Schaghticoke Tribal Nation, Federal Acknowledgment Petition
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SCHAGHTICOKE HISTORICAL REPORT

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Schaghticoke: Place and People

Since at least 1736 the Schaghticoke Tribal Nation has utilized the area of its present reservation as one of its several -- and now its only -- resource areas. In that year the Connecticut Colony's General Assembly explicitly acknowledged that a group of Native Americans, which was socially, politically, and genealogically continuous with the present Tribe, had moved to that area, and ordered that the group was to be left unmolested by the colonials. The Schaghticoke Indian Reservation is situated within the Webutuck Valley on the west bank of the Housatonic River, near the confluence of that stream with the Ten Mile River (once called the Webutuck River by the Indians and the Oblong River by Connecticut colonists). The current reservation lies within the township of Kent, in Litchfield County, Connecticut. It borders the state line of New York to the west and encompasses a part of Schaghticoke Mountain (also known as East Mountain and Preston Mountain), the highest point in Connecticut.

Schaghticoke tribal members have continually used the reservation throughout history. Although since the late 18th century the majority of tribal members have been prevented from living on the Kent Reserve, the reservation has continued to serve as both the focal point of the self-identity and experience of the Schaghticokes as Indians and the connection through which they have continually been identified by outsiders. In this respect, it is impossible to separate the history of the people from the history of the place. Despite the partial assimilation of the people into the dominant culture, the continued existence of the Kent Reserve -- the spiritual and communal refuge of the Schaghticoke people -- has played an indispensable role in maintaining the separate and distinct identity of the Tribe.

Far from being the story of the destruction of a tribe, the history of the Schaghticoke Tribe reflects a strong will to maintain tribal identity despite the massive obstacles thrown up in their way. In order to survive at all, as we will see, the tribal members had no choice but to live and make lives off the reservation; yet the place called Schaghticoke was always a centerpoint of tribal identity, always a refuge for the sick and ill-fortuned, and always a place to return to, even if only in death.

One tribal member has expressed her identity with the reservation as follows:

Schaghticoke is a harmonious balance of mountainous terrain, thickly forested hills and swamplands; of rocky ledges and streams. And everywhere there are healing plants just waiting for those who know where to look. At one time the air was filled with the sounds of the pounding of ash logs for basket splints. 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 (Handsman and Richmond 1995: 114).

II. CONTACT AND COLONIZATION: 1609-1715

Since the advent of maize horticulture in southern New England between 900-1100 A.D., inland riverine areas like the Housatonic watershed are presumed to have been the realm of small to medium-sized, highly networked kinship groups such as the Schaghticoke Tribe. These groups depended on hunting, fishing, and small-scale horticulture. Because of the smaller scale of the available resources, these groups were both smaller and, for their size, far more mobile and wide-ranging than more familiar Native American tribes like the Pequots and the Narragansetts (Dincauze 1990: 29). Such small, flexible groups, very different from the social system of Europeans, were undoubtedly even more confusing to the colonists than other, more easily located tribes.

Archeological evidence indicates that Native American peoples have occupied and utilized the scenic and abundant Webutuck Valley intermittently since at least 7000 B.C. Algonquian-speaking Wappinger Indians from the lower Hudson River Valley occupied the Schaghticoke area for a time in the 15th century (Whitehead 1976: 46). It is likely that other native people continued to use Schaghticoke as at least a meeting and fishing site throughout the 17th century and that by the beginning of the 18th century it served as the homeland of an indigenous tribe (Handsman and Richmond 1995: l07-108).

Scholars such as De Forest (1850) , Orcutt (1882), and Soulsby (1979; 1981) agree that the Schaghticoke community that formed during the latter half of the 17th century represented an amalgamation of people, perhaps refugees, from two or more historical tribal entities. However, the precise identification and mixture of the antecedent tribes has long been a subject of conjecture (see the Anthropological and Genealogical Reports for futher description of merging tribal entities and the probable derivatives). Anthropologists hold that precontact tribal units in southern New England were rather small. Each socio-political unit was made up of extended families that exploited resources around individual river systems. Even before Europeans arrived on the scene, there was significant intermarriage among tribal groups. In response to new conditions brought about by European trade and settlement, some groups merged to become larger and more formal “tribes” (Salwen 1978: 168). Western Connecticut (west

of the Connecticut River) was populated by many small tribal units, whose makeup changed constantly as they provided refuge to other Indians displaced by European settlement and warfare (Conkey, et al. 1978: 183).

It is important to remember that in describing and explaining Native Americans, Europeans were handicapped by the fact that they were trying to describe a social organization that was quite alien to them. The word "tribe" was applied indiscriminately by whites to almost any group of Native Americans they came upon. There was no real understanding of the subtleties of kinship, resource sharing, and political maneuvering that were part of Native American social and cultural relationships. Evidence drawn from their records, which is essentially all of the written evidence, must be carefully sifted to get at the most probable real meaning. In the case of the Schaghticokes, for example, the phrase "a parcell of Indians" does suggest that the writer was not sure the group constituted a "tribe" or a "nation," but if, as seems most likely, his idea of a "tribe" was the fort-building Pequots, then such uncertainty is understandable.

In the same vein, the names of these “tribes” were a subject of great variation and confusion. In most cases it appears that to Europeans (and eventually to the Native Americans themselves) the most appropriate "name" was finally a place-name. For example, the Mystic River Valley is where one of the Pequot forts was destroyed and the name of the area was "Pequot" to the Europeans. In the same way the Norwich area was called "Mohegan." The Schaghticoke area is unusual in that it is still called Schaghticoke. In the two more prominent cases it is not clear whether the place-name or the tribal name came first, and which was applied to the other, only that they became the same. In the case of the Schaghticokes the geographic connection is unmistakable. All of these groups almost certainly had other names for themselves and their members -- family names, at the least, and probably names for the larger kinship groups. To the Europeans, however, these names meant nothing or were a source of endless confusion and misunderstanding. Thus, they renamed the native groups to suit their own convenience.

The Moravian missionaries, who first Christianized the Schaghticokes in the 1740s identified the tribal members as being primarily “Wampanosh” and Pootatuck. Some historians have interpreted the latter name to mean Wampanoag, a coastal and island tribe of present Massachusetts, devastated by King Philip's War in 1675. Others, reading the Moravian documents more closely, have interpreted the term to mean “Eastlanders,” a comprehensive reference to tribal groups east of the Hudson River. Dutch explorers also identified Indians in the lower portion of Narragansett Bay in present Rhode Island by a similar name: “Wapanoos” (Salwen 1978: 168).

Since the early 19th century both Schaghticoke tribal leaders and local scholars have identified at least part of the tribe as descending from Pequot refugees who survived the Pequot War 1637 and King Philip's War. Tribal elder Eunice Mauwee claimed, in

1839 and later, that her grandfather Mauwee, the first Schaghticoke sachem of historical record, was Pequot. Schaghticoke tribal members also identified themselves or were identified by others as being Pequot in the Federal census of 1900. The oral tradition of the tribe holds that Mauwee's grandfather was Mahican and that he married a Pequot woman who had fled westward with Sassacus, the tribal leader of the Pequot War of 1637. After interviewing tribal members and the reservation overseer in the early 1880s, Connecticut historian Charles Burr Todd wrote that Mauwee descended from the royal Pequot family who fled up the Webutuck Valley as far as Dover (present Dover Plains), New York, approximately five miles west of the present Schaghticoke Reservation. Mauwee was born in Dover, according to Todd (Todd 1906: 209). E.M. Ruttenber, a historian of Hudson River tribes writing in the 1870s, also linked Mauwee with Dover but claimed he was a Pequot chief who settled there with his followers (Ruttenber 1992: 195). In contrast to these interpretations, however, regional historian Samuel Orcutt, writing during the same period as Todd, claimed that Mauwee was a Pootatuck from Derby (present Seymour), Connecticut who moved north and settled in the Kent area (Orcutt 1882: 118-119).

Located as they were at the confluence of the Housatonic and Ten Mile rivers, the Schaghticoke were strategically positioned to take advantage of waterways and pathways linking them to both other tribal settlements and significant resources. A trail through the Webutuck Valley along the Ten Mile linked the Albany area of New York with tribal settlements in the lower Housatonic Valley and on Long Island Sound. At Schaghticoke this trail connected with the Berkshire Path, a trail running along the Housatonic from the Stockbridge area of Massachusetts south to the Sound. The historical record indicates that the Schaghticoke used all these trails regularly and in their seasonal migrations during the 18th century interacted most frequently with mixed Weantinock, Pootatuck, and Mahican settlements in the lower Housatonic Valley to the south and with mixed Mahican settlements to the north and west in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York.

A. The Hudson Valley and Coastal Connecticut

As the Schaghticoke Tribe's closest neighbors to the west, and Algonquian speakers as well, like all the Connecticut tribes, the Mahicans of the Hudson River region in eastern New York were an important source of shared resources and kinship links. They were also the first to encounter Europeans directly, when in 1609 Henry Hudson and his Dutch crew sailed up the river that was to later bear his name. The wealth made possible by the fur trade became the cause of struggles for supremacy between the Mahicans and the Mohawks (one of the Six Nations of Iroquois) as early as the 1620s, which lasted until a peace was made in 1675 (Frazier 1992: 4-5). But the English conquest of New Netherlands in 1664 marked the end of an era in European-Native American relations along the Hudson. Unlike the Dutch, who were primarily traders rather than settlers, the English began to implement their program of organized settlement in the newly-renamed New York, which substantially altered the Native Americans'

status. No longer sought-after as trading partners (though the English would trade), they became an obstacle and an inconvenience to the settlers, especially as the fur trade waned in importance. The Mahicans, blocked from westward flight by the Hudson and the Mohawks and suffering from English encroachment on all sides, were unable to continue as a power in the region (Brasser 1978, 201-204).

The Dutch also made contact with Indians in the coastal region of present Connecticut along Long Island Sound and the lower Connecticut River in 1614. They purchased land from the Pequots and erected a fort at present Hartford. By 1634, there were both Dutch and English trading posts on the Connecticut River. Extensive English settlement of Connecticut began two years later when colonists from Massachusetts Bay established settlements at what are now Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield. Land was in each case formally purchased and deeded from local tribal sachems. Immigration and land acquisition grew exponentially in the years that followed. The Dutch were not aggressive in contesting their land claims, yet they refused to allow the English to purchase them. Finally, in 1654, the English government of Connecticut appropriated all Dutch property (Chitwood 1961:123-25; Salwen 1978:173).

During the early colonization period, there were many Indian settlement villages along or near the lower Housatonic River in Connecticut. The Paugussett people occupied several sites at the mouth of the river and inland as far as present Derby and Shelton. A related tribe, the Pootatucks, lived near present Southbury and Woodbury. The Weantinocks, another related tribe, were located in present New Milford (Richmond 1994: 106).

B. The Colony of Connecticut

Connecticut was founded under the specious authority of the Massachusetts Bay Colony between 1633 and 1639, the latter date being when the inhabitants of the three towns of Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield established an independent government under their Fundamental Orders. The commonly-cited date of the colony's founding, 1636, was only the year Massachusetts Bay instituted a semblance of government for Connecticut. Founded in 1638, New Haven was a separate colony until 1662, when the two were united by the King's charter (Jones 1968: xi-xii, 61-62).

The year 1636 was also, and probably not coincidentally, the year of the Pequot War. For a variety of reasons, including conflicts between the Pequots and other riverine tribes, trade, and colonial paranoia, the Massachusetts Bay Colony attacked and destroyed the Pequot settlement on the Mystic River at present New London (Cave 1996: 1-2).

The Pequot sachem Sassacus and some of his followers managed to escape both the Mystic massacre and a second attack in the Great Swamp near Fairfield. With

Captain John Mason's Englishmen in hot pursuit, the Pequot survivors headed west toward the Webutuck Valley in the vicinity of present Dover Plains, New York. Legend has it that they were able to evade the Englishmen by hiding in a large cavern near a mountain waterfall on the west side of the valley (Town of Dover Historical Society 1982: 2-3).

The Pequots survivors then sought refuge with the Mohawks, who reportedly beheaded Sassacus and took the other refugees prisoner. These prisoners, approximately 200 in number, were divided among the allied tribes, given to colonists to work as servants, or sold into slavery (Washburn 1978: 89-90; Salwen 1978; 173). Thus the Pequot portion of the Schaghticoke heritage may come either from tribal members who fell aside in the flight to the Hudson River, or from those who remained in Connecticut. The Pequot slaves of the Narragansetts and Mohegans had extricated themselves by the 1650s, and were resettled in New London County by the Connecticut government (Campisi 1990: 118). In addition, any of them could have escaped and fled westward before the resettlement.

The General Assembly of Connecticut (at first known as the General Court) sat as one body until 1698, when it was divided into two houses (Chitwood 1961: 126). It comprised the legislative, judicial and executive authority of the colony to varying degrees over time (Jones 1968: 92). Specifically, the General Assembly was responsible for matters involving Native Americans, including the appointment of overseers (see below) until 1824 when it was ordered that the County Courts were to appoint overseers for each tribe (Connecticut Public Records 1835: 315).

C. The Town System

Towns were the basic organizing unit of the colony. Tasks that could reasonably be handled on a local level were delegated to them, and they had considerable authority within their bounds. The town meeting, which normally came together twice a year (but could not always achieve a quorum), elected local officials and set some policy. The day-to-day government of the town was handled by those officials, especially the same two or three selectmen. They also had a great deal of influence on the development of new towns, as such towns were usually settled by contingents of people from one or a few existing towns, and the parent towns accrued revenue from the daughter towns by providing some of the necessary funds and having them paid back at interest. The General Assembly required that its approval be given prior to the "planting" of any town. Depending on the time period, it would approve the initial or post-settlement survey and the financial plan for the town, and after a certain period (usually ten years) would approve the town's petition to be formally recognized as a town (Daniels 1977: 8-44, 84-85, 94-97).

Not everyone living in the colony was a citizen; citizenship was not a natural result of residence, but had to be earned. Even persons who were born in the colony could become non-citizens if they became paupers or criminals. First, an individual had to be an "accepted inhabitant" of a town. This was a privilege granted by the town meeting and the established church upon the individual's request. At this point, the individual would also become a "resident" of the town. Non-residents were people who resided elsewhere and were admitted as inhabitants somewhere else. Being an admitted inhabitant entitled taxpaying, landowning men over eighteen years of age who were admitted to the church and bound to its covenant and in good standing to become "freemen of the colony." Freemen -- initially admitted only by the General Assembly but later by lower courts and then by the towns themselves -- could vote at the town meeting for local officials, for the delegate to the General Assembly, and for the Assistants, while the Governor was elected by the delegates (Daniels 1979: 127-131; Jones 1968: 81-84). In theory, everyone belonged to a town somewhere -- except Native Americans, who belonged to a tribe, and the occasional vagrant. Ideally, the place where a person lived was the place where he was an admitted inhabitant, but over time this rule became more difficult to enforce.

Another possible rank of citizenship was an informal one. Upstanding, educated citizens of unusually good means could become known in their towns and beyond as "esquires, " a kind of non-inherited gentry. Many esquires were also deacons, and at times the terms seemed interchangeable. Notably, almost all overseers seem to have been both, and in the 19th century they were also lawyers.

To a significant degree the people of colonfficiency. Article dated December 2.

Newtown Bee
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#223 1982 Chief Urging Tribe to Return to Land. New York Times. Article dated June 6.

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Pane, Marge

#225 1996 Community Study Oral History Interview. November 11. 1650, 1826: 51.) Further, not only were the tribes regarded as distinct entities, but even individual Native Americans outside of tribal relations were a distinct group and treated differently in the area of land ownership (Kawashima 1986: 21).

Lack of citizenship meant, among other things, that Native Americans could not vote, testify against a citizen, bring suit, or secure a bondsman. They could own property, including real estate, but they could not be taxed. Tribal lands were eventually reserved (that is set aside from settlement) by the Colony, in part because no town wanted Indian paupers within its limits because it would then be saddled with the expense of supporting them. In effect, Connecticut Indians were not truly considered to be accepted inhabitants until 1934 when they were finally recognized as being citizens of the State with full civil rights. This was a decade after the United States granted Federal citizenship to those Indians who had not already achieved it, through severing tribal relations and/or gaining fee title to land. In this respect, Schaghticoke tribal members were considered separate and distinct from other Connecticut citizens for nearly three centuries.

Tribal members were not only segregated socially and politically, they were also prohibited from conducting certain trade activities for fear that they might impede colonial settlement. They could not be licensed as peddlers or tradesmen, which was a significant requirement in Litchfield County, where peddlers were supervised aggressively. In order to serve in the military, such as during the American Revolution, they were required to serve in separate units with separate duties. Likewise, Connecticut citizens were not allowed to give or sell guns, ammunition, military weapons, arrowheads, or dogs to a tribal member (Kawashima 1986: 119-121; Grabowski 1996: 20).

As far as subsistence was concerned, the types of work available to tribal members outside their own settlements were quite limited. They could work as day laborers and servants or they could become seamen, since ship's recruiters would and could hire anyone. After government overseers were appointed for each reservation, Indians could also work for the overseer, since they were believed to be idle persons. Native Americans were part of the lowest class of workers. This was not only due to their lack of citizenship, but also because they were outside the European education and apprenticeship and simply had very limited opportunities to learn the skills that Europeans regarded as essential. Those who did learn trades were rare and often became Europeanized to the point of either losing touch with their tribe or settling and making lives off the reservation. In regard to this point, the Schaghticoke Tribe continually fulfilled one of the requirements of being a tribe in that most of its members were constantly dependent on the Schagticoke land and the overseers' funds for assistance. Native American lifeways simply did not prepare them for survival in a Europeanized world. The reduction of the Tribe's land holdings and access to resources made it

difficult for its members to actually survive as Native Americans. They had to learn European ways -- and over time, most of them did learn as much of them as they absolutely needed -- in order to survive at all. The fact that they retained a tribal identity despite this process is portentous.

D. Conflicting Concepts of Land Ownership

Land was the primary source of conflict and confrontation between native tribes and the Anglo-Europeans whose culture gained dominance over the American colonies One of the most discernible differences between these peoples and their respective cultures was in their concept of land ownership. The Native American's long tradition of communal use of land and resources, with all of its interwoven cultural and religious significance, proved to be incompatible with European notions of land tenure based on partition, legal title, and individual ownership. The colonial system in Connecticut, as elsewhere in America, recognized that native tribes had a right of possession to land and resources they occupied and utilized; in other words, a right of "ownership" based on aboriginal title. Consequently, to the English mind, tribal ownership could only be extinguished through standard means of legal conveyance. This meant by purchase recorded in deeds of title signed by both seller and buyer and authenticated by the government (Kawashima 1986:43-50).

Another source of European misunderstanding was the difference between the way both parties utilized land. To the colonists, the Native Americans were not properly utilizing their woodland (a valuable source of timber and firewood) and meadow (grazing land). This was part and parcel of the Europeans' concept of land "mprovement," a process by which the land was parceled out, fenced, and farmed or harvested. They could not understand that the Native Americans were also using the land, but less intensively, and that much of their subsistence was based on migration (Cronon 1983:77; Kawashima 1986:43-44).

As a minimum requirement, Connecticut did recognize the corporate ownership of Indian land to the extent that it made certain that deeds of conveyance were negotiated with, and signed by, the individual considered by the English to be the head chief or sachem of the tribal entity, and often by other leaders of the Tribe as well. This system led quickly to many disagreements over who had the power to convey tribal property, what exactly was conveyed, whether the purchase price was fair, and if the conveyance was valid. It also resulted in much fraud and deception. By 1702 the Connecticut government was so bogged down with litigation over Indian deeds that it ruled that all sales, hires, leases, and contracts involving tribes or tribal members required approval of the General Assembly (Kawashima 1986:46-50). This meant that all such conveyances lacking approval of the General Assembly were void.

By 1675, the year in which warfare again erupted between the colonists and Indians in New England, much of the native population of coastal and central Connecticut was effectively displaced. Settlement of the interior then proceeded more slowly. Thus, tribal communities in the interior, like Schaghticoke, experienced a more gradual exposure to European culture than those in the path of the earliest settlers (Salwen 1978:174).

E. King Philip's War

The King Philip's War in 1675 was a direct result of the maneuvering of the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut to gain primacy over lands of the Narragansett and Wampanoag in Rhode Island and of the New York colony to claim all of the former Dutch territory, which included half of Connecticut. The conflict began after a Christianized Indian was murdered by unknown persons after warning the Plymouth Governor that the Wampanoag leader Metacom, known to the English as King Philip, was planning an attack. Plymouth colonists attacked the Wampanoags and neutral

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#338 1995 US v. 43.47 Acres of Land More or Less, Situated in the County of Litchfeld, Town of Kenthers accepted protection of the Mohawks and resettled in villages along the Mohawk River in New York. The continued

pressure of European settlement ultimately forced these Indians to remove to the upper Susquehanna River in the 1720s and to Wyoming, Pennsylvania in 1730 (Brasser 1978, 206).

Another tribal settlement named Scatekook was at present Sheffield in southwestern Massachusetts, where the Schenob River joins the upper Housatonic. This was one of the four remaining Mahican and mixed eastern Indian villages located in that region The leader of this village in the early 1730s, Aron Umpachenee, a cousin of Mauwee, Sachem of the Connecticut Schaghticoke. In 1735 the so-called Housatonic Indians agreed to allow the Massachusetts Bay Colony and the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and Parts Adjacent to establish a mission village within their area that became known as Stockbridge. This experiment in Indian-White town living was motivated by a desire to protect the Indians from the negative influences of both "the non-Christian Indians and the not-too-Christian Whites" (Brasser 1978: 207).

By 1738 the population of the Housatonic Indian villages in Massachusetts was consolidated at Stockbridge, where the Reverend John Sergeant had opened a school. Despite the fact that a significant portion of the Stockbridge Indians were non-Mahicans, the Mahican language was used in the church. The core population of the community and its social and political organization was also Mahican (Brasser 207).

Schaghticoke from Connecticut, Hudson River Mahicans, and other Indians visited Stockbridge frequently. After Mtohskin, chief sachem of the Mahican, died in 1740, the "fireplace of the Nation" (central fires) was moved to Stockbridge from the Hudson River Valley and Aron Umpachnee , who was married to the daughter of a previous chief sachem, became leader of the Mahican Nation (Brasser 1978: 208).

III. EARLY LAND CESSIONS: 1716-1739

The petitions and deeds of title for land conveyances by the Schaghticoke are important primary sources documenting the history of the Tribe's early contact with English colonists. Although many of the deeds were not approved by the General Assembly, as required by a 1702 statute, and thus were not valid, they are nevertheless good indicators of the location and leadership of the Schaghticoke. The tracts being sold indicate the areas considered by the colonists to be under Indian ownership. The signature(s), most often a mark, of the grantor(s) demonstrate who was considered to be the leading man and/or men of the Tribe (no early deeds were signed by women of the Tribe).

The political structure of the merging and evolving tribal units in western Connecticut during the early 18th century was based on leadership by a sachem. The role

and authority of the sachem varied within individual tribes from that of being an absolute monarch to being merely a respected advisor. Subordinate sachems, who headed villages or other smaller units within the tribe, were called sagamores. The sachemship was usually hereditary, descending most often to males through the mother and sometimes to the offspring of the sachem's sister. While the position was inherited, the influence of the sachem was the product of his or her individual character and ability. Those subordinate to the sachem within a tribal unit were commonly grouped into three classes: those of the sachem's blood line and/or those of superior achievement; commoners; and those without tribal status (captives and others who lacked legal rights) (Russell 1980: 19; Bragdon 1996: 140-155).

Because the success of tribal leaders depended on community consensus, they seldom exercised authority without consulting a council of members of the tribe, chosen on the basis of their ability, wisdom, and experience. This criterion favored elders, who were honored and respected in tribal society generally. Depending on the importance of the issue, decision making could involve consultation with any combination of sagamores, tribal elders, all of the higher echelon tribal members, or the entire tribe. The decision-making process attempted to arrive at either unanimity or a least tacit approval. As a result, the process was often lengthy. Tribal custom and decisions had the effect of law and were enforced by community sanctions (Russell 1980: 19-20; Bragdon 1996: 140-155).

A. The Fairweather Deed

During the first decade of the 18th century, Waramaug, sachem at Weantinock, agreed to grant great tracts of land to encroaching colonists. As a result, New Milford was planted beginning in 1707, and was organized as a town in 1712, at which time there were twelve English families living there (Orcutt 1882: 20). As settlement increased during the 18th century, the local Native Americans began moving further north toward Schaghticoke (Richmond 1994: 107).

The first land conveyance that can be associated with Mauwee, the first recorded Schaghticoke sachem, took place in 1716. In that year local Indians in the vicinity of New Milford granted to Benjamin Fairweather a strip of land running along the east bank of the Housatonic River from New Milford northward to ungranted Indian lands. The principal sachems who signed the deed were Waramaug, leader of the Weantinock community northeast of New Milford, and "Nepato of Knunckpacooke" (Connecticut General Assemby, Public Records 1738: 363; 172; Deming 1941, 100). Historian Samuel Orcutt identified Knunckpacooke as "a locality on the river (Housatonic River) in Kent , or a little above" (Orcutt 1882:104), which shows that there were Native Americans living in the area that would be Kent even before 1736, and possibly even at Schaghticoke. The community known to the colonists as Weantinock, with which Waramaug was affiliated, then consisted of a mixture of Wepawaugs, Pequannocks,

Paugussetts, and Pootatucks as well as a related tribe that was already in the New Milford area (Whitehead 1776: 48).

The individual known as Mauwee, the first recorded Schaghticoke sachem, also signed as a witness to the deed (as "Mauhehu"). This indicates that Mauwee was then part of the larger community of Native Americans in this part of northwestern Connecticut. In 1720 Mauwee reportedly signed another deed as one of the Indian owners again attempting to grant lands north of New Milford and east of the Housatonic (Orcutt 1882, 118-119). Since Moravian documents indicate that Mauwee was born in 1687 (Moravian Archives, box 3191, folders 1-4), he was approximately 29 when he signed the Fairweather deed of 1716.

B. Chickens from Mohawk

Before a meeting of the Governor and Council of Connecticut in New Haven on September 15, 1720, an Indian living near Danbury named Chickens received two belts of wampum from "certain remote Indians." These Indians, living west of the Hudson River in New York, wished to live with the Indian colony near Danbury. Chickens then advised the Indians at Pootatuck and Weantinock of the request of the New York Indians. The Governor and Council resolved in their meeting to send an interpreter to determine the intentions of Chickens (Hoadly 1872: 203).

Chickens (also known as Sam Mohawk, Warrups, Chickens Warrups, and Benjamin Warrups) was believed to be a Mohawk sagamore or sub-chief. After killing a member of his own tribe he came to live with the Pequannock, a tribal group who previously lived near present Bridgeport (Todd 1906). He was also known to live at present Newtown and later, in 1725, at Reading (present Redding) (Orcutt 1886: 4, 31). In 1748 Chickens and his family became a part of the Schaghticoke community (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 1, vol. 2, pp. 30-32, 215; Todd 1906). The documentation of his meeting with New York Indians evidences the kind of amalgamation of Indian groups that was occurring during this period.

The first official reference to the Schaghticoke in the public records of Connecticut took place in 1725. The Council Journal of that year contained the following resolution:

Resolved, That a scout of ten effective able-bodied men be forthwith sent out from Simsbury, to take their departure from Salmon Brook at Simsbury and march across the wilderness to Housatunnack and Weataug, and inform the sachem of said Indians that as we look upon them to be our friends, we send them the news, that many of the eastern Indians are come out against these frontier parts of the country, and also that Scatecook Indians are all drawn off, its suppos'd to the enemie' and we send them this news that they may secure themselves in the best manner they can from the said

enemie. . . . (Connecticut Council Journal 1725: 511-512).

C. Binding Out Children

By the mid-1720s one of the survival strategies that Indians pursued was to bind their children out to English families as servants. This was already a common practice among poor non-Indian families and it provided several advantages for both parties. The basic material needs of the children were taken care of at the same time the children learned useful skills and sometimes even trades. In May 1727 the Connecticut government ordered all colonists who took in Indian children to instruct their charges to become literate in English and familiar with the Christian faith or risk being fined (Grabowski 1996).

Sometime after this policy was decreed, Mauwee brought his son Joseph (also known as Chuse) to reside with Agur Tomlinson in the settlement known as Derby (present Seymour) so that he might be taught the English language and customs. He lived there until he was a young adult (Anonymous n.d., Tomlinsons in America: 32-33). Since Tomlinson's father Henry was one of the first deed-holders in the New Milford area (Orcutt 1882, 16-17), it is possible that Tomlinson may have met Mauwee while in the New Milford-Kent area.

D. New Fairfield Lands

In 1729 Mauwee and Cockkenon purportedly granted a parcel of land, eight miles in length, to the committee of proprietors for the town of New Fairfield. The parcel was bounded on the east by the Housatonic River and New Fairfield, on the west by the New York border, on the south by the Mitchell property in New Fairfield, and on the north by ungranted lands (Connecticut Archives, Towns and Lands, series. 1, vol. 8, part 1, p.4). According to local historian Francis Atwater, this conveyance included the present Town of Sherman, a daughter settlement of the Town of New Fairfield (Atwater 1897: 73).

Among those who signed the deed as Indian witnesses were individuals later recorded by the Moravian missionaries as being resident among the Christian Indians at Schaghticoke, including Shorun, Cukeson, and Siecus (Connecticut Archives, Towns and Lands, series. 1, vol. 8, part 1, p.4). Shorun and Siecus were names previously associated with Indians near present Stratford, at the mouth of the Housatonic (Orcutt 1886: 29- 31, 42). At least one source claims that Mauwee and Cockkenon were brothers and that their father was an Indian sachem named “Squantz” (Halsted n.d.).

Following the death of Waramaug in 1735 some of the native people who had been staying at Weantinock near New Milford relocated to land that the General Assembly described in 1736 as being located "on the west side of the Ousatunnuck River,

in a bow on the west side thereof, about three or four miles above New Fairfield, upon a piece of plain land there" (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 1, vol. 1, part 2, p. 170). Although the name Schaghticoke was not used, the description matches the geography of the initial reservation area very closely. As usual, the General Assembly seems to have assumed that this group of Native Americans was moving from one permanent, year-round residence to another, like the Pequots in their fortified villages. However, this was an incorrect assumption as applied to the migrating tribes of the Housatonic. Nevertheless, the description makes it very clear that Schaghticoke was known to be inhabited by Native Americans in 1736.

E. Establishment of Kent

In addition to the lower Housatonic Valley and the land near the Long Island Sound, the region utilized by the Schaghticoke Tribe in the Webutuck Valley straddled the border between Connecticut and New York. By the late 1720s public pressure to settle western Connecticut became so great that the General Assembly was compelled to find new ways to divide and settle these lands, as well as to resolve a long-running boundary dispute with New York. It decided to auction off surveyed town lots, at prices considerably higher than before, to qualified persons who pledged to pay the purchase price within a specified number of years. The border dispute with New York was settled at least temporarily in 1731 when officials of the two colonies agreed to a land swap. Connecticut conceded a 1.8 mile-wide strip known as “The Oblong” to Dutchess County, New York in exchange for land on Long Island Sound now part of Fairfield County (Jeanneney and Jeanneney 1983: 13; Connecticut Resolves and Private Acts 1837).

The town of Kent was planted in 1738 as part of the division of the so-called "Western Lands" of Connecticut. Unlike the earlier process of settlement, the Western Lands were formally distributed at auctions, with fifty-three shares (lots) per planned township (Grant 1961: 3, 9-11.) An official map of the proprietor's distribution at Kent, dated 1738 or 1739, clearly shows a large section west of the Housatonic River marked "Schaghicoke" excepted from the distribution scheme (See plate, "Town of Kent 1738"). A deed extinguishing Native American title to the area has not been found.

In 1741 the Schaghticoke Tribe purportedly granted a 200-acre tract of land in Kent to Colonel John Read (Orcutt 1882, 17). The deed was signed by Mauwee, Tom Cuckson, James (also known as Simon James), and Watua. Read was a prominent colonist, after whom the town of Reading, Connecticut (present Redding) was named. A graduate of Harvard College, he was the first to preach a sermon in New Milford (Historical Committee of New Milford 1907: 4).

IV. THE MORAVIAN ERA: 1742-1770

A. Moravian Identification of a Distinct Tribe

The Indians of the Schaghticoke community came under the influence of Moravian missionaries in the early 1740s. The diaries and catalogues (lists of baptized Indians) kept by the Moravians are a prime source of information regarding the membership and activities of the Schaghticoke community during the middle 18th century. With the establishment of a Moravian missionary presence at Schaghticoke in 1742, it is possible for the first time to identify Schaghticoke accurately as a distinct tribe (most of the amalgamation of other groups has taken place), knowing at least who its baptized members were, with a distinct leader, Gideon Mauwee, and occupying a distinct area (as recognized by the Kent proprietors in 1738).

B. The Great Awakening

Among New England colonists in the 1730s, a religious fervor, known as the Great Awakening, rekindled interest in the establishment of missions among the Indians and consequently had a profound effect on Native American communities. What had hindered the Puritans in their attempt to convert Indians was the emphasis of their clergy on a meticulous acquisition of Christian doctrine. While French and Spanish missionaries to Native Americans enjoyed great success in making nominal conversions to Roman Catholicism, Puritan conversion dictated a thorough comprehension of scripture that could only be accomplished by those who had reached the age of reason and had basic literacy skills in English. It also required that tribal members be dependent upon and subordinate to the extensive instruction of trained clergy. In short, Puritan conversion required Indians to adopt a completely new lifestyle. Because few Englishmen learned to preach in a native language or were willing to live among the tribes for the extensive period required to effect a transformation of traditional religious beliefs, Indian conversion in New England was spotty in the years prior to the 1740s (Grabowski 1996: 37-38).

The religious reformers of the Great Awakening era called “New Lights” placed emphasis on religious experiences such as revelations, visions, and trances, that were more consistent with Native American rituals and ceremonies. They also introduced the concept of itinerant preaching to bring the Gospel to remote communities and challenged the authority of the standing clergy supported by public taxation. They charged that the town ministers' knowledge of Christianity was purely intellectual and abstract, lacking the conviction of revealed, participatory religion. They felt the established clergy were more interested in their public salaries than in bringing worshippers closer to God (Grabowski 1996: 37-38). The Moravian missionaries who came to enjoy great acceptance among the Schaghticoke had much in common with the New Lights.

C. The Call to Shekomeko

Shekomeko was another composite Indian community, consisting of about 100 residents, primarily Mahican but also including tribal members from the Hudson Highlands, Schaghticoke, and tribal refugees from the eastern war. It was located on lot 12 of the Little Nine Partners' land grant just west of the Taconic Mountains in Dutchess County, New York, two miles south of present Pine Plains near the present hamlet of Bethel. This was about 20 miles west of the Schaghticoke community and 30 miles southwest of Stockbridge (Loskiel 1838:53; Smith 1882: 28-29; Frazier 1992: 59-61; Herrick 1994: 117).

In the summer of 1740 two tribal leaders from Shekomeko named Tschoop and Shabash met the Moravian missionary Christian Rauch in New York City and asked him to come preach to their community. One of these tribal leaders had previously visited Stockbridge after experiencing a vision that his people should turn away from their wickedness (Loskiel 1838:53; Smith 1882: 28-29; Frazier 1992: 59-61; Herrick 1994: 117).

The Mahicans of Shekomeko were desperate. Their Iroquois enemies, armed by the Dutch, had driven them out of the Hudson Valley and English colonists from the east were pressuring them to sell the rest of their land. Just three years before, Shabash had deeded away the so-called “Nine Partners” tract in Dutchess County. All that then remained was a few acres around a lake and Shekomeko, which Richard Sackett of the Nine Partners had promised they could continue to hold undisturbed (MacCracken 1956: 164).

D. The Moravian Denomination

The Moravian Church, also known as the Church of the United Brethren and the Brethren's Church, evolved from one of the earliest congregations established by Saint Paul. The name United Brethren derived from the formal union in 1456 of the Moravians, Bohemians, and Waldenses after each group had long been persecuted. The Moravians placed heavy emphasis on scripture and music. Accordingly, they were the first Christian denomination to use printing and are also credited with introducing the music of Johann Sebastian Bach to America. After being expulsed from Moravia, the Moravians found their way to Germany, where they came under the protection and patronage of a wealthy nobleman, Count Nickolas Ludwig von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf. With Count Zinzendorf's support, the Moravians launched a missionary effort in North America, going first to Greenland and then to the Creek and Cherokee Indians in Georgia. Difficulties with the government of that colony made it imperative for them to leave. Eventually, they managed to establish a presence on the Delaware River in Pennsylvania, which Count Zinzendorf named Bethlehem. This colony continued to serve as the missionary headquarters for the Moravians in America while

their mother church continued to be located in the town of Herrnhutt in Saxony (Jordan 1952: 36; Frazier 1992, 60).

The message and religious approach of the Moravians was significantly different from that of the New England Calvinists. Theirs was a religion more of emotion than intellect. Their missionaries had little or no religious training and were disdainful of academic theology. Their staples were simple sermons focused on redemption through the acceptance of Jesus as a personal savior and lavish use of music and hymns to stimulate emotion. They placed heavy, almost morbid, emphasis on the crucifixion and the wounds Christ suffered for the redemption of man. This sensuous symbolism, which played a key role in their conversion efforts, proved to be very appealing to Native Americans (Frazier 1992: 60).

The Moravian missionaries were self-sufficient. Unlike the Congregationalist clergy, they did not receive salaries from either the church or their local congregations. Their missions became communal villages, more in line with Indian practice and tradition, where most of the work and material gain was dedicated to the community. They emphasized hard work, discipline, freedom from debt, and adherence to the rules of the community. Their conduct among the Indians was also regulated by a written code of ethics. The Moravians were pacifists who refused to take oaths. Because of their association with the Anglican Church they were viewed as a threat by Congregationalists. These factors, coupled with the circumstance that they were not otherwise part of the English colonial establishment, led to the eventual failure of their Indian missions (Frazier 1992: 60).

E. The First Mission

Christian Rauch arrived at Shekomeko in 1740 to begin his ministry. He also visited the Mahican village of Wechquadnach, located east of the Taconic Mountains near present Sharon, Connecticut and the Schaghticoke settlement in Kent, Connecticut, which he reported then consisted of over 100 Indian residents (Loskiel 1838 :53-55; Smith 1882:3; Frazier 1992:63).

In the fall 1741 Brother Rauch was joined at Shekomeko by Brother Gootlub Buettner, who invited him to attend a Brethren synod to be held at Oly, Pennsylvania in February 1742. The missionaries invited three of the Indians from Shekomeko to accompany them. Along with Shabash, the other tribal members were Seim and Kiop (Tschoop was too lame to travel). Seim was later identified by the Moravians as the father of the Schaghticoke sachem Mauwee. While at Oly, Brothers Rauch and Buettner were ordained as deacons. Shabash, Seim, and Kiop also became the first Native Americans to be baptized by the Moravians. They were given the Christian names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob respectively (Loskiel 1838 : 58-59).

After the party returned to Shekomeko in April 1742, Brother Rauch also baptized Tschoop, giving him the name John. In July the Shekomeko mission was visited by the Moravian benefactor, Count Zinzendorf, and his daughter, Benigna. The Count baptized six more Indians there, including the wife of Isaac (Seim) and appointed Isaac as one of the four tribal leaders to assist the mission The ten converts at Shekomeko thus became the nucleus of the first Moravian congregation of Indians in North America (Moravian Archives, Catalogue 3191; Loskiel 1838: 61-63; Smith 1882, 31; Herrick 1994: 116-17; Frazier 1992: 62).

Brother Buettner and his wife had returned to Shekomeko in October 1742 to assist Brother Rauch and they were joined two months later by Brother John Martin Mack and his wife Jeannette Rau Mack, who was fluent in the Mahican language. By the end of the year there were 31 baptized Indians at the mission. The Moravian brothers and sisters planted crops, taught hymns in the Mahican language, washed feet in emulation of Christ, and held communal suppers called love feasts (Loskiel 1838: 65-67; Smith 1882:3; Frazier 1992:63).

By autumn 1743 the Moravians and their Christian converts had laid out an Indian burying ground, erected a chapel, and baptized 47 tribal members at Shekomeko. The missionaries were also using their mission there as a base for visitations to other Indian communities in New York, western Connecticut, including Wechquadnach and Schaghticoke and southwestern Massachusetts (Frazier 1992, 63; Loskiel 1838 :67: Herrick 1994: 116). The place in Massachusetts most often visited by the Moravians was the Mahican village of Westenuc, south of Stockbridge near present Great Barrington (Moravian Archives, Hunting 1897: 19).

F. The Baptism of Mauwee

Brother and Sister Mack visited the winter village of Schaghticoke (called Pachgatgoch in the Moravian diaries) within the township of Kent in late January and early February 1743, where they were lodged by "Captain Mawessmau" (the Moravians used the terms captain, king, and chief in referring to tribal sachems). On February 1 Mauwee invited the Moravians "to come live with us." Mauwee's daughter stated "we have already long heard of Shekomeko," and his wife cried "Oh how do I wish with tears from my heart that we might be so settled as our friends in Shekomeko; then I should be also be baptized." However, sachem Mauwee expressed the fear that the English might imprison the Moravians (Moravian Archives, box 111, folder 3, Item 3).

Brother Mack noted that the captain of Pootatuck, "an Indian place 70 miles farther," was also visiting Pachgatgoch at that time. The Pootatuck captain granted permission for Mack and his wife to visit his village, which they did a few days later. While there, they were visited again by Indians from Schaghticoke who invited them to return to their community. When they returned to Pachgatgoch, they found that Brother

Gottlub Buettner and the Indian Joshua from Shekomeko were also visiting (Moravian Archives, box 111, folder 3, Item 3; Loskiel 1838: 68-71). Joshua (not to be confused with Josua Mauwee) formerly known as Wasamapa, was a Mahican leader, one of the first to be baptized by the Moravians, and Brother Buettner, trained in practical skills like many of the Moravians, was a tailor by trade (MacCracken 1956: 166-68, 179).

During the next morning, on February 10, Brothers Mack and Buettner proceeded to baptize "the old captain Maweseman [Gideon] along with his son [Josua] and daughter [Maria], two unmarried brothers [Amos and Samuel Cocksure] and one widow [Rachel]" (Moravian Archives, box 111, folder 2; Loskiel 1838 :71). The widow Rachel was later married to Christian Frederick Post, described as "the most adventurous of Moravian Missionaries" (Smith 1882: 32; Moravian Archives, Catalogue 3191).

On February 19 Gideon Mauwee and a delegation of twenty-six other Indians from Schaghticoke and Pootatuck journeyed to Shekomeko to request that the Moravian missionaries return to their communities. Brother Mack agreed to accompany them back to Pachgatgoch; this time without his wife. When they arrived on February 22, the Pootatuck sachem was again visiting, and two days later Brother Mack was also introduced to visiting Indians "from the Seashore." Gideon's son Josua (also known as Job) agreed to accompany the missionary to Long Island Sound, which they reached on March 1. Brother Mack noted that on the way they stopped again at Pootatuck, where Josua visited his grandmother (Moravian Archives, box 111, folder 2; box 111, folder 3, Item 4). These diary notations indicate the degree of kin relationships, fluidity of movement, and acceptance between and among various Indian settlements. They also mirror traditional residential patterns still in effect among the Schaghticoke.

G. The Moravians as Subversives

Perhaps because they knew the Moravians were not acceptable to the Colony, the Schaghticoke did not immediately abandon efforts to obtain educational assistance from the established church. On May 13, 1742, Mauwee and ten other Indians, all of whom were later listed as residents of Schaghticoke, petitioned the Colony stating that there were twenty of them at New Milford and Pootatuck who desired to have their families educated in English and to have a minister teach them the Christian religion (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 1, part 2, p. 240). In that same month, a committee of the General Assembly reported that there were 30 Indians near New Milford and 40 "at a place called Potatuck" on the borders of Newtown and Woodbury. The Committee recommended that funds be appropriated for the support of those who would attend school and worship services and that the clergymen of New Milford, Woodbury, and Newtown should provide care and instruction to these Indian families. The General Assembly responded by providing funds for that purpose (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 1, part 2, pp. 242-243).

The English colonists were highly suspicious of the Moravians and their practices. With the beginning of the disputes and problems between England and France that led eventually to the French and Indian War (1754-1763), the fears of the settlers were aroused by these alien missionaries of whom the Indians seemed so fond. Because the French had employed Jesuit priests to help align Indian tribes in opposing the English, many suspected that the Moravians might be working clandestinely to further French interests by turning the Indians against them (Jordan 1952: 39). The English did not mind having communities of "praying Indians," but not if they were pacifists, because they wanted Indians who could fight for them (MacCracken 1956 177-78). Neither were they keen about having people in Indian communities who might better advise tribal members regarding the finer points of land transactions and colonial law, since ignorance about such matters worked to the advantage of the colonists. The Moravian historian George Henry Loskiel noted that the success of the Moravians was also disturbing to some local traders: "For having been accustomed to make the dissolute life of the Indians and chiefly their love of liquor, subservient to their advantage, they were exceedingly provoked when they saw that the Indians began to turn away from their evil doings, and to avoid all those sinful practices which had been profitable to the traders" (Loskiel 1838: 76-77).

As a measure against the Moravians and other so-called "vagrant missionaries," the Colony of Connecticut enacted a statute in 1742 banning unorthodox or unlicensed schools (Frazier 1994: 65). Cyrus Marsh, the Congregational minister of Kent, dispatched his church elder, a Mr. Millson, to Schaghticoke to announce that the Indians should find a teacher and schoolmaster that they favored "from New England," and that the Governor would pay their salaries." To this Gideon Mauwee replied that they already had a minister and schoolmaster (the Moravians), that more would not be necessary, and that they would provide for their support by themselves. (Moravian Archives, box 111, folder 2). Thus, the preference of the Indians for the Moravians was made clear. As one tribal member explained in contrasting preaching styles, the Congregational minister "preached him round about but their Minister (the Moravian) preached god to ye heart" (Moravian Archives, box 111, folder 4, Item 2).

In early June 1743 a Captain Wright came to Schaghticoke and informed the Indians that the Court had taken their settlement under the religious wing of the Town of Kent and placed them under the care of Reverend Cyrus Marsh, the Presbyterian minister. Therefore, if they did not in the future attend his church they would be imprisoned. To this, Samuel Cocksure, who had, like Gideon, been among the first of the Schaghticokes to be baptized, replied that the Indians had long requested the Court to provide them with a minister, but that they were never given one. Now that they had "those [that] love us and preach ye Lord Jesus to us you won't let [them] stay with us, but we will have none of your Ministers" (Moravian Archives, box 111, folder 4, item 2).

Three days later, on June 7, 1743, the sheriff of Kent arrested Brother Mack and his wife along with Brothers John Christopher Pyrlaeus and Joseph Shaw. The Moravians were taken to Kent, where they were cross examined by Reverend Marsh. After this, Sister Mack was allowed to return to Schaghticoke, but the men were taken to New Milford to appear before Justice Canfield. Finally, they were taken to Old Milford where they were examined by a court that included Governor Jonathan Law (Moravian Archives, box 111, folder 4, Item 2).

The court granted freedom to the Moravians but denied them a license to preach. The ministers subsequently retreated to Shekomeko and some of the baptized Schaghticokes followed them there. Those who did not continued to maintain contact with the missionaries despite the pressure of local non-Indians (Frazier 1992: 65)
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In January 1744 the Macks went again from Shekomeko to Schaghticoke, where they baptized "Brother Gideon's wife," who for some years had been sick. The English ministers had offered previously to baptize her, but she refused the ceremony by any other than the Moravians. On January 13 the Macks gave her the Christian name of Lazora. Eleven days later they reported that she had died (Moravian Archives, box 111, folder 2, Item 7).

H. Further Land Transfers

Squatters and settlers without valid deeds continued to trespass on Schaghticoke territory and exploit tribal resources. In May 1744 the General Assembly assigned a committee to investigate reports that settlers had entered lands west of the Housatonic and that some had claimed lands there without obtaining title from the Colony. The area involved was bounded on the east by the river, on the north by the town of Sharon, on the south by the town of New Fairfield, and on the west by the New York boundary (Connecticut Archives, Towns and Lands, series 1, vol. 8, p. 188). A year later, the committee reported on the land situation west of the river and referenced the acreage in that area that was "sequestered for the Indians" (Connecticut Archives, Towns and Lands series, vol. 8, part 2, p. 190).

One of the only two land transactions between colonists and the Schaghticokes to be found in the Kent town records is a lease dated December 19, 1746. For the sum of 200 pounds, Benjamin Hollister, Robert Watson, and Henry Stephens purportedly became leasehold tenants to a large tract extending from the Housatonic to the New York border for a term of 999 years (Connecticut State Library, Kent Register of Deeds 1735-1752). This was an evident attempt to circumvent colonial law that required approval of the General Assembly to purchase land from Indians (Atwater 1897: 76). The record was subscribed by the marks of "Capten Mayhew, Left Saml Coksuer, Jobe Mayhew, John Antenay, Thos Cukson, and John Sokenogs" (Connecticut State Library, Kent Register of Deeds 1735-1752). The lease also required the payment of "One Shilling Kent" to

Gideon Mauwee and his heirs on the first day of each year of the lease. No record has been found of the tenants ever making this annual payment.

The Schaghticoke land situation was also complicated by an individual named Stephen John who claimed to be a Schaghticoke sachem. Without the approval of the General Assembly, this Indian signed deeds of conveyance for several thousand acres of land in the Kent area. When the purchasers learned that the transactions were not valid, they petitioned the General Assembly in 1745, and again in 1748, for the right to retain half of the tract because they had placed improvements on it. The Colony declined to grant their request. A deed signed by Stephen John in 1743 described him as an "Indian of Squampamuck in the County of Albany in the Province of New York" (Connecticut Archives, Towns and Lands, series 1, vol. 8, part 2, pp. 175-178). This suggests that Stephen John may have taken advantage of the confusion between the Schaghticoke in Connecticut and the Scaghticoke in New York.

In late June 1744 the Moravian missionary Brother Christian Rauch again visited the Schaghticoke. In the meantime, local posses continued to harass the Moravian Indians at both Shekomeko and Wechquadnach. In July 1744 Brothers Joseph Shaw and Gottlub Buettner were ordered to appear in New York City before a Council that included the Governor and Chief Justice of the Colony. They were examined on the charge that they had "Endeavoured to seduce the Indians from their Allegiance" (O'Callaghan 1850:1012-1013). While enroute to New York Brother Buettner was introduced to British Indian agent Alexander Hamilton who was then visiting Poughkeepsie. In a narrative Hamilton wrote later, he expressed a popular view the English had of the Moravians: "They call their religion the true religion, or the religion of the Lamb, which I believe is true in so far as some of them are wolves in sheep's clothing" (MacCracken 1956: 180).

The colonial legislature of New York passed a law on September 21, 1744 banning the Moravians from preaching unless they took an oath of allegiance and obtained a license from the Governor. Unwilling either to take the oath or abandon their work with the Indians, the missionaries were ordered to leave the Colony. After they refused to leave Brothers Rauch and Mack were arrested and brought before a court in Poughkeepsie on December 17 (Loskiel 1838: 83; Smith 1882: 35; Frazier 1992: 72)

I. Abandonment of Shekomeko

During the summer of 1745 Moravian leaders also decided to abandon the Shekomeko mission. They planned to develop a new community, to be called Gnadenhutten, in Pennsylvania's Wyoming Valley . They asked the Indians to move with them to their headquarters in Bethlehem until a new village could be established. The Mahicans under Abraham were against this plan because they wished to resolve their pending claim against land speculators in New York (Frazier 1992: 73). However, some

did move immediately while others chose to take up temporary residence at Wechquadnach, Stockbridge, and possibly Schaghticoke. Unfortunately, the beloved Brother Buettner was not able to return with his colleagues to Bethlehem. Having been sick with tuberculosis for some time, he passed away on February 23, 1745, at the age of twenty-nine years. He left behind a sickly, pregnant spouse and many grieving Indians, who reportedly "wept over him as children over a beloved parent." The Mahicans interred him in their own burial ground (Loskiel 1738: 84-86; (Frazier 1992: 72-73, 76-77; Smith 1882: 36).

That spring the Mohawks circulated a message among the tribes that they were considering whether to launch warfare against the English. In April the principal leaders of Schaghticoke, Stockbridge, and Wechquadnach came to Shekomeko in New York to hold council with Abraham and Johannes and ask that they accompany them to Albany to confer with the Wappingers and the Governor. The leaders baptized by the Moravians were opposed to any fighting, whether for or against the Mohawks. The delegation managed to obtain an audience with the Governor but accomplished little. He reportedly gave the Schaghticoke and Shekomeko leaders coins minted with his image. They were asked to present these coins to any that tried to take their land and to notify him if they were not respected. Schaghticoke leaders joined a similar delegation that convened in Albany in October 1745 but the Governor refused to see them (Frazier 1992, 74-75).

As attacks by Indians aligned with the French increased, a full commitment by the tribes appeared inevitable. In December 1745 the Stockbridge Indians declared war against the French and circulated a war belt to the other villages. Some of the unbaptized Indians at Shekomeko responded to this call, but the majority continued to demonstrate the influence of Moravian pacifism. Tension in the settlement finally induced about half of the Shekomeko to leave (Frazier 1992: 76-77). On April 18, 1749, Samuel Cocksure came to Shekomeko from Schaghticoke to deliver Gideon Mauwee's message that those not planning to go to Pennsylvania should go to Schaghticoke rather than Wechquadnach "because he believed it would be better for them" (Moravian Archives, box 114, folder 1).

With the missionaries gone, the remaining residents of Shekomeko began to backslide away from the Moravian ethic and Abraham their leader came to regret his decision not to emigrate. By the end of the 1740s he and his family also joined the Gnadenhutten community, abandoning their once model village to land speculators who leveled everything except the tribal cemetery (Loskiel 1838: 106-107; Frazier 1992, 77). Ironically, the British Parliament in May 1749 enacted a statute acknowledging the validity of the United Brethren or Moravian Church as an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church. It also exempted its members from taking oaths, acting as jurymen, and serving military duty "under reasonable conditions" (Smith 1882: 35).

Newton Reed, a local historian of Amenia, New York, maintains that after the Christian Indians were driven out of Shekomeko, the Schaghticoke still continued to make excursions through the Amenia valley each year until the early 1900s. He also wrote that the Indians continued to hold "noisy powwows" at a place by the river near South Amenia called "The Nook" (Reed 1987: 12).

J. The Schaghticoke Mission

Having attained greater freedom, the Moravians established a permanent mission, which included a school house, at Schaghticoke by 1750 (Moravian Archives, box 114, folder 2). Brother Frederick Post and his Indian wife served there for a time while continuing his trade as a joiner. Brother David Bruce was placed in charge of the mission at both Schaghticoke and Wechquadnach until his death in 1749. Later, the Indian congregation was served by Brother Grube (Loskiel 1838: 93, 108, 142).

In April 1752 the Schaghticokes and Moravians constructed a new mission house. A diary from that period indicated that there was not enough food to feed the tribal workers: "They proved to be such industrious and good workers, but some of them are too poor to have any food at home in storage. If they went out to seek work with white people to earn some money, our building wouldn't get finished." Consequently, Brother Christian purchased some meat for them. In that same month the justice in New Milford, who had previously tried the Moravians, allowed Brother Joseph to preach in his house on Thanksgiving (Moravian Archives, box 114, folder 6).

The Moravian diaries provide a good view of daily life in the Schaghticoke community. They show that the Indians continued many traditional activities, including hunting, fishing, and making baskets and canoes. The settlement around the Moravian mission house was their winter home, in summer they moved further upriver (up the Webutuck or Ten Mile to the lake area near present Sharon or up the Housatonic to the present Cornwall area. They journeyed south along the Housatonic to Long Island Sound for shellfish and to the great falls to the south near New Milford and to the north near present Falls Village, east of Salisbury, Connecticut. They built sledgingways to slide timber down from the mountains and used sweathouses for healing. They partitioned land for the planting of crops including corn and beans, maintained gardens and farm animals, including horses, cows, and chickens, and gathered berries. They sold the brooms and baskets they made in Gaylord (present Gaylordsville), Dover Plains, Kent, and New Milford, in the Webutuck Valley and in other nearby towns, they worked the harvest for non-Indian farmers and found work as day laborers in Danbury and elsewhere. They also made regular trips to Pootatuck, Wechquadnach, and Stockbridge (Moravian Archives, box 114, folders 2, 4,5-6, 8; box 115, folders 2-3, 9,12) .

Though not all of the tribal members were Christian, the Sabbath was quietly observed and love feasts were enjoyed thoroughly. It was reported that Gideon Mauwee

sometimes led services, that his daughter became fluent in German, and that Samuel Cocksure also served as a translator (Moravian Archives, box 114, folders 4, 6; box 115, folders 6, 12.).

K. The Moravian Diaries

The Moravian diaries indicate that political decisions in the Schaghticoke community were made by consensus. Four tribal members were elected to positions as "tithing men." Their duties included representing the community to outside authorities and overseeing the fences (Moravian Archives, box 114, folder 4). The Moravian mission in this respect accommodated the Indians by not being as invasive as an established church system would have been. The Moravian mission allowed the Schaghticoke to adopt Christianity without compromising either the Tribe's political autonomy or social and cultural distinctiveness.

In addition to being recognized as the community sachem, Gideon Mauwee was also a healer sought out both by tribal members and non-Indians. He was especially known for his snakebite cures. As one of the Moravians noted, "nobody could take the poison out as well as brother Gideon" (Moravian Archives, box 114, folder 4). In regard to Gideon's doctoring of non-Indians it was reported in September 1751 that a Quaker who suffered from arthritis asked for Gideon's help and was advised to visit a sweathouse (Moravian Archives, box 114, folder 4). The diaries indicate frequent use of the sweathouse by the Schaghticoke, sometimes resulting in cancellation of evening services.

L. The Relationship with Snakes

The mountainous area of the Schaghticoke Reservation has always been densely populated by rattlesnakes (Anonymous n.d., Description of Rattlesnakes in Schaghticoke Reservation Area). Consequently, snake lore has consistently played an important role in tribal culture, including at least one legend regarding (Anonymous n.d, A Connecticut Indian Legend).

Throughout the years several tribal members became skilled in hunting and handling snakes, as well as in developing various anti-venom potions. Around the turn of the present century snake hunts on the reservation were publicized because tribal leaders guided non-Indians to the reservation dens. Tribal members such as Russell and David Kilson continue today to hunt, handle, and milk the snakes (see Anthropological Report).

M. The Basket Making Tradition

Because they were themselves tradesmen for the most part the Moravian missionaries encouraged the Schaghticokes to produce utilitarian household objects such as wood-splint baskets, brooms, and wooden bowls. They did this because they thought that the sale of these items would both provide the Indians with the income necessary for their survival, keep them out of debt (a Moravian virtue) and thus make them less dependent on their English neighbors. However, the manufacture and exchange of baskets also had another cultural significance for the Schaghticoke. They were commonly used as gifts to establish and sustain relationships with their widely scattered kinsmen. The Moravian records often make reference to canoes being loaded with baskets and brooms and paddled up and down the Housatonic and Ten Mile rivers and other waterways to native settlements as far south as Stratford on the Sound and as far north as Albany on the Hudson. It is significant that Schaghticoke splint baskets are preserved today in the collections of historical societies in that region and that exchanging baskets is a tribal tradition that continued into the present century (Handsman and Richmond 1995: 109-110). Current tribal members such as Catherine Velky also possess baskets created by their 19th century ancestors.

The Schaghticoke became experts in fashioning utensils and baskets. They developed a unique style of basket making that used the block-stamping method of decoration. These baskets were most often made from white ash splints and were colored with various dyes. Designs were carved on bone or wood and stamped on smooth surfaces. Potatoes were also sometimes used for stamping. A unique aspect of the Schaghticoke design was that it featured an ornament called a curlicue or roll (Richmond 1987: 127-143; Whitehead 1976: 50-51).

Baskets were made by both men and women, including Gideon Mauwee himself. A basket made by his grandson Jacob in 1815 is now in the collection of the New Milford Historical Society (Richmond 1987: 130, 137).

Basket weaving became an important industry of the Schaghticoke and continued to be so until the early 20th century. Tribal members distributed baskets wherever they went. They crafted baskets of various shapes and sizes and their work was very popular with farmers and town-dwellers alike. As the supply became rarer Schaghticoke baskets became objects of art rather than utility. Many are now contained in both public and private collections (Richmond 1987: 127-143; Whitehead 1976: 50-51).

The basket style that developed at Schaghticoke was distinct from Paugussett and Mahican styles. This indicates that tribal members sustained a distinction between themselves and neighboring tribes (Richmond 1987: 134). However, the Schaghticoke still continued to have close relationships with other native villages.

N. Further Encroachment

In August 1751 Gideon Mauwee, four of his tribesmen, and their Moravian missionary went to Stockbridge to visit Mauwee's ailing cousin, Aaron Umpachenee. He was near death, but thanked the Schaghticokes for visiting him and asked them to convey his last greetings to the other Indian settlements. He died eleven days later (Frazier 1992: 89-90).

The Indians at Wechquadnach continued to have problems with the colonists at Sharon. In February 1751 they requested permission to live with the Schaghticoke. Joshua Mauwee told the Moravian missionaries that the Schaghticokes intended to let them have some "River land" (Moravian Archives, box 114, folder 3). In the spring of 1753 the small congregation of Christian Indians at Wechquadnach was finally driven out by its non-Indian neighbors. Despite invitations to settle at Schaghticoke and Stockbridge, the majority chose to move to the Moravian mission at Gnadenhutten, and others joined the Oneidas in the upper Susquehanna Valley (Brown 1980: 37; Frazier 1992: 102).

Colonists continued to pressure the Schaghticoke to sell their land during the Moravian period. On February 16, 1750, for example, Gideon Mauwee, "Sachum Indian of Caticook," purportedly deeded 600 acres west of the Housatonic to Samuel Alger, without approval of the General Assembly. Alger was one of the so-called "Nine Partners" who received extensive land grants in Dutchess County, New York. He in turn attempted to convey the parcel on the same day to John Mills of Kent (Connecticut Archives, Indian series 2, vol. 2, pp. 44-45). The Moravians noted with dismay that the Tribe had sold yet another piece of land, "or rather gave it away" (Moravian Archives, box 114, folder 2).

In 1751 and 1752 the Connecticut government examined and surveyed land west of the Housatonic and divided it into lots. It also investigated reported encroachments and laid out highways. In doing so, Connecticut took into consideration lands "we suppose to be sequestered for ye Indians" (Connecticut Archives, Towns and Lands, series 1, vol. 8, part 2, pp. 196, 199). The General Assembly warned those who did not hold title directly from the Colony that they must either remove from the land or obtain a lease from the government. Evidently, some settlers who thought they held legal title to lands purchased originally from the Schaghticokes, such as John Mills, who took possession of land that Samuel Alger had obtained from Gideon Mauwee without government approval, were turned off the land (Connecticut Archives, Indian series 2, vol. 2, p. 43).

In April 1751 Seth Twitchell of Killingly petitioned the General Assembly to purchase 200 acres along the Housatonic for the establishment of a grist mill "at or near a place Called Scatacook which belongeth partly to Mayhew and partly to Wallops [Warrups], Indian Sachems." Although five Indians endorsed the plan for a grist mill, including Warrups (Chickens), Josua Mauwee, and Jeremiah Cocksure□, but not Gideon

Mauwee, the General Assembly did not approve the proposed conveyance (Connecticut Archives, Towns and Lands, series 1, vol. 8, p. 195).

In 1752, the Moravian Catalogue of Indians at Schaghticoke, a listing of the baptized tribal members, included forty-one adults and ten children. All were listed as Wampanosh except for two Mahican women, one who previously lived at Bethlehem and the other at Shekomeko, and a man who was a Highland Indian. There were also at least 18 adults and more than 40 children who were not considered baptized (although two of the adults had been baptized by Presbyterians) (Moravian Archives, box 3191, folders 1-4).

O. Acknowledgment of a Schaghticoke Reservation, 1752

On May 12, 1752, Gideon Mauwee, Joshua Mauwee, Samuel Cocksure, and nine other Indians, "inhabitants of Pachgatgoth or Scatticook near Kent," described as representing eighteen families, petitioned the General Assembly to reserve their shrinking land base. They complained that non-Indians had taken most of their land and wished to dispose of the remainder with the result that tribal members no longer had sufficient land on which to grow corn. In response the legislature added to the tribal area recognized by the proprietors of Kent in 1738 the 25th lot and half of the 24th lot in that town for their improvement "during ye pleasure of this assembly." The Indians were also granted the right to cut timber for their own use (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 1, vol. 2, pp. 75-76).

In acknowledging a land base for the Schaghticoke, the colony of Connecticut expressly recognized the continued existence of a distinct native group that had not abandoned tribal relations. However, from the very beginning, this land was not adequate to meet the subsistence needs of the Tribe. The size of the Kent Reserve relative to the number of tribal members precluded them from carrying out their traditional practice of clearing new fields every few years to maintain high crop yields. Also, the reservation did not provide access to all of the species of game and fish traditionally included in their diets. Although they continued to fish off the reservation at the Great Falls of Metichawon at New Milford, the Schaghticoke were eventually denied access to this site. Increased settlement also diminished the success of subsistence hunting in the region. As a result the Schaghticoke were compelled to continue to look outside the reservation and their traditional off-reservation settlements for their needs and to develop alternative economic strategies. For the men, this often meant finding work as indentured servants or day laborers; for the women, it meant working in non-Indian households as domestics.

As was the case with Indian land conveyances, Indian employment and servitude also became subject to widespread fraud and abuse. Once again the General Assembly

stepped in to enact reforms. A law passed in 1750 required that indentures made with Indians be approved by colonial officials (Grabowski 1996: 45-46).

Squatting and trespassing on the reservation by English farmers, stockmen, and hunters continued to be a problem. Hence, the Tribe appointed "fence watchers" to observe this activity and apprise regarding resulting damages (Moravian Archives, box 114, folder 4). However, the Tribe had little power to protect itself from non-Indian encroachment, since the Colony took no tangible steps in enforcing the law, prosecuting violators, or compensating tribal members for their losses. The Tribe's only redress was to petition the General Assembly. That also taxed its meager financial resources, because it required both traveling to Hartford or New Haven and hiring an attorney to draft a petition.

P. Military Service

Another strain on the Schaghticoke community during the latter half of the 18th century was the demand for military service, both in the French and Indian War and the American Revolution. In 1755, during the early months of the French and Indian War, a number of Stockbridge Indians who had been recruited to fight the French Indians, sent a message to Schaghticoke encouraging the enlistment of warriors. This invitation presented a dilemma for the Schaghticoke. On the one hand, many of them now considered themselves to be pacifists like their Moravian brethren. On the other, even if they wanted to join, they could not leave Kent without permission of the town authorities. A tribal meeting was called, yet no one wanted to join the Stockbridges. Gideon Mauwee obtained permission of the local justice of the peace to go to Stockbridge to discuss the matter. After conferring for several days, he declined to commit his tribesmen to military service. Besides refusing on religious grounds, he was probably also concerned about leaving Schaghticoke vulnerable. By the end of the year, however, at least two tribal members enlisted to serve despite the fact that they were baptized Moravians. It is estimated that at least fifteen tribal members eventually served (Frazier 1992: 114-15, 175). The Moravian documents indicate that those tribal members who enlisted for military service went to Sharon for induction (Moravian Archives, box 115, folder 9).

Perhaps the most relevant conflict of the war for the Schaghticoke was the massacre that took place at the Moravian mission community at Gnadenhutten, Pennsylvania. Hostile Delawares attacked the community in November 1755, killing more than a dozen Moravian missionaries, including some who were probably personally known to the Schaghticoke, and burned the mission to the ground. Most of the Indian refugees from this massacre were resettled with their Moravian brethren at Bethlehem, but the Mahicans under Abraham or Shabash, formerly of Shekomeko, eventually settled with Nanticokes and Shawnees at Otsiningo, near present Binghampton, New York (Frazier 1992: 115-16).

Q. Appointment of an Overseer, 1757

It is evident that the Indians at Schaghticoke did not have a clear understanding regarding the extent of their land the Colony considered as having been ceded. On October 10, 1756, Josua Mauwee, Jeremiah Cocksure, Gottlieb Soconok, and Simon James, on behalf of "others of the Tribe of Indians called the Skatecook Tribe" and "In behalf of ourselves and our absent Brethren " (thirteen names were listed, including Gideon Mauwee) petitioned the General Assembly regarding their land situation. They stated that they had always cooperated with the colonists and had encouraged their settlement by selling their lands for "very Trifling Sums." However, they had recently learned that some of the land they considered reserved for them had been sold in 1754. This included part of lot 8 and all of lots 9, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24 (parts of which they had alienated many years before). They also noted that the half of lot 24 that the government had not reserved for them spread over a notch in the mountains that was their outlet to the woods (Connecticut Archives, Indians. series 1, vol. 2, p. 77).

The draft of another petition from this period was found not in the records of the General Assembly but in the Moravian documents. This petition requested that either the other half of lot 24 be granted to the Tribe or all of lot 23. It requested that Jabez Swift be appointed "to be as a father to us to whom we can address when any Body will wrong us or dispute us of our Privileges . . ." It requested further that "Capt Mawehu" be declared a Captain for the Schaghticokes "whom the others shall obey when he orders any Thing for the Good and Best of the Place and its Inhabitants" (Moravian Archives, box 115, folder 15, item 6)..

The petition begged for the establishment of two other policies. It requested that any Indian who left Schaghticoke not be allowed to retain any right or claim to land and improvements there and that the benefit and use of the land and improvements would be limited to resident tribal members. Finally, the petition asked for an order declaring that the Schaghticokes would never be imposed upon or wronged because of financial inability to obtain the services of a bondsman (Moravian Archives, box 115, folder 15, item 6).

This petition is important because it indicates that the Schaghticokes wanted to select for themselves the non-Indian who would serve as their agent, the person who would be hired to protect and serve them. They also wanted the leadership of Gideon Mauwee to be sanctioned by the colonial government in an official way, not just to identify him as one who could convey land. Their request for residency restrictions is another indication that their land base was not adequate to support the number of people who could claim entitlement to tribal resources. Finally, their plea for consideration of their inability to hire bondsmen indicated one of the ways that they were denied legal redress because of their poverty and lack of civil rights.

The legislature responded by appointing a committee to investigate Schaghticoke complaints. On May 4, 1757, the special committee reported that the Schaghticokes were disturbed because it was the Indians' view that the Colony had sold lands they had never conveyed to anyone. The committee stated that it suspected that the Indians were being urged on in their complaints by settlers who lost their investment in lands that the government sold after refusing to recognize their titles. It offered the view that the complaints of the Indians would be quieted if they were granted some other land. The committee also indicated that the Indians wanted the Colony to appoint an overseer of their affairs and that the Moravian missionaries were supportive of this request. The General Assembly responded to the report of the special committee by appointing Jabez Swift, the Schaghticoke nominee, as the first government overseer of the reservation (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 1, vol. 2, p. 81). However, it took no action to acknowledge the leadership of Gideon Mauwee, to establish rights of residency, or to provide an option for bond requirements. The special committee reported in May 1757 that the right of way to the forest lands was within the Schaghticoke reserve and that the Indians had not been "deprived of benefit of said opening" (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 1, vol. 2, p. 200).

The practice of appointing an upstanding townsman (an esquire and/or deacon) as the guardian or overseer of tribal members and their resources was already well established in Connecticut. For example, the General Assembly had appointed an overseer for the Eastern Pequot Reservation in 1752. The concept evolved from the perception that Native Americans were idle, childlike creatures unable to manage their own affairs. Under English law, adults who exhibited idleness and youth below the age of majority were commonly placed under the supervision of a guardian, while paupers were placed under an overseer. Since tribal members were legal non-entities unable, among the other things, to convey interest in land, the only way to effect a legal relationship with them was through a legal representative such as an overseer.

The overseer was to assist the Tribe with respect to the management and accounting of its lands and resources in relation to non-Indians. The overseer was not accorded any statutory authority over the internal social and political activities of the Tribe. Neither did the Schaghticoke request that overseers have that power. However, as time passed overseers came to exert more control over tribal affairs. There is good evidence that some of them managed tribal resources to their own advantage. Yet, their accounts also indicate that they often used their own money to meet tribal expenses.

R. The Death of Mauwee

The years of the French and Indian War were difficult for the Schaghticoke. In January 1760 town officials from Kent appeared at Schaghticoke to read the laws to the Indians and ask the Moravian minister about the behavior of the Indians. He stated that he was embarrassed that some tribal members were able to obtain rum and cider "which causes much disorder" (Moravian Archives, box 115, folder 9).

On the evening of January 28, 1760, Gideon Mauwee died in his cabin atop Schaghticoke Mountain at the age of 73, seventeen years after his Moravian baptism. His son Josua (also known as Job) and his lieutenant Samuel Cocksure then became the leaders of the Schaghticoke tribal community. The day before his passing Gideon called the leading men of the Tribe to his side and spoke to them at length. According to Brother Grube, he told them "Brethren, I shall soon go to the Saviour now, be very peaceful with one another and love one another, don't argue about the land, rather each of you keep what he has, help one another" (Moravian Archives, box 115, folder 9).

The Moravian documents describe some of Josua's activities during the weeks following his father's death. On February 30, for example, he went to New Milford to bring home his daughter Martha Elizabeth, who had run away with "young Warup" also known as Johannes. In March he went to Stockbridge where he had been called reportedly by the "Pen King." In May he called all of the Tribe together and preached to them. Later, he visited tribal members in New Milford, Sharon, New London, and Farmington (Moravian Archives, box 115, folder 9).

In the years following the death of Gideon Mauwee the Tribe continued to be led by members of the Mauwee family, including his sons Josua and Joseph (also known as Chuse), and his grandsons Peter, Daniel, and Elihu. Decision making was also apparently done in council with other tribal members, perhaps elders, family leaders, and others of good character and achievement, on behalf of the general membership.

S. New Leaders, Same Problems

The non-Indian competition for subsistence resources was becoming painfully obvious to tribal members by this time. In December 1760 a tribal hunting party returning with no game, stated that about twenty non-Indians were "hunting in the bush and they are frequently there" (Moravian Archives, box 115, folder 9). In July 1761 a town constable complained about the Indians taking the bark off chestnut trees to make baskets. Josua Mauwee and Samuel Cocksure had to go to Milford to settle the issue (Moravian Archives, box 115, folder 11).

A census of the Town of Kent was ordered by the General Assembly in October 1760. It found that there were 1,298 whites, 6 blacks, and 127 Indians (Connecticut Historical Society 1762).

The Moravian diaries are witness to the increasing hard times. In August 1762 it was noted that the Tribe had run out of corn and had to purchase some in New Milford. Later it was reported that it was necessary for them to go to Newtown to purchase food. In December 1762 Josua Mauwee was living in Newtown because his sick son Daniel was being treated there (Moravian Archives, box 115, folder 12).

During the difficult decade that followed the end of the French and Indian War in 1763, conditions grew even worse at the Schaghticoke Reserve. Perhaps the Moravian historian Loskiel best described the situation:

One piece of land after another was taken from them, by which they lost the means of their support. They were obliged to run into debt, and to live dispersed among the white people, to earn a livelihood. If they could not pay, they were treated with the greatest severity, and even their poor furniture was taken from them. This behavior exasperated the unbaptized Indians to such a degree, that they abused the baptized on account of their sobriety and better management of their outside concerns, attacking them on the highway, and in other places, and cruelly beating them. This occasioned some of the baptized to waiver, and to become low and dispirited. Some young people were even seduced to sin, and brought into misery. A certain melancholy pervaded the congregation, and the missionary himself began to lose courage (quoted in Frazier 1992: 175).

The Moravians found the war veterans to be particularly troublesome. Those who had served found themselves caught in an amorphous position between cultures and confused by the conflicting values of the dominant society that expected them to live like Christians but fight like Indians (Frazier 1992: 175).

In the spring 1765 both the Schaghticokes and the Stockbridge Indians sent a message to the Iroquois requesting permission to settle with them on the Susquehanna River, because they were "so hemmed in among the white people they could hardly move anymore" (Frazier 1992: 176). Although Gideon Mauwee had always spurned invitations from kinsmen to settle at Stockbridge, his son Josua Mauwee petitioned the General Assembly in 1767 to sell up to 200 acres of reservation land to help pay for the Schaghticokes to move to the Massachusetts settlement. Even though overseer Jabez Swift endorsed the proposed removal as being in "their Best Interest," the General Assembly declined to approve the sale, apparently because it considered the reservation to be lands set aside for, but not at the disposal of, the Tribe (Connecticut Archives, Indian series 1, vol. 2, p. 200).

T. Last Days of the Schaghticoke Mission

The Moravian brethren continued to maintain a mission house at Schaghticoke until 1770. In September of that year Brother Thorp, the last resident missionary at Schaghticoke, was recalled to Bethlehem. He and his wife departed on October 15. Other Moravian preachers in the area, such as Brother Francis Boehler at Sichem (in New York's Oblong region), continued to visit the community from time to time. During a visit in April 1771 Brother Boehler recalled that he saw Jeremiah (Cocksure) and Gideon Mauwee's widow Martha, and learned that her mother Erdmuth had recently died

(Boehler 1765-1772: 11-15). Seven months later Boehler reported that "two of our Scaticoke Indians" had attended a prayer meeting at Sichem (Boehler 1771: 31).

However, when Brother Boehler returned to Schaghticoke on June 10, 1772, he found "the meeting house and dwelling house like the desolation of Jerusalem, all the doors taken away, and the windows all broken, and no Indian at home but Jeremiah and he drunk and full of rum." "I think he was ashamed when he saw me," wrote Boehler in his diary, but all that he said was confusion" (Boehler 1765-1772: 14). Four months later Brother Boehler was compelled to abandon his own little congregation and return as well to the Moravian headquarters (Boehler 1765-1772: 15).

V. SHRINKING LAND, RESOURCES, AND RESIDENTS: 1771-1838

In the years following the departure of the Moravians from Schaghticoke the best evidence of a continuing tribal entity is found in the government records of Connecticut. Schaghticoke leaders continued from time to time to petition the General Assembly to express grievances or request action. It is evident from the names on the petitions that a group of tribal members (perhaps comprising a council) consistently took action on behalf of the Tribe at large. The recurrence of family names indicates that kinship ties continued to play an important role in the exercise of tribal political authority and influence. The documents also demonstrate that in regard to both political and social interaction, tribal membership and reservation residence was not coterminous. While economic necessity mandated that not all tribal members could subsist on the reservation, those who left still remained members of the Tribe, eligible for their share of tribal resources and government assistance when needed. Those living off the reservation still had the restrictive status of being tribal members under Connecticut law as well. For example, they could still not buy or sell real property without consent of the General Assembly.

In October 1771 ten Schaghticoke leaders complained in a petition to the General Assembly that their non-Indian neighbors had broken their fences and gates. This allowed cattle to wander through the Indians' gardens destroying their crops. They also complained that they had not had an overseer since 1767 when their "good frind" Jabez Swift died. They requested that Elisha Swift serve as his replacement. The signers, in order of their signing, were David Sharman, John Sharman, Benjamin Warrups (grandson of Chickens), Cornels Tobe, Jonas Cocksure, Solomon Norton, Jacob Mayhew, Harris Sucknuck, Job Sucknuk, and John Sucknuck. The assembly responded by appointing Elisha Swift as the new Schaghticoke overseer (Connecticut Archives, series 1, vol. 2, p. 201).

A year later, after Elisha Swift decided to move to the Susquehanna River area, nine Schaghticoke men petitioned the General Assembly to appoint Reuben Swift in his place, which it did. The signers of this petition, in order of signing, were Daniel Mauwee, Jerimiah Cocksure, Job Succanox, David, John and Harris Sharman, Joseph Penus, Jacob Mauwee, and Samuel Cocksure (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 1, vol. 2, p. 202). After Reuben Swift died in 1773, the Tribe requested the appointment of Peter Pratt (the petition was signed, in order of signing by Daniel Mauwee, Jacob Rodgers, Benjamin Wallopps, Samuel and Jeremiah Cocksure, Peter Keeho, Jonas Cocksure, Job Sucknuck, and Robert Moses). This time, however, the General Assembly denied the tribal nominee and appointed Abraham Fuller, a member of one of the prominent families that had established Kent. Fuller served as overseer for the next twenty-eight years (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 1, vol. 2, p. 205; series 2, vol. 2, pp. 69-70). During this period, he came to possess a great deal of land in the Kent area.

In 1773, and again in 1775, Overseer Fuller complained that the reservation did not generate sufficient funds to pay the medical expenses of Schaghticoke tribal members. He suggested as a remedy that some of the remaining lands be sold to pay off the indebtedness. The special committee appointed to investigate this matter found that many of those who had been allotted plow land during the Moravian mission days had died or relocated, and that those that remained were interspersed throughout the common lands, making it difficult to lease the land profitably. It recommended that the lands be reallotted to present residents, that the remainder be leased to pay off indebtedness, and that any surplus funds be used to erect fencing. Accordingly, the cleared area of the reservation was partitioned and reallotted by special committee in 1776 and the allotment plan was reported to be filed in the town records of Kent (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 1, vol. 2, pp. 205-207, 209).

A. The Chickens Tract

Some tribal members managed to retain undisputed fee title to inherited lands outside of the reservation and others were able to purchase additional tracts. One of the families that came to reside at Schaghticoke was the Chickens or Warrups family. In 1725 Chickens (alias Benjamin Warrups) identified earlier in this report, had reserved 100 acres within a plot of land near Reading that he purportedly deeded to Samuel Couch (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 1, vol. 2, p. 30). In October 1748 Warrups traded his 100 acres to John Read for 200 acres of land north of Ten Mile River and west of the Housatonic “above Newmilford at a Place call'd Scatecook.” This was the tract that the Schaghticoke Tribe had purportedly deeded to Read in 1741. The exchange for this new tract, located adjacent to the Schaghticoke Reservation, was approved by the General Assembly on April 3, 1749 (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 1, vol. 2, pp. 30-32, 215). Chicken's son Thomas continued to live on Read's new land in Reading for a time, but later moved to Schaghticoke (Todd 1906).

In May 1759 the General Assembly permitted Chickens (alias Benjamin Warrups) to sell ten acres of his 200-acre tract to Isaac Bull for the erection of a sawmill and gristmill (Connecticut Archives, Towns and Lands, series 1, vol. 8, p. 216). In May 1762 Warrups petitioned again to sell thirty acres more of his land to Isaac Bull. Warrups stated that he was aged, infirm, and indigent and that the land was rough, swampy, and unprofitable. The General Assembly approved the sale and requested overseer Jabez Swift to direct the transaction (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 1, vol. 2, p. 171).

After Warrups died, sometime prior to June 24, 1777, his descendants, including his son Thomas and daughters Eunice and Eliza, were permitted now and then to sell some of the remaining parcels of his farm at Kent. This was done in order to pay medical and funeral expenses of family members (Hannah and Rhoda Warrups) or because they were living elsewhere and could not make practical use of the land (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 1, vol. 2, p. 211-215, 217, 222-223; series 2, vol. 2, 56-57). By 1799 the estate consisted of only 35 acres held by Eliza Warrups Mauwee, wife of Sachem Peter Mauwee. Because the Mauwees were then residing in Cornwall, the General Assembly authorized conveyance of the tract so that they might use the proceeds to purchase land near their residence (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 2, vol. 2, pp. 56-57). Later, they purportedly purchased a 30-acre tract in Cornwall, presumably with permission of the General Assembly (Starr 1926: 401).

B. The Derby Tract

Some of the Schaghticokes continued to own land on the Naugatuck River below Rimmons Falls in the town of Derby (present Seymour), reported to be 70 acres in 1785. In that year the General Assembly approved the petition of Joseph Mauwee (then described as a "former Sachem of the Scaticook Indians") and Daniel and Jemima Suckenux to sell a half acre of this tract. In 1792 the Assembly allowed 33 acres to be sold, with the proceeds to be held in a trust account for the Indian owners and the interest distributed to them annually for their benefit. The next year, in response to non-Indians who were co-tenants with Schaghticoke members of certain parcel of land in Derby, the General Assembly authorized a local official to partition the parcel and draw up separate deeds (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 2, vol. 2, pp. 49, 52-55, 254-255; series 2, vol. 1, pp. 11-12, 56-57; Rabkin 1982: 13).

A 1774 census reported a total of seventy Indians at Schaghticoke, including thirty-four males. Elsewhere in Litchfield County, there were seven tribal members in Cornwall, eight in Litchfield, and nine in Woodbury (Whitehead 1976: 55; Atwater 1897: 78).

C. The American Revolution

The Revolutionary War had a profound impact on the Schaghticoke tribal community, as it did on other participant tribes. Local historian John Barber estimated that 100 Schaghticoke men were called to duty in the Continental Army (Barber 1836: 471). This indicates that the tribal population was much larger than those resifding on the reservation, since there was a total of only thirty-four males at Kent in 1774.

Among those that served was Peter Mauwee (Starr 1926: 56, 401) Thomas Warrups and John Sucknucks. Warrups served as a scout and messenger with the army under General Putnam quartered at Reading (Todd 1906). Many of the Schaghticokes who enlisted served as a signal corps transmitting messages between Long Island Sound and Stockbridge. Using drums and signal fires, it was reported they could relay a message between the two points in two hours (Whitehead 1976: 55).

It is not known how many tribal members may have either been killed in the war or decided to terminate tribal relations as a result of their experience. What is known, however, is that the absence of men left the Schaghticoke community even more destitute (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 1, vol. 2, pp. 211-212). Gideon Mauwee's granddaughter Eunice later recalled that two of her brothers had served and that the drawing off of so many of the male tribal members was a severe blow from which the Tribe never
recovered (Lawrence 1852).

D. Tribal Demands Ignored by the State of Connecticut

The status quo continued for the Schaghticoke Tribe after the Revolution when the State of Connecticut replaced the colonial government. The governmental structure and restrictive policies remained unchanged with respect to Indian affairs and the Tribe even continued to have the same overseer; Abraham Fuller.

In April 1786 the Schaghticoke, fed up with their treatment by the Connecticut government, held a meeting to discuss complaints they wanted the General Assembly to address. The Schagticoke felt that they were neither well informed nor well served by their overseer. They complained that much of their land base had been taken from them and they could no longer sustain themselves by hunting and fishing. They complained further that there was no reliable accounting of how the revenues from their leases were used. Because of this situation they wanted the right to select their overseer and receive a yearly report of their accounts. They also wanted a school for their young and better treatment for their old and disabled members, such as Elizabeth, the widow of Josua Mauwee. A summary of their demands was then included in a petition signed by the leading men of the Tribe. The signers, in order of signing, were Joseph, Elihu, and Peter Mauwee, Daniel Sucknuck, John Peters, Peter Sirman, and Jonas Cocksure. Their petition indicated that the “Natives in Scattecokk” numbered 36 men, 35 women, and 20 school children (Connecticut Archives, Indian series 2, vol. 2, p. 218).

The committee appointed to investigate these complaints found that the Tribe was indebted to Abraham Fuller for about sixteen pounds and that it had long since lost its right to fish at New Milford. The committee concluded that the system of leasing out the land for one year at a time was inefficient. It recommended that 50 acres of the land be apportioned to tribal members and that the rest be leased to non-Indians. In response to the demand for a school, the committee reported that there were not enough children at Schaghticoke to justify a school and that those that were there were "too wild" (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 1, vol. 2, pp. 220-221).

Overseer Fuller and two Schaghticoke men, Peter Shurman and Daniel Sucknuck, petitioned the General Assembly in May 1787 requesting permission to sell 60 to 70 acres of the reservation to Abijah Hubbell in return for his services as a farmer who would plow their fields with teams. The request was denied. Fuller was also turned down when he asked in 1790 and again in 1792 for permission to sell reservation lands to pay off medical expenses and other outstanding debts. In his 1792 petition Fuller stated that there had been considerable sickness and death among the Schaghticoke tribal members during the previous five years and that medical expenses had exceeded lease revenue. He blamed the health problems on "Drunkenness and Idleness" (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 1, vol. 2, p. 224; series 2, vol. 2, pp. 449-50).

E. Late 18th Century Observers

Ezra Stiles, the first president of Yale University, visited Schaghticoke families in the late 1780s. In 1787 he interviewed Sarah Mauwee, wife of Joseph (Chuse) Mauwee, Gideon Mauwee's son, at Naugatuck or Darby Bridge and obtained an Indian vocabulary from her. Sarah, then aged 67, could not identify the tribe from which she descended (she was probably Pootatuck), but Stiles reported that the words he obtained were spoken by the few Indian survivors in the area around Darby and East Haven. Sarah told Stiles that she was born in East Haven (Stiles 1755-1794; Dexter 1876: 396).

Stiles visited the Schaghticoke Tribe two years later and compiled a census of the tribal population. He counted "67 Souls," but noted that only four families lived on the reservation. He identified Peter Mauwee as the "King" or leader of the Tribe and his wife Eliza as the "Queen" (Stiles 1755-1794). In 1790 Peter and Eliza were then living in Cornwall, at the foot of Mt. Overlook. Their four-year old son Benjamin died in a fire there in that year (Starr 1926: 401).

In October 1798 Timothy Dwight visited the Schaghticoke Reservation and was impressed by the beauty of the Indians' land:

The tract which they occupy is a handsome interval about three miles in length on the western border of the Housatonic. On the west it is bounded by the base of a lofty

mountain. The land, naturally excellent, is miserably cultivated, both by the Indians and their tenants. Few spots are more romantic. The river, a find stream; the interval, an elegant piece of ground; the mountain, high, ragged, and precipitous, and in wet seasons ornamented with several cascades stealing down its rough sides, form an interesting group in this wild solitude. To these objects very affecting and melancholy additions were made by the wigwams, sixteen in number (Dwight 1969: II: 354-355).

F. The 1801 Land Sale

In May 1799 the Schaghticokes held a meeting to draft yet another petition to the General Assembly complaining of their treatment. In it they stated that they did not wish to have their land sold to pay off their indebtedness but preferred to lease it. They again requested the right to appoint the overseer and to choose their own physician as well. They also asked for an investigation of their medical debts and for an analysis of their resources to determine if they might be utilized to better advantage in reducing their debts more quickly. The petition was signed, in order of signing, by Joseph Mauwee, John Peters, Peter Shurman, Daniel Sucknucks, Elihu Mauwee, Abraham Konkapot, Levi Succonucks, Peter Mauwee, and Jonas Cocksure.(Connecticut Archives, Indian series 2, vol. 2, p. 58). It should be noted that Konkapot was a family name of Indians from Stockbridge.

A special committee was again appointed to study the situation. Four months later the committee reported that the Schaghticoke accounts had not been reconciled for the previous thirteen years and that Overseer Fuller could not find all of his records (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 2, vol. 2, pp. 56-57).

In 1801 Overseer Fuller reported that resident tribal members numbered about thirty-five and were "addicted to idleness and intoxication and adverse from Labour and do not pretend to cultivate more than about six acres of said Land" (Connecticut Public Records 1965: 250-51). It was evident from this description that the non-Indian view of Schaghticokes had not changed. Eleven years later, in 1812, another observer noted that " . . . a habit of extreme idleness and intoxication has long prevailed among them and almost without exception their lands have remained uncultivated. . . . The constant and universal habit of drunkenness among them has degraded them to a station but little superior to the beasts" (Wilbur 1966: 90).

In his 1801 report to the General Assembly Andrew Fuller also stated that the Schaghticokes were afflicted with much sickness, were indebted to the overseer for $400.00 as a result, and had no means of discharging the debt other than the sale of their lands (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 2, vol. 2, pp. 56-57).

The Connecticut legislature responded by authorizing the sale of certain land in the northern portion of the reservation. The proceeds, reported to be $4,333.32, were

used to reimburse Fuller for his expenses, to construct six houses, and to establish and maintain a credit fund for tribal members. Revenue for the credit fund was generated through the purchase of mortgage securities. Money from the fund was lent to non-Indians to purchase property. Interest on the loan was collected by the overseer and deposited in the Schaghticoke Tribal Fund (Connecticut Public Records 1965: 250-51; Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 2, vol. 2, pp. 66-68).

According to historian John Barber, writing in 1836, the land sold in 1801 included the area that had been the central Schaghticoke settlement in the 18th century. This is where both Gideon Mauwee's wigwam and the Moravian chapel had been located (Barber 1836: 170-171).

The further reduction of the Schaghticoke land base meant that the reservation became even more inadequate to support the basic needs of the Tribe. Those who remained on the reservation could not make the necessary improvements to benefit them economically and could not subsist by following their traditional economy because of the lack of natural resources. They were also hampered by the fact that their non-Indian overseers consistently mismanaged their resources.

Having succeeded in selling off Schaghticoke land and gaining acquisition as well to a portion of tribal land, Andrew Fuller expressed his desire to retire in 1801. In response, the General Assembly appointed Abel Beach to replace him as the Schaghticoke overseer (Connecticut Public Records 1965: 315).

Tribal members who did not reside on the reservation were also subject to overseers. In May 1803 Joseph Pratt of Kent requested the General Assembly to replace him as the overseer of the estate (Derby land interests) of Elihu Mauwee (inherited from Joseph Mauwee) and David and Jemima Suckanux because of his ill health (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 2, vol. 2, p. 72). The General Assembly responded by appointing a committee to examine and adjust Pratt's accounts and naming Abel Beach to serve as overseer of this estate also (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 2, vol. 2, p. 73). The examining committee found that Pratt was entitled to a payment of $58.75 for his expenses in maintaining the estate. The General Assembly authorized payment of the amount due Pratt from the Schaghticoke Tribal Fund (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 2, vol. 2, pp. 76-78).

That same year Benjamin Chickens (Warrups), an unknown relative (perhaps a brother) of Thomas Chickens (Warrups), requested and received a payment of $100.00 from the General Assembly out of the proceeds of the 1801 Schaghticoke land sale for improvements he had made on the property. He had cleared and fenced a portion of the land, had erected a house, and had tilled the soil (Connecticut Public Records 1967: 86; Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 2, vol. 2, p. 74-75). With the advice of Overseer Beach, Benjamin Chickens used the $100.00 to purchase 19 acres of mountain land in

Kent. In 1809 the General Assembly permitted Chickens to sell the tract so he could move to the town of Green in Chenango County, New York (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 2, vol. 2, p. 88). It is not known if Benjamin Chickens ever moved to New York. Overseer Beach's ledger for 1828 includes an expenditure for grave clothes for a Benjamin Chickens (Beach 1801-1852). What is known for certain, however, is that other Chickens/Warrups family members remained part of the Schaghticoke community.

G. The Abel Beach Years

Annual reports of the Schaghticoke overseer exist for most years of the 19th century. While these are primarily account books listing debits from and credits to the Schaghticoke Tribal Fund, they also provide other important information. Data from the account books allow us to understand better the role and duties of the overseer and his interaction with tribal members. The ledgers also provide personal information about tribal members, including where they lived (both on and off the reservation), how they subsisted and earned money, how they received medical and educational services, when they were sick or died, and descriptions of they interacted with non-Indians.

The overseer's accounts for the first half of the 19th century revolve around the purchase of household items for members of the Tribe. They reveal how basic were the needs of tribal members and underscore the grim conditions for reservation residents. A sample from January-March 1802 indicates that shoes, costing $1.12 a pair, were purchased for Sarah Philip, Sarah Suckenuck and Jemima Suckernuck. One unusual entry is for May 1804: “paid Aron Dillano for keeping Peter Sherman 1 week when sick and bringing him to Scattecook--$3.00.” Each year the overseer received $20.00 and the Tribe’s doctor collected an annual total of $15.00. The items purchased for tribal members rarely exceeded $20.00. From 1801 on into the 1830s, there was not a month that passed that at least one item was paid for by the overseer. In the spring of 1828 there were more items relating to death among members of the Tribe, including non-residents: “Grave Clothes for Benjman Chicking $2.00; Clothes for Polly when sick; .50; Grave Clothes for Polly, $1.50; Paid Coffin for Polly, $1.50; paid Beecher Winegar for two coffins for Ned Rice Son and daughter.” This pattern of death in the Tribe continued into the 1830s. For October 1836 the overseer paid for a coffin for Rice; in April 1837 a coffin for Tomuck; and, in September, funeral charges for Nancy Chickings. By 1852, the year of the last entries, no deaths were recorded and the State still paid the overseer $20.00 each year (Beach 1801-1852).

The overseer's account books also show that when tribal members did work for the overseer, their “pay” actually was entered as a credit on the tribal accounts. Another interesting thing that should be noted is the types of materials being purchased for tribal members -- seed corn and food staples to supplement the subsistence lifestyle they were trying to maintain. The absence of sugar, butter, and leavening purchases in the accounts

is also interesting, suggesting that common European ingredients and foods (specifically baked goods) were not being prepared by the Schaghticokes (Beach 1801-1852).

The overseer's reports do not list all tribal members at any given time, merely those who lived on the reservation and/or requested and received services. However, unlike on the Eastern and Western Pequot Reservations in North Stonington and Ledyard respectively, there is no evidence that the State ever allowed Indians not affiliated with the Schaghticoke or indigent non-Indians to live on the reservation unless they were the spouses of Schaghticoke members.

The overseer collected revenue from the lease or sale of tribal resources, including land and timber, and the interest generated by investments such as mortgage securities. For example, the overseer sold 117 1/2 cords of wood to Ambrose B. Simson in October 1810 for a promissory note of $23.50. In 1866 he decided to reinvest tribal funds in Housatonic Railroad bonds. The overseer deposited the proceeds from these sources in the tribal account. He would withdraw funds as necessary to provide food, clothing, housing. transportation, education, and medical and funeral services for tribal members and their families, including those residing on the reservation. For example, for a number of years beginning in 1840, the overseer purchased a pig each year for Eunice Mauwee. In October 1844 he paid $217.70 for the construction of a new dwelling place at Schaghticoke. On May 2, 1831, Zach Winegar was paid $3.01 for schooling Benjamin Warrup's children. Leather was purchased in April 1806 to be used to make moccasins (indicating that some traditional dress and craft work continued). In November 1834 $6.00 was paid to bring Taber Mauwee from Litchfield back to Schaghticoke with a wagon and horses. In January 1850 Dr. St. John was paid $1.25 for visiting the reservation “in time of small pox.” When Gideon Sherman died in New Milford in May 1821, the overseer paid for the medical and funeral services in New Milford, purchased a coffin, and paid for the cost of bringing the deceased back to Schaghticoke for burial. When Peter Mauwee died in July 1822, the Schaghticoke overseer paid for his funeral expenses (Beach 1801-1852).

Able-bodied men and women of the Tribe were placed out to non-Indian businesses, farms, and families in the region to provide both skilled and unskilled labor and domestic services. For example, the overseer noted in November 1821 that Jaber Mauwee was boarded at Matthias Lains. Resident tribal members were also paid by the overseer for their produce, labor, or services provided for the benefit of the reservation. To illustrate, Truman Bradley and A.V. (Value). Kilson were paid for cutting down apple trees in January 1852. Bradley and Kilson also worked as colliers in the Kent area iron industry (see Genealogical Report). The overseer accounts show that others who worked for wages or supply credits during the Beach years were Mary Jane Kilson, Jacob Mauwee, Joseph Mauwee, Elihu Bunker, and Joseph Kilson (Beach 1801-1852).

Tribal members in ill health were taken in to be nursed by both Indian and non-Indian families in the area, who were then compensated for their services. For example, Moses Smith of Amenia was paid $2.50 from the Tribal Fund in March 1819 for "keeping Indians when sick." If tribal members became sick or died while living elsewhere, the overseer provided for their transportation back to the reservation (Beach 1801-1852).

Between 1802 and 1850 sick or dead tribal members were brought back to the reservation from towns throughout the region on forty-four separate occasions. The places where they were living at the time included Dover, Amenia, and Pine Plains, New York, and Sherman, Warren, New Milford, Bridgeport, Bridgewater, Norwalk, Woodbridge, Litchfield, Northville, Weatherfield, Milford, and Ewesworth, Connecticut (see Genealogical Report and Rabkin c.1982 Place List).

Also deducted from the tribal account was the annual salary for the services of both the overseer and physician. A fee was also deducted during some years for use of the burying ground. A surprising item to be found on some of the account books, considering that alcohol abuse was a problem on the reservation at times, is that rum, whiskey, and wine were sometimes distributed by the overseer or dispensed by the tribal doctor.

The overseer was to manage the reservation land so that tribal members would not become a burden to the towns as paupers whom the municipalities would have to support. As a result, it was never an issue of managing the reservation profitably for the betterment of the Tribe, but rather of managing it adequately to protect non-Indian communities from having to care for impoverished tribal members. The system broke down because the best means of revenue was always to sell the land and reduction of the land base always resulted in increasing the dependency of tribal members on government assistance.

Overseer Abel Beach received permission from the General Assembly to sell twenty more acres of reservation land in 1811 (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 2, vol. 2, p. 90). The next year the heirs of Eliza Warrups Mauwee (listed as Jerimiah Coxell, Rufus Bunker, and Peter Mauwee) petitioned for the sale of the thirty acres of fee land in Cornwall that they had inherited, because it was "too inconveniently situated to divide." The General Assembly appointed Oliver Burnham as a trustee or conservator to sell the land, deposit the proceeds in an interest-bearing account, and supervise the use of the proceeds for the benefit of the Indian grantors (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 2, vol. 1, pp. 9-10). The trust fund continued to remain solvent for a number of years. In 1837 the General Assembly appointed John R. Harrison to replace Burnham as conservator of the trust fund (Connecticut State Library, Cornwall Probate Records 1837).

In 1811 Timothy Dwight again visited the Schaghticoke community. He noted that much of the land that he visited in 1798 had been sold by the State to be applied to support the needs of the tribal members. "They are now enclosed," he wrote, "and begin to wear the appearance of well-directed agriculture, but are much less romantic than in their former state" (Dwight 1969: III: 282-287). He also noted the presence of a stone monument in the area marking the grave of a former Schaghticoke chief. He stated that each time a tribal member passed this monument he or she added a stone to the heap to honor the memory of the deceased. This is a custom that has been preserved by the Schaghticoke members. Visitors to the Schaghticoke burial ground today can also observe that small stones have been placed on the grave markers.

There were forty tribal members living on the reservation in 1812. The same number was reported in 1838 (Wilbur 1966: 90).

Overseer Abel Beach took on new duties in 1813. In May of that year the General Assembly appointed him to also serve as guardian of the orphan children at Schaghticoke (Connecticut Archives, Indians, series 2, vol. 2, p. 97).

In 1824 the Connecticut General Assembly decentralized some of its control over Indian affairs within the State. It provided that overseers of the reservations would be appointed by, and be responsible to, a court of the county in they were located. Thus the Schaghticoke Reservation and Tribal Fund were both placed under jurisdiction of the Litchfield County court system; specifically the Court of Common Pleas. In 1851 Schaghticoke jurisdiction was transferred to the Litchfield County Superior Court. The legislature required overseers to make biennial reports to the court providing information on topics specified by the General Assembly (Anonymous n.d.: Principal Public Laws Governing Appointment, Powers, and Reporting Requirements of Overseers to the Indian Tribes; Administration of Reservations).

H. Political Leadership in the Early 19th Century

It is difficult to identify specific Schaghticoke leaders during the first half of the 19th century because there is no record of tribal petitions to the General Assembly. Neither are leaders specified in the reports of overseer Abel Beach or noted by visitors such as Timothy Dwight. However, it is apparent from the evidence that the Schaghticoke community remained intact during the period, with a core population of between 40 and 50 members on the reservation and sub-communities and kin-cluster areas in such places as Cornwall, Derby, Bridgeport, Litchfield, and Amenia. Furthermore, leaders who had signed earlier petitions were still part of the community. These men included Peter Mauwee, identified as the tribal sachem in 1789, who lived

until 1822, Elihu Mauwee, the son of sachem Joseph (Chuse) Mauwee, and Abraham Konkapot, signer of a 1799 petition, who lived until 1831.

The most documented Schaghticoke tribal leader between 1839 and 1860 was Eunice Mauwee (see below), the daughter of sachem Joseph (Chuse) Mauwee and granddaughter of sachem Gideon Mauwee. She represented the Tribe to outsiders and was accorded royal status because of her ancestry. Within the tribal community, however, she played an important role as a matriarchal culture-keeper who helped preserve Schaghticoke tribal language, history, and traditions such as basket making. Her descendants Abigail Mauwee Harris, Lavinia Mauwee Carter, and Rachel Mauwee continued the tradition of this leadership role within the Tribe.

VI: THE 19TH CENTURY FAMILIES: 1839-1899

In 1836 there were seven families living on the reservation, representing a total of 40 tribal members (Barber 1836 : 472). One of the residents who occasionally gained the notice of outsiders over the course of the period from 1839 to 1860 was Eunice Mauwee, the youngest of Gideon Mauwee's grandchildren. She was born around 1760 at Derby and had spent her early life there. According to a secondary source, she married a Narragansett veteran of the Revolution, John Sutnux or Sucknucks, and they lived together at Schaghticoke. After Sutnux died, she married Peter Sherman, by whom she had nine children (Wilbur 1966: 91; Turano n.d.: 136).

A. The Mauwees and Harrises

Eunice Mauwee became the eldest of any of the known tribal elders, perhaps over 100 years old at her death in 1860. She also was the best known of the traditional matriarchal Schaghticoke culture-keepers of the 19th century. She was a skilled basket maker who wandered throughout the Webutuck Valley selling her wares. Other members of the Mauwee family were also basket makers during this period, including Eunice's brother Elihu, her cousin Jacob Mauwee, and Truman Bradley (Turano n.d.: 136; Richmond 1987: 138).

Eunice was “discovered” by outsiders in 1836 when she reportedly claimed to be a Pequot. She was fashioned as “the last of the Pequots” and this brought her some notoriety. Her statements continued the often repeated identification of the Schaghticoke community as being Pequot by both outsiders and tribal members alike. Schaghticoke tribal members either identified themselves or were identified by others as Pequots in the 1900 census and that identity has continued through much of the present century.

Eunice Mauwee's children and grandchildren intermarried with Cogswells (formerly Cocksures) Kilsons, and Harrises. Her granddaughter Abigail (1828-1900)

married Henry Harris (1817-1895), a tinsmith known as “Tin Pan” or “Hen Pan” who also made and distributed baskets as well as jewelry he crafted. Henry was Indian (perhaps Tunxis), but his tribe of origin has not yet been determined. Abigail was herself a basket maker and another of the Schaghticoke culture-keepers. An example of her basket work was featured in a 1915 article by ethnologist Frank Speck (Speck 1915).

Henry Harris became a leader on the reservation prior to his death in 1893. Henry's son was Chief James Harris (1850-1909), also known as “Jim Pan,” then became the chief of the Schaghticoke. He also was a basket maker, a rattlesnake hunter and guide, and a preacher at the school house near Bulls Bridge in Kent. Reported to be the last full-blood Schaghticoke male, he died of diphtheria in 1909. His mother Abigail preceded him in death in 1900 (Wilbur 1966:94; Starr 1926: 402).

Rachel (1813-1903), another granddaughter of Eunice Mauwee, was also a spouse of Henry Harris. She died in 1903 and was reported to have been the last full-blood Schaghticoke female (Wilbur 1966: 97). Like her grandmother, Rachel was also a Schaghticoke culture-keeper and basket maker.

Another relative was Patricia Mauwee, who resided and was employed in Northville, Connecticut (Wilbur 1966: 91-92). Despite her off-reservation residence, when Patty Mauwee became ill theret in August 1841, the Schaghticoke overseer paid for her medical expenses (Beach 1801-1852).

B. The Cogswells

The Cogswell family lived on the reservation and in Cornwall, Connecticut, about 15 miles northeast of the reservation. George Cogswell (1840-1923), the grandson of Jeremiah Cogswell, fought in the Civil War, was captured, and spent a year in the infamous Confederate prison at Andersonville. He returned to the reservation after the war and became a leader of the rattlesnake hunts. He married tribal member Sarah Bradley and they had three sons and a daughter who survived them: Frank (1869-1919) who served in Cuba during the Spanish American War, William, Archibald, and Julia (Anonymous n.d., “Happy Hunting Grounds Greet Indian Sachem;” Wilbur 1966: 92: Lewis S. Mills, Jr. n.d.: 9-10).

Nathan Cogswell (1817-1881) lived and died in North Cornwall, where he was known for making fine stone fences, some of which still exist. Cogswell Hill and Cogswell Road in that town were named for his family. His son William H., a noted local athlete, volunteered to serve in the Civil War, was commissioned as a lieutenant, and died in battle in 1864. Another son, Newton, also a Civil War veteran, wounded his wife and killed himself during a domestic dispute (Gold 1904: 361; Starr 1926: 402; Scoville 1990). T.S. Gold, a local historian of Cornwall, wrote that the Cogswells of that town were “highly respected, temperate, and honest, and some were church members.”

He also noted that he had employed other Schaghticokes from the reservation and had found them to be “trusty and reliable workers” (Gold 1904: 361; Wilbur 1966: 94).

C. The Bunkers

Another Schaghticoke family that lived in Cornwall was the Bunkers. Rufus Bunker and his wife Roxanne owned forty acres of land and lived on a hill named after the family. Benjamin Bunker died in 1848 at the age of 40, and Eli Bunker was a member of the Second Church of Cornwall (Starr 1926: 402).

The Bunkers made and distributed baskets of a unique style. During the 1940s Carroll Alton Means collected several Bunker family baskets in the Cornwall area. Some of these Schaghticoke baskets are in museum collections, including that of the Peabody Museum of Natural History at Yale University (Richmond 1987: 133, 135).

In 1868 Eli Bunker petitioned the Litchfield Superior Court from Cornwall for assistance from the Schagticoke Tribal Fund because he was “poor old and unable to support himself.” He stated that he had not received any portion of the fund for the previous five years (Connecticut, Litchfield Superior Court 1868). Bunker's occupation was listed as "basket-maker" on the 1870 Federal census. He owned a small farm in Goshen, Connecticut (north of Litchfield) where he grew potatoes (Gold 1904: 361; Richmond 1987: 137).

Even though the Schaghticokes in Cornwall and Goshen appeared to be assimilated and self-sufficient, they still identified themselves as Indians and continued to be part of the Schaghticoke community, and were considered by the State to be such. When, for example, the Bunkers needed assistance in June 1842, the Schaghticoke overseer paid their bills. When a Cogswell family member died in Cornwall in November 1848 the funeral expenses were also paid by the Schaghticoke overseer out of the Tribal Fund. In January 1851 Judge Phillips of the Litchfield County Superior Court arranged for Overseer Abel Beach to meet with Dr. Edward Smith of Cornwall regarding the balance due for rendering medical services to the family of the late Jeremiah Cogswell (Beach 1801-1852).

The snake lore tradition also persisted among off-reservation Schaghticoke. Jonah (also known as Jonas) and Lydia Coshire (Cocksure) left the reservation in the latter part of the 18th century and settled near La Grange, New York. Their family, including children Steve and Hannah became known subsequently as the Jonahs. Steve Jonah lived in LaGrange all his life, and Hannah lived with one of the families in town and served as a nurse throughout the area. The Jonahs were known to possess a recipe

for an herbal antidote for snakebites, the secret of which they never revealed. Hannah Jonah died in the 1880s (Hasbrouck 1909).

D. The Kilsons and Bradleys

Overseer Abel Beach's account books for the 1840s followed the same format established in earlier accounts. Many of the items had to deal with butchering animals to feed the Tribe and purchasing shoes and other domestic items. Various tribal members, such as Truman Bradley, Jacob Mauwee, and John Mauwee were also paid for plowing or doing odd jobs. The pattern of doling out money for supplies continued throughout the 1840s. The two tribal members who appear most in the account books during this period were A.V (Value) Kilson and Truman Bradley (Beach 1842-1852).

In 1851 Kilson and Bradley were paid for plowing oats, building stone walls, husking and leading an ox and cart. In 1853 the overseer paid Joseph Kilson $80.00 as "the balance due for one year work." In that same year Rufus Fuller replaced Abel Beach as overseer. Fuller's first account of property listed the reservation as having 300 acres of land with an appraisal value of $3,000. He noted that there were six houses, three stoves, fixtures, and six acres of developed land worth a total of $1,300 (Beach 1801-1852).

Historian John W. DeForest wrote that the Tribe still had "a considerable tract of land on the mountain; too rough and woody to farm but a good source of firewood." He reported that in the fall 1849 there were eight to ten full-blood and twenty to thirty mixed-blood residents. "A few are sober and industrious, live comfortably and have good gardens; but the great majority are lazy, immoral, and intemperate. Many of them lead a vagabond life," he stated, "wandering about the State in summer, and returning to Scatacook to spend the winter" (DeForest 1851: 414-15).

While the dominant society considered the movements of Schaghticoke tribal members to be aimless wanderings, their migrations, in fact, followed distinct patterns that persisted in historical traditions of their seasonal rounds. They visited kin groups, went hunting or fishing, and peddled their baskets and other wares in a number of towns and rural locations throughout western Connecticut and southeastern New York. But then they returned to the reservation.

E. The Last Days of Eunice Mauwee

David Lawrence visited the Schaghticoke Reservation in 1849 and interviewed Eunice Mauwee when, he reported, she was near "one hundred" years old. He wrote that Eunice was the daughter of Joseph Mauwee (also known as Chuse) and the granddaughter of Gideon Mauwee. She stated that she had moved with her family to Kent and that she had been told by tribal elders that her grandfather governed as he planned, telling people where to plant and when and how to gather crops. He also

allowed no drinking. She spoke with contempt of the mixed-bloods, preferring full blood as possessed by none but herself. She claimed that her family descended from the Pequots driven westward by warfare. She stated that there were seven families present on the reservation, but that they were all mixed-bloods (Lawrence 1852). Lawrence took a daguerreotype photograph of Eunice that is now in the collection of the Kent Historical Society in Kent, Connecticut (see Turano n.d.: 138).

Overseer Rufus Fuller reported in 1859 that the reservation consisted of 300 acres of land with six dwelling houses and five stoves. He stated that he had counted fifty-four tribal members in residence, and that there were six to eight acres of cleared, tillable land (Connecticut, Litchfield Superior Court 1859).

In June 1859 Eunice Mauwee was visited by Benson J. Lossing, a writer, antiquarian, and wood carver. Lossing published an article about Eunice about twelve years later entitled "The Last of the Pequods." An engraved portrait of Eunice appeared in Lossing's article and another was published in 1877. Both of these engravings are now in the Special Collections of the New York Public Library. A watercolor portrait of Eunice is also in the collections of the Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford (Turano n.d.: 137-141; Lossing 1871).

In 1860 W.C. Reichel wrote about the Schaghticoke Reservation in conjunction with the dedication of monuments marking former Moravian missions. He noted that Rufus Fuller served as overseer of the reserve. He reported that there were 50 tribal members who lived on the reservation, with "but three or four in whose veins flows the uncontaminated blood of the Pequods" (Reichel 1860).

Reichel visited with Eunice Mauwee and other members of her family, including her granddaughter Lavinia and great granddaughter Laura. Eunice offered the pronunciation and meaning of certain Indian place names. Another member of the dedication entourage, a Dr. Beardsley, pointed out to Reichel the "Pachgathgoch" burial ground lying in a meadow "near the bank of the river, on the farm of Mr. John Raymond" (Reichel 1860).

Eunice Mauwee died in April 1860. Overseer Fuller noted in his ledger that on that date he paid $8.00 to O. Root "for Coffin for Eunice." Despite the death of Eunice, Fuller wrote, "the habits and moral aspects of the Tribe appear improved and more flattering" (Connecticut, Litchfield Superior Court 1860).

Oliver Root replaced Rufus Fuller as overseer in 1861 (Connecticut, Litchfield Superior Court 1861). In 1865 Root reported that the number and conditions of the reservation's dwellings remained much as they had been at the start of the 1860s. Of the tribal members, Root added, "There has been during the year more sickness than usual,

otherwise no material change in their condition has occurred since the last Report" (Connecticut, Litchfield Superior Court 1865).

Root died on Christmas Eve in 1865 and the State appointed Austin St. John as his replacement the following year (Connecticut, Litchfield Superior Court 1865). In 1867 St. John reported: "The expense for the past year have [sic] been much larger than for the year previous owing to sickness among them [sic] the Rice family living on the Mountain 5 miles from the Tribe and land belonging to them have been helped to wood." He continued about the Rices, "the family consisted of only 2 persons the Mother and Daughter. The Mother very old and feeble requiring the whole time and services of the daughter to attend to her." St. John noted that the daughter had been previously "employed at large wages" and had saved enough money to care for the mother. Mrs. Rice died during the year and the daughter moved elsewhere (Connecticut, Litchfield Superior Court 1867). This provides another example of how the Schaghticoke Tribal Fund, as administered by the Litchfield Superior Court, was utilized for the assistance of needy tribal members whether or not they resided on the reservation. The experience of Mrs. Rice's daughter is also indicative of the itinerant nature of the relationship of many tribal members to the reservation area. They found wage work in other towns, came back to the reservation to be with family members and/or receive assistance, and then left again.

Sickness also touched the Truman Bradley and Kilson families in 1867, as well as John Mauwee. St. John reported that Mauwee's fever sores prevented him from leaving his bed. For weeks, the doctor stated that Mauwee would only live a few more days. St. John wrote: "the stench from his Limb was intolerable. No one could stay in the Room." St. John did not indicate whether or not Mauwee died (Connecticut, Litchfield Superior Court 1867).

F. Latter-Century Accounts

Tribal member Eli Bunker, a resident of Cornwall, petitioned the Litchfield Superior Court in 1868 for assistance from the Schaghticoke fund. He claimed that he was unable to support himself due to his infirmities and that he had not received any aid or portion of the annual income of the fund over the previous five years. He requested a blanket, a pair of boots and a pair of pantaloons (Bunker 1868). When Bunker died in July 1888 all of his medical and funeral expenses were paid by the Schaghticoke overseer.

Overseer Lewis Spooner reported in 1870 that there were 50 tribal members residing on the reservation (Connecticut, Litchfield Superior Court 1870). In his 1871 report Spooner noted that there had been two deaths during the year. One was Joseph Kilson who was killed in a fight on the Fourth of July, the other was Sophia Rice, who died in November. It was noted that Rice lived in Amenia, New York and that $6.00 had

been drawn from the Schaghticoke fund to cover the expense of her burial (Connecticut, Litchfield Superior Court 1871).

During the last quarter of the 19th century the resident population of the Schaghticoke Reservation consisted primarily of four families. They were the Mauwees/Harrises, Cogswells, Kilsons, and Bradlees. The first two families had been listed among tribal members since the days of the Moravian catalogs, whereas the affiliation of the other two was more recent, through intermarriage with the existing families.

In 1876 the following individuals, mostly members of the Schaghticoke Tribe, petitioned the General Assembly for the appointment of Henry Roberts of New Milford as the new Schaghticoke overseer: Abigail Harris, Henry Harris, Caroline Rilar, Nathan G. Cogswell, Emma Kilson, Mary Kilson, Charles Kilson, Value Kilson, Eliza Kilson, George Cogswell, Sarah Cogswell, Nancy Kilson, Truman Bradley, and George Bull of Kent (Connecticut, Litchfield District Court 1876). Nathan G. Cogswell of Cornwall was the first signer of this petition, and Truman Bradley was noted as being a resident of Bridgeport.

This petition to the General Assembly, the first on behalf of the Schaghticoke Tribe since 1799, is an important political document. It demonstrates continued tribal representation by tribal elders living both on and off the reservation and, for the first time, by both men and women. The family names of the signers shows not only representation from the four main tribal lineages in the 19th century but also genealogical continuity with tribal leaders of the 18th century. Abigail Harris, for example, was a great-granddaughter of sachem Gideon Mauwee and Nathan and George Cogswell were descendants of sagamore Samuel Cocksure. Henry Harris and George Cogswell are also identified subsequent to this petition as having important leadership roles within the Tribe. Furthermore, the petition strongly suggests that the petition was not the result of a random coming together, but rather that the signers, from various families and locations, were also linked together by significant social, cultural, and political ties.

In 1879 James H. Smith, a historian of Dutchess County, New York, discussed the spelling and pronunciation of certain Indian words with Lavinia Mauwee Carter. Smith wrote that Lavinia, the granddaughter of Eunice Mauwee, was then "over seventy" years of age (Smith 1882). Lavinia or "Viny," as she was popularly known, was another of the Schaghticoke culture-keepers. She was recalled by Frank Cogswell, in an interview with ethnologist Frank Speck, as a fine basket maker and a "woman of superior character." She died in 1888 (Speck 1947: 8-9). A basket made by Viny was featured in an article by Speck published in 1915 (Speck 1915).

The Schaghticoke Reservation was visited by Charles Burr Todd in the early 1880s. Todd also interviewed Lavinia Mauwee Carter, who told him that besides the

seventeen tribal members living on the reservation there were twenty-four others who lived elsewhere. The total of about fifty tribal members was confirmed by Overseer Henry Roberts. The residents occupied five of the "six little brown clap-boarded one-story houses." They included Lavinia Carter, George Cogswell and his wife and four children, Henry Pan Harris, James Harris and his wife and two children, the Kilson widow and one of her nine children, and Value Kilson and his wife and four children (Todd 1906: 208, 214-15).

In June 1884 a number of Schaghticoke tribal members and non-Indians living in the vicinity of Kent petitioned the State requesting that Martin Lane be named as overseer of the Indians. The Schaghticoke petitioners included Value Kilson, Eliza Kilson, Mary Kilson, Charles Kilson, George Bradley, Lilie Bradley, Joseph Bradley, Jabez Cogswell, George Cogswell, Sarah Cogswell, Rachel Mauwee, Vinia Carter, Helen Lossing, Julius Skicket, Charles Harris, Eli Bunker, James Henry Harris, Henry Harris, Abigail Harris, Nancy Kilson, Fred Kilson, and Charles Lindberg Kilson (Connecticut Court of Common Pleas 1884). It should be noted that this petition also included the names of tribal members who did not reside on the reservation, among them Eli Bunker and the Bradley family members.

As requested by the Tribe, Martin Lane was appointed overseer. He observed in 1886 that "As far as I can learn there are about fifty (50) members altogether they are so scattered and mixed it is almost impossible to give an exact number of them" (Lane 1927). Four years later he stated there were "60 belonging to the tribe some half and quarter bloods only a portion full bloods" (Lane 1890).

Lane's handwritten account books for the years 1893 through 1901 have survived (Lane 1893-1901). They amount to 240 notebook-sized pages of accounts and figures with many pages crossed out. Among the entries that stand out are an account of truncations for Chief James Harris in 1895 and 1896 (p. 218), a list of school children for the year 1899 (p. 182), and accounts for Value and Charles Kilson in 1895 and 1899 (pp. 92, 160, and 168).

Children from the reservation attended the public school at Bull's Bridge. Other families in the school district reportedly disdained the Schaghticoke students and did not consider them friends (Wilbur 1966: 105).

G. Continuation of the Basket making Tradition

The Schaghticokes continued to weave splint baskets and sell them in neighboring towns. Tribal member Julia Cogswell Parmalee told ethnologist Frank Speck that when she was a child in the 1890s, Henry Harris, well known as a basket maker, would assemble the children on the reservation for basket making instruction. The pupils had to make progress in learning the art before they were permitted to play (Speck 1947: 9). A

long-time resident of south Kent also recalled that Harris came to her family's farm with other tribal members to sell the baskets and that he also worked for her father as a farm hand (Russell 1975: 18).

Henry Harris was the best known of the Schaghticoke basket makers during the late 19th century. He worked during the early 1890s as a farmhand for the Germain Benedict family in Kent. He made a number of baskets for the family as part of his tasks, several of which are still in existence. Henry's son James, the chief of the Tribe, also learned basket making from his parents and continued the tradition until his death in 1909 (Richmond 1987: 141-42).

In 1897 Francis Atwater, another historian of Kent described the families living on the Schaghticoke reservation:

"A few, he wrote, "are in the habit of attending preaching and a few of the children go to school. They live in little houses. In dress, language, and manners they are like white people. There are now living Value Kilson, wife and daughter; the widow Kilson, whose daughter married a Bridgeport man; the widow of Henry Harris, the well known 'tinner,' and Rachel Mauwehu. Near them is the home of George Cogswell, the noted snake hunter, and his son Archibald. A little further north is the dwelling of the only other Indian family, that of James Harris, son of the 'tinner,' The widow of Henry Harris, wife and son of James, are the only full-blooded Indians remaining. Henry Harris died recently, was seventy-six years old, but his form at that age was sturdy and erect and his vigor remarkable (Atwater 1897: 79)

A long-time Kent resident, Edith Gilbert, recalled in 1943 that in her youth, prior to the turn of the century, the Schaghticokes made baskets, used herbs and roots for medicinal purposes and prescribed remedies to non-Indians. as well. She remembered that a woman named Miriam from Schaghticoke would come and stay with a family in Kent and help with their domestic chores. A small boy of the family badly injured his arm when a stack of wood fell on him. Miriam cured the wound by placing on it "the inside of the jaw bone of an ox" (Gilbert 1943: 15, 26).

George Cogswell's son Frank, born on the reservation in 1869 and reared there, journeyed out west as a young man to North Dakota and Utah. His likeness appeared on a postal stamp commemorating the Trans-Mississippi Exposition held in Omaha, Nebraska in 1898. Shortly after that Frank served in Cuba during the Spanish American War. After the war he returned to the Kent area and worked on a farm near the reservation. About 1927 he returned again to the reservation (Lewis S. Mills, Jr., n.d.).

H. The Schaghticoke Rattlesnake Club

Sometime during the latter half of the 19th century the Schaghticoke Rattlesnake Club was organized by tribal leader George Cogswell and Richard Howell, sports editor for the Bridgeport Herald. It hosted newspapermen and other non-Indians from Connecticut and New York, who came every year to the reservation and were guided by Schaghticoke tribal members. Other active members included Lindsay Dennison of The New York Sun, noted newspaper humorist Frank Ward O'Malley, and local South Kent resident John Monroe. The annual hunts ended with the onset of prohibition in 1919, which suggests that more was involved than merely hunting. A reunion of the club took place in 1926 (Wilbur 1966: 94, 97; Cornwell 1940: 4; Anonymous n.d., "Happy Hunting Grounds Greet Indian Sachem').

The Schaghticoke guides included George Cogswell, Chief James Harris, Frank Harris, Howard Harris, and the young Charles Harris (Pfeiffer 1994: 2). Charles told a reporter in 1972 that "Sportsmen would come from all over to hunt the rattlers. Sometimes we'd sell them to zoos, and sometimes we'd use the skins for hatbands" (Rose 1972). Tribal members also sold venom to manufacturers of anti-toxin drugs (Oulette 1983) (see the Anthropological Report for further information regarding continued snake activities).

Jerome Kilson died in 1895 and Abigail Mauwee Harris and Eliza Kilson died in 1899. They were all buried in the tribal cemetery (Anonymous c. 1993, List of Burials at Schaghticoke; See also the Genealogical Report).

VII: THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY: 1900-1924

In 1902 Conway W. Curtis collected information about Schaghticoke basket making for an article he published in 1904. He described the technique of making splints and the particular designs that distinguished Pootatuck and Schaghticoke baskets. Curtis described Rachel Mauwee as being a basket maker and stated that at age 93 she was "still sound and alive" (Curtis 1904).

Edward Dyer also wrote about the Schaghticoke Tribe in 1903. He stated that fifteen tribal members lived on the reservation and that another 100 were scattered throughout the state. He met Rachel Mauwee, the granddaughter of the nonagenarian Eunice Mauwee. He wrote that Chief James Harris worked delivering mail between Gaylordsville and Bull's Bridge (Dyer 1903: 213).

Dyer's informants also told him of a Schaghticoke legend concerning a place called "Hemlock Hollow." This location was believed to be a torture ground of the spirits of bad Indians. The soul of anyone who died within its shadow would never escape the demons. Many were thought to have died there. Furthermore, the spirits sometimes escaped for short periods and caused fierce storms (Dyer 1903: 221).

The Schaghticoke Reservation was also rumored to contain a silver mine. Dwight Kilbourn, a clerk of the Litchfield Superior Court, recalled in a 1910 article in a New Milford newspaper that these rumors had led him and Henry B. Graves of Litchfield to conduct a search for the mine more than forty years before. They stayed with a Mr. Edwards who lived near the reservation. He showed them a sample of the ore and told them that tribal members occasionally returned from the mountain with handsome specimens. After Kilbourn and Graves tramped around the mountain without success they interviewed an elderly "Mrs. Mauwee" (perhaps Eunice) who was believed to know the secret of the mine's location. However, she refused to divulge its whereabouts claiming that " it meant death to any Indian who should reveal the secret of the sacred mine" (New Milford Gazette 1910).

A. The Observations of Ethnologist Frank Speck

In August 1903 the ethnologist Frank Speck visited the Schaghticoke Reservation. He was then a student of Professor Dyneley Prince at Columbia University in New York City, but later became a faculty member of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. Speck collected data regarding the population, language, genealogy, folklore, and arts and crafts of the Schaghticoke. He presented his findings at a meeting of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia in November 1903 and in later publications (Speck 1903; Prince and Speck 1903; Speck 1909; Speck 1928).

Speck found numerous ways in which the Schaghticoke Tribe had maintained tribal characteristics that made them separate and distinct from their non-Indian neighbors. He described the Tribe as being a tri-racial group whose Indian blood was derived “from various Connecticut tribes.” He speculated that the Tribe was originally comprised of Pootatucks and Paugussetts. He identified Gideon Mauwee as being “either a Pequot or a Wampanoag.” He determined that there were 16 members residing on the reservation and 109 off the reservation (Speck 1903; Prince and Speck 1903; Speck 1928).

Chief James Harris (“Jim Pan”) provided Speck with a vocabulary of twenty-three words in the Schaghticoke language. From his analysis of these terms Professor Prince concluded that the language was not a New England dialect, but rather similar to the Mahican language as spoken by those who moved from the Hudson River Valley to Stockbridge, Massachusetts (Speck 1903; Prince and Speck 1903; Speck 1928). Linguist Carl Masthay drew the same conclusion in 1991 (Masthay 1991).

From interviews with tribal members Speck learned that the Schaghticoke used to follow the Housatonic River to its mouth at Long Island Sound at Stratford to spend the summer claming. They would then return to the Schaghticoke Reservation in the fall. He was told that they formerly used dugout canoes and lived in log houses. He also

learned that more than a half-century earlier the Schaghticoke had chosen a Queen who was "crowned with a silver headband and wore an Indian costume" (Speck 1903; Prince and Speck 1903; Speck 1909; Speck 1928). This may corroborate other references that indicate that as the oldest Mauwee descendant, Eunice Mauwee was at some time accorded special "royalty" status.

Speck determined that the primary tribal arts were making baskets and bows and arrows. He examined a bow, arrows, and some baskets that belonged to Chief James Harris and described them in detail in an article published by the American Museum of Natural History in New York City in 1909. Harris also told Speck that the Schaghticoke once believed in the magic powers possessed by individuals to transport themselves at will, to effect their designs by wishes, and to practice other things included under witchcraft in general. There were localities, Speck indicated, where the Indians when passing by, "made offerings of food or property for the purpose of appeasing the demon believed to reside there." He added, "[T]he former hostility of the Iroquois toward these Indians still lingers in their memory. Rather strangely, the salutation in vogue at Scaticook was given as se'go which is ostensibly borrowed from the Iroquois" (Speck 1909).

In an article on decorative arts published by Speck in 1915 he stated that the Schaghticoke baskets were also similar to those produced by the Mohegans, but were distinctive in their frequent use of a curlicue, or roll, as an ornamental feature. He indicated that the Schaghticoke termed this embellishment a "shell" and consequently called baskets with this design "shell baskets." Speck also noted the Schaghticokes' exclusive use of pokeberry juice to stain the basket splints dark blue. The article included illustrations of baskets made by Rachel Mauwee, Abigail Mauwee, and Lavinia Mauwee Carter and examples of Schaghticoke designs (Speck 1912).

Speck also collected two tribal legends from the Schaghticoke: one he entitled "Peter Sky Changed to a Rock" and the other "The Story of Old Chickens." When his findings were published by the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology in 1928 the article featured photographs of Mary Kilson Jessen, Jessie Harris, and Chief James Harris and his sons, all taken around the turn of the century (Speck 1903; Prince and Speck 1903; Speck 1928). Speck's collections also included three other photographs; two of unidentified Schaghticoke women and one of Peter Jesson and Mary Kilson Jessen in front of their home (Speck 1912).

B. Relocation of the Schaghticoke Cemetery, 1904

The Connecticut Light and Power Company and the New Haven Railroad purportedly obtained rights-of-way through the Schaghticoke Reservation from the State of Connecticut in 1904 to construct a hydro-electric dam at Bull's Bridge on the Housatonic River. This project required the relocation of the Schaghticoke tribal burial

ground or cemetery, located on the east side of the Housatonic. The remains of some, but probably not all, of the deceased tribal members were excavated and reinterred at the present location of the tribal cemetery (Wilbur 1966: 100).

In July 1905 Mrs. John Hopson and other women in the town of Kent took it upon themselves to erect a marker at the grave of Eunice Mauwee in the Schaghticoke cemetery. The marker bore the inscription "Eunice Mauwee, a Christian Indian Princess." An article in the Hartford Post describing this event noted that Eunice had been a member of the Congregational Church at Kent and that "she often walked the four miles from the little Indian settlement to attend the services" (Hartford Post 1905; see Emily Hopson interview in Anthropological Report).

The Tribe lost at least two of its elders between 1907 and 1909. Value Kilson died in 1907 and was buried next to his wife Eliza in the tribal cemetery. She had died in 1902 and her original grave had been moved from the old plot near Bull's Bridge (Pfeiffer 1994: 2; Anonymous 1969, Inventory of Indian Grave Stones at Schaghticoke Cemetery). In December 1909 Chief James Harris died. An indication of his status in the region, in part because he was considered to be the last full-blood Schaghticoke, is the fact that his obituary was published in a newspaper in Bridgeport, several miles from his reservation home. It also reflects the fact that there was a Schaghticoke subcommunity in Bridgeport. The death notice indicated that "Jim Pan" had spent all of his sixty years at Schaghticoke and had fathered a number of children. It also noted that he was buried in the tribal cemetery (Bridgeport-Waterbury Herald 1909). Shortly after the death of Chief Harris, his remaining family on the reservation moved away. His grandson, Chief Irving Harris, told a reporter in 1973 that the family left to find work in Bridgeport, where they hoped to become "the best of the metal molders" (Pratt 4/22/1973). Some Cogswell and Bradley family members had also left the reservation by this time (Wilbur 1966: 100).

Following the death of Chief James Harris, none of his sons succeeded him immediately as the Tribal Chief. His eventual successor, son Howard Harris, only a boy in 1909, became the Chief in the 1920s after his return from service in World War I. In the meantime, the leading tribal elder and steward of the reservation until his death in 1923 was Civil War veteran George Cogswell, following in the Cogswell family tradition as tribal sagamores or sub-chiefs. His son Frank also served a similar role after he returned to the reservation in 1927.

Frederick Webb Hodge, a distinguished ethnologist with the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology, published a celebrated encyclopedia of information on American Indians in 1910. An entry on the Schaghticoke Tribe identified it as a distinct tribal entity and featured an illustration of Chief James Harris (Hodge 1910: 405-406).

C. The World War I Era

With the outbreak of World War I in 1914 Schaghticoke men were again called to service. Among them was Howard Harris, who enlisted on July 25, 1917 in New Haven. Harris was 17 years old at the time, had worked as a hatter, and was just 5 feet and 3 inches tall. He saw action at the battles of Chemin Des Dames, Aisne-Marne and Chateau Thierry and was honorably discharged in 1919 (Harris 1951). Edson Charles Harris also served (Wilbur 1966: 101). After the war, Howard returned to Connecticut and became the Chief of the Schaghticoke Tribe in the 1920s, following in the steps of his father Chief James Harris in the tradition of the Mauwee line. He requested permission to move his family into the reservation home in which he was born but was denied by the State. He settled in Bridgeport and sought work in a foundry. Most of his siblings had moved to the Danbury area. Later, he moved to Litchfield (Pfeiffer 1994: 4; Denison 1926).

Fred Lane retired as the Schaghticoke overseer in 1914 and was replaced by Charles T. Chase. It is curious that Lane's last report, on January 23, 1914, indicated that the reservation consisted of 300 acres of land rather than 400 acres as reported in earlier reports. The report also indicated that the Schaghticoke Tribal Fund was on deposit at the New Milford National Bank and that income was still derived from the interest on four promissory notes held by the fund (Connecticut, Litchfield County Court January 23, 1914; Connecticut, Litchfield County Court, December 19, 1914).

The tradition of hunting and capturing rattlesnakes continued among the Schagticoke and was occasionally brought to the attention of the general public through newspaper articles when the hunt was opened to the public. Tribal elder George Cogswell was described as “a scout of the Schaghticoke Rattlesnake Club” in a 1910 article in a New Milford newspaper when he told a reporter about an incident that happened after the most recent “annual hunt” (New Milford Gazette 1910). The club's hunt of 1919 was also well publicized (Denison 1926). The next year, another article featured George Cogswell, then in his eighties, who stated that his favorite site to hunt rattlesnakes was a rocky ledge some 900 feet above and directly overhanging his cabin on the reservation. He also indicated that representatives from New York’s Bronx Zoo occasionally sought his help in capturing the snakes (Anonymous 1920).

Although the 1919 snake hunt was the last opened to the public, except for that of the 1926 reunion of the Schaghticoke Rattlesnake Club, tribal members continued their own hunts on a regular basis. Katherine Riley Strever, who lived on the reservation for more than forty years (1917-1959), recalled as a child seeing her mother, Bertha Kilson Riley, snare a rattler in their kitchen. The snake was sold later to the Bronx Zoo. She also recalled a tribal member who skinned snakes and sold them in cans (Strever 1994).

Strever was born on the reservation. She later recalled that attending the local Kent school was difficult because of discrimination against tribal members. Other students harassed her and called her “black trash” and “poor trash.” The principal got the children together and asked why they were doing this to Katherine. Their reply was “because she is Indian.” The principal's response surprised Strever when he told them if it wasn't for the Indians, they wouldn't be here. After that, “the children were nicer” (Strever 1994).

The Schaghticoke overseer's report in April 1924 indicated that the tribal trust fund received special appropriations of $600.00 from the State in 1922. The report stated that these appropriations had been ordered by a Judge (Connecticut, Litchfield County Court 1924).

George Cogswell died in 1923 at the age of 83. The obituary of the tribal leader and rattlesnake hunter was published in the Bridgeport Herald, indicating that he was known as an Indian outside of the Kent region (Bridgeport Herald 1923). Another obituary called him a “Sachem” and noted that he had organized the Schaghticoke Rattlesnake Club. It stated that the hunters used to gather at his cabin and that he always took great pride in his role as host . His funeral took place on the reservation (Anonymous n.d., “Happy Hunting Grounds Greet Indian Sachem”).

VIII. THE PARK AND FOREST COMMISSION YEARS: 1925-1940

In 1925 Connecticut transferred jurisdiction over the Schaghticoke Reservation in Litchfield County from the county Court of Common Pleas to its Park and Forest Commission in Hartford. By 1935 the Commission's authority was extended over all of the State's tribes. Among the changes brought about by this action was that funds for the upkeep of the reservations and the welfare of resident tribal members were appropriated annually by the General Assembly. Overseer Charles Chase was allowed to continue as the local reservation agent. The Commission published annual reports indicating the names and relationships of resident tribal members, housing and health conditions, the amount of State expenditures, and other information. These reports, along with minutes of Commission meetings and the correspondence of its employees, evidence the continued recognition of a distinct Schaghticoke tribal entity (Connecticut Park and Forest Commission April 1, 1924; April 25, 1925; 1925-1939; c. 1925: 24; Anonymous n.d. Principal Public Laws Governing Appointment, Powers, and Reporting Requirements of Overseers to the Indian Tribes; Administration of Reservations).

In one of its first reports on the Schaghticoke reservation, the Park and Forest Commission indicated that the property consisted of 350 acres. The Commission also stated its view that title to the land was vested in the State, “which however for nearly

two hundred years has recognized a right of use by the tribe." A further statement in the report may have revealed the Commission's eventual intention for the reservation land: "It is not of course a State Park, but could apparently be made so by act of the Assembly" (Connecticut Park and Forest Commission 1925: 24). It was not until 1934 that the Commission stated that the reservation contained 400 acres, the figure estimated consistently by earlier overseers (Connecticut Park and Forest Commission 1934: 34). Fear that the State would turn its four Indian reservations into State Parks persisted among tribal members for many years. In 1966 a Boston law firm wrote the State official who then had jurisdiction over the reservations inquiring about the status of the reserved lands. The attorneys had been advised by their undisclosed Indian clients that there was a possibility the acreage would be "seized for conversion to state parks" (MacKay - McCaffrey 1966).

In 1926 the Commission reported that there were approximately 50 members of the Tribe, but only 3 adults still residing on the reservation. It reported further that all of the five houses on the reservation were in need of repair and that it had spent government funds for medical and funeral expenses. The Commission recommended that the State continue to let Indians reside on the land and care for tribal members when necessary "as long as there are any with claim to the right of residence" (Connecticut Park and Forest Commission 1926: 42-43).

The first extant document to indicate that Howard Harris had become the Chief of the Tribe was a 1926 newspaper article on the Schaghticoke Rattlesnake Club. In celebrating its reunion in June of that year, the club opened a hunt to the public for the first time since 1919. A number of outsiders took part in the expedition, with the unusual result that for the very first time no snakes were captured. The fact that this hunt took place in June rather than in May or in late fall, when tribal hunters knew that the snakes would be most active, suggests that it was more a publicity event than a serious hunt. A newspaper account of the event featured a photograph of Chief Harris planting flowers at the grave of his father Chief James Harris in the Schaghticoke cemetery. The article identified Harris explicitly as being the tribal Chief (Denison 1926).

One of the objects of the event was to gain support for the petition of Chief Harris to move into his father's home on the reservation and work as a guide and fire warden (Denison 1926). Harris continued his request for several years, but it was never granted. Considering the anti-tribal attitude and policies of the Park and Forest Commission during this era, it is not surprising that the State would not allow the leader of the Tribe to live on the reservation. Since the tribal chief could not reside on the reservation, responsibilities regarding the daily affairs of the reservation fell to resident tribal leaders such as Charles Kilson and later to Frank Cogswell (1927 and after), Earl Kilson (1938 and after) and Robert Kilson (1940 and after) (see Genevieve Moser interview in Anthropological Documents).

Oral history evidence for the period that Howard Harris was Chief of the Tribe (from the 1920s until his death in 1967), indicates that the Schaghticoke Tribe continued to hold tribal meetings either on the reservation, at the home of Chief Harris in Bridgeport, or in other of the Schaghticoke sub-communities throughout the region. Powwows, picnics and other informal gatherings were held on the reservation on weekends. Cooperative work groups were organized by tribal leaders to maintain the tribal cemetery and other common grounds. Communication from and to tribal leaders was maintained through a network of family elders. Tribal members visited each other and attended family events such as funerals both within and outside of their own kinship groups. The traditional activities such as rattlesnake hunting, native crafts, and herbal lore continued among a significant number of tribal members. Elders served as the culture keepers of the extended community, imparting tribal traditions, lore, and knowledge to future generations of tribal members (see interviews with tribal members Catherine Velky, Ralph Birch, Howard Thomas, Albert Stackpole, Joan Perieras, Gail Harrison, Trudie Richmond, and Russell Kilson, and with non-member Genevieve Moser in Anthropological Documents).

In 1927 former Schaghticoke overseer Fred R. Lane reported that three families were represented among the residents of the reservation. They were that of Charles Kilson, who lived in the former Value Kilson house, Bertha Kilson Riley, who occupied the former Mary Kilson house, and Frank Cogswell, living in the old George Cogswell house (Lane 1927). The next year, the State Park and Forest Commission reported that tribal elder Charles Kilson had reached an age where he could not and should not support himself. It also indicated that Frank Cogswell required no assistance from the State, and that the Riley family, two minor girls (Julia and Katherine) and their parents were self-supporting except in sickness" (Connecticut Park and Forest Commission 1928: 45-46). In 1930 the wage earner in the Riley family was hospitalized, and the Commission provided assistance to the family out of its $1,000 appropriation (Connecticut Park and Forest Commission 1930: 42, 57).

Katherine Riley Strever, the daughter of Bertha Kilson Riley, recalled that her mother earned income by taking in laundry and working as a housekeeper for a non-Indian farm family that lived next to the reservation. The Riley family kept chickens, pigs, and goats for their subsistence and supplemented their diet with fish from the Housatonic. Katherine, who was born on the reservation in 1917, remembered that her mother also made traditional baskets, but was discouraged from doing so by her non-Indian father because it had become too labor intensive to be profitable. Machine made baskets could be obtained cheaply (Strever 1994; See also Strever 1996 in Anthropological Documents).

A. The Depression Years

In the early 1930s, while the nation was in the grips of the Great Depression, Schaghticoke members followed the traditional pattern of returning to the reservation in times of personal need. In 1932 the State Park and Forest Commission reported that Bertha Kilson Riley's husband had died and that their oldest daughter, Julia Clinton, had returned with her husband and baby, Louis Clinton, to live with her mother and sister Katherine. Mrs. Riley's son, Earl Kilson and his wife Emma and two young children, Gloria and Earl, Jr., also moved into the little old house under the hill near his mother's house. Chief Howard Harris again requested permission to move his family into the old Harris house, but was denied. With elders Charles Kilson and Frank Cogswell still in residence, the reservation now had ten residents. Before the decade ended the Earl Kilson household added two more children, Charles and Russell. The Commission recommended that the State allow the current residents to stay but in the future require that those who leave the reservation and wish later to return, and those who wish to reside there for the first time, appear before the Commission to present their claim (Connecticut Park and Forest Commission 1932: 33-34; 1939, Typed Chronology). The next year the State Attorney General's office ruled that the Commission could pass on eligibility for residence on the reservation, but that doubtful cases should be referred to the U.S. Attorney for the District of Connecticut (Connecticut Park and Forest Commission 1933).

Two important people in the history of the Schaghticoke Tribe passed away in the early 1930s. Charles Chase, who served as Schaghticoke overseer under both the Litchfield County Court and the Park and Forest Commission died in 1932. His son John Chase was appointed as his replacement (Connecticut Park and Forest Commission 1939, Typed Chronology). Two years later, in June 1934, tribal elder Charles Kilson died. He was then the senior tribal member on the Schaghticoke Reservation (Connecticut Park and Forest Commission 1934: 34).

John Chase served as the Schaghticoke overseer for the next twenty-four years. He was terminated by the State in June 1956 due to illness and his inability to perform his services (Connecticut, Office of the Commissioner of Welfare 12/19/1956).

At this point, an individual who would become a controversial figure among the Schaghticoke Tribe appeared on the scene. Frankin E. Bearce, of Stamford, Connecticut, also known as “Swimming Eel” and “Elewathathum,” a person of African-American and possible Native American ancestry, requested tribal rights as a Schaghticoke Indian from the State Park and Forest Commission. He claimed that he was “an isolated Indian resident” from New York and a quarter-blood descendant of Gideon Mauwee. The Commission requested that its field secretary conduct a background investigation of Bearce (Connecticut Park and Forest Commission 1939, Typed Chronology; July 19,1933). However, it is not known if an investigation was ever initiated by the Commission.

Bearce would later become involved in tribal politics, helping to organize powwows on the reservation and assisting the Tribe in filing a claim before the Indian Claims Commission. He was energetic, knowledgeable about government relations, and familiar with pan-Indian strategies for tribal empowerment. As a result, the Schaghticoke welcomed his counsel, made use of his talents, and were supportive of his efforts. However, they made it clear that despite the high tribal positions he often claimed to outsiders, he was never known to them prior to the early 1930s and had never proven his claim of Schaghticoke ancestry to their satisfaction. This indicated that the Tribe was cohesive enough to know who was entitled to membership and maintained the political authority to deny membership to bogus claimants.

The legacy of the 19th century Schaghticoke fund also came to the attention of the Park and Forest Commission during the 1930s. The Commission was requested by an agent purchasing right-of-ways for a road between New Milford and Kent to sign a quit claim deed releasing two mortgages still held by the Tribal Fund. These both involved conveyances from Charles E. Cronkite to William Talbot in 1867 and 1868. A. H. Langley, the purchasing agent, explained that "[t]hese mortgages were transferred by Talbot to the Schaghticoke Indians, and after many transfers are now in your possession, as overseer of the said Indians." A release was also requested for an 1846 mortgage to Cronkite. The State formally released the parcels covered by these mortgages (Connecticut Park and Forest Commission 1939, Typed Chronology; Langley 1933).

The death of Charles Kilson in 1934 made Frank Cogswell, at age 65, the oldest resident tribal elder. Photographs taken of Frank and other tribal members on the reservation in 1933 are now in the collection of the Connecticut State Library (Connecticut State Library 1933). There were twelve residents on the reservation living in four houses in 1934. The State Park and Forest Commission confirmed that the Schaghticokes had never received the rights of State citizenship, except as acquired by marriage (Connecticut Park and Forest Commission 1934).

Chief Howard Harris again requested permission to restore his parents home on the reservation in 1934, but was again denied. The increase of dependent residents on the reservation had exhausted the Schaghticoke appropriation; the Commission reported a deficit of $250.00 (Connecticut Park and Forest Commission 1925-1939).

Gladys Tantaquidgeon, a Mohegan tribal member who studied ethnology with Professor Frank Speck at the University of Pennsylvania, conducted a survey of New England Indians for her employer, the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1934. She identified the Schaghticoke as a tribal entity and provided some basic information regarding the status of the Tribe and reservation. Tantaquidgeon indicated that two children from the reservation attended the Kent Grammar School and that the State authorized a local doctor and dentist to serve resident tribal members (Tantaquidgeon 1934).

The Park and Forest Commission reported in 1938 that two new babies had been born to the Schaghticoke Reservation population; Edward Riley, son of Katherine Riley and Doris Clinton, daughter of Julia Clinton. The Commission also reported that the old Harris house had been repaired and might be occupied by the Earl Kilson family, since the house they used was no longer fit (Connecticut Park and Forest Commission 1938: 17).

B. Powwows

In 1939 Franklin Bearce helped organize an American Indian Day celebration on the Schaghticoke reservation. In a letter inviting Professor Frank Speck to the event, Bearce described himself as the "Medicine Sagamore" of the Tribe and indicated that a Cocksure (Frank Cogswell) was the tribal sachem. He also wrote that Connecticut Governor Raymond Baldwin had been invited to the October 1 event (Bearce 1939).

Bearce was a leader of the organization known as the Eastern Algonquian Indian Federation, which was a sponsor of the 1939 powwow. He had conducted considerable research on the Schaghticoke as well as on the other tribes of western Connecticut and eastern New York (Wilbur 1966: 101).

A newspaper article in a Bridgeport newspaper indicated that the powwow featured tributes to deceased tribal elders, recalling memories of "Old Jim Pan" and his rattlesnake hunts (MacLennen 1939). A special brochure, written by Marian E. Cornwell, was also published in connection with the event. Cornwell wrote about the Harris and Cogswell families and the popular snake hunts. She identified Frank Cogswell as "the last surviving lineal descendant of the "Pootatuck-Alconquin-Schaghticoke people." She also noted that Frank's brother Will lived in New Milford. Cornwell described the Tribe's basket making techniques and included an excerpt from the New Milford Times illustrating the importance of rattlesnake hunting to the Tribe (Cornwell 1940).

A large powwow was held in the Kent area in August 1941. The celebration was sponsored by the town of Kent under the direction of what was described as the "Schaghticoke Tribal Council" and Mahican Chairman Chief Grey Fox (unidentified). Swimming Eel, Franklin Bearce, served as the "Chief Medicine Man." The event took place on the farm of Mrs. Florence Bonos, a collector of local Indian artifacts, whose land was adjacent to the reservation. It is likely that the powwow was not held on the reservation because the Welfare Commission would not allow such a gathering there. It was reported that 6,000 non-Indians from across the United States and Canada came to observe the 100 Indian participants (Mills 1941; Desmond 1949; Mooney, n.d.).

The large powwows in 1939 and 1941 received public attention in regional newspapers, in part because they were co-sponsored by outsiders more adept at new publicity styles. However, oral history evidence indicates that many smaller, private powwows were held on the reservation on a regular basis from the 1930s through the 1950s (see interviews with tribal members Katherine Strever and Russell Kilson and with non-member Genevieve Moser in Anthropological Report and Documents). The short tradition of annual, public Pan-Indian powwows at Schaghticoke ended with World War II.

Bertha Kilson Riley died in October 1939 at age 59. Her medical and funeral expenses were paid for by the State. George Kilson, who at 79 was eight years older than resident tribal elder Frank Cogswell, decided to return to the reservation. The annual report of the Park and Forest Commission described him as "an old man of the tribe who has been only an occasional visitor but has reached the time in his life when he apparently felt the need of a settled residence." Among the fourteen reservation residents were two others not previously noted: Robert Kilson, age 53, and Edward Riley, age 2 (Connecticut Park and Forest Commission 1940). Robert, the son of Charles and Mary (Beers) Kilson, was born and reared on the reservation. Edward was the son of Katherine Riley and the grandson of Betha Kilson Riley (see Genealogical Documents).

VIII. THE EARLY WELFARE DEPARTMENT YEARS 1941-1959

On July 1, 1941, jurisdiction over Connecticut's Indian reservations was again transferred -- this time from the Park and Forest Commission to the State Welfare Department (Smith 6/26/1941). This was purportedly done so that the State could better address the social needs of tribal members. However, the Welfare Department developed the State's most stringent restrictions for reservation residents and strongly discouraged off-reservation members from entering and utilizing reservation land. Also, in regard to off-reservation members, Welfare agent J.R. Williams wrote in his notebook, that he was "ordered not to help those off reservations" (Williams n.d.). William's hand-written notes in a spiral notebook have become somewhat infamous to the Connecticut tribes because of his derogatory and racist comments about certain reservation residents. During the more than thirty years (1941-1973) that the Welfare Department maintained jurisdiction, it did little to improve and nothing to expand residential housing or health, medical, and educational services. Although Welfare officials often complained that tribal members worked only occasionally, the State did nothing to improve employment opportunities while doing all it could to dissuade tribal identity. Reservation residents were encouraged to live elsewhere and non-resident tribal members were not allowed to gather or stay on the reservation after dusk (Pfeiffer et al. 1994: 12).

The State of Connecticut continued to recognize the Schaghticoke Tribe as a tribal entity throughout the years that reservation jurisdiction was under the Welfare

Department. The Department maintained an account in the Chelsea Savings Bank in Norwich, which it called the "Schaghticoke Tribal Fund" (Judd 1942). Between 1941 and 1973 (each fiscal year after 1947) it issued a public report accounting for this fund and reservation valuations. After 1958 these reports also indicated tribal reservation population. After the fund was abolished in 1960 the annual reports still reflected population and valuation statistics (see Connecticut Welfare Department, Schaghticoke Tribal Fund 1941-1943; 1943-1945; 1945-1946; 1947-1948; 1948-1949; 1949-1950; 1950-1951; 1951-1952;1952-1953; 1953-1954; 1954-1955; 1955-1956; 1956-1957; 1957-1958; 1958-1959; 1959-1960; 1960-1961; 1962-1963; 1963-1964; 1965-1966; 1966-1967; 1967-1968; 1968-1969; 1969-1970; 1970-1971; 1971-1972; 1972-1973).

Officials of the Welfare Department provided information regarding the Schaghticoke Tribe during this period to Indian advocacy organizations, such as the Association of American Indian Affairs (Hoover 1952), and to interested members of the public, including graduate student John Wilbur at Danbury State College (Wilbur 2/1/1966). They also provided reports, statistics, and other information on the Schaghticoke Tribe to the General Assembly (Hoover 1953; Hoover c. 1959) and to other State agencies, including the Bureau of Business Administration (Herbert Barrell 10/22/1956), the Public Works Department (Sweeney 1958) and the Development Commission (Barrett 1958).

As in previous generations, the Schaghticoke Reservation continued during the Welfare Department years to serve as at least a temporary haven for tribal members who were without employment, housing, or opportunities off reservation. This applied both to those who grew up on the reservation as well as those who had been reared in the other kin-based cluster areas in western Connecticut. This took place despite the fact that reservation housing was substandard.

In addition to compiling annual reports, the Welfare Department kept a running ledger of case summaries on the reservation families that received State assistance. The Schaghticoke Tribe and three other tribes in the state received a biennial appropriation of $7,500.00. Tribal members on reservations held all the rights of other citizens. They were also eligible for special services from the State appropriation. In addition, they were exempt from certain taxes and license fees. Tribal members off the reservation were subject to the same laws as other citizens, but could become reservation residents under certain conditions (Connecticut Office of the Commissioner of Welfare 12/19/1956). In this way then, the State continued to recognize and identify the Schaghticoke Tribe as a distinct tribal entity.

A 1956 Welfare Department memo succinctly describes the State policy toward Indians after 1941: "Since then no written policy has been developed and the actual handling of reservations, Indian problems and care of needy Indians was limited to what was expedient at the time and with the thought of discouraging tribal members from

returning to or settling on the reservations even though genealogies of the Tribe were maintained to prevent impostors from availing themselves of the reservations" (Connecticut Office of the Commissioner of Welfare 12/19/1956).

One of the Welfare policies that was not ad hoc was the procedure that tribal members on assistance needed to follow in order to obtain food and other necessities. They were required to only use local stores designated by the State. The stores kept an account of these charges and submitted them each month to the State for payment. This practice limited tribal members to a single store in most cases with no control by the State over the prices charged. It thus made it impossible for tribal members to shop around for the commodities they needed. While the State and local towns had long since abandoned this system in favor of direct monthly payments or vouchers for non-Indians who required assistance, it did not change the procedure for Indians until 1957 (Herbert Barrell 10/22/1956; Hanas 6/28/1957). This demonstrated yet another way in which the State treated tribal members as a distinct and separate group of second-class citizens.

The Welfare Commission also continued a policy of neglect in regard to reservation housing. Nearly all of the houses on the four reservations under State jurisdiction were allowed to fall into disrepair and many became completely uninhabitable. In 1957 Welfare official Herbert Barrell acknowledged that the State was not willing to provide the funding that would put the homes "into condition which would represent any standard for adequate housing." He admitted that the State had not even appropriated enough money to raze the structures but might be able to persuade local fire departments to burn them down. Barrell proposed that the State Public Works Department survey the homes and provide an estimate of the cost of "putting the structures into reasonable condition" (Herbert Barrell 9/3/1957). However, his recommendation was never followed.

The Welfare Commission inherited the issue of the remaining 19th century mortgage notes still held by the Schaghticoke Tribal Fund. In 1942 the mortgagees paid off the balance due on the notes and that amount, $1,417.50, was deposited in the Schaghticoke Indian Tribal Fund (Squires 9/24/1942; Squires 11/11/1942).

The Welfare Commission reported in 1942 that tribal elder Frank Cogswell, age 73, spent his summers on the reservation and his winters in New Milford and that he received a veteran's pension from the Spanish American War. The State provided improvements to his house on the reservation up until the time he died in 1950 (Connecticut Office of the Commissioner of Welfare, Case Summary of Frank Cogswell 1942-1954).

In 1940 Robert Kilson, age 55, moved to the reservation, where he had been born and reared. When a welfare agent came to investigate him in 1943 Robert, like his ancestors before him was not at home but out working in neighboring farms. This is

significant because it indicates that tribal members were still pursuing the same kinds of employment they had engaged in since the 18th century. Kilson received funds for home repairs in 1945, was reported to be unemployed in 1946, and received State assistance for groceries, building materials, and other items up until 1958 (Connecticut Office of the Commissioner of Welfare, Case Summary of Robert Kilson, 1941-1958).

Members of the Earl Kilson family remained on the reservation throughout the 1940s and 1950s. Welfare records show that the family received funds for clothing, groceries, shoes, household items, medical expenses, glasses, and other such items. Family members were hospitalized off the reservation in Danbury and Sharon. In 1942 the family on the reservation included Earl, his non-Indian wife Emma, daughter Gloria, and sons Earl Jr., Charles, and Russell. Earl Jr. and Gloria left the reservation in 1949, Charles left in 1950 and another of the sons joined the Navy in 1951. In 1952 Earl Jr. returned to the reservation with his wife Lillian Wyatt, and children Dianne and Keenan (Connecticut Office of the Commissioner of Welfare, Case Summary of Earl Kilson Family 1942-1959).

The families of Julia Clinton and Katherine Riley received State aid during the early 1940s, but from time to time the mothers found work and lived off the reservation. For example, Katherine and her children were off the reservation for three months in 1943, and Julia Clinton and her children were off the reservation for several months in 1945 and 1946 (Connecticut Office of the Commissioner of Welfare, Case Summary of Clinton Family 1941-1946).

More off-reservation Schaghticoke families were able to purchase automobiles by the late 1940s and passenger train service was available in the reservation area. This allowed tribal members both to meet with each other and visit the reservation more frequently. For instance, after World War II Mabel Storm Birch and her Cherokee husband John settled in the Second Hill section of New Milford, where they reared seven children. They lived near the Penniwell family and were often visited by Mabel's half-sister Hazel Kayser and her family from Danbury, with whom Frank Harris later lived. The Birch family also drove to the reservation for visits. Son Ralph Birch later recalled that one of the things they did while visiting the reservation was to work on the upkeep of the cemetery grounds (Pfeiffer, et al. 1994: 13). Later, in the 1960s, when they finally had the opportunity to do so, Hazel Kayser and Mabel Birch, along with Catherine Velky and Adele Garby, were among the first tribal members to apply for residency on the reservation. Unfortunately, they were never able to do so.

The Welfare Commission reported there were thirteen Indians residing on the Schaghticoke Reservation between July 1941 and July 1943. This was the highest resident population of any of the State's four reservations, as the 13 tribal members at Schaghticoke represented one-third of the total residents on Connecticut reservations (Connecticut Office of the Commissioner of Welfare 1943).

Tribal member William T. Cogswell died in 1942 at the age of sixty-seven. Ethnologist Frank Speck wrote in 1947 that William made baskets "as a regular occupation in spare time in the last years of his life spent in New Milford" (Speck 1947: 43).

In 1947 the Schaghticoke Tribe was identified as a tribal entity in a survey of Indians in the Eastern United States published by the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. The report specifically indicated that "A small colony of Scaticooks lived near Kent" (Gilbert 1947: 4-5). The Schaghticoke were similarly identified the next year in the 1948 annual report of the Smithsonian Institution. That report stated that the Schaghticoke "are a handful of families located in Fairfield County[sic] on the western border of the State [Connecticut] where the Housatonic bends westward almost to the New York border" (Gilbert 1948: 410-411).

A. Franklin Bearce and the Indian Claims Commission Case

The Federal government created the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) to adjudicate long standing tribal claims. Franklin Bearce had gathered a great deal of evidence on the Schaghticoke land takings and was very interested in filing a claim on behalf of the Schaghticoke Tribe. He contacted Chief Howard Harris and the Connecticut Welfare Department, requesting that a tribal meeting be held for the purpose of providing him with the legal authority he needed to serve as the tribal claims representative (Wilbur 4/1/1966:102). In June 1949 Clayton Squires, the Connecticut Commissioner of Welfare, the executive responsible for the State's Indian affairs, gave Bearce permission to ask the Tribe to convene a meeting on the reservation to discuss the ICC claim and other issues. Bearce in turn sent a letter to tribal members calling for a meeting on July 10. This letter indicated that seven enrolled tribal members were needed to comprise a quorum. It is not known whether this was a number merely stipulated by Bearce or the actual tribal practice at the time (Bearce 1949).

The meeting convened on July 10 at the Schaghticoke Reservation and seventeen adult tribal members attended. After discussing claims issues with Bearce, they voted to pursue the claim and elected Bearce to serve as chairman of the "Schaghticoke Indian Claims Committee," empowered to present the claim to the ICC. The tribal members present signed a claims petition and the minutes of the meeting and compiled an enrollment list to accompany these documents (U.S. Indian Claims Commission 1949).

This meeting is significant for a number of reasons. It shows the continued interest and involvement of the tribal community in an issue of long standing, the loss of their land and resources through unlawful seizure and questionable conveyances. It also demonstrates the existence of a tribal business council and ongoing political processes within the Schaghticoke community. Surnames on documents generated at the meeting

show the genealogical continuity of the participants to the three main tribal lineages (Mauwee/Harris, Cogswell, and Kilson; See Genealogical Report for the list of names) represented on tribal political documents of the 18th and 19th centuries. The minutes of the meeting represent the earliest extant document evidencing formal tribal meetings in this century and corroborate evidence of such events from oral history interviews. Unfortunately, other political documents from this era were lost to the Tribe when the tribal office on the reservation was vandalized in the 1980s.

Within eight days of the meeting Franklin Bearce had the tribal claims petition notarized in Fairfield County and then submitted it to the ICC. The petition argued that tribal land in Connecticut and New York had been confiscated and occupied illegally by citizens of the Dutch and British colonial governments and the successor government of the United States. The claim sought per-capita compensation for damages in the amount of $200.00 for each tribal member (U.S. Indian Claims Commission 1949).

Having succeeded in filing a petition with the ICC, Bearce then sought legal counsel to litigate the case. While attorneys he contacted were interested and sympathetic, none was convinced sufficiently of the merits of the case to agree to take it on a contingency basis. Neither Bearce nor the Tribe had the financial resources necessary to provide a retainer.

In December 1949 the claim was reviewed for the Tribe by attorney Samuel Gruber, partner in the Stamford, Connecticut law firm of Gruber and Turkel. Gruber wrote Bearce that his main concern was that the claim was based on lands taken during the colonial period before the United States government was formed whereas claims before the ICC were supposed to be against the United States (Gruber 1949).

In February 1950 an individual named Harold W. Bruce gained attention when he announced that Indians were laying claim to part of the town of Kent (Owens c. 1950s). A part of the Schaghticoke ICC claim did maintain that the reservation overseers and the Selectman of Kent had condemned and sold many hundred acres of the best tillable land on the reservation (Morton 7/27/ 1954). Bruce was described in a Waterbury newspaper as a Bridgeport Indian Chief named “Suwarrow.” Bruce claimed that he had been made a “full-fledged chief by Chief Swimming Eel [Franklin Bearce] in Stamford, who is the top chieftain among New England Indians” (Owens c. 1950s).

The Assistant Attorney General of Connecticut issued an opinion on May 24, 1950 defining the powers of the Commissioner of Welfare in regard to Indian affairs. In response to a request for such an opinion from Clayton S. Squires, Director of the Welfare Department's Division of State Aid and Collections, Ernest H. Halstedt summarized the broad authority of the Commissioner. He stated that this authority included the rights to determine if a tribal member could erect a house on a reservation, to evict from the reservation such persons who do not have a tribal right to reside there,

and to decide who might reside in a vacant reservation. In regard to the question if reservation lands belonged to the State or to the individual tribes, Halstedt cited statutory precedents that held that the State maintained "protective custody"over the Indians. He interpreted this as meaning that reservations did not belong to the tribes "but are merely set aside for their use and benefit so long as there shall be an Indian to reside thereon, after which these lands will revert to the state." He stated further that the buildings on the reservation also belonged to the State and not to the estate of their tribal residents. Finally, he opined that the Commissioner held the same power as the Federal government in determining eligibility for membership in Connecticut tribes (Halstedt 1950).

Franklin Bearce wrote a letter on March 17, 1951 to William "Pan" Russell and all of the enrolled members of the Schaghticoke Tribe informing them of the petition process for the ICC claim. He told them that it was necessary to provide a total of twenty copies to the government, ten to the Attorney General of the United States and ten to the ICC (Bearce 1951). On May 16, 1951, the Schaghticoke claim was accepted by the ICC and assigned as Docket 112 (U.S. Indian Claims Commission 1949).

Two weeks later Bearce told reporters that the Schaghticoke's ICC claim was for $20,000,000 for the illegal taking of "all of New York City, Fairfield, and Litchfield counties of Connecticut and Westchester, Duchess and Putnam counties in New York. Identified as a chief of the Tribe in a wire service release, Bearce stated that the claim would provide a per capita payment of $300,000 for tribal members. The release also stated that the Tribe lived on the "Rattle Snake Reservation" in Kent (Hartford Courant 6/1/1951).

In October 1951 attorney Edward G. Burstein, partner in the firm of Miller and Burstein, agreed to review, on a pro bono basis for the Tribe, the Schaghticoke Tribe's claim before the Indian Claims Commission. In a letter to Franklin Bearce Burstein advised that "the Petition herein sets forth a claim against the Dutch and British Governments, and therefore, is not a claim or cause of action against the United States" (Burstein 1951).

In January 1953 Bearce again wrote members of the Schaghticoke Tribe. He noted that he had just liquidated an organization called the League of Nations Pan American Indian organization. He stated that he wanted all black Indians to reactivate the Federal Eastern Indian League and to remain affiliated with the "Chief's Grand Council Authority." Bearce cited discrimination against black Indians in the "medicine and dance circles" and stated that he wanted them to come together to form a new organization that would put black Indians of the East on a par with the "western and Midwestern Tribes." In his conclusion, Bearce (Swimming Eel) identified himself as follows:

personally the Eel is a Kent Schaghticoke with blood strains from most of the newengland [sic] Tribes, the Eel is a black Indian and has no regrets, the Eel has also a few drops of six nations and seminole in his earth body, from Sam Mohawk or "chicken warrups" and "black William" or the "black sachem" whose mother was what is now called the "seminole tribe," the Eel is proud of his ancestors and the Indian blood strains that runs in his body (Bearce 1953).

In May 1954 Perry W. Morton, Assistant Attorney General, U.S. Department of Justice, wrote to the Commissioner of the Connecticut Department of Welfare requesting further information about the Schaghticoke Tribe (Morton 5/19/1954). The Commissioner replied to this request on June 1. He indicated, among other things, that the State was the overseer of the Tribe, the reservation, and a Tribal Fund then totaling approximately $800.00. He added further that no monies were expended from this fund and the only income was the annual interest on the principal. Appropriations for needy tribal members on the reservation were made each year by the legislature. The Commissioner concluded that various resident tribal members received Aid to Dependent Children, Old Age Assistance, and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled (Connecticut Commissioner of Welfare, Division of Resources 6/1/1954).

Perry Morton wrote to Franklin Bearce on October 21, 1954, challenging his claim to being head of the Schaghticoke Tribal Council as well as his Schaghticoke ancestry (Morton 10/21/1954). Three days later Bearce chaired a meeting with twenty-one tribal members and spouses at Kent to discuss progress of the ICC claim. Bearce discussed a recent visit he had made to Washington, D.C. to press the claim. The minutes of the meeting, taken by tribal member Henrietta Peckham, reported that "The Eel plead our case in Washington very well and all we can do is help him." Later in the meeting, Bearce discussed the ancestry of the Swarrow family, after which the members agreed to take Chief Swarrow (Bruce) off the tribal roll (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 1954). As for Bearce himself, his name was never allowed to appear on the tribal roll.

B. Chief Howard Harris and his 1954 Council

Seven people were then elected to a tribal committee. The minutes indicated that Chief Howard Harris, Leonard Thorpe, and Julia Parmalee joined this committee, but did not indicate the other four members. Those present then elected Chief Howard Harris tribal chairman and voted Theodore Cogswell sagamore (sub-chief). Mrs. Jean Renault was named treasurer (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 1954)

This first record of a formal election of Schaghticoke tribal leaders indicates that the members present represented the major lines and geographic concentrations of Schaghticoke families. Chief Howard Harris, the elected tribal chairman, who had long sought permission to reside on the reservation, was then living in Litchfield, Connecticut, along with his seven children, one of whom was the future chief Irving Harris. Sagamore

Theodore Cogswell resided in Kenyon, Rhode Island, and Jean Renault in Brooklyn, New York. Reservation residents were represented by William "Pan" Russell. The Birch family in New Milford was represented by Mabel, Harold, and Leon Birch. Also representing the Cogswells were Gertrude from New Milford and Beatrice from New York City. Others in attendance included Henrietta Johnson Peckham of Kenyon, Rhode Island, Herbert and Florence Johnson of New Milford, Sarah Grinage and Julia Parmalee of Bridgeport, Grace Williams of Danbury, and Frank Russell of South Kent (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 1954).

On October 25, 1954, the day after the tribal meeting took place, Clayton S. Squires, Division Chief of Collections Investigation for the State Welfare Department provided information about Franklin Bearce to his boss, Commissioner Howard E. Houston. Squires stated that an affidavit Bearce had signed claiming to be an Indian would never withstand judicial scrutiny. He advised that Bearce could not prove Schaghticoke membership "according to the family trees which were prepared and given to this office by the State Park and Forest Commission who were formerly overseers of the Indian Reservations" (Squires 1954).

Despite Mr. Squires' finding, Franklin Bearce continued to push the ICC claim and to represent himself as a Schaghticoke tribal official. In a 1957 letter to the Indian Claims Commission, he restated his claim as the legal Tribal Chairman of the "Kent Tribe of Schaghticoke Indians" (Bearce 1957).

C. Other Events in the Fifties

Chief Howard Harris had been trying for a long time to move back to the Schaghticoke Reservation into the old Harris house. Frustrated with State officials, he wrote a letter to President Harry Truman requesting his help. The President responded sympathetically and offered any assistance he could provide under Federal statutes. Harris's daughter Adele Garby later recalled that her father was very proud of this letter and liked to share it with everyone, but that the family has not since been able to find it (Garby 1968).

On September 5, 1950, Clayton Squires, Connecticut Welfare Commissioner, wrote Harris asking if he was still interested in living on the reservation (Squires September 5,1950). Harris wrote back on September 23 "what can you do for me and how soon? What is there left and what would have to be done?" (Howard Harris 1950). Three days later Squire's administrative assistant moved Harris' request off the agenda. In effect it was denied (Squires 9/26/1950).

In 1951 those residing on the reservation included the Earl Kilson family in one house, Robert Kilson by himself in another house, Frank Cogswell alone in a third house,

and the Herbert Russell family in the house previously occupied by the Julia Clinton family (Connecticut Office of the Commissioner of Welfare, c. 1951).

Herbert Russell was also known as William, Allen, and Herbert "Pan" Russell. His non-Indian wife was Nellie Zenerie, and their young children were Alan and Gail. Russell also had two children by a previous marriage who lived off the reservation. Russell's father-in-law moved in with the family in 1952. Russell died in November 1955 and Nellie and the other family members "removed to Seymour, Connecticut in October 1960" (Connecticut Office of the Commissioner of Welfare, Case Summary of Herbert Russell Family 1951-1960).

Some Schaghticoke families got together at other tribal powwows during the early 1950s. For example, sisters Julia Parmalee and Sarah Grinage of Bridgeport (daughters of William and Gertrude Cogswell of New Milford) participated as dancers in at least three powwows every fall, including the annual Narragansett get together in Rhode Island. This was a special attraction to them because their brother Theodore Cogswell had married into a Narragansett family and was active in that tribal community (Pfeiffer, et al. 1994: 16).

Tribal elder Frank Cogswell died in August 1953 in the reservation house where he had been born. He was buried in New Milford (Pfeiffer, et al. 1994: 13). His obituary appeared in the Waterbury newspaper. It indicated that he was the "unofficial tribal chieftain" of the Schaghticoke Tribe (Waterbury Republican 1953). That he was considered a leader with political influence and a steward of the reservation is corroborated by oral history evidence (see interviews with tribal members Russell Kilson and Katherine Strever and with non-member Genevieve Moser in Anthropological Documents).

Herbert Russell died on November 22, 1955. His obituary indicated that he had been born on the Schaghticoke Reservation in 1899 to Allen and Elsie Harris Russell, and his funeral also took place on the reservation. Father John Tracy, curate of St. Bernard's Catholic Church in Sharon read the committal (Anonymous 1955).

The resident population of the Schaghticoke Reservation in 1956 consisted of eleven individuals. Earl Kilson and his non-Indian wife Emma Anderson Kilson, Robert Kilson, Nellie Zenerie Russell, the widow of Herbert Russell, and her two Indian children, Alan and Gail Russell, and Katherine Riley Strever, her non-Indian husband Harold, their Indian children Edward, Patricia, Florence and Earl, and their non-Indian child Shirley (Connecticut Office of the Commissioner of Welfare 1956; Barrell 1956).

Herbert Russell's widow requested the Connecticut Welfare Department to make certain repairs at her house. The Department estimated the repairs would total approximately $1,500.00, but there was only $900.00 in the Schaghticoke Tribal Fund.

In September 1958 Welfare official Herbert Barrell wrote Mrs. Russell regarding the request:

We would like to point out to you at this time that although you were married to an Indian, you yourself cannot be considered an Indian or a member of the Schaghticoke Tribe, so that your continued occupancy of the property is a free choice on your part. It would be our suggestion if at this time you feel the house is uninhabitable that you seek other quarters which might be more suitable for you and your children (Herbert Barrell 9/1/958; 9/26/1958).

Two years later, the family left the reservation, but the children returned some years thereafter.

In 1958 the Schaghticoke petition before the ICC was dismissed for lack of prosecution because the plaintiffs had never succeeded in obtaining counsel to argue the case. Frankin Bearce tried again in 1963 to file a claim and was still fighting to get a hearing when he died in March 1965 (Wilbur 4/1/1966: 102).

IX. RECLAIMING THE RESERVATION: 1960-1977

The decade of the 1960s witnessed the efforts of Schaghticoke tribal members to return as residents to the reservation, to have the State conduct a survey of the reservation, and to urge reform of the Welfare Department's restrictions on the use of reservation land and resources. These efforts were led by Chiefs Howard and Irving Harris.

In the early years of the decade, members of the Harris, Cogswell, Kilson, Bradley, Pane, Velky, Van Valkenburg and other families gathered at the reservation on weekends to visit, picnic, clear land and maintain the cemetery (Pfeiffer, et al. 1994: 16).

In March 1960 the Welfare Department authorized the Kent Fire Department to burn down the Strever house, which had previously been condemned. Herbert Barrell, Chief of the Department Division of Resources and Reimbursement, described it as “a pleasant experience” (Herbert Barrell 3/18/1960; 4/4/60). This left just two houses remaining on the reservation (Herbert Barrell 11/25/60).

Tribal elder Robert Kilson died on February 17, 1961. Born on the reservation on May 16, 1887 and reared there, he had lived all his life in the Kent area where he was employed doing odd jobs around the town. He was buried in the Schaghticoke cemetery (Kent Good Times Dispatch 2/23/1961; Anonymous 1969 Inventory of Indian Grave Stones at Schaghticoke Cemetery)

The death of Robert Kilson meant that his cousin Earl Kilson, then 62 years old, was the last tribal member on the reservation. The only other resident was Nellie Russell, the non-Indian widow of Herbert [William] Russell. When the media learned of Earl's distinction, he became the subject of newspaper articles in the Hartford Courant that described him as the "Last of the Schaghticokes" (Pfarrer 1961; Birch 4/6/1968). Earl was the sagamore of the Tribal Council elected in the late 1940s and held the same position in the North American League of Indian Nations, the pan-Indian organization of which Franklin Bearce was a leader (Birch 8/16/1968). Photographer R.G. Cross took pictures of Earl on the reservation in 1961 (Cross 1961).

Earl Kilson was a Navy veteran of World War I who also served as a Connecticut State trooper. For a time he was also a Greyhound bus driver who drove a route from Bridgeport to Washington, D.C.. In 1968 reporter and local historian Alison Birch wrote that he was also a local authority on rattlesnakes and that he had caught them alive for Dr. Raymond Ditmars, famed reptile scientist at the Bronx Zoo (Birch 8/16/1968).

While Earl Kilson continued to serve as the tribal steward of the reservation in 1960 a bill was introduced in the Connecticut legislature in 1960 to liquidate the State's Indian reservations, including Schaghticoke. Supporters of the proposal argued that they were an unnecessary expense and only served as a refuge for derelicts. The bill was defeated, in part because no one could agree on how to distribute the assets (Wilbur 4/1/1966: 103).

The General Assembly in 1961 considered legislation that would limit residency on a reservation to tribal members with an Indian blood quantum of one-eighth or more. Representative James Allen of Stonington stated that the State needed to make sure that reservation residents were really Indians and expressed the view that reservations should be maintained as long as there were still Indians who could claim rights of residency (Connecticut General Assembly, House of Representatives, Committee on Public Welfare and Humane Institutions 1961: 25). The proposed law was subsequently enacted (Herbert Barrell 6/13/1961).

A. Requests for Residency

In the meantime Schaghticoke tribal members Hazel Kayser, Mabel Storm Birch, Adele Harris Garby, and Catherine Harris Velky, at the urging of Chief Howard Harris, made repeated efforts to gain State approval to reside on the reservation. Hazel Kayser, on behalf of herself and her sister Mabel Birch, first inquired in April 1961 about the possibility of the State building a home for them on the reservation. (Kayser 4/14/1961; 4/24/1961). She was informed by the Welfare Department that the State would not make any further commitments regarding the reservation until the legislature had considered proposed residency requirements pending in Committee (Herbert Barrell 4/21/1961; 4/24/1961).

Herbert Barrell, Chief of the Division of Resources and Reimbursement explained, in response to Kayser's questions regarding the future use of tribal assets, that the Tribal Fund, which amounted to $994.50 in 1961, was used for the purpose of making capital improvements on the reservation. Any other expenditures were covered by either the biennial appropriation of the General Assembly or from Public Assistance appropriations. In regard to houses that were razed he stated that they did not warrant the expenditure needed to make them habitable. He concluded that the reservations and tribal funds were held in trust and that no individual tribal member had any specific share set out for them (Herbert Barrell 4/21/1961).

Hazel Kayser wrote again in June 1961 (Kayser 6/5/1961) and was advised that the Welfare Department could do no more than maintain the two remaining houses on the reservation and that Kayser and her sister should apply for public assistance where they currently resided (Herbert Barrell 6/13/1961).

Mabel Birch wrote the Welfare Department on her own behalf on January 16, 1967 requesting permission to build a house on the reservation (Birch 1967). Three days later the State sent her a copy of the "Rules and Regulations for Indian Reservations," highlighting the section on building on the reservation, with no further encouragement (Florence Barrell 1967).

After more than 40 years service as the primary Schaghticoke tribal leader, Chief Howard Harris died in 1967. In the tribal tradition of the chieftainship being inherited through the Mauwee/Harris line, his son Irving Harris became the new Schaghticoke chief. Irving's sister, Adele Garby, later told a newspaper reporter in Milford, where she lived, that "before my father died he said to my brother, 'You will be the chief" (Peacock n.d.).

In June 1968 Garby inquired of the Welfare Department whether she had a legal right to establish residency on the reservation (Garby 1968). There is no record that she ever received a reply.

On June 2, 1968, seventy tribal members, under the leadership of Chief Irving Harris, gathered on the reservation to strategize how they should air their grievances over the State's Indian policies. They decided to launch a letter writing campaign, including letters to their congressmen requesting a land survey to determine the reservation's exact boundaries. A description of the meeting appeared the next day in a Bridgeport newspaper (Bridgeport Telegram 1968).

As a result of the meeting Chief Irving Harris, Catherine Velky, Adele Garby, and Mabel Birch all wrote letters to the Welfare Department and someone also contacted Congressman Donald J. Irvin. Chief Irving Harris's letter of June 3 stated that the Tribe

had a recent meeting and had developed several demands. The Tribe wanted a complete land survey of the reservation and to have a heavy wooded area adjacent to the tribal burial grounds thinned out. It wanted to learn about all of its tribal rights and privileges under State and Federal law and to know the balance of the accrued Tribal Fund. The Tribe also wished a chain link fence erected around the burial ground with signs indicating that it was a tribal cemetery. In addition, the Tribe wanted enlargement of the cemetery for future use, permission to erect dwellings or set up house trailers, and to establish a camping area on the reservation (Irving Harris 1968).

Catherine Velky wrote a letter the same day asking for the exact boundaries of the reservation and that desecration (mostly in the form of trespass) of the cemetery be halted. She also asked, "What has been done with the Indian Fund set aside by the State to take care of the Reservation? This Fund should entitle us to some of the rights we ask for" (Velky 1968). Adele Garby wrote a similar letter on June 4th that asked in addition if the State would improve the reservation road to provide better accessibility (Garby 1968). Mabel Birch wrote a letter eight days later asking why the State Welfare Department had "such strict regulations" regarding building on tribal land. She continued, "when my parents lived there [on the reservation] no one seemed to care what kind of shack they lived in, or whether they ate or not." Birch also complained that non-Indian people had picnics on the land and did not pick up their trash (Birch 1968).

Bernard Kowalski was then the Indian Affairs Coordinator for the State Welfare Department. He responded to the letters from the Schaghticoke members. He advised that the State had no objections to the Tribe clearing enough land adjacent to the cemetery for tribal meetings (Kowalski 6/25/1968, Letter to Velky). Kowalski added that the legislature appropriated "at its own pleasure" funds for the care and maintenance of needy Indians and that the appropriation did not accumulate from one year to the next. Any appropriated sums which were not expended were returned to the general fund at the end of the fiscal year. Kowalski also explained that Chapter 824 of the General Statutes provided that any person of the Tribe having a minimum Indian blood quantum of one-eighth was eligible to reside on the reservation. The burden of proof of Indian descent was on the person making the claim. (Kowalski 6/25/1968, Letter to Garby).

Kowalski also sent an information packet to tribal members that included copies of Chapter 824 along with a statement of the land bounding the Schaghticoke reservation, a sketch map of the Schaghticoke reservation, and a copy of the State's rules and regulations for Indian reservations. (Kowalski 6/7/1968, Letter to Velky; Letter to Garby 6/7/68). He also stated that the State's regulations ensured that there would be no "eye sore" structures or "shacks" on the reservation (Kowalski 6/27/1968).

Congressman Donald J. Irwin wrote a letter on behalf of the Tribe to Ella Grasso, the Connecticut Secretary of State, on June 28, 1968. He stated that members of the Tribe had expressed to him their concern over the exact boundaries of the reservation and

wanted a land survey. He wrote that the Indians insisted their reservation "seems to be getting smaller and smaller." The representative concluded by asking for further information on the reservation, its boundaries, and tribal hunting and fishing rights (Irwin 1968).

Bernard Kowalski responded to the congressman's letter, providing basic information, proffering that the Schaghticoke Reservation consisted of approximately 400 acres. In regard to tribal hunting and fishing rights, he added: "The Indians never had any exclusive right to hunt or fish on Reservation Property unless they did so in accordance with existing law and regulations as published by the State Board of Fisheries and Game" (Kowalski 7/8/1968, Letter to Irwin). That this was true was also confirmed in an interview with Earl Kilson conducted around 1966 (Wilbur 4/1/1966: iv).

Another meeting of tribal members took place on the reservation on June 30, 1968. Tribal members read the letters received from the Welfare Department. They also circulated applications for establishing permanent residence on the reservation (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 6/30/1968)

Catherine Velky filled out an application for residency and submitted it to the Welfare Department on August 1st. She indicated that she was then residing in Bridgeport, that she was born in Kent, and that she claimed Indian ancestry through her father Chief Howard Harris. She also stated that she had never received assistance from the Department (Catherine Velky 8/1/1968). This last statement indicates that while she viewed her request as claiming tribal rights, she recognized that the Welfare Department would view it as a public assistance issue.

B. Chief Irving Harris and his Council, 1968

Tribal members again met at the reservation on August 4th to elect a new council and chief. Seven members were elected to the council. They were: James Hennessey, James Hennessey, Jr., Mabel Birch, Paul Velky, Jr., Arlene (Murphy) Birch, Catherine Velky, and Joseph Velky. By unanimous vote, the council of seven then elected Chief Irving Harris as tribal chief (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 8/4/1968).

Chief Harris wrote Welfare Department officials to inform them that he had been elected chief and to request the addresses of other tribal leaders in the state. The Department wrote back that it did not recognize any chiefs of the tribes and refused to give him information about the other tribes on grounds that it was confidential (Montgomery 1978). This exemplifies how the State withheld information from the tribes.

On August 13, 1968, Bernard Kowalski informed Catherine Velky that it was determined that she had an Indian blood quantum of one-fourth and was therefore entitled to reside on the Schaghticoke reservation. However, he advised that she could not move on to the reservation and erect any dwellings. Permission to move on to the reservation, Kowalski stated, was "granted only after you have submitted to this office suitable plans for the dwelling which you intend to erect." He added that she also "must show financial responsibility to complete and pay for any such structure" (Kowalski 8/13/1968).

C. Handling the Necia Nuisance

A controversial meeting took place on the reservation on October 12, 1969. A newspaper article describing the event stated that the Schaghticoke Tribe announced that "they are ready to legally resume ownership and occupancy of the state lands long ago allotted to the local Indians." However, the meeting was interrupted by "Princess" Necia Smith Hopkins of Randolph, Massachusetts, who claimed she had permission from the State Indian Affairs Administrator to decide who was legally qualified to sit on the Tribal Council. Prior to this, she had the Connecticut State Police resident trooper clear the reservation of hunters (Fielden Ritchie, Jr. 1969). Hopkins claimed that she was the great, great granddaughter of a Schaghticoke princess and that her grandfather was born on the reservation in 1862. Her letterhead stationery indicated her leadership of an organization named New England Schaghticoke Association, Inc. (Anonymous n.d., Incident at Schaghticoke Reservation; Hopkins, n.d.).

Reservation resident Earl Kilson, quoted in another periodical, took exception to those claiming to be Schaghticoke descendants who showed up at the reservation "in full warpaint and [carrying] on all sorts of outlandish ceremonies." Kilson attacked as bogus the "Indian Princess" (Hopkins)who told everyone she was born and reared on the reservation. "She was half my age," Kilson said, "and I know everyone who ever lived here. She never spent a night on the reservation!" (Preview 1969). Another article reported that tribal chief Irving Harris also challenged Smith's Schaghticoke identity (Schlicht 1969).

An article in a Torrington newspaper in November 1969 stated that the Schaghticoke Tribe had repeatedly asked the State to survey the reservation. It explained that the State claimed a lack of funds prevented it from taking action (Torrington Register 1969). Twenty-eight years later, Connecticut still has not determined the actual size of the reservation despite legislation in 1973 that mandated that it do so (Connecticut General Assembly 1973). In 1985 an interdepartmental memorandum circulated through the State Department of Environmental Protection, to which jurisdiction over the Indian reservations was transferred in 1973 by the same statute that required the surveys. The memo stated that a survey of the Schaghticoke reserve would be too expensive and time-consuming and would "open a 'pandora's box' of issues" including Indian land claims and the actual boundary line between Connecticut and New York. The memorandum also

noted that surveyors requested to survey a line in the area a few years earlier had expressed concern about the rough terrain and the snakes (Reed 10/23/1985).

The State of Connecticut continued to recognize the Schaghticoke Tribe throughout the decade of the 1960s. In addition to its identification in legislation of the General Assembly and official reports of the Welfare Department, the Tribe was also identified by the State in responses to public information requests about Indians. A sample of these letters indicates that the Tribe was identified to a Federal Housing Administration librarian in 1960 (Herbert Barrell 11/25/1960) to the Tribal Operations Branch of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1965 (Florence Barrell 9/3/1965 and to an eighth-grade student in Clarksville, Indiana in 1965 (Florence Barrell 9/29/1965).

The Welfare Department became concerned in 1968 about the increased number of requests for assistance coming from tribal members living on the four Indian reservations under State jurisdiction. A departmental memorandum speculated that the State "could conceivably expend the entire Indian appropriation during fiscal 68-69 for the first time in many years." The memo associated this increase with a national trend of minority groups becoming aware of the assistance programs available to them. Since most of the request for expenditures were for housing improvements, the memorandum proposed new guidelines. In the future these would require reservation residents to obtain permission from the Welfare Department before any repairs or improvements were made, regardless if the State or the individual was to bear the cost. No requests would be approved if the Welfare Department determined they were not justified economically. Approval would be withheld if the structures were not permanent, year round homes. Dwellings that became vacant would be razed if the Department judged them to be unfit for habitation. Finally, tribal members who requested improvements would be required to make their homes available for inspection and appraisal (Connecticut, Office of the Commissioner of Welfare c. 1968).

In 1966 John F. Wilbur, a graduate student in history at Danbury State College (now Western Connecticut University) in Danbury, Connecticut, wrote his master's thesis on the history of the Schaghticoke Tribe. He dedicated his work to Earl Kilson, one of his informants. Wilbur also conducted interviews with Mabel Birch, Julia Cogswell Parmalee, Mrs. Theodore Cogswell, Mrs. Claude Cogswell Grinage, and Mr. and Mrs. Howard Harris (Wilbur 4/1/1966). His thesis is one of the exhibits submitted with this report.

In October 1967 tribal member Jessie Harris died in Bridgeport. Her obituary was published in the local newspaper. It identified her as the daughter of a tribal chief, that was born on the “Kent Reservation, and that she had worked as a chef in Woodfield Village. “Aunt Jess,” as she was known, was buried in the Schaghticoke tribal cemetery (Bridgeport Post 1967; Garby 6/4/1968).

Disgusted with Necia Smith Hopkin's representation of herself as a Schaghticoke member, Chief Irving Harris requested the State to investigate her background. On December 1, 1970, Edward A. Danielczuk, supervisory investigator for the Connecticut Division of Resources, informed Harris that Hopkins could not provide proof of having one eighth Schaghticoke Indian blood (Danielczuk 1970). However, "Princess Necia" continued to be a problem for the Tribe.

Just as with the case of Franklin Bearce, the Hopkins challenge indicated that the Tribe maintained sufficient genealogical knowledge and political authority to determine its membership. Membership in the Schaghticoke Tribe and use of its reservation was attractive to many people for a number of reasons. However, the Tribe was cohesive enough to reject people, such as Hopkins, who were not known to be Schaghticoke. Outsiders also recognized this authority. An example of this was demonstrated in 1971. When a woman who believed that she had Schaghticoke ancestry wrote the Hall of Records in Kent for further information, she was advised to contact Chief Irving Harris (Barbara Young 1971).

Tribal elder, longtime reservation resident, and former tribal sagamore, Earl Kilson died in June 1971. An obituary describing him as an Indian was published in a newspaper in Lakeville, a community about twenty miles north of the reservation (Lakeville Journal 1971).

D. The 1970s Agenda

Chief Irving Harris and the Schaghticoke Tribal Council focused on a number of important issues during the early 1970s. Among them was incorporation of the Tribe, development of a tribal census, identification and improvement of the tribal cemetery, construction of a tribal pavilion by volunteer tribal members, and holding an annual powwow. External issues included protesting Welfare Department policies, demanding creation of an autonomous State Indian Affairs Commission, gaining Federal recognition, filing land suits, and countering the claims of Necia Hopkins (Schaghticoke Tribal Council. 1972-1974; 10/27/1972; 11/18/1972; 12/3/1972; 1/27/1973; 2/25/1973; 3/31/1973; 5/6/1973; 5/27/1973; 7/15/1973; 9/30/1973; 10/21/1973; 12/2/1973; 1/27/2974; 2/24/1974; 5/19/1974; 11/3/1974).

In the summer of 1972 the Tribe organized and staged the first powwow on the reservation to be opened to the public in more than thirty years. Caravans bearing representatives of more than 40 tribes from across the country met in Kent between July 21-23. The event was described in newspaper articles as far away as Waterbury and New Haven. The article in the New Haven Register featured a photograph of tribal member Ruth Garby, who won second place in the beauty contest (Birch 1972; Woodyard 1972; Muckstadt 1972). The month before the Kent Volunteer Firemen also sponsored a fair and powwow that brought together members of thirty tribes, including

all of those in Connecticut. Among the Schaghticoke tribal elders honored were Edward Harris and Holly Parmalee Cocksure (Julia Parmalee), both 80 years of age. A dance contest was also named in honor of the late Chief James (Jim Pan) Harris (Kent Good Times Dispatch 1972; Kent Volunteer Firemen 1972; Anonymous n.d., 30 Indian Tribes to Pow Wow in Kent).

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In November 1972 the Tribe held its annual meeting at Boothe Hall in Stratford, because of its convenience to most members. Members were encouraged to bring their children and spouses to the potluck, but not their friends (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 1972-1974). The primary order of business was the election of a Board of Directors for incorporation of the Tribe under State law. Chief Irving Harris was elected president, Claude Grinage vice-president and Claudette Bradley, secretary-treasurer. Elected as directors were Mabel Birch, Ruth Garby, Trudie Lamb, Catherine Velky, and Paul Velky, Jr. Thirty-one tribal members were designated as corporate members (descendants at least 16 years of age). Also listed were eleven associate members (spouses of descendants), and fifteen children. The Tribe filed its incorporation papers with the State on January 15, 1973 (Schaghticoke Board of Directors 1972; Schaghticoke Tribal Newsletter 2/1973).

During the same month that the Schaghticoke annual meeting took place, a regional newspaper, the Connecticut Sunday Herald, featured an article on another tribal elder, 87-year-old Charles “Ed Pan” Harris. He recalled his days as a rattlesnake hunter and guide around the turn of the century. Charles Harris subsequently spend part of his adult life in the Army and doing odd jobs, before returning to Connecticut in the early 1950s and reuniting with the Tribe. His siblings were then dead, but he was welcomed by other family members and friends (Rose 1979). The Tribe made “Uncle Charlie” an honorary chief in March 1973 (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 3/31/1973). The next month, he was also featured in an article in the Newtown Bee (Newtown Bee 1973). This provides another example of how the reservation provided a geographical focus to which tribal members regularly returned.

E. Creation of the Connecticut Indian Affairs Council

During the early 1970s, Chief Irving Harris led a movement throughout the Connecticut to transfer the State's jurisdiction over Indian affairs from the Welfare Department to an Indian Affairs Council and helped draft legislation to that effect. He explained in a newspaper interview with a reporter for the New Britain Herald in January 1973 that the proposed legislation would keep non-Indians off the reservations, bolster Indian property rights, provide assistance for needy Indians, permit them to hunt and fish on reservations without licenses, and mandate a survey of the “Indians' plight” in Connecticut. He related that the State allowed non-Indians to lease reservation land and it did not account for the money. The State also forbade Indians from operating their own business on the reservations. He added, “we just want to handle our own business

and not have the welfare people tell us what to do and who we are." (New Britain Herald. 1973; see also Albert 1973; Schaghticoke Tribal Newsletter 2/1973).

Chief Harris and his tribal supporters from throughout Connecticut succeeded in 1971 in persuading Representative William R. Ratchford of Danbury to introduce the reform legislation they he had helped draft. However, the initial bill was vetoed by the Governor because it called for a $25,000.00 appropriation to establish an Indian Affairs Council and manage reservation lands. Chief Harris was then able to get the measure reintroduced in the General Assembly in 1973. He and his supporters drafted a position paper and contacted a large number of lawmakers to urge their support. Among the other Schaghticoke leaders involved in this effort was Tribal Secretary Claudette Bradley. She pointed out to a reporter that "there were 2,222 Indians living in the state according to the 1970 census, but only two were listed as receiving welfare. So we feel Indian affairs is not a welfare problem " (Costello 1973).

In response to the proposed legislation, Welfare Department officials discussed the potential for amending the bill to provide for the State to gradually terminate its role in maintaining Indian reservations. A plan proposed by Frank Meheran, Assistant to the Director of Social Services, called for the reservations to be allotted in fee simple title to qualifying tribal members of one-eighth or more Indian blood quantum. Any acreage remaining after individual allotments would then be established as State Parks with an Indian theme (Meheran 2/1/1973).

Fortunately, the efforts of Chief Harris and his supporters were successful and the Meheran plan did not become a part of the enacted legislation. The Connecticut General Assembly approved Public Act No. 73-660 establishing the Connecticut Indian Affairs Council (CIAC) and transferring jurisdiction over the State's Indian affairs from the Welfare Department to the Department of Environmental Protection. Governor Thomas J. Meskill signed the bill into law on June 22, 1973 (Anonymous 1973, Governor Signs Bill; Bradley 7/6/1973). This legislation recognized Indians as full citizens of the State who had special rights to tribal lands. It created an Indian Affairs Council consisting of one representative from the State's four tribes and three persons appointed by the Governor to serve three-year terms. The purpose of the Council was to provide services and formulate programs. It provided for an Executive Director compensated by the tribes. It held that the State's reservations were to be maintained for the exclusive use of tribal members. Non-Indians who had resided thereon prior to 1973 could remain, and non-Indian spouses and children were allowed to retain residency as long as their Indian family member resided on the reservation. Upon the death of an Indian family member, the statute provided that non-Indian residents could be reimbursed by the State for actual price of their home and improvements. No portion of the reservations was to be leased, except that an existing lease could continue to the end of its term, and could be extended at the discretion of the CIAC (Connecticut General Assembly 1973).

The legislation further provided that the CIAC and the Environmental Protection Commissioner would share responsibility for care and management of the reservations and their buildings, the establishment of boundaries, and the development of regulations. However, tribal lands were to be under the care and control of the Commissioner of Environmental Protection, who would be advised by the CIAC. Any reservation property that escheated to the State was to be preserved as a historical Indian area. Tribal members could hunt and fish on their reservation without a State license. Qualifications for tribal membership and reservation residency were to be determined by the CIAC. However, the statute established a minimum Indian blood quantum of one-eighth for tribal membership (a policy that the Schaghticoke Tribe never followed). Finally, the law authorized the CIAC to review the State's Indian regulations and to publish an annual report (Connecticut General Assembly 1973).

F. The Leadership of Chief Irving Harris

As a tribute to his efforts in authoring the legislation that restored Indian dignity by casting off the jurisdiction of the Welfare Department and restoring their rights, Chief Irving Harris was elected by the members to serve as first chairman of the CIAC (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 1/27/1974; Irving Harris n.d., Accomplishments).

Highlights of Tribal Council actions in 1973 included enacting corporate bylaws in January (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 1/1973), launching a bi-monthly tribal newsletter in February under the editorship of Trudie Lamb (Schaghticoke Tribal Newsletter 2/1973; 9/1973), agreeing to repair the road running through the reservation in March (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 3/31 1973), and holding a two-day powwow at the reservation in July. An article in the Waterbury Republican stated that the 1973 Schaghticoke powwow was attended by 5,000 people (Pratt 7/23/1973). In addition, the Tribe obtained the services of attorneys Thomas Tureen and David Crosby to investigate their land claims (Bradley 7/6/1973).

The 1973 bylaws of the incorporated "Schaghticoke Indians of Kent, Connecticut" stated that its objective was

"to promote and advocate a better understanding toward the Schaghticoke Indians, and to preserve their arts and crafts, their culture and their traditions. To defend and protect their ancient property rights, treaty rights, agreements, executive orders, and their lands and funds and to do any and all lawful matters and things that may occur from time to time for the best interest and protection of all descendants of the Schaghticoke Indians."

Membership was open to those who could prove through a birth certificate or other legal record that he or she was directly related to "an Indian who is genealogical recorded as a Schaghticoke Indian by the State of Connecticut." Any authentic descendant of the Schaghticoke Tribe of Indians contributing annually at least one dollar could become a member upon approval of the Board of Directors. Corporate members were those persons who could prove they were "authentic descendants" and were over 16 years old (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 1/1973).

A State official reported in an August 1973 letter that five persons had applied to reside on the Schaghticoke reservation. They were Mrs. Robert Nadeau (Shelly Kayser) of Danbury, Leon T. Ellis (spouse of Estella Harris Ellis) of Deer Park, New York, Kay Peck (Kayser) of New Milford, James Hennessey of Bridgeport, and Alan Russell of Seymour. The letter indicated that there were two houses on the reservation, one formerly occupied by Mrs. Emma Kilson and the other occupied by Mrs. Russell Kilson. It stated that Emma Kilson died in the early 1970s, and her son Russell wished to move from the house they had been occupying into her former home provided that Alan Russell could occupy their present home (Meheran 8/20/1973).

In 1974 the Tribe developed a questionnaire asking tribal members about their needs relating to health care, education, job training, and jobs (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 1/27/1974). The Tribe also participated in planning a state-wide Indian census (Schaghticoke Tribal 5/19/1974). Tribal representatives networked with other Indian organizations, and attended a conference of the Coalition of Eastern Native Americans (CENA) in Washington, D.C. (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 3/24/1974). The Tribe also set aside a week in August for a work group of members to clear reservation land (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 6/30/1974). In summer meetings the Tribal Council discussed whether non-Indian spouses should have tribal voting rights. It finally decided they could vote on proposals, but their vote could be overridden by the council, and they could not vote for council members (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 6/30/1974). The council also determined what members could live on the reservation. In November the Tribe authorized Alan Russell to move back to the reservation (he had grown up there) for a trial period of nine months and to serve as caretaker of the reservation (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 11/3/1974). He moved back, stayed throughout his trial period, and remains a resident of the reservation today.

In a 1977 interview Russell told a Hartford Courant reporter why he had returned to the reservation. "It's peaceful and quiet here, " he stated, "[t]hat's why I came back . . . it's home." Russell explained that his father was born on the reservation in 1902 in a house the State later dismantled. The Russell family had returned to the reservation when Alan was four. His father died in 1955 and Russell stayed in the house with his mother until 1960. Chief Irving Harris told the same interviewer that the reservation as it then

existed was a “piece of no good rock.” Harris stated that he wanted the Tribe to create an Indian Housing Authority and apply for Federal housing funds (Melady 1977).

Another statewide Indian organization, American Indians for Development (AID), was founded in 1974 by Schaghticoke council member Trudy Lamb and Brian Miles, then considered a member of the Mohegan Tribe. The purpose of AID was to obtain and channel grant moneys to be used to improve social, economic, and educational services to Connecticut's Native Americans. The organization's board of directors included representatives from all of the indigenous tribes in the state. Schaghticoke was represented on the board throughout AID's twenty-year existence, from 1974 to 1994 (See Benedict 1996 in Anthropological Documents). Among those that served was Chief Irving Harris, elected to the board in 1976 (Irving Harris n.d., Accomplishments).

G. The Kent School Suit

In February 1975 the Tribal Council carried a motion introduced by Richard Velky (the present Chief) to initiate a lawsuit seeking the return of tribal land. Elected to the Tribe's board of directors at that same meeting were Kay Peck, Catherine Velky, Paul Velky, Jr., Claude Grinage, Trudie Lamb and Kenneth Duval (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 2/23/1975).

In 1975 the Tribe filed a quiet-title suit in the U.S. District Court for Connecticut against the Kent School for Boys, the Preston Mountain Club, and the Connecticut Light and Power Company; landholders adjacent to the reservation. The complaint charged that these owners had obtained title to 1,600 acres of tribal land in violation of the Federal Non-Intercourse Act 1790 (U.S. District Court 1975; 1976; Lappen 1976; Vaughan and Sierman 1977; New Milford Times 1977; New York Times 1977; Galuska 1979). The Tribe was represented in this action by attorneys David C. Crosby, Thomas N. Tureen, and Barry Margolin of Pine Tree Legal Associates, a law firm in Maine that was to have great success in litigating Indian land claims in that state.

In September 1976 Chief Irving Harris wrote a letter to the Sioux activist and author, Vine Deloria, Jr., informing him of the Tribe's suit against the Kent School (Irving Harris 1976). Ironically, Deloria had attended the school as a child. In response, Deloria stated: “I am delighted that you are suing Kent School. I spent two miserable years there. I would be happy to get copies of the papers you have filed in this suit. Please send them to me and let me know if there is anything I can do to help you with this suit” (Deloria 1976).

The Schaghticoke Tribe also challenged the Connecticut Light and Power Company's right to 50 acres of former tribal lands. The utility corporation decided in 1977 not to contest the claim and agreed to reconvey the tract for tribal use (Carmody 5/24/1979; Beal 6/14/1979; New Milford Times 1977).

In 1979 Connecticut Light and Power also granted permission to the Tribe to conduct an environmental review of the Bull's Bridge hydro-power dam property (the facility that necessitated relocation of the tribal burial grounds). The company authorized the Tribe to take water samples, survey natural resources, and conduct studies to determine the nature of water, land, tree, and soil types (Beal 6/14/1979). Unfortunately, the Tribe di not have the funds to conduct these studies and the State refused to provide assistance.

The Tribe's legal attempts to gain the return of ancestral lands was the subject of an article in The New York Times in August 1977. The article detailed the role of Pine Tree Legal Associates in providing the Tribe with technical support. It stated that Chief Irving Harris and his wife had led the charge, searching for government records and historical documents to bolster the Tribe's case (New York Times 1977).

The census and survey of the Tribe conducted in 1977 indicated that 90 Schaghticoke families (280 members) lived within a 50-mile radius of the reservation. The survey found that there was great interest in returning to the reservation, but that members had some serious questions about jobs, transportation, schools, community facilities, and housing. They also viewed Federal recognition as a prerequisite to economic development (Jason Lamb 1977).

Throughout the 1970s the Schaghticoke continued to be hassled by the activities of Necia Hopkins. Chief Harris and the Tribal Council held consistently that she was not a tribal member and warned her not to make use of the reservation. Thirty-three tribal members, in accordance with the tribal constitution, signed a petition indicating that Hopkins was not a relative. The petition protested that she had incorporated “our tribal name in the title of a group used to misrepresent the true Schaghticoke descendants.” It stated that Hopkin's activities should be prohibited, that she was an impostor, and that her group was “contrary to our ideals and aims.” They are detrimental to our cause by constant embarrassment generated by their false representation” (Irving A. Harris, c. 1970s; Montgomery 1978).

Hopkins applied to the CIAC for recognition as a tribal member and was given a hearing. The State council found her documentation insufficient to support her claim. However, the CIAC later vacated its decision and invited Hopkins to resubmit her request. She then challenged the legality of the CIAC meeting at which her application was denied. Subsequently she filed suit against the State Department of Environmental Protection in the U.S. District Court, claiming she had been denied due process. However, the Federal court abstained from considering the case in order to permit judicial review by State courts (Montgomery 1978).

The Schaghticoke Tribe organized an Indian Housing Authority in the fall of 1978. Members included Richard Velky, Adele Garby, Claude Grinage, Trudie Lamb, Alan Russell, and Philip Johnson. In its first meeting, it discussed the possibility of charging rent to resident tribal members in order to pay for upkeep of the reservation, obtaining Federal and State assistance for water and sewage facilities, and developing a tribal housing code (Schaghticoke Housing Authority 1978).

The Schaghticoke Tribe expressed opposition in February 1979 to a Federal proposal to establish a 1000-foot corridor to protect the Appalachian Trail that stretched from Maine to Georgia. The trail traversed Schaghticoke Mountain. The Federal government mandated that a permanent route for the trail should be in place by 1981 and allocated $90 million to buy surrounding land. Chief Irving Harris protested that the corridor would "cut through the heart of the reservation." He also complained that the Tribe never received a call or letter regarding the government's plans and that he only learned about them from the newspaper stories (Bailey 1979; Galuska 1979).

Chief Harris told a newspaper reporter in March 1979 that he was seeking a meeting with Governor Ella Grasso to discuss the Kent School claim filed in 1975. He stated he was hopeful that meetings with the State could pick up speed as the Tribe was "not fighting for residential, but for undeveloped land." He added that the Tribe was less willing to compromise with the Federal government over the Appalachian Trail (Galuska 1979).

A notice sent to members by the Tribal Council of the annual meeting scheduled for September 1979 is informative with respect to the activities that took place at these events. Work groups would arrive at the reservation on Saturday to make preparations and would then camp overnight. Sunday activities would begin with a social gathering and a potluck feast. This would be followed by a general council meeting, followed in turn by a meeting of the housing authority. The notice listed members of the Tribal Council as Irving Harris (Chief and president), Claude Grinage (Sagamore and vice-president), Linda (Velky) House and Claudette Bradley (secretaries), Ruth Garby (treasurer), and council members Paul Velky, Catherine Velky, Trudie Lamb, and Kay Peck (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 1979).

As part of this annual meeting the Tribe celebrated the completion of a pavilion it had constructed on the reservation for just such events. The Waterbury Republican reported that nearly 100 tribal members from across the state took part in this volunteer project, and that the Tribe had negotiated successfully with the State Environmental Protection Department to provide building materials (Pratt 1979). The Tribe also placed a trailer home and picnic tables in an area near the tribal cemetery (Dennie 5/13/1986).

In 1979 the Governor of Connecticut recognized the leadership of Chief Irving Harris by bestowing on him the coveted Jefferson Award. This honor, for outstanding

public service to the people of Connecticut, was extended to the Chief for his service and devotion to the Schaghticoke Tribe, the CIAC, and AID (Irving Harris n.d. Accomplishments).

X: EXERCISING SOVEREIGNTY: 1978-1997

A political split developed among the Schaghticoke in the late 1970s over how best to exercise sovereignty and utilize the resources of the reservation. The political incumbents, led by Chief Irving Harris, wanted to preserve the reservation and protect the cemetery where tribal ancestors were buried. Chief Harris had long been seeking the resettlement of tribal members on the reservation, but felt that elders should have the first opportunity to live there. Because of their strong anti-welfare attitude, born of their struggle to gain freedom from the stringent control of the State Welfare Department, Chief Harris and his supporters viewed most Federal assistance programs with disdain. In contrast, a developing political faction of the Tribe, led initially by Maurice "Butch" Lydem and Trudie Lamb, wanted to develop the reservation as a profit-making enterprise and take advantage of the proliferation of Federal grants available for housing and economic development, while also preserving tribal traditions on the land.

The seeds of an open dispute were sowed in March of 1978 when Gail Russell Harrison requested permission from the Indian Affairs Council for her family to build a home and reside permanently on the reservation. The CIAC deferred the decision to the Schaghticoke Tribal Council. The Council discussed for many months the issue of who should have priority for housing on the reservation and under what conditions houses could be built. After many passionate arguments, it finally granting the Harrisons their request (Catherine Velky 6/19/1978; 7/18/1978; Schaghticoke Tribal Council 7/2/1978). In the meantime, the Schaghticoke Housing Authority, under the chairmanship of Richard Velky, drafted procedures with which the Harrisons were required to comply (Catherine Velky 6/19/1978).

The pro-development or progressive faction decided to organize an effort to unseat the incumbent council in the 1979 tribal election held on December 9 at the Booth Memorial Hall in Stratford (Lamb 11/21/1979). When the ballots were counted they found they had succeeded. Butch Lydem defeated Chief Irving Harris for the office of tribal chairman and all of the other Harris family members on the council were replaced by Cogswell descendants. Claude Grinage retained his position as second in command, Trudie Lamb and Sue Lydem were elected secretaries, and Kay Peck became the treasurer. Also elected to the council were Philip Johnson, Claudette Bradley, Gail Harrison, and Alan Russell (Lamb 12/19/1979).

A. The Factional Struggle

On the surface the Schaghticoke power struggle appeared to be a political feud between Harris and Cogswell family members. However, the faction dispute was more complex than that. As the new council proceeded with its political agenda and debate became more heated, individual tribal members transcended family allegiances and realigned their support based on their views on specific issues. Butch Lydem and Gail Harrison themselves eventually aligned with Chief Harris and his supporters in some development controversies. The intensity of disagreement and widespread participation of tribal members in the arguments demonstrated that there was a controversy over tribal goals, properties, and decisions and that the actions taken by tribal leaders in regard to these issues were of key importance to the tribal membership.

B. The Development Agenda of the Lydem Administration

Within a few months of taking office, the Lydem administration hired a tribal land use planner and obtained Federal grants, including a Community Development Block Grant from the U.S. Housing and Urban Development (HUD) (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development 1980) and Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) funds from the U.S. Department of Labor (U.S. Department of Labor 1981). It contracted with an economic development firm, Townscape Associates of Arlington, Massachusetts, to develop a Reservation Development Plan. The plan included a solar greenhouse, a park area with a small pond, camping and cabin sites, two private home sites with frontage on the Schaghticoke road, eight HUD houses on slopes behind the tribal office, a 5-acre agricultural area, and an addition to the tribal office building (Townscape Associates 1981). The goal of the greenhouse and agricultural area was to allow tribal members to become self-sufficient from the sale of tomatoes, lettuce and other produce. A demonstration greenhouse, approximately 8 x 12 feet was built but the project was never fully developed due to tribal political turmoil (Richmond et al. 1986).

Under Lydem's leadership, the Tribal Council also sought funding from the Connecticut Office of Policy and Management to develop other projects, including a museum and trading post, a community building, and facilities for maple sugaring (Rawlins 1981). The council obtained a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) to develop an ethnobotany program for school children and from the Connecticut Humanities Council to provide for a scholar-in-residence, Paula Rabkin, an anthropology student from Yale University (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 11/22/1981).

The Lydem council also drafted a new tribal constitution in 1980, replacing the 1973 constitution and bylaws, and this new governing document was reviewed and accepted by the CIAC (Connecticut Indian Affairs Council 9/15/1984). Chief Irving Harris and his supporters challenged the new constitution on the grounds that it was not legally accepted by the Tribe (Sarabia 1/4/1987). The new constitution mandated

decision making by a majority of the Tribal Council rather than by a majority of the Tribe.

Exasperated by the direction in which the Lydem administration was taking the Tribe, after observing it for two years, the anti-development or conservative faction under Chief Irving Harris decided to establish its own separate council in December 1981. The Chief was elected to head the council and Howard Harris, Jr., was chosen to serve as sagamore. Also elected were Adele Garby as treasurer, Catherine Velky as secretary and Stella Parsons and Louise Moynihan as council members. These officers were installed in a meeting on December 21, 1981 at St. Anthony's Church in Litchfield (Bourque 1981).

C. Filing for Federal Acknowledgment

Despite differences between the political factions, one area of universal agreement among tribal members by 1981 was that Federal recognition would be the key to their future. Accordingly, the Schaghticoke Tribe, in December 1981 notified the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) of its intent to petition for Federal acknowledgment under the provisions of Part 83 of Title 25 of the Code of Federal Regulations (25 CFR 83). Upon receipt of this notification, the BIA informed the Tribe that it had been given priority number 79 on the list of petitioners (U.S. Department of the Interior 1982).

D. The Lamb Administration

Butch Lydem decided to resign as Chairman in March 1982 and to give up his seat on the CIAC (Lydem 1982). He was deeply concerned about the way the council was running and had called Chief Irving Harris and asked him to become active again as Chief. At a special meeting of the Lydem council held on March 28, 1982 Trudie Lamb was elected by a vote of just three council members to serve out the rest of Lydem's term and also to replace him as tribal delegate to the CIAC (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 3/28/1982). Thus by a vote of less than a majority of the council, Lamb became the first woman in modern history to serve as primary leader of a Connecticut tribe. A granddaughter of William Cogswell, Trudie Lamb was then a resident of Bridgeport and a teacher by profession (Laurie O'Neill 1982).

Trudie Lamb and Gail Harrison talked with a reporter from the Litchfield County Times in April 1982 about tribal efforts to attract families back to the reservation. Lamb reported that eighteen tribal members had applied for reservation housing. Harrison stated how good returning to Schaghticoke had been for her sons: “[t]hey've learned how to trap muskrat and hunt deer, and some of the old Schaghticoke customs” (Whaley 1982). The fact that Lamb and Harrison had ignored in their public statements the earlier requests by tribal elders for reservation housing caused a great deal of animosity.

The Schaghticoke Housing Authority, instituted by Chief Irving Harris, was revitalized under the Lydem and Lamb councils. The Lamb council resolved in April 1982 that rights of residency, like rights of membership, would be determined on the basis of lineal Schaghticoke descent and that the Tribal Council would act directly on any requests for construction of private houses on the reservation (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 4/1982).

In May 1982 the Lamb council met with Kent town officials in an effort to foster good relations. It also enacted ordinances governing conduct on the reservation and provided that non-Indians would be allowed to hunt snakes on the reservation as long as they obtained written permission from the council (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 5/14/1982; 5/23/1982).

Under Lamb's leadership, the Schaghticoke Tribe held a powwow at the reservation in June 1982. The event was focused on the children of the Tribe. The festivities included a naming ceremony, at which children received their Indian names as a right of passage. The gathering also featured tribal crafts, traditional foods, songs, and dancing. Proceeds from the event were deposited into a fund for building a playground on the reservation (Harrison 6/29/1982: Matters 1982; Epstein 1982; Schaghticoke Tribal Council 6/27/1982).

E. Reaction of the Anti-Development or Conservative Faction

Acting chairman Trudie Lamb generated a controversy over her plans to build a modified A-frame house on the reservation near the eastern corner of the burial ground (Lamb 6/17/1982). After her request was approved by a vote of just three Tribal Council members, including herself, Lamb began clearing land for the project in May 1982 (Harrison and Harrison 4/12/1983). The anti-development or conservative faction opposed this action, pointing out that approval by three council members did not constitute approval by the Schaghticoke Tribe. Furthermore, the Tribe had agreed previously to a moratorium on new building on the reservation until the land suit was settled (Anonymous 2/10/1983). In addition, the site of the Lamb project was within the area projected for agricultural development in the reservation plan developed for the Tribe by Townscape Associates in 1981 (Townscape Associates 1981). Many tribal members also thought that Lamb's action was disrespectful to tribal elders who wanted to live on the reservation before they died (Freedman 1982). As a result, those who opposed Lamb requested a temporary injunction from the Litchfield Superior Court to prevent clearing of the land and construction of the house (Connecticut Superior Court, Litchfield 1982; Connecticut, Litchfield Court of Common Pleas 1982). However, they were not able to prevail.

Chief Harris and thirty-five other tribal members then sought to recall Lamb as tribal chairman in accordance with provisions of the 1973 tribal governing document. At

a meeting of the Lamb council on August 1, 1982, they voted to remove Lamb and all members of her council with the exception of Gail Harrison and to elect a new council. Those elected were Chief Irving Harris as Chairman, Butch Lydem as Vice-Chairman, Linda Manning as Secretary; and Gail Harrison as Treasurer. Elected as council members were Catherine Velky, Richard Velky, Joseph C. Velky, Sr., Kay Peck and Paul F. Velky (Manning 8/8/82; Kent Good Times Dispatch 8/5/1982; Schaghticoke Tribal Council 8/1/1982).

The Lamb council refused to recognize the new council under Chief Harris and Trudie Lamb also refused to give up her seat on the CIAC (Manning 8/8/1982). In an effort to resolve the issue of who represented the legal tribal government of the Schaghticoke Tribe, Governor William A. O'Neill, in December 1982, instructed Stanley Pac, Commissioner of the State Department of Environmental Protection (DEP), to bring both sides together to discuss the issue (Wiliam O'Neill 1982).

The CIAC held a number of meetings to determine who the legitimate Schaghticoke tribal representative should be. It concluded that the 1980 constitution was the valid governing document of the Tribe, that the August 1st election of the Harris council was illegal, and that Trudie Lamb was therefore the Tribe's legal CIAC delegate (Lamb 3/7/1983; Sarabia 1/14/1987).

In response, the Harris council appealed the ruling to the State Freedom of Information Commission on the grounds that the CIAC lacked jurisdiction to determine intra-tribal affairs. The Commission upheld this appeal and in accordance with its decision the Harris council requested the CIAC to leave the Schaghticoke seat vacant until internal tribal issues could be resolved (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 2/20/1983). Later, the Harris council appointed Paulette Crone as CIAC delegate (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 7/21/1983). In the meantime, it passed a resolution ordering Lamb and her son Lance to vacate the reservation by April 17, 1983 (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 4/17/1983) and petitioned the DEP for their removal. It also resolved to recall Trudie Lamb and Claude Grinage from their council seats (Schaghticoke Indian Tribe 5/15/1983; Sarabia 1/14/1987).

F. Chairman Alan Russell and his Council

The Schaghticoke Tribe held its 1983 meeting on June 26. New members elected to the council were Alan Russell, Sandra March, Gail Harrison, and Neil Kilson. Chief Irving Harris and his supporters refused to vote (Schaghticoke Tribe 6/26/1983). The new council then met on July 17 to elect officers. Alan Russell was elected Chairman, his sister Gail Harrison, Vice-Chairman, Sandra March, Treasurer, and Claudette Bradley, Secretary (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 7/17/1983).

The Russell council and voting members aligned with it held a another meeting on August 26, 1984 to elect a new council, amend the 1980 tribal constitution, and consider some other issues. Alan Russell was reelected as Chairman and Trudie Lamb Richmond was elected Vice-Chairman. The constitution was amended to provide: (1) that in order to serve on the Tribal Council, a tribal member had to be a Connecticut resident or live within a 50-mile radius of the reservation; (2) that the amendments passed at that meeting would remain unchanged through the duration of the term of the present Tribal Council or and until the constitution was completely revised to meet the needs of Tribe; (3) that the present council would begin its term on that day (August 26, 1984); (4) that there would be no recall of the present council through the duration of its term or any new members appointed to the council; (5) that amendments passed in December 1982 were repealed; and (6) that up to four tribal meetings could be held per year without petition (Schaghticoke Voting Members 1984; Russell 10/04/1984).

A motion was also passed at the meeting which lifted the moratorium on the building of private homes on the reservation (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 8/26/1984). However, the tribal business that day that sparked the most controversy later was the circulation of a consent form authorizing Keith Potter, a private logger, to cut and sell timber from the reservation (Schaghticoke Voting Members 8/26/1984, Consent Form). Russell had been negotiating with Potter during that summer and had discussed the potential of working with him at a council meeting held on July 15 (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 7/15/1984). In a letter to DEP Commissioner Pac informing him of the results of the meeting, Alan Russell stated that "any tribal business concerning the Schaghticoke Tribe should be done through myself, as the Tribal Chairman" (Russell 10/4/1984).

The tribal political split continued into the latter months of 1984 and became even more intense. In an effort to help resolve issues, the CIAC met in September of that year to determine which Schaghticoke Tribal Council and constitution was valid, and who the legitimate tribal representative to the CIAC was. After deliberation, the CIAC held by unanimous vote (7-0) that the tribal election of the Russell council held on June 26, 1983 was valid, that the Schaghticoke Constitution and By-Laws of 1980 was the only valid tribal governing document, and that only Alan Russell and, as alternate, Trudie Lamb-Richmond, were the duly appointed representatives to the CIAC (Connecticut Indian Affairs Council 9/15/1984).

This resolved the issue temporarily for the CIAC but did not end the factional fight. Chief Irving Harris expressed his dissatisfaction with the CIAC's determinations to DEP Commissioner Pac. He accused the CIAC of "meddling" in the Tribe's internal affairs and stated that "as it's [sic] 1st Chairman, I can assure you this was not the intention of my dream. I created it, and I am telling you now, I shall distroy [sic] it (Harris 10/16/1984). Paulette Crone subsequently filed a complaint with the State Freedom of Information Commission charging that the minutes of the CIAC meeting validating the Russell election had not been filed with the DEP or distributed to other

CIAC members as required by State law and that, in any case, the CIAC did not have jurisdiction over intra-tribal disputes. The Commission once again upheld the appeal, overruling the CIAC decision (Hyland 10/17/1985).

One of the other goals of the Russell council was to refocus on the Kent School land claim (Russell 7/16/1984). At a council meeting on September 23, 1984 attorney Tom Tureen introduced Henry Sockbeson, an attorney from the Native American Rights Fund (NARF) in Washington, D.C., who had agreed to take over the case (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 9/23/1984). At an October 21st meeting he also advised that the Federal government had condemned 267 acres of land for the Appalachian Trail (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 10/21/1984). This included both reservation land and land within the Kent School boundaries claimed by the Tribe in its 1975 land suit. In 1985 the United States filed suit to condemn an additional 43 acres owned allegedly by the Preston Mountain Club. This parcel was also claimed by the Tribe as being part of the land taken from it in violation of the Nonintercourse Act. Legal counsel for the Tribe subsequently joined both Federal cases claiming that the interests of the Schaghticoke Tribe in the subject lands could not be extinguished by condemnation. The Tribe did not prevail in the first suit as a judgment of condemnation was entered on November 1, 1989 (U.S. District Court 2/24/1994). However, the second case is still pending (see below).

G. The Logging Controversy

On September 29, 1984, the Russell council entered a formal agreement with Keith Potter to conduct logging on the reservation (Schaghticoke Indians of Kent 1984). Russell reported at the October 21st council meeting that nine loads of lumber had been taken from the reservation (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 10/21/1984). Chief Irving Harris wrote to Commissioner Pac challenging the validity of the logging agreement (Harris 10/25/1984) and Hazel Kayser wrote Governor McNeill (Kayser 4/29/1985). He and his supporters also hired an attorney to notify Russell that they would request a cease and desist order from the DEP (Altiera 1985).

The logging controversy swung the balance of tribal political support back to the supporters of Chief Irving Harris. The majority of tribal members were upset about the depletion of reservation resources, and some claimed that their signatures on the tribal consent form had been forged or at least obtained by Russell under dubious circumstances. As a result, Chief Harris was successful in the summer 1985 in reclaiming the tribal chairmanship in an election in which both factions were represented (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 7/21/1985).

H. The Return of Chief Irving Harris

The election took place at the annual summer meeting of the Tribe on July 21. In addition to electing Chief Harris, tribal members chose Richard Velky as Vice President,

Elizabeth Kaladish as Secretary, Kay Kayser as Treasurer, and Ella Lydem, Tracey Nadeau, Maurice Lydem, and Alan Russell as council members. Paulette Crone was appointed as the Tribe's CIAC representative and Elizabeth Kaladish as her alternate. The new council then voted unanimously to recall Russell, charging him with misuse of Schaghticoke Reservation lands, assault on another tribal member, misconduct, and poor representation (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 7/21/1985).

Trudie Lamb Richmond appealed the election to the CIAC (Richmond 8/20/1985). However, the CIAC in November recognized the results of the election of Chief Harris and the appointment of Crone and Kaladish as the Tribe's representatives to the CIAC. It also voted unanimously to recognize the authority of the elected Tribal Council to oversee and direct all issues related to maintenance of the reservation and specifically to issue "cease and desist" orders preventing any potential for trouble on the reservation. Chairman Stillson Sands stated in a letter to Chief Harris that he hoped that this action would "help the Tribe to return to normal business as a united tribe" (Sands 1985).

The new council proceeded to investigate the logging operations, impede further development by reservation residents, and account for grant monies expended by the Lydem, Lamb, and Russell councils. It requested the DEP, the State Police, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to also investigate its complaints against the Russell-Potter logging contract and operations.

The DEP claimed that it had no jurisdiction because these were intratribal issues. The FBI held that it lacked authority to intervene because no Federal laws were at issue, and the State Police were reluctant to respond to complaints. In frustration, the Tribal Council took the matter to an investigative reporter at the Hartford Courant. After reviewing documents provided by the Tribe and other sources for four months, reporter Thomas D. Williams wrote a story, published in the May 10, 1986 edition, that placed Maurice Lydem, Trudie Lamb Richmond, Alan Russell, and Gail Harrison at the center of events involving misspent funds, intratribal squabbles, and missing financial documents (Williams 5/10/1986). This was followed by a second story on May 21 and an editorial on June 1 (Williams 5/21/1986; Hartford Courant 6/1/1986).

The articles sparked two responses. State and Federal agencies began investigating the issues (Miller 6/1/1986), and Richmond, Russell, and Harrison filed a libel suit against the Courant , Chief Irving Harris, Paulette Crone, and June Hatstat, a friend of Russell Kilson (Connecticut, Litchfield Superior Court 6/25/1986). The intensity of tribal emotions regarding these issues was also revealed soon after the first article appeared, as gunshots were fired at a residence and at a backyard gathering on the reservation (Kent Good Times Dispatch 6/5/1986).

After eight years of litigation, Judge David L. Fineberg of the Litchfield Superior Court ruled in August 1993 that there was no evidence of malice in the statements made in the Courant article regarding Gail and Edward Harrison, Alan Russell, and Trudie Lamb Richmond. The suit against the newspaper and Chief Velky, Paulette Crone-Morange, and June Hatstat was therefore dismissed (Connecticut Superior Court of Litchfield 8/5/1993).

While the investigation and litigation proceeded, the Tribal Council turned its attention to other issues. At the annual tribal meeting in October 1986 council motions were passed by general vote to revise the constitution to reinstate decision making by a majority of the Tribe rather than by the Tribal Council and to provide that all tribal members 16 years of age or older would be considered voting members of the Tribe. The Tribe also selected a committee to review and submit suggestions, recommendations, and changes to the Schaghticoke Constitution (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 10/5/1986). The council continued to monitor the Kent School and Appalachian Trail cases and took action to remove two individuals from the reservation (Crone 12/12/1986; Schaghticoke Tribal Council 2/25/1987).

I. The Leadership of Chief Richard Velky

Chief Irving Harris resigned the tribal chairmanship in June 1987 and Vice-Chairman Chief Richard Velky, a grandson of Chief Howard Harris, was appointed by the Tribe and council to serve as chairman. A tribal member loaned the council $5,000.00 to hire an attorney to represent the Tribe in the Harrison suit against the Hartford Courant, and the council continued its own investigation of grants and contracts made by the prior councils (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 6/4/1987). The previous council's refusal to relinquish documents made this difficult. (Crone 1/16/1987).

Finally, when it felt it had sufficient evidence, the Tribe brought suit against Alan Russell and logger Keith Potter in Litchfield County Superior Court. The complaint in the case of Schaghticoke Indians of Kent v. Potter charged that Russell did not have the approval of the Tribal Council to enter into an agreement to cut timber on the reservation. It held further that Potter violated even the illegal agreement by cutting too many trees, damaging land by creating roads, and chopping huge swatches of trees up and down Schaghticoke Mountain (Connecticut Superior Court of Litchfield 3/7/1989).

In August 1987 the Connecticut General Assembly provided for the establishment of a special Task Force on Indian Affairs to study and report on native issues within the state. The Environmental Committee of the legislature appointed Chief Richard Velky, Joseph Velky, and Paulette Crone to serve as the Schaghticoke representatives on the task force (Mushinsky 1987). A similar State task force was also established in 1989, to which the Schaghticoke Tribe appointed Tracey Kurjiaka as a voting member and

Gregory VanValkenberg and Deborah Rich as tribal representatives (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 10/3/1989).

The Tribal Council discussed the status of the Kent School land claim with NARF attorney Henry Sockbeson at its meeting on August 27, 1987. Sockbeson also introduced Jack Campisi, an anthropologist who explained research requirements for Federal acknowledgment (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 8/27/1987).

At the 1987 annual tribal meeting, held on November 1st, the Tribe elected a new council and took punitive action against previous council members. It voted to evict Alan Russell and Trudie Lamb Richmond from the reservation and to revoke their voting privileges, as well as those of Gail Harrison, Edward Harrison, Jr., and Ronald Harrison (Schaghticoke Tribe 11/1/1987). It also voted to reinstate the moratorium on building on the reservation (Richard Velky 3/28/1988).

On November 19th, the Tribal Council voted to revoke the voting rights of Jason and Irwin Lamb. The new council also elected its officers at that meeting. Chief Richard Velky was chosen as Chairman and Paulette Crone as Vice-Chairman. Betty Kaladish and Tracey Kurjuika were named secretaries and Kay Kayser treasurer (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 11/19/1987). Chief Richard Velky and Elizabeth Kaladish continue to serve to the present. Paulette Crone no longer sits on the council, having opted to devote full time to the Tribe's Federal acknowledgment project.

The withdrawal of tribal voting rights provides an example of how the Schaghticoke enforced sanctions against individual tribal members whose behavior did not conform to tribal norms. The eviction resolutions and extension of the building moratorium demonstrates the assertion of political authority to control tribal resources, as does Tribal Council action to halt further timber cutting and to withdraw authority from those who did not protect tribal resources.

The revocation of voting rights was easy for the council to enforce, but evicting members from the reservation and halting building activities proved to be much more difficult. The Tribe had managed to assert its sovereignty over the reservation with respect to policy making, but still had no recognized police power to enforce those policies if tribal members chose to ignore them. Chairman Velky complained to the DEP, the Attorney General, and the State Police, but Connecticut officials took no action (Richard Velky 2/1/1988; 2/11/1989). The CIAC also refused to become involved (Connecticut Indian Affairs Council 5/18/1988).

In the meantime the Tribe made strides in other areas during 1988. In the spring, anthropologists Jack Campisi and William Starna completed a preliminary draft of a research report to support the Tribe's petition for Federal acknowledgment (Campisi 4/22/1988). However, the Tribe was disappointed with the results of their research.

In June tribal delegate Paulette Crone-Morange was unanimously elected to chair the CIAC. The granddaughter of Chief Howard Harris, a resident of Monroe, and a nurse by profession, Crone-Morange thus became the first woman in the history of the CIAC to hold that position (Mickolyzck 1988). She continues to serve in this leadership role.

Also in the summer of 1988, the Tribe completed its revision of the tribal constitution and submitted a copy to the DEP (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 6/30/88). In the fall Governor William O'Neill proclaimed September 30th as "Indian Day" in the state and proclaimed that Schaghticoke was one of the five tribes recognized officially by the State (Connecticut Governor 9/30/1988).

J. Effects of the Potter Decision

In August 1988 the State intervened in the Potter case on the side of the Tribe, stating that the DEP Commissioner had a statutory obligation to manage tribal lands and the right to sue to recover misappropriated property. The next month defendant Alan Russell moved to dismiss the suit against him, claiming that the court lacked jurisdiction over tribal claims against tribal members for activities on tribal lands. In March 1989 the trial court upheld Russell's motion, holding that "Consistent with Federal Indian policies and the failure of Connecticut to fully assume jurisdiction this court lacks subject matter jurisdiction" (Connecticut Superior Court of Litchfield 3/7/1989).

The State appealed the decision to the Appellate Court, which subsequently dismissed the appeal, concurring with the trial court that the Schaghticoke Reservation was considered "Indian Country" as that term was used in Federal law. However, the Appellate Court held that Connecticut courts might exercise some measure of civil jurisdiction, including lawsuits involving tribes, but only to the extent State courts exercised that jurisdiction prior to 1953 and only to the extent that the exercise of jurisdiction did not compromise tribal sovereignty. The State appealed the decision to the Connecticut Supreme Court, which denied the appeal (Connecticut Superior Court 6/4/1990: Connecticut Law Journal 1990).

These decisions brought very ironic results. On the one hand they meant that the present Tribal Council lost its case because it was not able to prevail in court. On the other hand, however, they represented both the State's strongest identification and liberal interpretation of the tribal sovereignty of the Schaghticoke Tribe. As a result, the decisions were embraced by both tribal factions (Turner 1990; Waterbury Republican-American 1990).

The Potter decision left both State and Tribal officials confused regarding what body had jurisdiction over specific aspects of managing the reservation. Concerned with

public safety, Chief Velky tried to negotiate an agreement with the DEP and State Police to provide limited assistance when there were violations of tribal regulations that required handling by experienced law enforcement personnel (Richard Velky 4/1/1989). Yet, when the Tribe filed complaints about unauthorized construction and tree removal on the reservation, and demanded that a building be removed from the reservation by a certain date, State agencies took no action (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 4/19/1990).

A few months after the Appellate Court decision in the Potter case, the Connecticut General Assembly, on July 7, 1989, enacted certain recommendations of the Task Force on Indian Affairs, on which Chief Velky and Schaghticoke leaders served. This statute provided that the State's tribes held all rights of ownership over reservation lands with the exception of alienation. It provided further that each tribe could determine who might in the future live on reservation land, but that present lawful residents could continue their residency. It also provided that the State would make payment to towns for reservation lands in lieu of taxes (Connecticut General Assembly 1989).

This law was also a mixed blessing for the Schaghticoke Tribal Council. While it gave statutory recognition of the council's sovereignty over the reservation, it also prohibited it from removing its most troublesome adversaries, the members of the other faction who resided on the reservation.

At a meeting on October 1, 1989 the Tribe voted in favor of approving the request of tribal elder Catherine Velky's to built a home on the reservation. She had submitted formal requests to the Tribal Council to allow her to build (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 10/1/1989) and to abolish the existing tribal Housing Authority (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 12/14/1990). To date, Catherine Velky is the only additional tribal member who has been given tribal approval to establish residency. She has not moved to the reservation, however, because she has not yet received the financial assistance that would allow her to build a home there.

In April 1990 the Schaghticoke Tribe lost another of its tribal matriarchs with the passing of Hazel Kayser at the age of 75. A resident of Danbury, Kayser was among the first tribal members to apply for residency on the reservation in the 1960s and to protest the Potter logging contract in the 1980s. A memorial account of her life was published in the Waterbury Republican. It indicated that she was buried in the Schaghticoke cemetery (Miller 1990).

K. The Nineties: Movement on Many Fronts

In the early 1990s the Schaghticoke Tribe continued to work towards its goals of protecting and expanding the reservation land base and obtaining Federal recognition. It reestablished a tribal Housing Authority in April 1991 (Richard Velky 4/7/1991) and collected genealogical charts, vital records, and photos from members to document its petition for Federal acknowledgment at its annual meeting in November 1991 (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 11/1/1991). The Tribe also revised the tribal constitution during 1991 (Schaghticoke Tribal Nation of Kent, Revised Constitution 1991).

The revised constitution contained new language regarding residency and construction on the reservation, revocation of voting rights, and prosecution for damages. It limited voting rights to tribal members over 16 years of age and in good standing who were also residents of Connecticut. However, it allowed for absentee ballots from those who were handicapped or in military service. In order to gain membership one had to provide the Tribal Council with documentary evidence of descent from Gideon Mauwee (Schaghticoke Tribal Nation of Kent, Revised Constitution 1991). The membership criteria was established on the advise of NARF attorneys and researchers based on the way they wanted to present the Acknowledgment documentation.

NARF informed the Tribe in late 1990 that it would no longer receive funding for representing Schaghticoke in its land claims and Federal acknowledgment efforts (Sockbeson 12/18/1990). Chief Richard Velky wrote Henry Sockbeson on April 10, 1991 demanding help in finding substitute counsel, a year-by-year accounting of NARF's expenditures on behalf of the Tribe, and all documents generated by NARF's research (Velky 4/10/1991). However, this crisis was averted, at least temporarily, as NARF was able to find additional funding by that summer (Sockbeson 7/29/1991).

On September 8, 1991 the Tribal Council held a special tribal meeting on the Schaghticoke reservation. Gail Harrison, Alan Russell and Trudie Lamb Richmond were given the opportunity to present their claim against Paulette Crone, Chief Irving Harris and June Hatstat, after which the Tribe voted on claim's merits (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 9/3/1991). After the hearing, the following motion was passed unanimously: "The tribe supports Paula Crone, Irving Harris, and June Hatstat, and finds that Alan Russell, Trudie Lamb Richmond and Gail Harrison's claim is without merit. There has not been liable [sic], slander or malicious acts committed by the defendants" (Kaladish 9/11/1991). This hearing before the Tribal Council demonstrates the political ability of the Schaghticoke to mediate disputes between factions.

In September 1992 Dale White, a Mohawk tribal member, expert on Federal and State Indian Law, and partner in a Boulder, Colorado law firm, completed an independent review of Connecticut's statutes relative to "Indians." He had been retained out of a legislative appropriation at the request of the CIAC and under the control of the Office of the Attorney General. He concluded that the State had violated laws recognizing the Tribes' political and economic sovereignty over their lands. "Based upon our review of

the law," he wrote, "serious questions arise whether Connecticut's laws are valid or constitutional as applied to members of Connecticut tribes on activities occurring on reservation lands" (White 6/9/1992; Libby 9/3/1992).

In regard to the Appalachian Trail condemnation suits, the Tribe proposed settlements in 1992 that would either involve re-routing the trail, swapping a 43-acre parcel of reservation land for a comparable piece of land nearby, or restricting the width of the right-of-way to 80 feet (U.S. District Court 2/24/1994; Ramsdell 5/15/1992: Schaghticoke Tribal Council 10/4/1992). The U.S. Department of Justice proposed a land swap to the Connecticut Attorney General in January 1993, but he declined to consider it (Libby 1/17/1993). In response, tribal leader Paulette Crone-Morange told a reporter that "Native American tribes have sovereign powers over tribal lands. If the state insists otherwise, Connecticut will spend millions of taxpayers' dollars in litigation, and the state will lose." She stated further that the Federal government had no valid legal reason to request the State Attorney General's consent regarding the land swap because the State does not have the right to claim authority over the property exchange, and the Tribe does not believe it should give up two acres for every acre offered by the Federal government. Crone-Morange indicated that the land claim was the first phase of the Tribe's economic development program. Once it was settled, she said, the Tribe would seek Federal housing grants (Libby 1/17/1993).

In her statement Crone-Morange also expressed concern regarding protection of a rattlesnake den near the trail. She stated that the den was a refuge for the endangered Eastern rattlesnake and that the snakes were an important element in Schaghticoke culture and lore (Libby 1/17/1993). Crone-Morange had written a letter to Henry Sockbeson of NARF requesting that he advise her whether the snakes were an endangered species. He mistakenly replied that they were not, but she found out from other sources that they were (Crone-Morange, personal communication, 4/4/97).

The year 1993 also witnessed some tribal movement in regard to the Kent School land claim. On March 31st Henry Sockbeson informed tribal leaders that the U.S. District Court had ordered that the Schaghticoke Tribe must take action on the claim by May 15th or the court would dismiss the case with prejudice. Sockbeson then recommended that the Tribe drop the suit in favor of another option; to get legislation introduced in Congress that would provide Federal recognition for the Schaghticoke (Sockbeson 3/31/1993).

The Schaghticoke Tribal Council strongly disagreed with Sockbeson's advice. It was also impatient with the slow progress NARF was making in regard to the goal of Federal acknowledgment. To make matters worse, Sockbeson announced that he was leaving NARF to go to work for the federally recognized Mashantucket Pequot Tribe in Ledyard, Connecticut. As a result, the council voted to retain attorneys John Cotter and Frank Manfredi of Norwich, Connecticut to represent the Tribe in the land claim. It also

requested the District Court to postpone the case until its new counsel could familiarize themselves with it (Schaghticoke Tribal Nation 6/13/1993; Richard Velky 6/15/1993). The court agreed subsequently to stay the case until a decision was reached regarding Federal recognition of the Schaghticoke (Leff 6/25/1993).

In regard to these developments in the case, Chief Richard Velky told a reporter: "After 18 years of dealing with NARF, we weren't going anywhere. They dragged their heels and weren't being aggressive enough." Chief Velky indicated that the Tribe still wanted to increase the acreage of the reservation in order to provide jobs to tribal members and that there was an urgent need to bring the people back to the land; a land he described as being a "sovereign nation." "We are our own nation and municipality," Chief Velky stated. "The state has no more right to enforce laws on our property than it does to tell Rhode Island how to run things." However, State Attorney General Richard Blumenthal stated that he would refuse to negotiate with any Tribe that was not federally recognized (Turner 7/23/1993).

Beginning in 1992 the Schaghticoke began to entertain and review various proposals for commercial development on the reservation (Schaghticoke Tribal Nation 5/11/1992). At the annual meeting of October 4, 1992, tribal members agreed that this development could include a number of potential operations (Schaghticoke Tribal Nation 10/4/1992). In December 1993 the Tribe renewed its corporate status under the Connecticut Nonstock Operation Act (Connecticut Office of the Secretary of State 1993). In March 1994 the Tribe joined with Paucatuck Eastern Pequot Tribe and the Golden Hill Paugussett Tribe in a confederation compact for economic development. At a news conference at the State Capitol in Hartford, a spokesman for the confederation (Confederation of Connecticut Tribes, Inc.) indicated that the tribes intended to create an "international free trade zone" that would bring thousands of jobs to Connecticut (Cummins 3/11/1994; Douthat 3/11/1994; Powell 3/11/1994). Two weeks later the confederation proposed to the mayor of the city of Bridgeport, Connecticut a development plan for a site within his jurisdiction (Confederation of Connecticut Tribes 3/25/1994).

In 1994 the Schaghticoke received a grant from the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services to conduct further research on its petition for Federal acknowledgment. In June 1994 the Tribal Council freed Paulette Crone-Morange (who had already been collecting documents for a Tribal Archives for nearly 20 years) from her position as Vice-Chairman so that she could serve as Tribal Administrator for the ANA grant (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 6/20/1994). The next month the Tribe opened an office for this project in a commercial building in Monroe, Connecticut (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 7/10/1994). In the fall of 1996 this office was moved next door into a vacant bank that then became the office of the Tribal Council as well.

With the assistance of anthropologists Lucianne Lavin, John Pfeiffer, Lori Chase, and Matt Hobby, Paulette Crone-Morange completed the Tribe's initial Acknowledgment documentation. Schaghticoke tribal representatives then hand-delivered the Tribe's Federal acknowledgment petition documents to the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (BAR) on December 7, 1994.

On June 5, 1995 the BIA sent the Tribe the results of the Technical Assistance (TA) review of the documented Schaghticoke petition conducted by the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (BAR). This letter indicated certain deficiencies and omissions in the petition materials that needed to be addressed. After reviewing the TA letter, the Schaghticoke Tribe decided to reorganize and refocus its acknowledgment efforts and obtain the services of additional research professionals. In September 1996 the Tribe contracted with Morgan, Angel and Associates, a public policy consulting firm in Washington, D.C. to enhance and supplement the original petition documentation and address the deficiencies and omissions noted in the TA review.

The research team assembled by Morgan Angel included two historians, an anthropologist, and a genealogical consultant also trained in applied anthropology. Chief Richard Velky, Tribal Administrator Paulette Crone-Morange, Tribal Membership Secretary Linda Manning, and Tribal Council member Catherine Velky worked closely with the Morgan Angel research team in preparing the supplemental materials. They conducted research as well and reviewed and discussed both individual documents and draft reports at great length and in detail with the research team. They also helped to coordinate the community study interviews conducted by the anthropologist and to develop the genealogical database. In addition, the final reports were also reviewed and approved for submission by the Schaghticoke Tribal Council. Thus the Schaghticoke Acknowledgment research effort has been a tribal project from the very beginning and its results likewise represent a tribal product.

The Schaghticoke Tribal Council has taken a number of steps in the 1990s to regulate activity on the reservation. This has included granting permission for housing a trailer (Richard Velky 6/7/1994) and to allow bow hunting (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 9/11/1994). It has also included granting camping privileges and removing individuals for disturbing the peace (Schaghticoke Tribal Nation 10/2/1994). In terms of regulating its own activities, the council provided in September 1991 that any council members who missed three consecutive council meetings or five regular council meetings within a year would have their council seats declared vacant (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 9/17/1991). The council subsequently imposed this sanction on two council members in June 1992 (Richard Velky 6/18/1992). The council also reactivated the tribal newsletter (Schaghticoke Tribal Newsletter 1/1995) and organized "clean up" days on the reservation (Richard Velky 10/8/1994).

In regard to the Appalachian Trail condemnation suit against the Preston Mountain Club, the U.S. Department of Justice filed a motion for summary judgment in 1994 claiming that the Schaghticoke Tribe could only invoke violation of the Non Intercourse Act if it had standing as a federally recognized tribe. On February 24, 1994, U.S. District Judge Peter C. Dorsey granted the Federal government its motion. However, he stated that his finding did not determine any rights the Tribe might have in the subject lands. Judge Dorsey concluded that the question of whether the current Tribe was qualified to represent the historical Schaghticoke Tribe was one that must be answered by the BIA through the Federal Acknowledgment process (U.S. District Court 2/24/1994).

The Court dismissed the claim of the Schaghticoke Tribe on March 21, 1994 and issued a Judgment and Order of Distribution on July 5, 1994 that resolved the remaining issues between the Federal Government and the Preston Mountain Club. However, based on the precedent established in 1994 by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in regard to litigation involving the Golden Hill Paugussett Tribe of Connecticut, attorneys for the Tribe were able to prevail in convincing Judge Dorsey to reopen the case. Since the threshold issue of the claim is whether or not the Schaghticoke have Federal standing as a tribe, the Court has agreed to stay the case until the BIA issues a final determination in respect to the Tribe's Federal acknowledgment petition (U.S. District Court 2/27/1997).

L. Reconciliation

Efforts to conciliate the Schaghticoke political factions began in 1994 (Schaghticoke Tribal Council 9/11/1994; 10/20/1994). In May 1995 Erin Lamb, daughter of Trudie Lamb Richmond, wrote a conciliatory letter to Chief Velky, applying for a seat on the Tribal Council. She stated that she was fully aware of differences between the families, but "I now strongly believe we need a time of healing." "I come back to Schaghticoke," she wrote further, "in the hope that our Tribe will come together, supporting each other as our ancestors did for each other" (Erin Lamb 3/9/1995). Lamb submitted a letter to the Tribal Council stating her purpose and qualifications, as required by tribal law. The council approved her letter and placed her name in nomination. She was subsequently elected to the council at the 1995 annual meeting held on October 1st and was warmly welcomed by Chief Velky (Richard Velky 10/4/1995).

Voting rights have been restored to Trudie Lamb Richmond and Gail Harrison and their sons and all of the political factions have cooperated and participated in gathering documents and providing oral history interviews for the supplementary Federal acknowledgment research effort. Schaghticoke is once again a united Tribe whose leaders have demonstrated that they have the political influence and authority to settle disputes between tribal factions.

Blair Rudes indicated that a similarly named individual (Cockapontane) was a tribal sachem who died in Naugatuck in 1731 (Rudes 1995).
On May 16, 1747, certain Indians in the vicinity of Sharon also petitioned the Colony requesting educational instruction and a reservation of 246 acres at the Indian ponds in the northwest corner of the township. The memorialists included individuals later identified in the consolidated community at Schaghticoke, including Samuel Cocksure (Connecticut Archives, Indian series 2, part 2, p. 30).

Marsh served as a pastor in Kent from 1741 until 1755, when he lost his pulpit due to immoral conduct. After that he practiced law (for which immoral conduct was not a disqualification), represented Kent in the General Assembly from 1761-1767, and served as a local Justice of the Peace (MacCracken 1956: 287)

The Cocksure name eventually became Cogswell. Jeremiah Cogswell was married to Mary Ann Chickens.
In 1824 the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut continued the institution of the overseer , determining that one should be appointed to each tribe of Indians living within the limits of the state by the county court in the county where the tribe resided. For the Schaghticoke Tribe the court of jurisdiction between 1824 and 1855 was the Litchfield Court of Common Pleas. Each tribe's overseer annually had to state and settle his account of the concerns of each tribe with the county court. If the overseer failed to do so, the county court had the power to remove him from office. The court also had the power to remove an overseer at any time. Nothing was specified about a tribal role in either nominating or terminating an overseer. In 1849 the legislature provided that the overseer should care and manage Indian lands and "see that they are husbanded for the best interest of the Indians." In 1855 the Superior Court took the place of the county courts in appointing overseers. For Schaghticoke this meant the Superior Court of Litchfield County sitting in Litchfield. An 1866 statute provided that a copy of the overseer's report, as allowed by the Superior Court, was to be filed with the town clerk of the town in which the tribe resided. In 1883 jurisdiction over the Schaghticoke Tribe was transferred back to the Court of Common Pleas. The State Park and Forest Commission gained the authorization to act as overseer of any tribe of Indians in Litchfield County in 1925, and by 1935 its authority was extended to the other three reservations in the state. In 1941 the State Commissioner of Welfare took the reins as overseer of all of the Connecticut reservations. The Commission had to settle annually its account of the affairs of each tribe with the Comptroller, and every two years send a report to the Governor. In that report the Commissioner had to supply a statement of the amount and condition of each tribe's fund, an estimate of the value of its lands and the income the tribe received each year. In 1973 the concept of an overseer was abolished and jurisdiction over the State's tribes was placed jointly under the Department of

Environmental Protection with the advice of the Connecticut Indian Affairs Council that included tribal representatives (Anonymous n.d.: Principal Public Laws Governing Appointment, Powers, and Reporting Requirements of Overseers to the Indian Tribes; Administration of Reservations).

The signature of a Jonas Cocksure appears on a Schaghticoke deed of April 31, 1785, as well as on a Schaghticoke tribal petition to the General Assembly in 1799.
This provision of the statute was later challenged successfully by the tribes as a violation of their sovereignty. They argued that this violated their right under Federal law to determine their own qualifications for membership.
Although as an incorporation document, these bylaws were submitted to the Connecticut Secretary of State, they were never submitted for approval to the CIAC. In 1984, the CIAC held that a constitution drafted under the leadership of tribal chairman Maurice Lydem in 1980 and approved by the CIAC was the only Schaghticoke governing document it recognized at that time (CIAC 9/15/1984).
Miles membership in the Mohegan Tribe was withdrawn in the early 1990s after it was found by the BAR that he could not prove any tribal ancestry.

As early as 1812 local historian Barzillai Slosson reported of being informed by tribal elders that they were Pequot descendants who had “escaped the destruction in the swamp” (Slosson 1812). alsotwenty-oneTo a significant degree the people of colonial Connecticut “belonged to their towns as much as, if not more than, their towns belonged to them. This mindset carried over strongly to the colonials' view of the Native Americans. Indians were believed to “belong” to their tribes -- a perception the Native Americans themselves might not have agreed with if they understood it. Nonetheless, the colonial perception of the Native American tribes as separate political entities significantly affected the colony's institutional relations with them (Code of 1650, 1826: 51.) Further, not only were the tribes regarded as distinct entities, but even individual Native Americans outside of tribal relations were a distinct group and treated differently in the area of land ownership (Kawashima 1986: 21).

SchaghticokeimprovementThe King Philip's War in 1675 was a direct result of the maneuvering of the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut to gain primacy over lands of the Narragansett and Wampanoag in Rhode Island and of the New York colony to claim all of the former Dutch territory, which included half of Connecticut. The conflict began after a Christianized Indian was murdered by unknown persons after warning the Plymouth Governor that the Wampanoag leader Metacom, known to the English as King Philip, was planning an attack. Plymouth colonists attacked the Wampanoags and neutral Narragansetts and warfare broke out in the Connecticut River valley and with Indians in Maine. With the help of the Mohawks, the colonists killed more than 3,000 Indian men, women, and children, and lost 600 of their own, before the war ended in August 1676 with the assassination of Philip. The

survivors were turned over to the conquering allied tribes or sent to Caribbean islands as slaves (Washburn 1978:92-95).

The period after King Philip's War was a time of confusion and migration for many native people along the lower Housatonic River. Out of the confusion and despair, a new leader arose in 1680. Waramaug, a young Pootatuck sagamore, or sub-chief, came to power in that year as sachem of the settlement at Weantinock. This village was near the Great Falls of Metichawon at present New Milford, an area that provided an abundant supply of herring, shad, and lamprey eels. Waramaug erected a huge and elaborately decorated lodge two miles south of the Weantinock village on a precipice overlooking the Housatonic (Richmond 1994: 106-107).

After King Philip's War some Indian groups in southern New England became known by the name of the locality in which they lived rather than by their tribal name (Conkey, et al. 1978: 187). This was true of the Schaghticoke. The name Schaghticoke as applied to the Tribe was the European corruption of the Algonkian term "Piscatotook." Tribal elder Eunice Mauwee told David Lawrence in 1849 that this term meant "the country by the brook on the north from other territory" (Lawrence 1852). In the case of the Schaghticoke Indian community in Connecticut the brook was the Ten Mile River where it joined the Housatonic just below the present town of Kent. As noted in the Genealogical Report, Schaghticoke symbolized a confluence of people as well.

F. First Reference to Schaghticoke

The first historical document to reference the Schaghticoke was a February 1699 letter from Robert Treat of Milford, Connecticut to Governor John Winthrop. Treat referred to "ye Scattacook Indians" and distinguished them from the "Podatuck" (Pootatuck) and the "Oweantinuck" (Weantinock) (Treat 1699). Because Treat wrote from Milford about tribes along the lower Housatonic it is apparent that he was referring to a distinct tribal group, the Schaghticoke Tribe, in a distinct area of western Connecticut, as opposed to two other tribal communities in New York and Massachusetts that shared the same name.

In 1677 New York Governor Edmund Andros purchased land from Hudson River Mahicans and established a village known as Scaghticoke at the confluence of the Hudson and Hoosic rivers approximately 15 miles north of present Albany. This village served as a relocation settlement for Indians from the east, including Mahicans from the Westfield River region of Massachusetts and refugees from King Philip's War. The village included tribes from the Connecticut River valley, and possibly included Wampanoags. During King William's War, the extended conflict between French Canadians and Indians that took place between 1689 and 1698, the Scaghticoke Indians from the New York settlement lost the majority of their warriors (Frazier 1992, 5-6).

Some of the New York Scaghticokes relocated to the Saint Lawrence valley and were eventually merged with the Abenaki in Quebec. Others accepted protection of the Mohawks and resettled in villages along the Mohawk River in New York. The continued pressure of European settlement ultimately forced these Indians to remove to the upper Susquehanna River in the 1720s and to Wyoming, Pennsylvania in 1730 (Brasser 1978, 206).

New Fairfield has since been subdivided so that the present town of Sherman on the New York border below Kent, once a part of New Fairfield, is now a separate town . In February 1751 Josua Mauwee was also dispatched to Wechquadnach to invite kin and brethren there to come live at Schaghticoke This site was on or near the (Cline Farm, northwest of both South Amenia and Swift Pond, which is located just west of Kent, Connecticut.Indian Pond near Sharon, the lake called Gnadensee, the Lake of Grace, the origin of the rattlers that was previously reserved to the Tribeof the proprietors' division ofe Town of Kent Because of the threat of warfare the town was subject to heightened security as far as the movements of Indians was concerned.residing The tribal genealogy shows that Eliza Warrups Chickens, the daughter of Benjamin Warrups Chickens, married Peter Mauwee, grandson of Gideon Mauwee. Oral tradition holds that Mary Ann Chickens was the wife of Jeremiah Cogswell (see Genealogical Report).thereJessensub-communitycustody" overmoneysPandora'sTrudiedidWilliammoneys Schaghticoke

Those who consistently represented the Tribe on deeds and petitions included as well David and John Sherman, Daniel and John Sucknucks, Kehore and Jonathan Warrups.an

The Schaghticoke Tribe lost tribal elder Adele Garby in September 1992. She was the granddaughter of Chief James Harris, the daughter of Chief Howard Harris, and the sister of Chief Irving Harris. She had been among the first tribal members to seek residency on the reservation in the 1960s and was a Connec member of the Schaghticoke Tribal Housing Authority in the late 1970s. She also served as Treasurer of the Schaghticoke Tribal Council of 1981 and as a tribal representative to the CIAC and AID. A devout Catholic who resided in Milford, she traveled to the Vatican in 1980 to witness the canonization of Kateri Tekawitha, the first Native American saint (Garby 6/4/1964; Schaghticoke Indian Housing Authority 10/1/1978; Bourque 1981; Peacock n.d.; Paulette Crone-Morange, personal communication, 4/4/1997).

Litigation continued in the remaining Appalachian Trail condemnation suit (United States v. 43.47 Acres of Land). The Schaghticoke Tribe had entered the case asserting unextinguished aboriginal title to the acres involved. In response to the Tribe's claim that the land had been taken from it in violation of the Nonintercourse Act (25 U.S.C. § 177), the United States moved to dismiss the case partially on the grounds that the Tribe, which had not been extended Federal acknowledgment by the BIA, lacked standing to pursue the case (U.S. District Court 2/24/1994; 2/27/1997).

On February 24, 1994 U.S. District Court Judge Peter Dorsey granted the Federal Government's motion and dismissed the Tribe from the action but was careful to note that in doing so, he did not decide its interest in the land. His dismissal was based on the finding that absent BIA acknowledgment, the defendants had not adequately shown that "those acting under the name of the Schaghticoke tribe could be found to constitute or represent that tribe." The factual determination of whether the dismissed parties actually represented the Schaghticoke Tribe should be performed by the BIA through its Acknowledgment process, Judge Dorsey ruled. On July 5, 1994 the Court entered a Judgment resolving the remaining issues in the condemnation case between the Federal Government and the Preston Mountain Club -- the other defendant (U.S. District Court 2/24/1994; 2/27/1997).

Shortly afterward, the U.S. Court of Appeals in the Second Circuit ruled in another case that the Nonintercourse Act claims of a Connecticut tribe should be stayed pending the BIA's determination of the tribe's petition for Federal acknowledgment (Golden Hill Paugussett Tribe of Indians v. Weicker, 39 F.3d 51, 2d Cir. 1994). In light of this case, the Schaghticoke Tribe moved to reopen the condemnation suit and continue it while the Tribe sought Federal acknowledgment. On March 10, 1995, the Court granted the Tribe's motion to reopen and stayed the proceedings until September 10, 1996 or until the BIA determined the tribal status of the Schaghticokes (U.S. District Court 2/27/1997).

On October 8, 1996, both the Federal Government and the Preston Mountain Club requested that the Court reinstate the July 5, 1994 judgment in the condemnation case. On February 27, 1997 Judge Dorsey denied the motions and extended the stay of proceedings in the case until May 1, 1997. Judge Dorsey noted that the Schaghticoke Tribe had been diligent in its pursuit of Federal acknowledgment through the BIA and that the process of submitting the Tribe's acknowledgment petition was near completion. Judge Dorsey therefore requested that the Tribe submit an account of the status of its revised BIA acknowledgment petition (U.S. District Court 2/24/1994; 2/27/1997).