



The BATTALION JOURNAL

*The Newsletter of Jaeger's Battalion,
Rogers' Rangers*



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Wolves of the Forest

Submitted by Ensign Thomas Pray
New York Company

The Year 1759 was one of British advances during the French and Indian War. Lord Jeffrey Amherst's Army had moved forward and captured Fort Carillon and Fort St. Frederick at Crown Point. He was unable to advance further though the Champlain Corridor as French Ships still controlled the waterway to the North. He set about having a fleet built at Ticonderoga. Work soon began on the Sloop Boscawen and the Brig Duke of Cumberland and a couple of smaller ships also. General Amherst wanted to maintain communication with General Wolfe who was besieging Quebec. Lord Jeffrey Amherst needed to know the pace of Wolfe's advance to determine his own strategies for the remainder of the year. The mission of taking letters to General Wolfe would be one of extreme danger. Whoever volunteered would be faced with a journey of hundreds of miles through hostile territory controlled by the Abenaki and the French. Captain Quinton Kennedy of the 17th Regiment of Foot and

Lieutenant Archibald Hamilton stepped forward and six Stockbridge Indians of Robert Rogers Rangers Mahican caompany did also. Led by Captain Jacob Naunauphataunk and Sergeant Abraham Wnaumpos were Privates John Maunaummaug, Jacob Mis-coukukk, Jeremiah Maukhquampo, and John Jacob. Captain Kennedy was a unique individual for a British Regular Officer. A journal for November of 1756 records his exploits:

"Lt. Kennedy has married an Indian squaw, whose tribe has made him a King. General Abercrombie gave him a party of Indians to go a scalping, in which he has had some success. He has learned the language, paints and dresses like an Indian. It is thought to be of service in his new Alliance. His wife goes with him and carries his provisions on her back."

The Now, newly promoted Captain Kennedy was related to General Murray who was campaigning with Wolfe. He believed if they made it through that he'd be able to give a first hand account of Lord Jeffrey Amherst's advance. Both he and Lt.

Hamilton donned Indian shirts, leggings, decorations and darkened their skins. This almost cost them their lives. The Six Mahicans were chosen for the presence of Captain Jacob amongst them was supposed to alleviate any ill will towards them if captured. He was the son of the Mahican Chief Jacob Cheek-saunkaun. He carried Wampum belts speaking of peace and was related to many Native Mahicans, Wappingers, and Manhattens who had fled English encroachment years earlier. The village of Scaticook had joined the Abenakis at St. Francis earlier and some of his cousins still lived there. He was to say that they were on a Peace mission asking for neutrality from the Abenaki. They were to tell the Abenaki that the British would not attack them if they stopped their support for the French. Surely they could see the French were going to lose. Others in the Stockbridge Native party were also familiar with the region and terrain. They had lived in the area and hunted over it. They secreted the messages to Wolfe amongst their packs, boarded the whaleboats and headed north. Lord Jeffrey Amherst writes in his

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Most Mahican were converted to Christianity after 1707 when Missionary work began. John Sargeant, a particularly effective Missionary, arrived in Western Massachusetts in 1734. In 1735 he built a Missionary House in Stockbridge, at a place the Mahicans called the Great Meadow. By 1736 other Native converts

flocked to the Mission Station from separate areas in the Colonies. Mahicans from Schaghticoke, and Munsee, Wappinger, Manhattens, and Potick tribal groups came to be accepted. Stockbridge Mission remained primarily Mahican but other tribal identity became blurred by marriage, close quarters, and all being Christian. These Mahicans and other tribal groups became collectively known as Stockbridge Indians to other settlers in identity. Most Christian Native converts, including the Mahican, would abandon their traditional ways. They would build frame houses, attend Church on Sunday, attend Schools, raise Livestock, Tend farm fields, and hold other jobs. In

Stockbridge they resembled their fellow colonists in all except the color of their skin. The Stockbridge would remain loyal to Christian teachings and to the King of England. They helped to garrison Fort Dummer in what would later become Vermont, from 1724-1727 in Grey Lock's War. They would serve in King George's War of 1744-1748 as British Scouts. In 1754 they would pledge their allegiance to the Crown of England. In 1756, 45 Stockbridge Warriors volunteered to serve with Robert Rogers as an Indian Company of Scouts. They would provide a vital service in Scouting that mostly, is forgotten or ignored.

**True Indian Fashion
Questions about Stockbridge
Material Culture.**

Submitted by Pvt. Lou Tramelli
Michigan Company

On January 11th 1758 Loudon authorized an expansion of the Corps of Rangers as requested by Rogers. Included in the authorization were Loudon's instruction, "*And the Company of Indians to be dressed in all respects in True Indian Fashion*"

Is this simply a dispensation from a uniform requirement or does this order suggest that in previous years the Stockbridge may have dressed differently than Loudon expected? We know that the later Stockbridge Company of the Revolutionary War dressed similar to typical field laborers including homespun shirts, trousers and straw hats. What do we know of the Stockbridge that served under Rogers?

To begin with, the Stockbridge society at large was changing rapidly and detailed material culture evidence is fragmentary. The "pre-Stockbridge" Housatonic Mahican band that formed the main body of Stockbridge society transitioned from their traditional lifestyle to the adoption of European style settlement and agriculture practices in just five short years. The wigwams and winter hunting grounds recorded by Sergeant in 1734 were being replaced by English style homes with fenced fields of grains, horses & hogs, (in addition to the Three Sis-

ters), as recorded in the newspaper account of 1739. Simultaneously, the Housatonic Mahicans settlers at Stockbridge accommodated a sizable, permanent influx of Wappingers, as well as a few other natives and some "whites". How quickly this combined body discarded traditional elements of dress for a more assimilated look, or how uniformly the transition occurred, isn't clear.

Though the exploits of Captain Jacob Cheeksaunkun and the Stockbridge Companies were noted by numerous, unaffiliated combatants stationed in the areas they deployed, many material culture questions remain. However evocative the sight of the Stockbridge skulking into the forest and returning with macabre trophies was, the diarists recorded few details regarding their appearance. Even Major Robert Rogers, whose command they fell under, never specifically discusses Stockbridge appearance in his journals. The only detailed native description Rogers records is found in his post war Concise Account of North America. In it he describes the totally unrelated Mohawk in great detail, but he significantly qualifies his Mohawk description in the following manner, "*Their customs manners and modes of dress are adopted by many other tribes as near as possible.*"

Rogers describes the Mohawk, and by extension northeast tribes in general in this manner:

"Their military dress has something in it very romantic and terrible, especially the cut of their

hair and the painting and decoration they make use of. They cut off, or pull out all their hair, excepting a spot about the size of two English crowns near the crown of their heads, their beards and eyebrows they totally destroy. The lock left upon their head is divided into several parcels each which is stiffened and adorned with wampum beads and feather of various shapes and hues, and the whole twisted, turned, and connected together till it takes the form much resembling the modern pompadour upon the tops of their heads. Their Heads are painted Red down to the eyebrows, and sprinkled with over with white down. The gristles of their ears are split almost quite round, and then distended with wire or splinters so as to meet and tie together in the nap of their necks. These also are hung with ornaments and have generally the figure of some bird or beast drawn upon them. Their noses are likewise bored, and hung with trinkets of beads, and their faces painted with diverse colors, which are so disposed to as to make an awful appearance. Their breasts are adorned with a gorget, or medal of brass, copper or some other metal; and that horrid weapon the scalping knife hangs by a string which goes around their necks."(Rogers, 227)

If the Stockbridge under his command appeared radically different

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would Rogers have noted it? Is this Loudon's conception of True Indian Fashion? As mentioned earlier, the only confirmed eyewitness account detailing Stockbridge appearance is the Revolutionary War Journal of Hessian Captain Johann von Ewald. Von Ewald is also the painter of the only known contemporary image of a Stockbridge Mohican. While other possible Mahican images exist, none are confirmed like the Ewald's. Captain Ewald based his painting and written description on his examination of the fallen Stockbridge warriors after the Battle of Kingsbridge on Aug 31, 1778, twenty years after Loudon's order. A translation of Ewald's eyewitness description states:

"Their costume was a shirt of coarse linen down to the knees, long trousers also of linen down to the feet, on which they wore shoes of deerskin, and the head was covered with a hat made of bast. Their weapons were a rifle or musket, a quiver with some twenty arrows, and a short battle-axe, which they know how to throw very skillfully. Through the nose and in the ears they wore rings, and on their heads only the hair of the crown remained standing in a circle the size of a dollar-piece, the remainder being shaved off bare. They pull out with pincers all the hairs of the beard, as well as those on all other parts of the body." (Ewald, 145)

Note the similarities of hairstyle and ornamentation in the Rogers and Von Ewald descriptions. It may be safe to assume that the piercings, hair and paint practices Rogers describes generally apply to the F&I Stockbridge. Rogers' commentary on the earlier native weapons usage seems to correspond with Ewald's later observations as well. Rogers notes,

"The weapons used by those who have commerce with the English and the French are commonly a firelock, hatchet and scalping-knife; while others use bows, tomahawks and pikes, etc." (Rogers.230)

The main discrepancies between Rogers' general Native F&I description and Ewald's Revolutionary War Stockbridge specific description are in the clothing. Ewald clearly describes the 1770s Stockbridge wearing trousers and woven (straw) hats while Rogers states that the Natives of the 1750s generally engage in war,

"...equipped for the purpose, with a thin light dress, generally consisting of nothing more than a shirt, stockings, moccasins and sometimes almost naked." (229).

How should we interpret these clothing discrepancies? Whether they were the result of increased assimilation and the adoption of euro clothing norms over the two decades, or the result of Loudon's instruc-

tions is irrelevant. Additional sources support the supposition that Rogers' general description is applicable to the Stockbridge Company that served under his command. While none are definitive, collectively they suggest that the Stockbridge followed the pattern observed by Rogers in the French War. Warren Johnson's Journal of 1761 corroborates Rogers' claims of general Native military dress and body ornamentation so closely that it would be redundant to quote him here. Johnson adds one detail claiming, *"...the men of them go mostly bare headed."* (Johnson papers vol 13,200). Warren Johnson's observations regarding general native culture are significant in so far as he was a direct observer of the greater Hudson Valley region the Stockbridge occupied, and had unparalleled access to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to include his dealings with the Stockbridge.

A second source that supports Rogers is the wonderful Thomas Davies painting, **A View of the Lines at Lake George** (next page). Painted in 1759, it may well contain an F&I era eyewitness depiction of a Stockbridge and a "white" Ranger. The native depicted appears clad much like Rogers description in a shirt and leggings, but with the addition of a match-coat. The leggings and moccasins appear to be ornamented, possibly with beads and beaded finger-woven garters. The significance of this painting is hard to over state due to the documentation of the artists' presence at the

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time. The limitation with this work as a definitive source lies in our inability to confirm the subject's identities or whether they were painted from the artist's first hand observation.

A slightly earlier 'Stockbridge contemporaneous' image is the Van Bergen Overmantel. The Overmantel, which likely depicts the closely related Catskill Mahicans, supports the applicability of Rogers description. The natives in this slightly stylized painting are wearing match-coats, shirts and moccasins also. This image is relevant due to

the date and location of its composition. It was produced in the early years of the Stockbridge mission at a location indicating Mahican or possibly related Munsee representation.

The recently translated Account Book detailed in the Munsee Indian Trade in Ulster County, New York 1712 - 1732, by Kees-Jan Waterman, clearly establishes that the pre-settlement Stockbridge purchased the clothing items that Rogers describes almost exclusively. Several of the senior Wappingers and Mahicans that went on to settle Stockbridge are listed in the anonymous Dutch merchants account book by name. Included are members of the extended Nimham family, and the kin a person of John (Jan) Van Gelder, one of the Mahican signatories of the original Stockbridge land grant.

In short, the purchasing patterns of the "soon to be Stockbridge"

largely paralleled the native purchasing throughout the account. Strouds (wool cloth), blankets and shirts were the majority of textiles purchased. (As an aside, 1/3 of the shirts were listed "colored" or "dobelstin" meaning "diced" or check. This number is significantly higher than the data in the Johnson Papers or the Evert Wendell Accounts based out of Albany.) Other clothing items purchased included extremely trivial amounts of stockings, garters, ribbons, caps and coats. Prior to the mission, the overall trade percentages for the accounts were as follows: textiles 35%, alcohol 29.2%, ammunition 23.2%, knives & axes 4.2%, foodstuffs 2.9%, kettles / pipes / tools 2.2% , etc. (Waterman, 16)

Given that Rogers' general description of Native appears valid for the early Stockbridge, it would be logical to examine his observations regarding wampum, beadwork and quillwork. Rogers' observations seem to suggest such ornamentation was used quite extensively. Given the composition of the Company, one example that may be representative of quill work found among the Stockbridge members may be the Wappinger pouch and knife sheath currently housed at the Mt. Gulian Historic site. Rogers observations of this type of ornamentation include:

"The savages make great use of these quills for ornamenting their clothes, belts, arms, etc(263)

They dye wampum of various

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colors and shades and mix and dispose of them with great ingenuity... (223) They have the art of stringing, twisting and interweaving these into their belts, collars, blankets, mogasons, & etc in ten thousand different sizes, forms and figures, so as to be ornaments for every part of dress, and expressive to them of all their important transactions. (223)

The other item common to the mid century images and the trade accounts is the match-coat or blanket. Sergeant's diary relates their widespread use among the pre F&I Stockbridge, and Rogers and Johnson both observe that they are used extensively as, "...sometimes they range through the woods for months together without any house at all or any covering but a skin or Blanket." (Rogers, 247)

Undoubtedly the blanket was bound and carried with a tumpline, perhaps encompassing smaller, undocumented possession. However Tumpline documentation, use and constructions techniques will be covered in a separate article



Charlotte J. Gury, Jr. Photo 2015

Cpt Lt Dennis Mckibben of the Eastern Indian Company



Mahican War Club ca 1750.
National Museum of the American Indian

www.nmai.si.edu/searchcollections/item.aspx?irn=216006&catid=2%2C1&areaid=22®id=83&culid=299&src=1-1

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Journal for August 8, 1759:

"As it is of consequence that I should hear from Gen Wolfe as well as he should likewise hear from me I concluded to send Capt. Kennedy with Lt. Hamilton, Capt Jacobs, and five (Mahican) Indians to go through the settlements of the eastern Indians with a proposal from me and take their answer to Mr. Wolfe whom I have directed to treat them accordingly."

At Mississquoi bay they landed and proceeded North East towards the Yamaska river. They would then follow it to the St. Lawrence. They traveled for days amongst swamps, cedar forests, and boggy land. They were soon discovered by a band of 20 hunters from St. Francis who followed them for a few days to watch them. On the 24th of August the Abenakis surrounded the smaller party of Mahicans and two English Officers. Startled by the sudden appearance of these warriors the Mahicans and two Englishmen ran. They were quickly captured. Captain Jacob now had to convince the Abenakis that the Mahicans and English, who were discovered to not be Natives, were not all spies. They were threatened with death but Captain Jacob produced the Wampum belts and argued for the mission and the promise of friendship if they were not harmed. While he held the Abenaki's attention other Mahicans secretly destroyed some of the let-

ters by eating them. The Abenaki hunters were still not convinced and took the small party back to St. Francis where they were received by the Jesuit Missionary, Pere Roubaud who detained them and sent word to Governor Longueuil of their capture. They were beaten repeatedly and threatened with horrible deaths. At the same time it was discovered that one of the Mahican Privates had been married to an Abenaki squaw. She recognized him when they entered the village. She had fled north from Scaticook but he remained loyal to the English. A council of St. Francis Abenaki was called. It was decided that the Mahican Private would be set free and forgiven if he would rejoin his wife. He refused. He was told he would be tortured and burned. He still refused and was subsequently tortured to death. The other Mahicans were sent to Three Rivers, then to Montreal, where they were put in irons and imprisoned on a ship in the St. Lawrence. Most of the secreted messages had been destroyed but two thin packets of letters and congratulations to each other's commands were confiscated. The Two English Officers at first were treated badly but when the French Officers realized that Kennedy was related to General Murray, that punishment ended and they were treated civilly. Not so for the Native Mahicans. The Sergeant and Privates were to languish in the prison ships until an exchange in November. Captain Jacob would not be released until August of 1760. The ill treatment of his two Officers and the native Ma-

hicans Scouts on this Kennedy-Jacobs Mission is the opening curtain for the St. Francis Raid. Shortly after hearing of their capture and treatment by the St. Francis Abenaki, Lord Jeffrey Amherst looks for revenge and the Attack on St. Francis by Major Robert Rogers and his Rangers is approved. More Mahicans will participate in that campaign and as Wolves of the Forest, they will now carry more vengeance into the Forests. The Mahican Private would not be forgotten by Captain Jacob and his manner of death would for years afterwards be a deterrant to peaceful relations among the Mahican and Abenaki.

An Outstanding Line of Battalion Bonnets Offered by Judy DeJonge

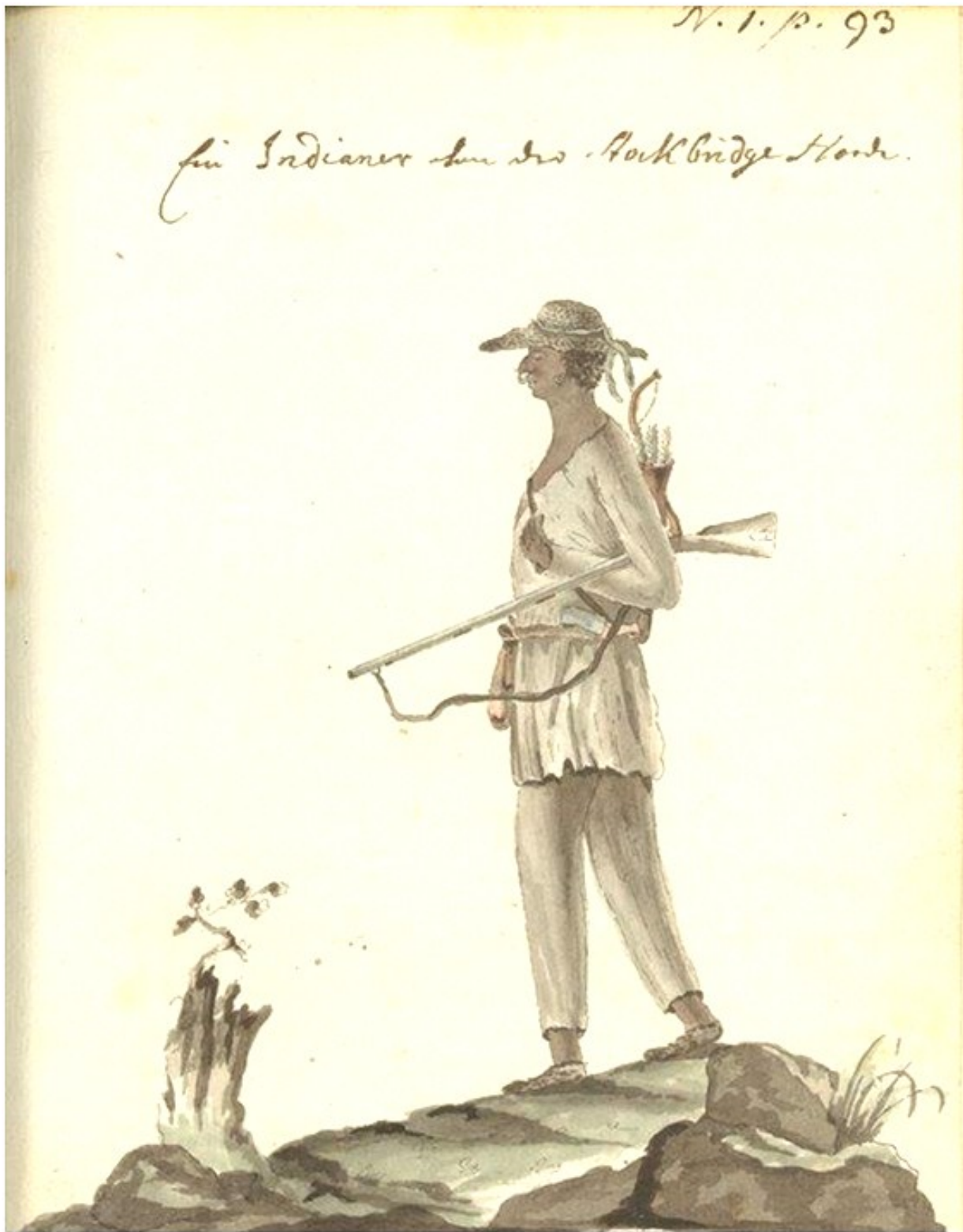
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Watercolor of Stockbridge Warrior in 1778 by Johan Von Ewald, based on his eyewitness observations.

Duly Noted

Speaker-
Albany Conference 1754

"We view ye now as a very large tree, and we look round to see if there are any who endeavor to hurt it, and if it should happen that any are powerful enough to destroy it, we are ready to fall with it."

A Stockbridge Mahican

July 6th, 1757

"Captured two Mahicans and a wounded Englishman. The Indians brought two of them to me and tore the other apart, and as he was good ate him...you will not get either of these prisoners. The Englishman will die...he is badly wounded...The Mohican whose flesh is not appetizing will be burned."

Louis Antoine de Bougainville

June 2nd, 1758

"A party of Forty met a party of eighteen Indians and five English. It took four scalps; two English and two Indians and nine Prisoners. Two English, Two Delaware, Four Mohawks, and a Mahican."

Louis Antoine de Bougainville.

June, 1760

"The Mahican Indians, simply

considered are not of such great consequence to us. We can subsist without them, but if we consider them with a relation to peace or war, as attached to us or our enemies...they certainly have the balance of power in their hand, and are able to turn it for or against us."

Rev. Samuel Hopkins

September 24th, 1759

"I had the Indians mustered by Major Gordon-a most idle, worthless set & if their Capts. (Jacobs) were not taken prisoners I should send them all to their homes. If I send them on a Scout they all come back in twelve Hours sick, & here they will do nothing but eat and drink, except forced to do it."

General Jeffery Amherst

October 23rd, 1759

"To save unnecessary expenses to the Government & our provisions, I got rid of the Indians. Sent them to Albany to return to their own homes. 43 in number & as idle, good for nothing, a crew as ever was."

General Jeffery Amherst

A Stockbridge Pow-Wow

*Submitted by Private Lou Tramelli
Michigan Company*

About eight of the clock in the evening Ebenezer (The Mahican

translator) came to me, and told me they were going to Pawwaws (as we call it) that they might discover the murderers that way; for they expected that those who did the Fact would appear to their priests. I immediately rode down to them, found upwards of forty Indians at the Lieutenant's wigwam/ which was swept clean, good fires made up, and the Indians seated on each side of the fires, from end to end of the wigwam, except a space of about five or six feet, which was left at one end of the wigwam for the priests, or pawwaws. Every Indian had two sticks about a foot and a half long, one of them split at the end, which they held under their legs as they sat. When I went in they were all prepared for the exercise, but had not begun. I ask d them if they were willing I should be present to see their Devotion and before they gave me an answer the oldest priest lift up his eyes towards Heaven, and spake very earnestly; after which they told me I might be there. They began with rapping their sticks and singing, their eldest priest sitting and talking, and acting a different part from the rest. This continued about an hour. Then the priest rose up and threw off all his cloathes, except the flap that cover d his nakedness; and then, naked, pass d from one end of the wigwam to the other, with his eyes fast shut, seeming to be in the utmost agony, used all the frightful

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motions and distorted gestures imaginable. This continued about another hour. Then the first priest, being beat out, retired, and a second one rose and acted the same part; so a third and a fourth. This continued all night, without any intermission except some short intervals in which they smoked a pipe, and sometimes for a short space they all got up and danced.

-Journal of John Sergeant (Hopkins, 36)

Sustenance and Libation

The following recipes were submitted by
Ensign Thomas Pray
New York Company

Hudson River Dutch recipes Native American (17th & 18th century) recipes

Indian Corn Cakes with Blueberries

- Pound ye corn until powder
- add some honey & Blueberries
- Mix with some water & Butter to make a cake
- Set next to fire on a flat stone to bake or frye in a pan
- Some cinnamon or nutmeg

Corn Chowder (Hudson River region)

- Ears of corn scraped off cob
- chopped squash
- ramps
- water with salt added
- fish or Venison chunks.
- cook slowly in a pot

Turkey

- rub inside cavity of bird with sugar
- fill with apples, cranberries, and corn meal
- salt outside of bird and wrap in soaked corn husk leaves
- Bake slowly

Pompion

- Take two small pompion, remove seeds
- Chop in to small pieces
- take apples and chop removing seeds
- Fry in suet with salt and cinnamon
- Mashed together



Sketch of a Mahican Warrior
Generously granted by
Gary Zaboly

Traditional Diet

Vegetables and Grains

The majority of the Mohican diet consisted of protein from wild game and carbohydrates in the form of vegetables or wild harvested plants or tubers. Agriculture played an important role in the Mohican culture. Corn, beans and squash were the main crops planted in fields and were a large portion of the traditional diet as they were crops that were able to be dried and used for later consumption in the long winters. Some popular wild harvested plants available in the summer included milkweed and wood greens. Wild rice was not a staple of the Mohican people, but was harvested from time to time where it was available.

Skamonan | Hull Corn
t'pākwan | beans
waped | white beans
nānaskaikē | Black beans
wnanekatkotkan | squash
Menomih | Wild Rice
wīskenosch | milkweed

Fruits, Seeds and Nuts

wtähmen | strawberries
menan | blueberries
kawesemen | blackberries
wampsōmen | gooseberries
kīsohwāhāwan | sunflowers

Wild Game Staples

Deer, moose, turkey, and fish served as the traditional meat staples for the Mohican people. Other game was hunted on occasion which included bear, muskrat, beaver, raccoon, squirrels, and other game birds such as partridge. The various bands that lived in the Hudson River Valley also harvested clams that preferred the brackish water environment of the river.

atoh wegas | venison
mōs | moose
nahama | turkey
namasak | fish

<http://mohicanfoodsovereignty.weebly.com/traditional-diet.html>



Cpt Lt Dennis Mckibben of the Eastern Indian Company



*Fort Niagara 2015; Al Parker and reenactors portray the Native American element of the French and Indian War.
Photo submitted by Linda Meekel*



Close Up of the Van Bergen Overmantle believed to be Mahicans 1730 - 1750

www.hudsonvalley.org/crossroads/image/image33.html



Wappinger quilled pouch and knife sheath example on display at the Mt Gulian Historic Site (17Th C)



The Eastern Indian Company: Steve Braum, John Scaffidi, Robert Hostetter, Dennis McKibben, Bill Wibble, Douglas McKibben, Tom Hinkleman and Steve Allen (not shown)

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