishing Place to the south (Brilvitch 2007:59). Archaeological evidence gathered by local collectors from the banks and fields surrounding the area attest that his practices were but a recent iteration in a long line of generations who had drawn on the resources of that place.

George Freeman's actions undeniably modified the practices of his ancestors. Entrenched in a burgeoning capitalist economy, and a participant in a society guided by Enlightenment ideals of property, George could not rely on the Native attachments to land and resources which recognized the interconnectedness of all life and which treated the landscape accordingly. George sought to preserve his relationship to important ancestral sites on the Paugussett homelands through individual property transfer. Yet, cryptic references in Golden Hill Paugussett William Sherman's journal suggest that George Freeman may have conceived the ties to "his" property in much the communal way of his forebears. Brilvitch (2007:59) notes that George's fishing grounds are the closest point on the river to William Sherman's residence in Nichols Farm to the west. He suggests that Sherman's diary notations of "went atsom shad" and "went a-shadding" may have been references to time shared between the two men in the places, and practices, of their ancestors.

MATERIAL MEMORIES

In these changing circumstances, memory was a powerful resource for transmitting communal identity and heritage inter-generationally. Continuing practices of Native spirituality and commemoration were important vehicles for Native community-keeping in the mid-19th century, and they carried spatial dimensions which continued to integrate Native women and men with the landscape of their ancestors. In Native New England, heritage practices take physical form in expressions of performed activities, site return and visitation, and continued ceremonial rounds, among others. Stone piles, isolated burials, cremation burials, and cemeteries are inscribed on the landscape, providing physical testimony to generations of community keeping (Handsman 1990:4). These actions on the landscape both surround and intervene in community practices and they speak to the ways of moving, gathering, and encountering within these spaces over time.

Since their beginnings, Housatonic Native communities had been guided by the "pervasive spiritual powers" of manitou, life forces present in all things, including rocks, streams, animals, and the plants of the region (Simmons 1986; Handsman and Williamson 1989:29). The presence and sacredness of manitou was honored through ceremonial and social calendars, which collected Native families and individuals together at specific times of the year. This was true even as many adopted Christianity from the 17th century onward.

In the mid-19th century, beliefs surrounding ancestral veneration and sacral heritage continued. Sacred sites and ancestors' graves were still important sites of

community keeping, as is clear from Native people's continuing ties to Weantinock ancestral burial grounds. Nineteenth century historians document the presence of several early historic Native burying grounds in the area around Weantinock (New Milford).[ccx] (see Figure 6.2) Long histories of burial are reflected at the Fort Hill Site (96-09), with some individuals buried in manners characteristic of burial practices from the Woodland era through part of the 18th century, and some buried in European-inspired manners (Walwer 1996; Walwer and Walwer 2000:42; PAL Report #1143, 2000:23; Rogers Collection Notes 1920, IAIS).

For centuries, these burial remains had been venerated and guarded by Weantinock descendants. In the mid-19th century, even Anglo-American observers recognized that Native people continued these practices.[ccxi] David Boardman wrote in 1830 that "the mounded graves could still be seen…beneath large trees growing protectively over them" (Handsman 1991:6). Increasingly, however, the development of the landscape for industrial use and cultivation heavily impacted the safety and integrity of important sacred sites. Native communities did not silently witness the destruction of their ancestors' remains. They protested loudly and publicly of the harm and disregard for their sacred patrimony. When "some young gentlemen studying physic in the neighborhood" of New Milford endeavored to dig up the remains of the 18th century sachem Waramaug, the Schaghticoke "threatened them with violence for the injury done to their tribe" (Dwight 1811). "The attempt," Dwight (1811) minimized with his brevity, "gave very great offense to the Schaghticokes."

The visibility of some sacral practices made them easily recognized features of the landscape, although their meaning was often misunderstood. Native communities

honored the graves of their clan leaders, and commemorated places where remarkable events happened, by placing rock cairns atop them (Handsman 1990:4; IAIS 1989). These practices, noted by English settlers in some of their earliest forays into western Connecticut, represented long-standing practices among Native communities in the region (Simmons 1986; Crosby 1988). Rock cairns were added to, down through generations, as individuals traveled to, or passed by, the spot. (Figure 6.11) In 1734, Native kin traveling with John Sergeant to the Stockbridge Indian mission explained such actions, saying "their fathers used to do so, and they do it because it was the custom of their father" (Handsman and Williamson 1989:5). (see Figure 6.2) The stones that accumulated could be ones carried or sent from across the New England Native diaspora (Handsman and Williamson 1989:9).

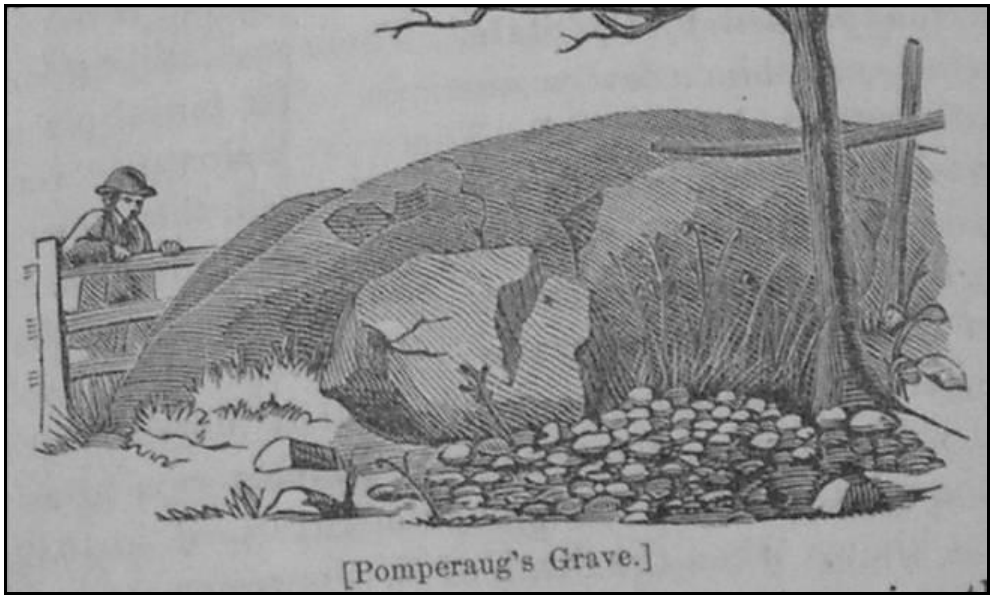



Figure 6.11. 19th century artist's depiction of a rock cairn associated with the grave of the 17th century Potatuck sachem, Pomperaug, reportedly situated near a "large rock, on the west side of the main street [in Southbury, Connecticut], just south of Hon. N.B. Smith's carriage house" (Source: Cothren 1872).

Figure 6.12. Continuing inscriptions of well-worn Native paths on the landscape. (Source: Colley 2009)

"Stone piles" were such visible features of the terrain that they incited much colonial, and later historic, interest. Anglo-American observers noted, however, that the "shrines" were places "of whose import no Indian will speak" (Abbott 1907:220-221). Their observations that Native people would not explain the significance of the cairns calls to their continued curation and guarding of ceremonial and spiritual elements. As among contemporary Native North America, New England Native communities drew important boundaries in who could know what of their cultural heritage.

The significance of stone piles did acquire at least some new meanings from the 17th century onward, however. Rock cairns, Anglo-American observers noted, were almost "always surrounded by "well beaten trails" (a reflection of their continuing significance and visitation by Native people). (Figure 6.12) This meant that they became

part of the colonial circulations that took advantage of Native paths for moving around the region. As recognizable and observable markers on the landscape, they also came to be one of the many environmental features used by surveyors to divide and remake the landscape.[ccxii]

In such manner, stone piles became part of the tools by which Native communities were dispossessed of their ancestral lands, adding new significance to their place and importance on the landscape. They became further evidence of this alienation when growing numbers of farmers dismantled the cairns for building stone walls to enclose their fields and property. This was reported to have happened to a stone pile venerating an important sachem that once lay on the Johnson Site in Woodbury, near Peter Road (Johnson Site, IAIS Site Files).

The changing features of the New England landscape did not erase the memories held by 19th century Native communities, who continued to honor the heritage practices of their ancestors. In his 1872 history of Woodbury, Connecticut, William Cothren relates a story of the "last remaining Potatuck," an "old squaw" whose family had long since been dispossessed and removed from the area, but who returned to her ancestral Potatuck village to continue long-held practices in honoring ancestors. (see Figure 6.2) She traveled along the "Potatuck Path," a north-south trail which was still visible in the 20th century (Goldblum n.d.:8; Wilcoxson 1939).[ccxiii] Arriving at the ancestral cemetery at Potatuck, she pointed out the general boundaries of the community locale which had been a key site in the gathering of Housatonic peoples in the 18th century. "Looking up to the place where stood, and still stand the few remaining trees of Tummasseete's old orchard, 'There,' she said, the tears streaming down her wrinkled cheeks, 'There is Potatuck.'

After lingering near the graves of her people a few days, she returned to the place whence she came" (Cothren 1854:109). Her actions, though dismissed as merely "lingering near the graves of her ancestors," likely reflected ceremonial practices ensuring the spirits of the deceased.

As these actions suggest, landscapes can embody and take on the work of memory itself. Such circumstances exhibit a notion of "landscape as memory," where place names and locales refer to ancestral action and where landscape has the "capacity to reproduce the present in the form of the past" (Bender 1993:14, drawing on Morphy 1993). So approached, a focus on memory veers in the direction not of typological abstraction, but of lived experience (cf. Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Alcock 2002; Smith 2003; Meskell 2002; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Yoffee 2007). Scholars working today in and around situations of displacement, exile, immigration, and human rights violations have illuminated how living traditions and acts of remembering can become a homeland in circumstances of dispossession (Epstein and Lefkovitz 2001; Connerton 1989).

Landscapes offer the material of "memory communities" (Alcock 2002), as objects both within and of the landscape are given meaning and become vehicles for the active reconstruction of remembrance (Rubertone 2001; Thomas 1993; Battaglia 1990). Memory is therefore spatial inasmuch as it is mental and vertical (through time). This leads to considerations by Taussig, Benjamin, and others of ways researchers might spatialize memory (Hodgkin and Radstone 2003). [ccxiv]

The Native woman who visited Potatuck was not "the last" to continue preserving the links to the place and the ancestors it encompassed. The area has been used by many subsequent generations of Housatonic families as an important locale for sweating.

Schaghticoke elder Trudie Lamb Richmond explains that sweating ceremonies represented "not only the curing of an illness but also a purification of spirit. Sweathouse ceremonies preceded other rituals of thanksgiving and were a manner of making contact with one's ancestors and the spirit world" (Lamb Richmond 2005:139). Schaghticoke and Paugussett people today still recognize Potatuck as an important place for sweating, and for preserving the living memory and cultural heritage of Housatonic people.

Ritual visits to these, and other, places with younger generations transmitted these living traditions through constructed images of family ancestors (Francis et al. 2002:96). In such settings, space and time intersected, as did the individual, familial, and communal. Trudie Lamb Richmond, a contemporary Schaghticoke elder who is of Potatuck heritage on her maternal grandfather's side, relates that her grandfather took his elder children to the ancestral burial grounds at Potatuck as youth, to continue honoring their ancestors and remembering the locale.[ccxv] Housatonic Native communities maintained a sense of community and membership, over generations, through these conscious efforts to preserve the links between past and contemporary heritage practices.

Housatonic Native communities were not the only ones concerned with memory and understandings of the past. In the seconf half of the 19th century, amidst a rapidly industrializing landscape that seemed fraught with change, New Englanders became fascinated with the Native individuals around them. Golden Hill Paugussett William Sherman became a prominent figure in newspapers, and nearly a celebrity in local public consciousness. New Englanders' interests in Native people, however, were largely confined to romanticized imaginings of their history. Men's and women's groups founded organizations that took inspiration, and names, from Native communities,

including the "Wigwam Association" and the "Connecticut Indian Association." In Bridgeport, a group of citizens donned costumes to "represent the Pequonnock or Uncoway Indians, who first inhabited Golden Hill and gave it a name," at a fashionable fair and parade of nations.

Scholars, through the guise of science, race, and intellectual pursuit, equally obscured the complexity and ongoing nature of Native community presence. The Fairfield County Historical Society, led by noted local historian Samuel Orcutt, debated the nature of human remains recently uncovered at Seaside Park in Bridgeport at the end of the 19th century. Even as Native families continued to reside not five miles away, the group concluded that the remains did not resemble "modern Indians," but instead were more like Neanderthals of Europe (Fairfield County Historical Society Publications 1882-1897:37).[ccxvi] These public spectacles and press continued to erode Native communities' opportunities for self-representation. They simultaneously obscured any meaningful recognition of Native people's contemporary presence in the region.

## CONCLUSION: "LIVING ANCESTORS"[ccxvii]

Changes to the physical, social, economic, and political landscapes of 19th century Connecticut demanded that Native community members be participants in multiple networks of relations. Drawing on their continuing attachments to the places of their ancestors, they sustained and practiced the traditions and memories of their cultural heritage, even as they became adept entrepreneurs and landowners. These were not unchanging traditions, for certainly new changes were introduced even as old ones

persisted. The adaptive nature of memory enabled Native communities to "exploit the ambiguities of inherited forms, evaluate their options, [and] borrow ideas from other groups" (Yoffee 2007:4). The continually emergent nature of these negotiations highlights the basic fact that "no tradition is outside history," a truism under-acknowledged by contemporary Federal Recognition structures which essentialize what is "traditional" for a given group in time.

Native families remained tied to one another by a "geography of social relations" that included extensive and intricate networks of individuals and communities (Massey 1994, 2002). These relationships were necessarily multiple and entwined, mediated by participation in families, groups, and organizations, and by place and space (Selznick 1996:201). The application of contemporary understandings of "community" often fails to capture the possibilities for – and realities of – these multi-faceted community memberships. Diversity, though, is not an inhibitor of community, nor is plurality. Instead, in the same way researchers talk of "situated identities," they might also talk of situated communities without implying loss of collectivity or grouphood. Forefronting this outlook is fundamentally important when describing the multiple and varied directions that individual community members take, even as the collective whole works to sustain a core set of practices and a rootedness in community tradition.

These fluid and multiple relations became increasingly important as the Housatonic landscape changed under the industrial booms of the 1860s and 1870s. By the end of the 19$^{th}$ century, the Connecticut forests had been devastated, re-grown, and devastated once more as industrial needs shifted from coal to sawmills. Much of the ancestral homelands of the Paugussett, Potatuck, Weantinock, and Schaghticoke which

had not been developed were transformed into state protected forests, state parks, picnic areas, summer camps, and other recreational areas. Even the Great River, which had sustained Native communities for millennia, was not spared from the transformations. In 1870 a dam was built across the Housatonic, which shifted the surrounding landscape from points all the way along the length of the river from the Schaghticoke homelands in Kent to the Long Island Sound:

> "The Housatonic winds with calm grace past the wild Scatacook, then tumbles into cataracts, at Bull's Bridge or one might say *did* tumble, for the mad and delicious turbulence of the river here is now held in leash by a fine exploit in engineering; the new dam compels the Housatonic to turn far-distant wheels within wheels at Waterbury; but alas! lost are the whirling eddies attacked by the Indian with his spear, caused by the spirited leap between narrow walls of the mighty stream to reach its goal - the sea" (Abbott 1907:361).

Yet Native communities at the end of the 19th century and early 20th century, as today, continued to preserve – and exercise - their identities and communities around their connectedness to the land. Social memory teaches stewardship in a rich context that is simultaneously practical, empirical, spiritual, and emotional – and lasting (Crumley 2002:41). George Sherman, the son of Paugussett leader William Sherman, sustained tribal knowledge and the claims of the Paugussett community's distinctive rights. Years later, Trumbull Town Attorney Aaron Levine related a reminiscence of his youth in the early 20th century, in which he and George Sherman illegally fished in the Trap Falls Reservoir in Shelton. They were arrested, and on the day of the trial, "Mr. Levine arrived ready to pay the fine, went the narrative, but not Mr. Sherman:"

> "Instead, he arrived at the courthouse in full Indian regalia, feathers and paint and all. The judge looked quizzically at Mr. Sherman and asked what it was about before he imposed sentence. Mr. Sherman said that, as a Native American, living on a federal reservation, he was not subject to state law. The judge, recalled the younger Mr. Levine who was thenabout eight years old, was reluctant to

> challenge Mr. Sherman's contention and, not wishing to create an incident with the Indian, threw his case out of court. But Mr. Levine had to pay his fine" (*Trumbull Times* 12/1/1976).[ccxviii]

The judge's decision acknowledged that George Sherman possessed a sense of community, heritage, and homeland that was alive and well.

By the turn of the 20th century, the nation and state looked with growing recognition at the continuing survivance of the Native people whom they had long-predicted for cultural and physical demise. In Washington, a Connecticut state senator worked loudly and tirelessly to pass a bill on citizenship for Native Americans. Censuses which officially included "Indians" as a category of self-identification recorded more and more Native people who had previously "disappeared" through ethnoracial mislabeling. State governments worked to amass information about their continuing Native communities.

After centuries of bias, misunderstanding, and disregard, the obstacles were significant. In 1859, the Massachusetts Commonwealth had commissioned John Milton Earle to conduct a state-wide survey of Native populations, by town. Earle concluded two years later how difficult it was to identify Native individuals and communities (Handsman 1991:21). He complained that the challenges were rendered even more stark by lack of cooperation from some towns, which chose to ignore his inquiries because "their answers might possibly compromise the interests of their towns" (Earle 1861). His judgment resonates today for Housatonic Native communities, who continue to fight for recognition of their communities, identities, and heritage.

[clxxxi] Regional New England newspapers pointed to this trend, acknowledging:

> "…We have watched the progress of public feeling in this vicinity on the subject of the North American Indians. Our newspapers have been crowded with essays, and our land deluged with circulars and tracts, regarding the wrongs which the Indians are about to receive from the hand of the Federal Government, and of a sister State [Georgia]; and even the Pulpit has been occupied by asserts of Indian rights and champions of Indian security." (American Indians, *New England Weekly Review*, 01/04/1830).

These perspectives influenced continually evolving ideas of how to "help the Indians." They particularly took seed in interfering notions of how Native families and individuals should be living:

> "And if we are, in future, but just to the Indians, and leave to them the means of supporting the necessary literary and religious Institutions among themselves, and teach them how to use them, they will gradually, and ultimately be taken off our hands, and will be able, without the aid of our money or our labor, to take care of the education of their own children, and to support all the good institutions requisite in a civilized community. Indians will educate Indians, and the whole business of their civilization will be carried on among themselves" (Morse 1822:77-78).

[clxxxii] Between 1825 and 1826, Stone sold much of the remaining reservation land (Orange Land Records MSS 1825-26). Though only eight acres remained in 1825, Paugussett families continued to live at Turkey Hill, including relatives of basket maker Molly Hatchet (Chapter 6) (Turkey Hill Overseer Report by David Johnson, 1835). So, too, some members of the Hatchet family continued to remain in Derby, as evidenced in the 1850 Census which lists 17-year old Elizabeth Hatchet living with the Colburn Family. DeForest, observing the Turkey Hill community around mid-century, described that "a few of this clan still live about ten acres of land at Turkey Hill. The family name is Hatchet; they are mixed with negro blood; and they are all poor, degraded and miserable (January 1849)" (1852:356). According to Orcutt (1882a:14) these few Paugussett continued to live there until about 1860. In the early 1870s they brokered a series of legal petitions and land transactions which re-concentrated their land holdings.

[clxxxiii] At mid-century, an overseer's inventory of the Schaghticoke fund listed three hundred acres of land, including six acres of land on which sat six dwellings, three stores and fixtures (RG003 Litchfield County, County Court, Papers by Subject, 1750-1855, Indians, Box 178a, 11/08/1852).

[clxxxiv] Allen (1801) ponders, "Although there is many vestiges of the Indians in Cornwal, such as Arros, Stone Vessels or Stone Pots, &c., and on the South Mill Brook it is said there was Indian Hills where they raised Indian Corn which was covered with Pine Trees perhaps 80 or 100 years ago, *yet I know not what tribe they belonged to or where they went to*" (1985[1801]:13; emphasis added). If they did not know from where the Native peoples in their town had come, Cornwall residents were certain to commemorate their presence for the future. The Cornwall hill on which Schaghticoke community member Rufus Bunker lived was named Bunker Hill on his behalf, a "more enduring monument than the pyramids of Egypt" (Litchfield County History 288).

[clxxxv] Bunker purchased nine acres in this location from Sheldon Clark in November 1854. Since 1844, Sheldon Clark had owned seventy-five acres on which he ran a sawmill on the brook, and lived in a house at the top if the hill. There are some suggestions that when he sold a nine acre parcel to Eli Bunker in 1854, Eli had already been living on the land in his house on the brook at the base of the hill. If so, Eli may have had a part-time laboring relationship with Clark and his enterprise (see Clark and Pikasky 1977:10, 19).

[clxxxvi] By 1860, Rufus was 81 years old and was living with Betsey Bunker, 58, and Clara, 51 (1860 Census).

[clxxxvii] On another occasion, Joseph Mauwee and his presumed wife Pamelia purchased a summer hat and ribbon on the same day as Eli Bunker spent hoeing for Harrison.

[clxxxviii] A second petition explicitly laid forth that Jeremiah Cogswell and his family "belong[ed] to said Tribe," and that the tribal funds were to be draw upon for their support (CSA, RG003 Litchfield County, County Court, Papers by Subject, 1750-1855, Indians, Box 178a). The Jeremiah Cogswell family's connections to the tribal community on the reservation continued through several generations, with descendants even returning to the reservation to live at the end of the 19th century (Gold 1903:453-4). The Schaghticoke tribal overseer at the end of the 19th century reported that a member of the Cornwall Cogswell line was one of 30-40 persons residing on the Schaghticoke reservation (Gold 1903:453-4).

[clxxxix] One of course notes warily that relation and descent are not tantamount to identity and identification.

[cxc] Similar patterns occur among the Edwards family of Newtown, the Gibson family of Southbury/Newtown, and the Brush family of Newtown tie together individuals who were important members in the continuing Paugussett community in Bridgeport and other coastal towns (Brilvitch 2007:84).
[cxci] William Sherman's journal, for example, documents his continued interactions in the 1870s with individuals like John Cam, George Freeman, George Purdy, and Henry O. Pease, whom present-day Golden Hill Paugussett tribal members and historian Charles Brilvitch identity as Paugussett (Brilvitch 2007:89).
[cxcii] Jacob and his brother were part of a Freeman/Phillips Paugussett clan from the Derby-Orange-Milford environs (Brilvitch 2007).
[cxciii] For example, Tunis Green of Poughkeepsie and his wife Rosanna Brush of Newtown moved to Ethiope from Redding. Rosanna's (likely) sister Chloe Brush was married to Paugussett Agrippa Pease. Down the block, Alson Judd lived with his wife Catherine Edwards, "yet another member" of the widespread Paugussett Edwards clan (Brilvitch 2007:41). To the west of Alson Judd was William H. Davis, a seaman from Maryland whose second wife was Catherine E. Ambler of Bethel, a cousin of Franklin Ambler, Golden Hill Paugussett William Sherman's employer. William Sherman's journal notes that he procured clams from Davis (Brilvitch 2007:41). To the west of Davis, in the third house on the block, resided Minerva Simons of Southbury. Brilvitch notes that she was one of many Simonses who "converged on Ethiope" during the 1840s, and who intermarried with Peases, Cams, and Starrs, "all families referred to in various town histories as survivors of the Paugussett tribe" (Brilvitch 2007:34, 41, 42).
[cxciv] The Ethiope community was centered on Main Street, Broad Street, Whiting Street, and Gregory Street (Brilvitch 2007).
[cxcv] Mary Freeman (1815-1883) and Eliza Freeman (1805-1862) were Joel's sisters. They lived in Derby until 1843, then in New York city for a time, and then in 1848 sold their lands in Derby and bought property around the corner from Joel in Ethiope (Brilvitch 2007:46). Eliza owned properties (some in half interest with Joel) which she rented out. In 1860, her household was shared with four women, all of whom have family surnames associated with Paugussett families: Sarah Freeman, aged 58; Catherine Purdy, aged 50; Sally Roberts, aged 55; and Sernia Freeman, aged 45. Two years later, Eliza's household included Cornelia Sauls and Lucy Starr, also names associated with Paugussett families (Brilvitch 2007:47).
[cxcvi] As the story goes, the mother, who was literate, expressed desires for books so that she might teach her son to read. On a return visit to the rock shelter, Lottie Burr, then six, offered her won ABC books to the child, and he in turn thanked her by "turn[ing] somersaults" (Banks 1960:22).
[cxcvii] Today, one can travel along "Indian Cave Road" in the Whipstick district of Ridgefield to a rockshelter site known as "Tony's Cave," a rockshelter site name personalized for "Tony," an Indian who made his home there in the late 18th century, allegedly to escape service in the Revolutionary War (Rockwell 1927).
[cxcviii] The continuing use of rockshelter sites over millennia is demonstrated by archaeological evidence of multicomponent sites whose locations cover an area from the coast of Long Island Sound north into Massachusetts and east to New York. These include a cave on the William Box Farm in Bethlehem, the Devil's Den Cave in Fairfield, "Tony's Cave" east of Nod Road in Ridgefield; Beaver Brook Mountain rockshelter in Danbury; the Lake Waramaug Complex of 5-8 shelters along the southwest shore of the lake; Averill's Cave site near Baldwin Hill in New Preston; Hansel Rockshelter on the northeast side of Mount Tom in Morris; Rogg Rockshelter on the New Milford-Brookfield town line; Fournier Rockshelter off of Route 7 in New Milford; Green Mt. Shelter adjacent to Green Pond Mountain in New Milford; Boulder Home Site on the west side of Route 7 in New Milford (large Archaic through Woodland assemblage, notable for many midden and hearth features); Squash Cave in New Milford; Epperly Rockshelter Site on the east side of Lake Candlewood in New Milford; Pratt Cave Rocksheter on the East Aspectuck River in northern New Milford; Hamlet Hill rockshelter in Salisbury; Kent Rock Shelter complex near Hatch Pond (PAL Report #1143:23; Pettee 1957; Rogers Collection, IAIS; Walwer and Walwer Bulls Bridge 26; IAIS Site Files; Rockwell 1927).
[cxcix] Archaeological investigations at the Bear Rock Shelter complex in Stamford, Connecticut identified undisturbed strata containing wampum, trade beads, and Madison and Levanna projectile points, as well as other Late Archaic and Woodland era tools. These, and other largely-intact strata containing wampum, sheet copper, nails, bottle glass, lamp glass, kaolin pipes, lithic knives, scrapers, flakes, and cores, seeds, marine shellfish, and animal bones, hint at the important role that such sites had in the changing colonial

landscape (Wiegand 1983). Flintlock gun parts indicate that the shelter may have had continuing associations as a temporary residence in the 18th and 19th centuries.

[cc] MacCurdy describes their use of the space, saying that "they, or some one before them, had built up an artificial front to the cave. Within there was a board floor, cupboard, two or three chairs, and a table; but there was no stove, only a rude fireplace with stones for andirons, and no chimney" (1914:511).

[cci] Though Native Americans figured most prominently in these stories, calling out the oddities of such landscape usage was not reserved for Native people alone. One of the most notorious women of early 19th century western Connecticut was Anglo-American Sarah Bishop, "the Hermitess," who achieved fame for eschewing modern civilization in favor of solitary living in a "backwoods," wilderness cave in Ridgefield.

[ccii] This leadership continued after Joel Freeman, with Rensselaer Pease seeming to have taken over the responsibility of community head in the 1850s. Pease would have fit the bill well for navigating the multiple networks, Native and non-Native, of which the Ethiope community members were a part. He himself was the son-in-law of a prominent Golden Hill Paugussett heir, but also had marriage, residence, and business ties with both the Freeman clan and the Jackson/Deming clan, the two dominant extended families in the Ethiope community (see Brilvitch 2007:86-87).

[cciii] On September 21, 1839, for example, Rufus sold four corn baskets to Harrison for $2.16. Five days later, Leighton W. Bradley and James D. Ford each purchased one of these baskets (for $0.62 and $0.58, respectively). If the remaining two baskets were of similar size and price, Harrison appears to have offered reasonable prices to Rufus for his wares.

[cciv] . The recovery of lithic debitage, including a Levanna projectile point, in association with these sites confirms the presence of Native American activity.

[ccv] Schaghticoke community member George Cogswell toured the reservation with a reporter in 1910, pointing out logging roads which had led to charcoal making areas on the reservation, and describing his and other reservation residents' participation in these activities (Lavin and Duman 1998:10, citing *New Milford Times* 1910).

[ccvi] Local histories also refer to the work of Native "entertainers," like Zike Pair of Bridgeport, who traveled around towns on military training days, setting up bow and arrow exhibitions for a cent (Burr 1913). "He got a great deal of money in the course of the day," observer William Burr recollected, "and it made a great deal of sport for old and young" (1913:5).

[ccvii]"There is much harmony among the officers and crew," Captain Selah Young reflected, "as is common for ships that have been out as long and had as hard luck" (Young n.d.). Correspondingly, competition could be expressed between the crews of different voyages who encountered one another in international ports. At times these rivalries drew on the loyalties of their origins, as Captain Young pointed out: "I reckon there will be some fighting at Cape Town between the Bridgeport and Sag Harbor men but it will not probably amount to much" (Young n.d.).

[ccviii] Native management of wealth and material resources clashed with Anglo-American ideas of property and individual success. "Their property has no security but force – their agreements not coercion but fear," newspaper editorialists decried, "…and personal prowess is the only pledge of life, liberty, or property" (American Indians No. III, *New England Weekly Review*, 01/18/1830).

[ccix] Schaghticoke Eli Bunker's probate inventory itemizes objects and tools relating to basket making. Eli had earned a living as a potato farmer and as a laborer, but he, like his father Rufus Bunker, had also made and peddled baskets. His 1888 will includes a number of market and clothes baskets, splints, axes, two shaving knives, awls, and a shavehorse (1888 Probate File, no. 118, Litchfield Probate District).

[ccx] These include one at the base of Guarding Mountain (Fort Hill), one on the east side of the Housatonic near the falls in close location to the settlement at Metichawon, another in the vicinity of West Street in the central area of what became New Milford, and another on the Aspectuck River to the northwest (DeForest 185:398; Orcutt 1882:103-104; Lewis 1881:424).

[ccxi] Indeed, in nearly every place of European-American settlement around the juncture of the Housatonic and Naugatuck Rivers in the 18th and 19th centuries, sacred Native burial grounds were uncovered, including: on land adjacent to Chusetown; at Derby Narrows; on the east side of the Housatonic near the "New Fort;" and near "Horse Hill" or "White Mare Hill (Orcutt 1972[1888]:70-71). The Paugussett community at Turkey Hill continued to bury their members in the same place with the "great numbers" of past generations. Betty Taukus, a community member who passed away on June 4th, 1794, was recorded by local townspeople as the "last Indian" to be buried in the sacred grounds, after which it was appropriated

for "the purpose of husbandry." By 1815, "there [were] but 15 graves which [had] any monuments remaining" (Scranton 1816:276). At Chusetown, "near the river was an old Indian burying ground where each grave was marked by a small heap of stones" (Bassett 1900:314-315). Even as friends and descendants of Joseph "Chuse" Mauwee and Paugussett signatory John Howd continued to live adjacent to the sacred space, the area was destroyed. In 1790, Mr. Nathan Stiles purchased the land, "and in ploughing it over destroyed those relics of antiquity" (Bassett 1900:314-315).

[ccxii] "The cone mentioned in a deed given by four Indians to Stephen Van Cortland in 1682," Abbott (1907:220-221) notes, "now marks an angle of the boundary between Claverack and Taghanick townships, New York."

[ccxiii] The Potatuck Path ran from the colonial Stratford area north along the Far Mill River, through Derby Narrows, and on to Potatuck, a major Native thorough-fare well into the 19th century as families continued their annual summer migrations to the coast. "Signs of the old worn Indian trail" continued to be visible throughout the 20th century, particularly along the banks of the Far Mill River (Goldblum n.d.:8; Wilcoxson 1939). Among other associations, the Potatuck Path continues to be remembered today as the name of a nearby residential road.

[ccxiv] There is a tendency to "counterpose spatiality with temporality," but they are profoundly intertwined (Dirlik 2001:15). Collective memory, Shepard and Rothenbuller (2001:xiii-xiv) remind us, "is sustained by symbols and artifacts that must have a presence in space - this being yet another dialectic out of which community is formed." Indeed, the close ties between memory and landscape are manifest in the common tendency of contemporary scholars and authors to "speak of the past in territorial and national metaphors," as for example, in David Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1984) (Boyarin 1990:2). James Brow ties these themes together closely in their relationship to community, arguing that "almost everywhere, it seems, the sense of belonging together is nourished by being cultivated in the fertile soil of the past" (Brow 1990:2-3).

[ccxv] Similarly, in the 1930s, George Sherman, son of Golden Hill Paugussett leader William Sherman, recounted that his father "took him to visit [a cemetery at the rear of the Golden Hill reservation in Trumbull] when he was a wee tot" and that "it was as a result of these visits that he was able to find any traces of the places today" (*Bridgeport Sunday Post*, 08/23/1931).

[ccxvi] Collector Edward Rogers himself, as dedicated as he was to promoting knowledge of local Native cultures and history, offered a talk to a ladies luncheon of the Rotary Club in 1939 in which he suggested that Paugussett communities had been sparse in number, sterile, practiced abortions, were polygamists, were abusive to females, and divorced easily so long as a "squaw" could reach another hut before her husband could physically catch her (The Evening Sentinel, Thursday evening, October 26, 1939, "Rogers' Talk on Indian Lore is Greatly Enjoyed").

[ccxvii] Segal 1994.

[ccxviii] Brilvitch (2007:98).

# VII

# COMMUNITIES-IN-MOVEMENT

MOBILITY, *noun:*
(1) ability to move or to be moved;
(2) ease or freedom of movement; and
(3) tendency to change easily or quickly

Today, people of Schaghticoke, Weantinock, Potatuck, and Paugussett heritage live dispersed across the New England region, driven by economic necessity to a wider and wider geographic distance from their ancestral homelands. Few live in the communal practices of their ancestors, yet the memories and traditions of such practices have been passed down through generations. They continue to feature in community-keeping practices today:

> "Oral traditions say our ancestors always lived in wigwam houses…The warmth of the hearth, the sound of Grandmother's voice as she talked, our people's art - these are enduring memories of home. Today the wood-frame houses throughout Indian New England are still social places where we work and sleep, joke and argue, share meals, and tell stories. Our sense of belonging to family, community, and home remains strong" (IAIS 1989).

A far cry from historical accusations of "wandering," "transient" ways, Housatonic Native people remain undeniably attached to the places of their homelands. They express the certainty that "Our identity is in the land" (IAIS 1989). The convictions they express today are reflected historically over and again in the generations of petitions and protests voiced by Native communities to the colonial and state General Assembly, to county

magistrates and local constables, to missionaries, to sympathetic Anglo-American neighbors, and to generations of publics. In 1852, David Lawrence interviewed Eunice Mauwee, a Schaghticoke elder living on the Schaghticoke Reservation in Kent, Connecticut. (Figure 7.1) Over one hundred years of age, "Eunice was still living on land assigned to her family, and she was so attached to it that she did not want to leave it, even for an hour" (Lawrence 1852). A century later, Moonface Bear (Kenneth Piper), a grandson of prominent 20th century Paugussett Chieftess Rising Star (Ethel Sherman), echoed a similar attachment to his homeland. He recalled being told as he grew up in the 1960s: "When you let the land go, that's when your identity goes" (Lang 1994).


Figure 7.1. Portrait of Eunice Mauwee, Schaghticoke, by David T. Lawrence, 1852.
(Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society)

Housatonic Native communities fought to hold on to their lands in the 18th and 19th centuries, as they had before and as they have done so since. They preserved land

and resource rights, consolidated in areas of particular importance, and bought properties. When they could not maintain formal relationships to the land, they maintained their attachments to place by moving in and around those places. They squatted on ancestral lands, visited sacred sites and burial places, and performed ceremonies that sustained connections to past and future generations. They did so while being every-increasingly "on the move."

Faced with changing homeland spaces, cycles of poverty, and rapidly diminishing resources in the 18th and 19th centuries, Housatonic Native people expanded the circuits of movement which had guided their community connections for generations. They moved into Anglo-American towns, adopting new labor practices, new clothing, new religious tenets, and new dwellings. They were strategic in their choices, however. The new practices they adopted and the new spaces they moved into often resonated well with past traditions and with ongoing community-keeping practices. Caftanzoglou (2001:24) has noted that certain kinds of settlements can challenge "the hegemonic hierarchizing of space and time" simply by being where they are on physical, social, political, and historical landscapes. Communal hamlets, and other sites of continued communal living, were "places out of time" in the emerging national landscape. They defied Anglo-American values of individual property ownership, economic development, nuclear family organization, and fixity.

Communal clusters, and other carefully chosen practices, enabled many to maintain the long-standing practices of spatial and social organization which had guided their communities for centuries. They gathered and dispersed in and around large community locales, small dispersed hamlets, isolated households, and newly established

Anglo-American homes and urban towns. Native people maintained patterns of kinship and social connections which facilitated their movements around the landscape and which strengthened their access to resources in the difficulties and poverties of colonial and state geographies. Across these spaces, they remained closely, vibrantly connected.

Although movement was central to community-keeping, these same mobility patterns have inadvertently lent themselves to the continuing erasure of important Native community locales and their presence in the region. Towns persist in reiterating historical assertions that no Native communities or families lived in "*their*" town, but always in the next over. A recent local history exhibit mounted at the Mattatuck Museum in Waterbury, Connecticut describes, "In the 17th century, Connecticut was a *wilderness*. Native Americans traveled through this valley *on their way to seasonal homes elsewhere*" ("A Colony of Farmers," emphasis added).

These characterizations perpetuate long-standing beliefs in a Connecticut "wilderness" and "desert." They also reify particular perspectives of what community and dwelling "look" like. Rather than recognizing an intricate spatial organization in which Native communities "used" multiple places and resources, these portrayals void Native attachments to important locales on their homelands. A pamphlet distributed in association with the Mattatuck Museum exhibit, titled "Our Towns: A Guide to Our Historic Attractions," contains no references to events or places of Native heritage, even though significant sites like that of Potatuck Wigwams are right nearby.

By locating and tracing moments of staying, circulation, and return among Native community locales and residences in the 18th and 19th centuries, this study rebuts historical reports which describe movement as uni-directional or inevitable. It challenges

portrayals which characterize Native land alienation as patternistic, unmitigated, or irreversible. Native communities in the 17th century and early 18th century responded to colonial constriction and maintained their grouphood through various landscape relationships. They relocated to less-used locales on their homelands, they dispersed seasonally, they consolidated with one another in new community amalgamations, and they removed to kin elsewhere. These actions were not abrogations of homeland and community. They represented strategic continuations of Native community-keeping and place-making.

From this lens, a complex, long-standing picture of movement and community emerges. Throughout the last four centuries, as relationships to particular lands changed in light of colonial land appropriation, Native communities continued to live out a model of homelands. As they moved and recreated home in new locales, they simultaneously maintained attachments to particular places on their homelands. Schaghticoke is a place of important, and enduring, settlement where Native families have lived for centuries, including in well-connected 19th century uplands farmsteads known today largely through archaeological evidence. “Here Indian people [still] live, continuing a presence now more than ten centuries old,” Schaghticoke people express, “Much of our identity comes from the heritage and living traditions of this place” (IAIS 1989). Nearby at the Lighthouse Village settlement in Barkhamsted, multiethnic Native families maintained a small communal enclave that blended elements of Native community-keeping with the Anglo-American and African-American heritages also present.

In the shifting and shaping landscape of the 17th and 18th centuries, such new and old spaces on ancestral homelands became important sites of community keeping.

Repeated movements and travels between these community locales draw attention to the spaces of dispersion and the places en route. They emphasize the paths and acts of travel as well as the familiar points of origin and end. Schaghticoke and Lighthouse Village were but two nodes in a larger Native regional space. There was "continuous circulation and movement" between spaces and locales, and along the way, different geographies which provided for community life (Hanafi 2005). "Places in between," like the Devils Den company of 16 people who broke their travels for the night in little Lottie Burr's barn, complicate our understandings of the relationships between community, place, and mobility.

Colonists and later commentators often considered movement and relocations to new locales as abject removals from an area. They interpreted them as indicators of community break. Instead, they represented altered continuations of Native traditions of seasonal mobility and distributed resource use. Although many of these community sites seemed to be in "marginal" locales, they were tightly connected with one another, with Anglo-American communities, and with other communities of color across southern New England.

The historic erasure of Native hamlets and other community locales has reflected Anglo-American ideologies and assumptions of social boundaries, race, and cultural heritage. Rather than being identified as the important Native locales that they were, many sites have been represented as isolated homes of people of mixed ancestry and dubious heritage. "Interracial" relationships between Native Americans and African Americans were important for the continuing demographic and collective strength of Native groups. They also strengthened social, political, and economic, and emotional ties.

Yet individuals of "mixed race" or mixed ancestry have been historically "excluded as not really belonging to Native society, and as not being fully accommodated in the folds of whiteness" (Kalra et al. 2005:122-123).

The clear interconnections between hamlet and other community locales which derived their ancestral and genetic makeup from "mixed" relationships trouble any easy assertions about the transmission of cultural and ancestral heritage across racial lines. Distinctive Native patterns of communal living and traditions of community-keeping are notable at locales that were home to "mixed communities," including Lighthouse Village in Barkhamsted and the Indian Settlement in Derby. Their community makeup reflects important shared histories of physical and social geographies. Groups and individuals who are identified as mulatto, creole, and hybrid call forth the incommensurabilities of bounded notions of community and identity, whether in past or contemporary moments. Diasporic identities, in particular, show that "cultures are not preserved by being protected from 'mixing' but probably can only continue to exist as a product of such mixing" (Boyarin and Boyarin 1993:721)

Slowly, these multiracial histories are being re-authored in ways that not only acknowledge, but celebrate, multiple heritage. This is particularly true of shared ancestry between Native Americans and African Americans in Connecticut. A comic book of "Hartford's Early Black History," produced for Connecticut youth education, includes Lighthouse community member Isaac Jacklin as one of its examples. It celebrates his African American heritage and his marriage to a woman of Narragansett-Anglo American heritage (Anthony 1996). The reappropriation of stories of race and heritage carry social significance, but they also have spatial significance. As the multiple

ancestries of more and more people are recognized, it alters our understandings of the terrain of historical and contemporary landscapes and of communal relations across space.

As Basso (1996), Thomas (1993), and others have illuminated, there are many ways of "looking at place" other than through the lens of a "landscape perspective." Among Native people of western Connecticut, places have ancestral, genealogical depth. Until his passing in 2008, Chief Big Eagle lived on one of the Golden Hill Paugussett's two remaining tribal lands, a small reservation of 1/4-acre in Trumbull, Connecticut. (Figure 7.2) Though this land carries the dubious distinction of being the smallest Indian reservation in the United States, its location and importance as the center of his people's homeland down through generations increased its significance immeasurably.

Figure 7.2. Big Eagle (Aurelius Piper Sr.), late hereditary chief of the Golden Hill Paugussett. (Source: Boston Globe 1989)

Chief Big Eagle looked out over a landscape much changed since his ancestor Tom Sherman built a wigwam dwelling on the property for his wife and her sister at the end of the 18th century, but the links to this heritage and place had not dwindled. "The mail boxes I can see from my front porch," he explained, "remind me of the bread-loaf shaped wigwams of my ancestors. That is where my story begins, with my ancestors" (quoted in IAIS 1989).

## THE DIFFICULT TERRAIN OF CONTEMPORARY LANDSCAPES

> "Had I been born three hundred years earlier, I would have walked freely with my Paugussett brothers on half a million acres of land. Through the centuries, that half a million acres has shrunk to almost nothing. A quarter-acre is…all there is left of the oldest Indian reservation in America. It is not very much room for an Indian nation" (Chief Big Eagle, Paugussett, quoted in Smith 1985:29).

The notion that such attachments can persist over space and through time in spite of significant changes to the landscape, like legal "ownership," has been a difficult one to impress upon past and contemporary observers. As recently as the mid-1990s, the Golden Hill Paugussett Tribal Nation's petition for federal recognition was denied, in one small measure because of the logic that "a land sale meant that the individuals no longer lived in a settlement" (BIA 1996:Technical Report:23). In today's Enlightenment-guided society, a "notion of place in which one owns and cares for a plot of land still exerts enormous influence" (Tall 1996:106).

This pride of place is manifestly evident in regional heritage projects. A recent history of the Connecticut Forest and Park Association, which now oversees much of the Housatonic Valley's Native ancestral homelands, summons Connecticut residents to share pride in the achievements of their forebears. The settlers of Connecticut did "far

more than subdue a wilderness," Milne (1995:1) entreats. "They managed to create education and public-minded communities," out of which comes a "sense of heritage that is still alive today." Through these accomplishments, he suggests, settlers redefined the Connecticut landscape to reflect Anglo-American ideologies:

> *"This is my country, the land that begat me,*
> *These wide, windy spaces are surely my own*
> *And those who have toiled in the sweat of their faces*
> *Are flesh of my flesh and bone of my bone"* (Milne 1995:2).

For the Native people of Connecticut in past and present, there is little parallel in a belief that natural features like "wide, windy spaces" are "surely their own." These sentiments – and the very real, material expressions that accompany them – do not reflect their long-standing beliefs in the shared stewardship of the earth and its beings. These contradictions are reminders of the need to be wary of the ways local histories, children's tales, songs, and valorizing pageants have "naturalized particular sorts of relations" by virtue of whose stories they tell (Bender 2001:5).

Contemporary Native groups struggle to be recognized, both in a legal sense and in a larger social sense. Tribes bidding for State and Federal Recognition are assessed on the degree to which they can demonstrate historical continuity and political autonomy in ways validated by our social-legal system. That these negotiations take place in complex fields of power which often require that identity be turned into a strategy does not, however, mean that groups lose cultural and historical content (Jackson and Warren 2005). Instead, researchers and publics need to bypass concepts and categories that fix Native groups in 'traditional' and 'local' identity spaces. Public concern and outrage against tribal federal recognition often hinges on fears of gaming and casinos. Political

cartoons depict contemporary Housatonic Native people in racialized imageries and suggest that their heritage and sovereignty struggles are tied only to casinos (also see Den Ouden 2005). (Figure 7.3) But it is the importance of identity, heritage, and sovereignty recognition that Chief Richard Velky of the Schaghticoke Tribal Nation underscores. "We are seeking to protect our culture, heritage, reservation, and future," Velky clarifies (IAIS Symposium 2006).

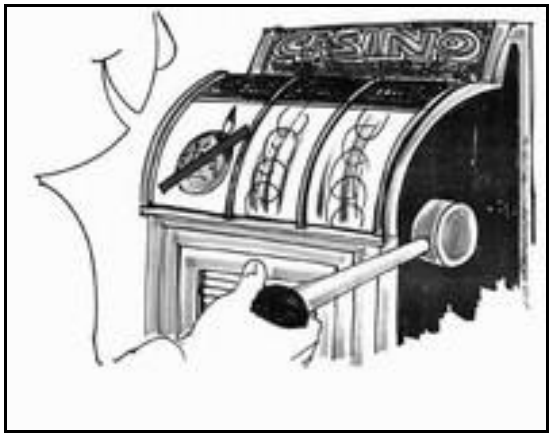




Figure 7.3. *Left*: "Indian Tribal Recognition a Progressive or Regressive Trend"; Kent Tribune; June 7, 2002
*Right*: "Slot Machines are Spinning in Connecticut Casinos and Who Knows Who Will Win"; Kent Tribune, December 10, 2002

By showing that there is nothing natural or inevitable about the nature of social and legal relations today, this study highlights the need for sharper public and scholarly recognition for the struggles and persistence of Native communities into the present. Native communities across New England continue their fights to protect their homelands and the links to their ancestors. As recently as the spring of 2009, Schaghticoke tribal members sought injunctions against trespassers on their reservation lands who were illegally cutting and harvesting timber. The Schaghticoke community's protests on the

steps of the State Capital, demanding legal enforcement of their guaranteed protection rights by the Department of Environmental Protection were not timely met. Their actions, as of their ancestors throughout history, illuminate that "community is not a place or a thing; it is a calling, a struggle, a journey" (Fowler 1991:161). Community in such an articulation appears not as an archaic form which gradually disintegrates when its spatial base is eroded or threatened, but is instead a "shifting reality [that takes] on new meanings" (Kempny 2002:79).

Threats to Housatonic Native communities' sacred places, burial remains, and homelands continues. Development in the area, such as a wide transect that was cut across the western portion of the state in the 1980s and 1990s as part of the long-term Iroquois Gas Pipeline Project, brings potential harm to sites that are at times only poorly understood (Handsman 1990; Cassedy 1991). Illegal looting by collectors remains a constant alarm. Today, Schaghticoke and Paugussett tribal members fight to protect their sacral landscape through the powers of their tribal governments, through the legal arms of the state government, and through tactics hearkening to those of their ancestors. Much like Schaghticoke community members protested grave desecration in the media in the early 1800s, Schaghticoke tribal members and their supporters again rallied in January 2009 to protect burial remains threatened by an illegal intruder on the reservation (Hartford Courant 01/28/2009). So, too, they fight for the repatriation of their ancestors' remains and their sacred objects which have been alienated from their protection and stewardship by working with local museums and archaeological repositories. Their actions can bring important restoration to their sacral landscapes.

Some of these same threats lessen the integrity of archaeological sites around the region, and further impair the lines of evidence available for constructing fuller pictures of Native community life. Significant looting in the late 19th and early 20th century has destroyed sites along the coast and major waterways to an alarming level. During the Great Depression, the town clerk's office of Windsor, Connecticut even adopted the "wampum standard in emergency," agreeing to accept "arrow heads or other Indian relics" – if in good condition – instead of cash (*Bridgeport Post*, 11/20/1931). (Figure 7.4)

WINDSOR ADOPTS WAMPUM STANDARD IN EMERGENCY

Windsor, March 7.—Arrow heads or other Indian relics, if in good condition, will be accepted in lieu of cash for the payment for recording deeds at the town clerk's office here under the present emergency, Leslie H. Hayes, town clerk, said yesterday.

Mr. Hayes has a large private collection of Indian relics. As town clerk the fees for recording deeds go to him as part of his compensation for the office.

Figure 7.4. Windsor, Connecticut accepts "Indian relics" for cash. (Source: Bridgeport Post, 11/20/1931)

Archaeologists working on the Fort Hill Project in the early 1980s noted in their field notes that some of their investigations were akin to "an archaeology of a looter's trench" (Fort Hill Site Files, IAIS). In the 1970s and early 1980s, archaeologists around the state undertook a statewide survey of archaeological sites. Many of these sites were destroyed by development not long after, and predictions of site destruction around the state over the coming decades is concerning. This is particularly true in the busy and congested

Fairfield County area of southwestern Connecticut, and along the Interstate-95 corridor which skirts the coast.

Hampered by poor preservation, looting, rapid development, and landscape cultivation, the archaeological record of the region for the last six centuries is limited. Large assemblages donated by local collectors prompt intriguing questions regarding Native communities' community-keeping, but without contextual information, the interpretive possibilities are narrow. This is even more true because few collectors were interested in the more mundane "historic" objects, like ceramics or glass, which were likely present at multi-component 18$^{th}$ and 19$^{th}$ century Native sites.

The spatial and physical nature of small community locales and hamlet sites themselves is easy for field investigators to miss, as Handsman and Lamb Richmond (1995) have described. Ephemeral sites like short-term task areas and overnight travel stops equally are challenging to identify. The recording methods for archaeological surveys conducted even within the last three decades also hampers the abilities to articulate mixed assemblages that might be characteristic of 17$^{th}$ century or later Native sites. Sites have been recorded on two separate report sheets, one for "prehistoric" materials and the other for "historic." Divisions along these artificial temporal lines will continue to mask the possibilities for better recognizing sites used by Native people in recent centuries.

Given these challenges, a great deal of spatial control is needed to understand the precise locations of Native community clusters, hamlets, homesteads, and other sites, so that accurate correlations can be made between documentary and archaeological sources. This research began from a regional perspective, in order to identify as many individuals

as possible over time and to better capture the complex geographies of Native communities' spatial practices. With this multiscalar lens in place, future research can explore individual lives in more intimate detail. This geobiographical focus will help to further connect families and individuals across Native space in the Housatonic Valley, and to other places in Native New England and beyond. This will elaborate, and sharpen, the frameworks of community connection and movement described here.

In many instances, local historical anecdotes do not have the spatial precision that would be needed to make these associations. Instances in which Native men and women purchased land or used tribal funds, however, are often accompanied by reference to landscape markers and topographic features. These, and other sources, can enable more exact locations in space. A cautionary note is added, however, that this approach will continue to reinforce biases in historical records as to who is "remembered" and who is forgotten. The many men and women who squatted on the back fields of Anglo-American landowners like Major Ebenezer Johnson, who allowed Turkey Hill residents to encamp on his property for decades, will continue to be identified in only partial and ambiguous ways.

## THE ROUTES OF COMMUNITY

*"We Still Remember These Connections"*[1]

Eigtheenth and nineteenth century western Connecticut Native communities were not "scattered," "isolated," or on the "fringes" as historical portrayals like to suggest (DeForest 1851). Nor are they "rag tag" groups today, as recently publicly described by

[1] "As We Tell Our Stories" Exhibit, IAIS.

Connecticut Congressman Nancy Johnson. The dangerously presentist frameworks of community meaning that guide the ways groups are understood and represented historically have very real consequences today. By privileging greater attention to how "people-on-the-move re-create their landscapes" representations can "move beyond simple victimology" (Bender 2006:310; Mignolo 2000). For the late Moonface Bear (Paugussett), the son of Chief Big Eagle, the timing of the tribal recognition struggles of the last three decades could not have been better: "I love it. I thought I was born at the wrong time, for many years. But I'm right on time. Manifest Destiny is going around the other way, brother" (Lang 1994).

In the contemporary "world of movement," conceptions of community and place must adapt to changing complexities of time, space, and distance. While movement is frequently villainized as antithetical to feelings of rootedness and belonging, it may be instead that a sense of rootedness is not related in any "simple or direct way with fixity or movement" (Rapport and Dawson 1998:27). Rootedness comes to be found not in any one locale, but in repeated actions, interactions, and emotions. The practiced relations of movement are thus cognitive and emotional as much as physical. The material and spatial legacies of Native community-keeping across Native New England add new dimensions in understanding how community is maintained in such circumstances. Together, what is emphasized is that the communities described are not inevitably or necessarily rooted in place but are instead communities-in-movement (cf. Bender 2001:3), dwelling across a landscape and kinscape in ways that transmit continuing sentiments of grouphood and feelings of locatedness and belonging.

This understanding of a mobile community, which transcends place and landscape and yet which is simultaneously bound by shared interest, is not a new articulation even within the early history of New England; manifestations of it are traceable in 17th century Puritan ideas of a New Jerusalem and the 'pilgrims, travelers, and sojourners' called to create new homelands in the Americas (Cushman 1622). Yet, drawing on the insights of diaspora studies in this context enables us not to "capture the qualities of dispersal and dislocation, unboundedness and unrootedness" (Tsuda 2004:140), but instead to illuminate the "different ways of constructing, managing, and imagining the relationships between homelands and their dispersed peoples" (Dufoix 2003:xvi).

Housatonic Native communities' movements were not unique, one-time events, nor were they over a vast distance, nor were they uni-directional. Instead, regular movement was an inherited tradition, a habitual practice. It was circular, repetitive, and ongoing. Maintaining connections among dispersed community clusters living at a distance from one another was the bedrock of Housatonic Native social and spatial organization. Mobility was not an indicator of a "marginal," "isolated," "transient," "idle" existence. It was the norm, the foundation of community-keeping.

In highlighting such creative and generative attributes of community-keeping in movement, mobility is not to be treated unproblematically. There is danger in glorifying mobility and as "a liberating and empowering condition" (Stefansson 2004:185). Clearly, there are "qualitatively different kinds of displacements," the implications of which become all the more important as more and more people engage in travel, relocation, and multi-sited lives (Stefansson 2004:185; Kaplan 1996:102). In this context, "the difference between the ways we travel, the reasons for our movements, and the terms of our

participation in this dynamic must be historically and politically accounted for" (Kaplan 1996:102). From an anthropological perspective, scholars must be careful not to render movement and homelessness as commonplace, something to which people are all "inevitably and equally exposed."

Today, however, movement is frequently portrayed as antithetical to feelings of rootedness and belonging. Across the globe, people and even whole communities are understood to be entering and leaving spaces with far more regularity and intensity than ever before, whether voluntary or forced. If "all is situated and all is moving" (Clifford 1986:22), individuals can no longer dwell in the spaces and social relations they inhabit. However, this does not mean, as Heidegger so critiqued, that "homelessness is coming to be the destiny of the world."

Instead of throwing out the proverbial baby with the bathwater when it comes to understanding the relationships between movement, rootedness, and belonging, a re-centered focus on movement animates understandings of identity-keeping and community-keeping across time and space. The imaginative awareness of possible movement can be as real as actual motion. The roots one establishes across such literal and metaphorical movements become "necessarily multiple and entwined with [one's] worldly journeys" (Friedman 2001:58). Or, as Friedman (2001:58) describes, people have "roots with routes." Today, the same landscapes and places across which Schaghticoke, Weantinock, Potatuck, and Paugussett peoples historically maintained traditions of community-keeping are simultaneously testimonies of these achievements, contemporary contexts of community-keeping, and locales of action in the struggle for historical, legal, and popular recognition.

LIST OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS ANALYZED

This list includes only collections analyzed by the author. It does not include the sites surveyed only through site files and reports. Reference information for collections listed in the text which have been surveyed in that manner can be found in the bibliography.

Abbreviations for collection locations:

| | |
|---|---|
| CCSU | Central Connecticut State University, New Britain, Connecticut |
| CSAR | Connecticut State Archaeological Repository, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut |
| IAIS | Institute for American Indian Studies, Washington, Connecticut |
| MHS | Milford Historical Society, Milford, Connecticut |

Abbreviations for investigators:

| | |
|---|---|
| Coffin | Claude C. Coffin (private collector, first half 20th century) |
| Handsman | Dr. Russell G. Handsman (affiliated with Institute for American Indian Studies, 1979-1994) |
| Lavin | Dr. Lucianne Lavin (Institute for American Indian Studies; American Cultural Specialists) |
| L/C | Local collector (donated to archaeological repository listed) |
| McBride | Dr. Kevin A. McBride (Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, present; affiliated with PAST, Inc., 1980s) |
| Moeller | Roger Moeller (affiliated with the American Indian Archaeological Institute (now IAIS) in the 1970s and 1980s) |
| Nicholas | George Nicholas (co-principal investigator on Western Shore of Bantam Lake project in 1983) |
| Pawloski | John Pawloski (affiliated with the American Indian Archaeological Institute in the 1970s) |
| Rogers | Edward S. Rogers (private collector, first half 20th century) |
| Swigart | Edmund Swigart (affiliated with the American Indian Archaeological Institute (now IAIS) in the 1970s and 1980s) |
| Thompson | David Thompson (teacher at The Gunnery School in Kent and affiliated with the American Indian Archaeological Institute (IAIS) since the 1970s) |

**COLLECTIONS**

| Site Name and Location | Investigator | Collection Location |
|---|---|---|
| Barkwood Falls Site (79-22-35)/New Milford | L/C | IAIS |
| Berkshire Pond Shell Heap/Bridgeport | Rogers | IAIS |
| Bock Farm Site/Milford | Coffin | MHS |
| Deer Island/Bantam Lake/Litchfield | Handsman, Moeller & Nicholas | IAIS |
| Dodd's Farm Site (6LF122)/New Milford | Pawloski | IAIS |
| Fort Hill Project Sites/New Milford & Bridgewater | Handsman | IAIS |
| Fort Hill Project (96-026)/Bridgewater | Handsman | IAIS |
| Fort Hill Project (Indian Field)/New Milford* | Handsman, Carlson | Mattatuck Mus. |
| Fort Hill Site (96-09) | Handsman | IAIS |
| Gaylordsville (surface coll.)/New Milford | Rogers | IAIS |
| Hopkins Farm Site (6LF1)/Warren | Thompson | IAIS |
| Johnson Site/Woodbury | Unknown | IAIS |
| Laurel Beach Site/Milford | Rogers/Coffin | IAIS/MHS |
| Lighthouse Village Site/Barkhamsted | Feder | CCSU/CSAR |
| Lovers Leap Cache (6LF65)/New Milford | L/C | IAIS |
| Lovers Leap Site (6LF70)/New Milford | Swigart | IAIS |
| Meadows Site/Stratford | Rogers/Coffin | IAIS/MHS |
| Mill Neck Site/Milford | C.C. Coffin | MHS |
| Muskrat Hill Site/Stratford | C.C. Coffin | MHS |
| Nettleton Property/Milford | C.C. Coffin | MHS |
| Oronoque Shell Heap/Stratford | C.C. Coffin | MHS |
| Pootatuck Wigwams Site/Southbury | McBride/PAST | Unknown |
| Site 79-22-43, Pratt Complex/New Milford | --- | IAIS |
| Seaside Indian Village Site/Milford | C.C. Coffin | MHS |
| Still River I 82-2-10/New Milford | Handsman | IAIS |
| Village Site/Milford | Coffin | MHS |
| Weantinoge (83-2-2)/New Milford | Handsman | IAIS |
| Wilcox Shell Heap Complex/Milford | Coffin/Rogers | MHS/IAIS |
| Woodruff Rock Shelter/New Preston | Swigart | IAIS |
| Wyant/Templeton Site/Washington | Swigart/Moeller | IAIS |

*The Whitlock Site assemblage was not analyzed by the author; it is included here because partial field notes for the site were consulted in the course of analysis of related sites.

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