Archaeology and Ethnohistory in Connecticut’s Northwest Corner: The Mohican Connection

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Introduction

The early contact period Mohicans referred to themselves as the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok, or “People of the Waters that are Never Still” (Davids 2004). They were a powerful tribe with an expansive homeland when first encountered by Dutch traders exploring the Mahicannituck (present Hudson River) in search of a northwest passage to the Orient. The Dutch called them Mahikanders and Mahikans, terms derived from the pronunciation of the tribe’s name by their Indian interpreters who lived about New Amsterdam (now known as New York City). Members of the Lenape and Munsee nations (lumped by the English under the name Delawares because a great part of their tribal homelands was within the Delaware River Valley), they called the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok Mauheekunee and Mahikanak (Brasser 1974: 1). The Mohican ancestral homelands extended along the Mahicannituck from south of Pine Plains, New York and the Roelof Jansen Kill, south of the present Connecticut-Massachusetts border northward to Lake George and the upper portions of Lake Champlain, and from the Catskill and Helderberg mountains on the west eastward into the upper Housatonic River Valley and western New England.

Figure 1 is a map of western New England and eastern New York, showing the locations of tribal communities discussed in this paper. The Paugussett peoples occupied the mouth & lowest reaches of the Housatonic River. Above them were the Pootatucks and Weantinocks. When the Pootatuck and Weantinock lost most of their homelands, they moved north and founded the tribal community of Pishgatikuk. This beautiful Algonkian word, which means “at the meeting of two waters”, was mispronounced by the English and transformed into Scaticook (AKA Schaghticoke). Documentary evidence shows that Mohican homelands extended from the Hudson valley eastward into western Massachusetts and northwestern Connecticut just north of the Scaticook community (e.g., Dunn 1994, 2000).

This paper intends to demonstrate the close social, political, and kinship relations between the Mohican nation and those indigenous tribal communities centered along the lower Housatonic Valley of present Connecticut, specifically the Weantinock and Pootatuck, during both the post-contact and pre-contact time periods. (I use these terms rather than “historic” and “prehistoric” because many Native Americans find the term “prehistoric” insulting, as it implies that there was no history prior to European intrusion into Indian Country. On the contrary, indigenous peoples had ancient oral traditions that were tribal histories.)

Land Transactions
The foremost evidence for Mohican communities in Connecticut are land transactions. In this map from his master’s thesis, Tim Binzen (1997:130) showed the locations of 18th century Indian deeds from Sharon and Salisbury, Connecticut (Figure 2). The signatories and indigenous witnesses on these deeds are Mohicans. Historian Shirley Dunn described the deeds and identified the signers as Mohicans in Appendices A and B in her book *The Mohican World 1680-1750* (Dunn 2000). The earliest known deed was dated August 22, 1719. Four Mohicans (including two women) with four Mohican witnesses sold a tract at a place called “Weatuk” on the west side of the Housatonic above the falls at present Falls Village. That location is part of present day Salisbury, Connecticut. Most of these transactions were signed by the Mohican
leader Metoxin alias Corlaer, whom Shirley Dunn has identified as “a prominent sachem” who lived in the village of Weatuk and “the important sachem of the lower Berkshires” (Dunn 2000:126, 160, 356).

Public Records
The Public Records of Connecticut also contain evidence of local Mohican communities in the form of petitions & other commentary. In 1747, for example, Mohicans in the village of Wechquadrnach filed a petition with the General Assembly protesting the unlawful occupation of their lands by the English (Connecticut Archives, Indian Papers, series 2, vol. 2, document 103). The petitioners were referring to the 1738 sale of Mohican lands in Sharon. This huge tract of land was the parcel marked #10 on the Binzen map (Figure 2).
They claimed that the English had fraudulently included lands in the written deed that the Mohicans had never sold during the actual face-to-face transaction. Significantly, one of the Indian signatories on that petition was Samuel Cocksure, a Pootatuck Indian and one of the leading men in the Schaghticoke community a few miles south of Wechquadnach (Figure 3). Samuel’s signature reflects the close political connections between the Mohicans and the lower Housatonic Valley tribes.

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<th>Wechquadnach: 1747 Petition to CT Assembly for 246 Acre Reserve</th>
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<td>To The Honourable Generall Assembly of this his majesties Coloney of Connecticut In New England now Siting att Hartford In May Anno Dominini 1747 The memoriall of us The Subscribers Indians Inhabiting In the town of Sharon In the County of new haven and Coloney aforsd Humbly Sheweth Whereas : Some time past upon a motion by us made to your Honours Concerning our Lands In Sharon your Honours were Then pleased to appoint And Snd A Com'tee to Examine Into the manner of Sales of our Lands to See whether we had made Sale of all or not and Ever Since we your Honours memorallists have not understood more or Less of The matter we would once again [struck out: make] Humbly Request of your Honours That of your Special favour and Goodness to us The poor Indians Inhabiting In Sharon aforsd; That we may be allowed a Small tract of Lands on which we have Lately built &amp; where we have made our Improvements att a place Called the Indians ponds In The north west Corner of The township of Sharon aforsd our humble Request to your Honours is That we may be allowed About to Hundred and forty Six acres Sharon may ye 16 1747 Quotomock [his mark] alias Moses Suuchewawaha, alias [his mark] Benjamin Samuel [his mark] Cockisure Jannatt [his mark] alias Jonathan Timothy alias [his mark] Cowpaise Ackawahauit [his mark] alias Bartholomew Umpawahanit [his mark] Tsacoke [his mark] alias David William Spencer Attorney for : The memorialists</td>
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Figure 3. 1747 Memorial of the Mohicans at Wechquadnach to the Connecticut General Assembly protesting a fraudulent land transaction.

Binzen has documented at least five historic Mohican villages in the present towns of Salisbury and Sharon (Figure 4; Binzen 1997). By 1752, the Mohicans of northwestern Connecticut were dispossessed of all these homelands when Sharon colonists purportedly “bought” the last standing village of Wechquadnach from only two Mohicans. The other villagers refused to sign what they believed was a fraudulent deed and absented themselves in protest (Binzen 1997:83-87; Dunn 2000:332). Even so, some Mohicans stayed on, refusing to leave their homelands. Moravian Church documents indicate that Mohicans were still living at Wechquadnach several years later (Moravian Church, Box 114, F8, May 10, 1753; Box 115, F3, February 4, 1755).
Figure 4. Location of five post-contact Mohican villages in northwestern Connecticut (from Binzen 1997).

The Moravian Church
The Moravian Church, or Unitas Fratrum (its official name, which translates from the Latin as Unity of the Brethren), was an evangelical Protestant denomination founded in Bohemia in 1457 (United Fratrum ND). In the mid-1700s, The Brethren sent missionaries to America to Christianize its indigenous peoples. From its American center in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the Moravian Church set up missions at the Mohican villages of Shekomeko near present Pine Plains, New York in 1740 and at Wechquadnach in present Sharon, CT in 1743. In that same year a third mission was set among the Schaghticoke in present Kent, CT (Starna and Starna 2009, vol.1:6-14).

Moravian writings provide a less sanitized version of the events in Sharon than do the Connecticut Public Records. The Moravian minister at Schaghticoke portrayed the Wechquadnach Mohicans as literally being forced off their village lands by unscrupulous English.

“The white people had taken almost all their land away from them, that is, the west quarter. Now they were anxiously waiting for a brother from that area who would bring them ‘Full Resolution’ or settlement of the question” (Moravian Church. February 13, 1751, Box 114, Folder 2).

The Schaghticoke Moravians had first-hand knowledge of the situation because (1) Wechquadnach was a Moravian mission village, and (2) the Mohicans regularly visited the indigenous inhabitants of the mission village of Schaghticoke and vice versa for both social and political reasons. For example, in September 1752 Moravian Brother Sensemann reported that
the Schaghticoke “were all busy going about their work of making Canuh [canoes] and baskets. Sister Susana and Magdalena arrived here from wegquatnach. Gotlieb had shot a bear of which they also sent us a piece” (cited in Binzen 1997:85, underlined emphasis added).

In 1749, the Mohicans living at the mission village of Shekomeko were subjected to the same unjust treatment. As at Wechquadnach, the Mohican lands were fraudulently sold off to Europeans, and the people of Shekomeko were forced to leave their homelands (Moravian Church Box 114, F1, April 17-18, 1749; see also Dunn 2000:244-257). Shekomeko was about 10 miles northwest of Schaghticoke (Figure 1). Not only were the Mohican and Schaghticoke tribal members geographically close. The Moravian writings demonstrate their close political relationships as well.

Binzen quotes Brother Sensemann to show that “Despite considerable emigration and dispersal, the Housatonic Mohicans clearly maintained a solidarity that embraced Wechquadnach and Pachgatgoch [Schaghticoke] after 1750”:

‘Timotius and 2 other unbaptized arrived…from wegquatnach’ for a four-day visit. They were soon informed of a social compact between the baptized Indians at Gnadenhutten, Pennsylvania and the Nanticok Indians who lived near the Moravian settlement. A messenger arrived on a mission to inform the Housatonic Indians of the news. ‘Natha[n]iel[‘s]…task here was…to make known here and in wanachquaticok [Stockbridge] the bond which has been made between the Nanticoks and the Brothers in Gnaddenhutten…Gideon summoned at once all the Indians, small and big, and asked me whether it could be announced…in our church…Nathaniel opened the Belte and Strings of wampon and I read to him what each one said…It was very dear and weighty to them’… (Sensemann, cited by Binzen op. cit.:85-86).

The involvement of Schaghticoke leader Samuel Cocksure in Wechquadnach land affairs is another example of political connectedness between the two tribal entities. In May 1753, the resident missionary reported Samuel Cocksure had visited Wechquadnach to see how the Mohicans were faring (Moravian Church, Box 114, F8, May 10, 1753). Two years later, the Moravians reported that Samuel was involved with a “committee” on Wechquadnach land affairs (Moravian Church, Box 115, F3, February 4, 1755). Another example -- upon learning of the tragedy at Shekomeko, the Schaghticoke sachem Gideon Mauwee invited the Mohican villagers to come live at Schaghticoke.

“In the evening, brother Samuel came over from Pachgatgog [Pishgatikuk] with brother Gidion’s message: those who are not planning to go to Bethlehem should come to him rather than go to Wanachquatogog, because he believed it would be better for them, and he would like to take them in” (Moravian Church Box 114, F1, April 18, 1749).
“Pachgatgog” is what the Moravians called the village of Pishgatikuk. The Moravian diaries showed that the Schaghticoke were also politically involved with the central Mohican leadership at Stockbridge, the seat of the Mohican grand sachem. On February 6, 1755, for example, the Schaghticoke tribe sent Samuel Cocksure to Stockbridge on “committee” business. The missionary noted that Samuel returned in eight days with information on Stockbridge politics; i.e., the town’s division into plots for the Mohicans (Moravian Church, Box 114, F1, February 14, 1755).

Another example: On July 2, 1755 the missionary reported that Schaghticoke leaders had received a “wampum message” from Mohican leaders, calling them to Stockbridge. Sachem Gideon Mauwee and Salomon Cherie, the son of the former Weantinock sachem Waramaug, visited Stockbridge five days later and remained there for a week. They reported to the Moravians that the Mohicans wished the Schaghticoke to join with them in allying with the British to fight the French (the French and Indian War was raging at the time). Since the Moravians – and therefore the Christianized Schaghticoke – were pacifists, Gideon refused.

“After the morning blessing, brothers Gideon and Salomon announced that they would go to Stockbridge” (Moravian Church Box 115, F.3, July 7, 1755).

“Of br. Gideon (who returned yesterday; Salomon had to lie down on the road and arrived only today) we learned that the Indians of Stockbridge did not approach him with something special or any decisions. They only demanded that our Indian men-folk should come up to them in order to be used as soldiers in the present circumstances, which he could not agree to” (Ibid, July 16, 1755).

Ethnologist Ted Brasser in his publication Riding on the Frontier’s Crest: Mahican Indian Culture and Culture Change reported that a similar political “wampum message” occurred 35 years earlier (Brasser 1974:27). In 1720, a wampum belt was sent by the Fox tribe in Wisconsin to the Mohican and lower Housatonic Valley tribes. It carried an invitation for them to ally with the Fox in their war with the French. A large powwow was held at Pootatuck to discuss the matter.

A later Moravian document mentioned that Gideon’s son Josua, who became sachem after the death of his father in 1760, visited his uncle “Penn King” at Stockbridge in March of that year. The reference was to the Mohican grand sachem Benjamin Kokhkewenaunaut, whose English nickname was King Ben (Dunn 2000:354).

“Josua [sachem and eldest son of deceased Schaghticoke sachem Gideon Mauwee] reported that he was on his way to Stockbridge, the Pen King has sent for him…Jonathan, Martha’s son, returned from Stockbridge He had been there all winter” (Moravian Church Box 115, Folder 9, March 3, 1760).
“...Josua came back from Stockbridge, visited us at once and said his trip had been in vain, because his uncle Penn King, who sends his greetings together with those of his father, had not sent word to him” (Moravian Church Box 115, Folder 9, March 9, 1760).

In 1767, Joshua (AKA Job) petitioned the General Assembly in Connecticut, requesting that the Schaghticoke tribe be allowed to sell its lands so its members could move to Stockbridge (Figure 5). This petition clearly shows how closely allied the two tribes were. Connecticut claimed that the Colony, and not the tribe, owned the reservation. The Colony refused to allow the Schaghticoke to sell their lands and move to Stockbridge.

“To the Honourable General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut to be held at Hartford on the Second Thursday of May AD 1767.

“The Memorial of Job Mauwehu Indian Living att a Place Called Scattecokk annexed to the Town of Kent in the County of Litchfield In Behalf of himself and the Rest of the Indians in s'd Scatuccook Humbly Sheweth…your Honours Memorialist have an opportunity to Remove to Stockbridge and Settle there which opportunity wee could imbrace to our Great Profitt and convenience In Case wee Could Sell our Sequestered Lands and Receive the Avails o Be Paid out for our Removal from Scatecook and the settlement att Stockbridge” (Indian Papers, Series 1, Volume 1, pg. 96, Connecticut Archives, CT State Library, Hartford).

Figure 5. Schaghticoke Petition to the Connecticut General Assembly to sell their lands and move to Stockbridge.

Kin Relations

The strong political connections between the Mohican and Schaghticoke were bound and strengthened through a network of kin relations. The Moravian baptismal lists, which described members of their Christian Indian congregations, recorded marriages between Schaghticoke and Mohican tribal members. Other Moravian documents also mention intermarriage between the two tribes (e.g., Starna and Starna 2009, vol. 1:579, who cite a missionary’s diary account dated July 2, 1755, which relates the appearance of an Indian messenger from Stockbridge, who is the brother of the wife of “David”, a resident at Schaghticoke). The baptismal lists are wonderful kinship trees. They provided the Indian and baptized names of each congregant, his/her kin relationship to other members, tribal affiliation, place and date of baptism, and often the dates of birth and death (Figure 5).

Figure 6 shows a portion of a circa 1767 baptismal list that identifies the Schaghticoke Gottleib (#149, referred to by the Moravians as a Wampanoos, or “Easterner”, as are most of the Schaghticoke tribal members) as the husband of the Mohican woman Magdelena (#150). As noted previously, the diaries and letters of resident Moravian missionaries also provide insights into Mohican-Schaghticoke social relationships. For example, in 1762 the missionary reported that Magdalena, resident at Schaghticoke, sent word to her “friends” in the Mohican village of Westenhook, Massachusetts that her husband was dying.
“Magdelena [Mohican woman living at Schaghticoke] sent Jonathan to Westenhuck to her friends to let them know that her husband was passing away” (Moravian Church Box 115, Folder 12, 1762).

Schaghticoke sachem Gideon himself had taken a Mohican wife. New York historian Benson Lossing reported this after having interviewed Gideon’s granddaughter Eunice Mauwee on the Schaghticoke reservation in 1859.

“The labors of the missionaries were extended to Schaghticook and the first convert among the tribe there was sachem or King Mahwee, to whom they gave the baptismal name of Gideon…..For a long time he was an exhorter among his people. Believing it would add to the dignity of his household, he was married to another wife from among the Stockbridge Indians, farther up the river, and took her to Pishgachtigock [i.e., Pishgatikuk]” (Benson Lossing 1877 [1859]:455, emphasis added).

Lossing reported that since Gideon already had a wife, his Christian followers were quite upset with their leader, so much so that he was forced to set her up in his old village in the Webatuck Valley in adjacent New York. Oral tradition among the Schaghticoke and among local whites claimed that Gideon himself was descended from a granddaughter of the Pequot sachem Sassacus and a local Mohican leader. In support of the oral tradition, Moravian documents reported that Gideon was a “cousin” to Aaron Umpachenee, the grand sachem of the Mohicans in the 1740s (Moravian Church, Box 114, F4, August 8, 1751).
Figure 6. Detail from mid-18th Century Moravian Baptismal Record documenting Schaghticoke-Mohican marriage (Moravian Church Box 3191, Folder 1).

19th Century Relationships

Mohican- Schaghticoke relations did not end with the movement west of most of the Stockbridge community in the 1780s (Brasser 1974:41-42). Some Schaghticoke went with them. One such Schaghticoke was Samuel Cocksure and his family. In 1792 he is mentioned as living in Oneida country with the Mohicans (Moravian Church Box 161, F1, November 30, 1792). In 1803 the Moravians reported that a very elderly and blind Samuel was “much respected” at New Stockbridge, located near Oneida Lake in western New York (Moravian Church Box 171, F12, January 11, 1803). Also, not all Stockbridge Mohicans left their ancestral Homelands, and those that did often returned for visits (Dunn 2000:256-257; Woodbridge 1856:37). Schaghticoke Lavinia Carter, a reservation resident in Kent who was born in 1805 and died in 1888 (Kent Town Hall genealogical records), was known to visit Indians in the Stockbridge area (Speck 1909:199). Conversely, some Mohicans dwelled with the Schaghticoke.
One example is John Skickett, who is listed on one Connecticut census as an Indian basketmaker “from Oneida”. He was not Iroquois, however, but a Stockbridge Mohican-Munsee (Autenrieith 1795 in Kammler 1996; Walling ND). The Stockbridge Mohicans had been given land by the Oneida in the 1780s; they were later joined by Christianized Munsee (Lion Miles, personal communication dated January 8, 2011, citing the journal of John Sergeant the younger, minister to the Mohicans at New Stockbridge). Skickett married Schaghticoke Laura Carter around 1847. They lived in New York until 1855, when they and their children moved onto the Schaghticoke Reservation in Kent (United States 1860, 1870; Schaghticoke Tribal Nation ND). In the 1920s, some Mohicans were still living near the Schaghticoke reservation (Skinner 1925:91).

The Archaeological Evidence

Numerous archaeology sites from this region are listed in the Connecticut State Archaeology site files (Office of State Archaeology ND). They show that northwestern Connecticut was occupied by a sizeable number of indigenous peoples thousands of years prior to European contact. The Institute for American Indian Studies (IAIS) has a number of late pre-contact archaeology collections from the area that date between AD 1000 and AD 1500 (Anonymous NDa-b, 1985). I would like to briefly discuss a few of them (Figure 8).
Kent Furnace Site

The Kent Furnace Site in Kent, CT has a pottery assemblage with striking stylistic similarities to those of contemporary upper Hudson Valley communities (Figure 9). They include collared incised pots with deep punctates at the base of their collars resembling the type Garoga Incised, as well as pots with uncollared incised and notched lips resembling uncollared New York types such as Otstungo Notched. The site also contained pots that fit the descriptions for the earlier New York types Deowongo Incised and Chance Incised -- collared pots with incised decoration and small or no punctates at the base of the collar (Figure 10). For the record, these pottery types were traditionally referred to as “Iroquoian,” yet they are routinely found on sites in “Algonquian” homelands (e.g., Funk 1976; Kinsey1972; Kraft 1975; Lavin et al.1996), as is the case here. Late Woodland Levanna triangle arrow heads of chert and a variety of bone and stone beads were also recovered.

Figure 8. Location of Some Late Woodland Archaeology collections at IAIS.

![Map of New England showing Kent Furnace Site](image)
Figure 9. Incised & punctated very late pre-contact pottery from Kent, CT (Courtesy of the Institute for American Indian Studies).

Figure 10. Chance horizon pottery, chert Levanna arrow points, & stone & bone beads from Kent, CT (Courtesy of the Institute for American Indian Studies).
The Lovers Leap site in New Milford was located near the main 17th century village of the Weantinock tribal community. It too contained clay pots reminiscent of Hudson Valley pottery types. Figure 11 shows a number of Garoga-like rim sherds from the site. Figure 12 depicts incised collared rims from Lovers’ Leap that fit the type Chance Incised, as well uncollared cord-wrapped stick stamped pottery reminiscent of Hudson Valley Owasco type pottery. The pottery styles from these northwestern Connecticut sites are very different from those found on sites in other parts of Connecticut.

**Figure 11. Garoga and Kingston Incised-Like Pottery from New Milford, CT (Courtesy of the Institute for American Indian Studies).**

**Figure 12. Chance and Owasco pottery from New Milford, CT (Courtesy of the Institute for American Indian Studies).**
POTTERY STYLES FROM SOUTHERN AND CENTRAL CONNECTICUT

For example, Figure 13 shows a Sebonac Stamped type pot from the mouth of the Housatonic River. Its surface is brushed and the rim is decorated with scallop shell impressions. Stamping and brushing are characteristics of the pots from southern and central Connecticut. The type is contemporary with the Late Woodland Owasco pottery from the Lovers Leap site, but very different in shape, surface treatment and decorative technique.

The rims in Figure 14 represent the type Niantic Stamped, also found in southern and central Connecticut and contemporary with the Chance and Garoga types, yet very different in that Niantic Stamped pottery is decorated with scallop shell impressions. Contemporary pottery from southeastern Connecticut is also very different. These Shantok Incised pots are decorated with stamp and drag shell impressions (Figure 15). They also exhibit large mammary-like lobes below their collars and distinctive motifs on their rim points that have been interpreted as corn ears, catapillars, or female genitalia.

Figure 13. Scallop shell stamped and brushed Sebonac Stamped pot from the lower Housatonic Valley, CT (Courtesy of the Institute for American Indian Studies).
**Figure 14.** Late pre-contact collared shell-impressed Niantic Stamped pottery typically found at southern & central CT sites.

**Sites within the Core Mohican Homeland of Eastern New York**

The pottery sherds in Figure 16 are from sites within the Mohican homelands of eastern New York. They represent types of the Chance & Garoga horizons. They are very similar to the pottery from the Kent Furnace and Lovers Leap sites in northwestern Connecticut, much more so than the other Connecticut pottery styles. For the record, these types are also similar to pottery styles found on Iroquois sites in eastern and central New York. As noted above, when found in New England they are often referred to as “Iroquoian” pottery; the references are often accompanied with inferences of Iroquois trade/contact. The fact that these pottery styles are relatively numerous on sites within the homelands of Algonquian-speaking tribal peoples in the Hudson Valley of eastern New York and the Housatonic Valley of northwestern Connecticut strongly suggest that those inferences are incorrect. It is much more likely that the inferred social relations are between New England Algonquian speakers and the Algonquian speakers of eastern New York.
Figure 15. Very late pre-contact to contact period Shantok Incised pottery from southeastern CT.

Research on the stone sources used for tool manufacture showed that the high incidence of chert tool stone at northwestern Connecticut sites resembled the toolstone from Hudson Valley sites. The chert distribution appeared to parallel the distribution of New York Chance and Garoga tradition pottery styles in Connecticut (Cassedy and Lavin 2007). The extensive use of chert in IAIS’s collections from Late Woodland sites in northwestern Connecticut supports Cassedy and Lavin’s previous findings.

Because there are no known chert outcrops in Connecticut, it is logical to assume that Connecticut Indian communities imported chert from New York via existing kin and exchange networks. Interestingly, the chert and pottery study showed a distinctly different tool stone distribution for sites in the lower Housatonic Valley of southern Connecticut. Those sites with mainly Windsor Tradition pottery styles exhibited much less chert artifacts and an abundance of locally available materials such as quartz (Cassedy and Lavin, op. cit.:113-114).
Conclusions

To sum up, documentary evidence from land transactions, Connecticut’s public records, the Moravian Church, the federal census, and other written sources indicate that an intricate web of social, political, and kin relationships linked the post-contact Mohican and lower Housatonic Valley tribal peoples. This bond continued throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, despite intense efforts by local Anglo-American governments to detribalize these peoples and take over their homelands. Furthermore, archaeological sites in northwestern Connecticut exhibit marked similarities in their ceramic styles and tool stone sources to those of contemporary Hudson Valley communities. These similarities strongly suggest that the historically documented bonds between Mohican and western Connecticut tribal peoples were a continuation of social networks deeply rooted in their pre-contact pasts.

Acknowledgments

Donna Hearn provided the map in Figure 1. Tim Binzen kindly allowed the use of mapping from his Master’s thesis that comprises Figures 2 and 4. Lisa Piastuch took the photographs of the artifacts from the Institute for American Indian Studies’ archaeology collections (Figures 9-13). Matt Barr provided the map locating the Late Woodland sites from which those artifacts derived. Figures 14 and 15 were taken by the author with the help of Susan Di Piazza. Figure 16 was taken by former staff of Archaeological Research Specialists under the direction of the author.
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