Lesson Plan Unit: Captives in the Colonies

Historical Background

Deerfield and King George's War

We can see that wars involving France and Great Britain during the 1700’s were often played out in their North American colonies. In 1700, the Spanish king had chosen Phillipe of Anjou, a young Frenchman, to succeed him to the throne. With France and Spain now allied after his death, the English king and the Holy Roman Emperor joined together against the French and Spanish for the ten year War of Spanish Succession.

In August, 1703, French and Indians attack English settlements in New England. There are many fewer French than British settlers in North America at that time, and the French work hard to protect their interests. They ally with various groups of Indians, some of whom have moved into New France and become “French Indians,” and the French want to ensure the continuation of their lucrative fur trade. The Iroquois, though neutral in the French/English conflict, are involved with the French through trade. The English retaliate by attacking Abenaki Indian villages.

The stage is now set for the attack on Deerfield. The French target the minister and leader of the small, Connecticut River valley town, John Williams, hoping to capture him and exchange him for a French pirate prisoner. The Indians who join in the raid participate for revenge and for “ransom.” The attack occurs on Feb. 29, 1704, and the result is 48 residents killed, 112 captured and only about 140 residents left living in the town. Minister Williams, his family (including his daughter Eunice, age 7), are captured and taken to New France. After a period of years, Minister John Williams is returned, but not Eunice. Minister Williams seems to fear most for Eunice's spiritual health. Though at first an unwilling captive, after just a few short years Eunice refuses to leave her captors and by age sixteen, has married a Mohawk Indian and embraced the native form of Catholicism (to the horrors of her Puritan family). She has children and settles into her life there for about the next eighty years. Despite repeated attempts to entice her home, it takes forty years before Eunice returns to Massachusetts for a short visit, and she remains until the end of her life an “unredeemed captive.”

As we know, the historical novel, Echohawk, takes place in the 1740s in upstate New York. This is during the time of another war in Europe called King George’s War, or the War of the Austrian Succession. This meant that in the colonies France and England are once again fighting for power and control. To exact revenge after the Iroquois have allied with the English,
Saratoga, known as “Saratoga on the Hudson” in *Echohawk*, is burned and destroyed in November 29, 1745 by the French and Huron Indians. This event occurs several years after the attack on Jonathan Starr’s (Echohawk)’s settlement, in which Jonathan is captured by the Mohicans and his family is killed. As a result of the attack on Saratoga, there are thirty deaths and about one hundred people taken as captives to New France. A truce in this war is reached in 1748, though it does not last long before the next and probably most famous “French and Indian War.”
**Essential Questions**

Why were English colonial settlers often captured by the French and the Native American tribes during the colonial period (and especially the time of Deerfield-1704 and King George’s War-1744-1748)?

Why would captives have chosen to remain with their native counterparts despite attempts to “redeem” them back to their birth cultures?

What motivated white colonists to “educate” Native Americans or English colonists who had been assimilated into Native American cultures, and what was the result of that education?

**Learning Objectives**

Students will be able to read and analyze primary sources from both *The Unredeemed Captive* and *Letters from an American Farmer* to increase their understanding of the English colonists’ perspectives on colonial captivity.

Students will be able to compare Jonathan Starr’s (Echohawk’s) captivity experience with that of Eunice Williams from Deerfield.

Students will be able to write a concise persuasive paragraph and will synthesize what they have learned about the complex causes and effects of captivity in the colonies to construct their arguments.

Students will be able to evaluate different choices and will be able to justify their decisions by using supporting examples from the primary and secondary source materials.

**Learning Activities**

Even though Echohawk (Jonathan Starr) was a fictional character, there were many instances throughout colonial history in which colonial settlers were captured and adopted into Native American tribes and who faced similar choices as Echohawk did. We are going to take a look at one such person from history, Eunice Williams, and we will read some primary sources about her capture and life among the “French Indians” in the early and middle 1700s. We will compare their experiences and will form a colonial “task force” that will role play decision making that may have occurred during colonial times about the issues of colonial captives.

Students will break into preselected groups to research these issues from the point of view of colonial English settlers.

Day One: Introduce project and its expectations to the class. Read as a whole class activity the “Historical Background on Deerfield” page and discuss this reading.
Assign groups and roles (leader, recorder, readers) and break up into teams to read “Interview with Dr. Gerald Alfred” and to answer “Day One questions.”

Wrap-up this session by sharing responses to the readings and the “Day One” questions.

Day Two: Analyze primary sources from The Unredeemed Captive and Letters from an American Farmer. Introduce the books and their major themes. Discuss the bias of John Williams and other 18th century correspondents that must be attended to when reading their letters or other writings about colonial captives.

Read aloud and discuss the various selections from The Unredeemed Captive and Letters from an American Farmer. Examine salient points, explain unfamiliar vocabulary and discuss the possible bias of the authors.

Next, break into the small team groups. The teams should rotate roles from the first day. Groups should first read the interview with “Eunice Williams” (as told by an historical interpreter) to help them further their understanding of Eunice’s captivity experiences.

After reading this interview, the students should answer the “Day Two” questions and finally the whole class can meet again to reflect on its responses.

Day Three: Write persuasive paragraphs and role play task force meeting
Students will prepare their presentations for the task force meeting by synthesizing the information learned and by writing a coherent persuasive paragraph. Modification may be needed here- when appropriate, students may write their paragraphs with a partner, or may simply explain their point of view by writing their opinion in one sentence and then listing, with bullet points, two to four supporting examples.

Groups will present their findings to the colonial task force and based on the strength of arguments, vote on the most suitable response to the issue of captives in the colonies. Finally, students will complete the self-assessment portion of the assessment sheet.

**Assessment**

Assessment will occur through analysis of the completion of the three days of activities and the presentation of the groups’ recommendations to the task force. Group participation, understanding of historical background and primary sources, and clarity of the arguments presented to the task force will all be assessed. This is a multidisciplinary project, so assessment will be reflected in the areas of both language arts and social studies. The final result will be in the form of a well-written persuasive paragraph that will be used to present to the group. (see assessment sheet)
Assessment Sheet
Colonial Task Force Group

1. Group participation and effort all three days 1 2 3 4
   1- minimal participation for the three days
   2- inconsistent effort and participation
   3- solid effort and participation
   4- excellent participation and leadership skills demonstrated

2. Questions completed reflect an accurate understanding of the attack on Deerfield, the history behind Echowhawk and the events in Eunice Williams’ life 1 2 3 4
   1- incomplete or inaccurate responses
   2- inconsistently accurate or thoughtful responses
   3- consistently accurate and thoughtful responses
   4- accurate and insightful responses

3. Persuasive paragraph includes at least four supporting examples from the readings 0 2 4
   0 (no examples)
   2 (1-3 examples)
   4 (four or more examples)

4. Persuasive paragraph contains strong topic/closing sentences and is well-organized and logically written. 1 2 3 4
   1- Topic/closing sentences may be missing. Argument is unclear or illogical.
   2- Contains topic/closing sentences but argument may be unclear
   3- Contains solid topic/closing sentences and writing is generally clear and logical
   4- Paragraph is well-organized and insightful

Self-assessment (same categories)

1. 1 2 3 4
2. 1 2 3 4
3. 0 2 4
4. 1 2 3 4
Annotated Bibliography

John Demos’s study of the attack on Deerfield and its effects on the life of Eunice Williams, her father, minister John Williams, and her adopted and biological families.

An historical fiction novel, set in the 1740s, which examines the life of a young English colonist from New York, who is taken captive and raised as a Mohican, until he needs to make a decision to remain Mohican or to return to a life of an Englishman.

A descendent of Eunice Williams and a member of the Mohawk community describes the Native American perspective on the Deerfield captives.

Eunice Williams’ story of capture told through the eyes of a historical interpreter.

A brief article detailing the founding and early years of Deerfield, including the attack of 1704.

Essays on colonial life in the 1700s by a French citizen turned “American” colonist.

“USA History: Wars - King George’s War: War of the Austrian Succession.”
Brief accounts of King George’s War taken from two encyclopedic sources.
Student Activity Pages
Captives in the Colonies

Scenario:
A special task force has been called forth by English colonists to tackle the issue of French and Indian attacks on colonial towns and what to do about the colonial captives who have been taken during these raids. Representatives have been called together to gain an understanding of why these raids are occurring and to determine what course of action should be taken. Some captives are later returned for ransom or prisoner exchanges, while some others are adopted into the tribes into which they have been captured. As a group, you feel that it is important to acquire varying perspectives on these raids and their effects on the colonies, so you and your team must do research before arriving at any final decisions.

Your class will be divided into five groups and over the next three days will use background information, knowledge from the historical fiction novel Echohawk, and primary sources from The Unredeemed Captive and Letters from an American Farmer to help lead you to your final recommendation, which you must present to the other task force members and justify using at least four examples from your readings. As you read, think about the point of view (or bias) of each author and how that point of view might affect what he or she writes or thinks.

Here are your choices:

A. Pursue the Native Americans who are “holding” the captives through whatever means possible. Nothing the English colonists done justifies the capture of another family’s child.

B. Encourage the education of the captives in colonial schools to help them to understand their original “culture” and language and to allow them to make a decision about whether to return to the cultures into which they were born or to stay with their adopted tribes.

C. Allow the captives to stay in their “new” homes with the understanding that the captives often choosing to remain with their captors and that nothing can be done to change their minds.

D. Allow the captives to remain in their “new” homes but encourage them to return to their former homes through the use of letters, translators, visits, etc. You can even entice them home with bribes.

Each day, your group will pick different jobs for the group (readers, recorders, presenters, and organizers) and on the final day, you should pick one presenter to represent your group to the entire task force. Use the assessment sheet to ensure that you are meeting the expectations of the assignment. As a last step, a vote will be taken to finalize what course of action will be taken. You will learn more, through reading of the historical background and primary sources, about the capture of Eunice Williams and compare this to your knowledge of what happened in Echohawk.
Even though Echohawk (Jonathan Starr) was a fictional character, there were many instances throughout colonial history in which colonial settlers were captured and adopted into Native American tribes and who faced choices that were similar to Echohawk's. We are going to take a look at one such person from history, Eunice Williams, and we will read some primary sources about her capture and life among the "French Indians" in the early and middle 1700s.
Day One: Questions on Historical Background

Directions: Use the “Historical Background” page, pg. 175 from Echohawk, and “An Interview with Dr. Gerald Alfred” to answer the following questions in complete sentences.

1. What happened at the Deerfield raid? Why were colonists, and especially John Williams and his family, taken captive?

2. What happened to John Williams’ daughter Eunice? Why did she not return to her family?
3. How was the capture of Echohawk (Jonathan Starr) similar to, or different from, the capture of Eunice Williams?


4. How does Dr. Gerald Alfred feel about his and some of his tribal members' ancestral connections to Eunice Williams or other English captives?


Day Two: Analysis of primary sources and questions on education of captives

Directions: Read the following documents as a class and with your teammates work together to answer the questions in complete sentences. .. attached selections from The Unredeemed Captive, "Eunice Williams: My Story," and pgs. 146-147 from Letters from An American Farmer.
1. How might Eunice have felt during and after her capture?

2. Why was she not returned to her English family?

3. What role did religion play in the attempts by colonists to “redeem” or take back their captives?

4. Why were white settlers interested in “educating” former settlers who had been captured and raised by native tribes? Were they successful in this education?
Day Three: Your final assignment!

Directions: Here is where you and your team will put it all together. Use what you have learned from the various readings, discussions and the answers to the questions you have completed to reach a conclusion with your team about what should be done about colonial captives.

What choice has your team decided should be followed? ______________________________

Now you need to explain why you have made that choice in a clear, well-written paragraph. Be sure you have strong topic and closing sentences and at least four supporting examples from your readings. Use your paragraph to help you justify what course of action you feel should be followed when you present to the rest of the task force.

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________
Dr. Gerald Alfred

by Donald R. Friary
Executive Director, Historic Deerfield

Dr. Gerald Alfred (RIGHT), assistant professor and director of the Center for Native Education at Concordia University, is a member and resident of the Mohawk Community at Kahnawake near Montreal, Canada. He is a direct descendant of Eunice Williams, the unredeemed captive of Deerfield who was brought to the Mohawk Community in 1704. In the summer of 1994, on the 290th anniversary of the attack on Deerfield, Historic Deerfield sponsored a tour (by bus) to retrace the route taken by the Indians and their captives. Stops on the seven-day trip included Fort Chambly in Canada, where the captives were first brought, and the Mohawk Community at Kahnawake, where Williams lived. Donald Friary, executive director at Historic Deerfield, spoke with Dr. Alfred about his thoughts on life at the Mohawk Community and its connection to Historic Deerfield.

In a community like Kahnawake where there are people named Williams, is there a strong connection to the past and to European ancestors? Not really. The process of assimilation [to make similar or incorporate] was complete for people who came from outside the community. Although we know that residents of the community like myself have ancestry linked to a Colonial settler, our identity is exclusively Mohawk, and the cultural traditions we celebrate are Mohawk.
Is there much interest in the stories of the captives?
No. People on the outside try to identify with a particular ancestor. In the Mohawk Community, the history of the people is shared history. For example, we assume we are all descended from great Indian orators and warriors — there is not the individual conception of identity or history.

When were you first aware that you were descended from Eunice Williams?
I came across some Jesuit mission records when I was doing research for my doctoral degree a couple of years ago. The Jesuits had been keeping documents of marriages, adoptions, births, and deaths since the 1730s.

Why did freed captives remain among the Mohawks rather than return to their families?
Most captives were young children and women. Their Indian life was better than life in the Colonies. By the time they had to make a choice, captives had families in the community, and they decided that Kahnawake was their home.

What was life like for children in the Indian community?
Life was less strict and freer. The Mohawk way of child rearing is very natural. Children were usually left to be raised and nurtured under the care of elderly women in a nonstructured and supportive environment.
Kanienkehaka
Mohawk Allison Tewesa McGregor displays her beadwork. Beginning when they are 6 years old, children in Kahnawake are taught beadwork as an after-school activity.

Was life among the Mohawks better in other respects?
Yes. Women had a place of respect and equality, a degree of political and economic power, which was not the case in white Colonial society. That may be one reason why Eunice never wanted to return to the world that she had been born into.

What are the greatest advantages of living in the Mohawk Community today?
Although twenty years ago there was extreme social and economic hardship on the reservation and the community still lacks material comforts today, there is a greater sense of community, identity, and political and social cohesion among native people.

Does the sense of community extend to the past?
Yes. That is the major difference between native and nonnative peoples. White people live in the present and the future. Native people live in the past. Mohawks base their wisdom and culture on the past experiences and values of their people. This reverence for the past clashes with American society today.
other captives, including two men from Deerfield who are dying from starvation. ("Jacob Hix... looked like a ghost, was nothing but skin and bone, [and] could scarcely go.") Food is chronically short for all; in one period Stephen and his companions subsist on broth made from "a moose's paunch and bones," in another on "roots... and bark of trees." By this time the boy is fully "symbolizing" with his captors (as his father would put it); he wears native "habit," and has his hair cut "like an Indian, one side long and the other short."

Eventually the group will head to Canada and Fort St. François. There Stephen will be transferred to his master's kinsman, a Pennacook "sagamore" (chief) named George. His adventures with the Indians will stretch through a full fourteen months: with more long travels for hunting, weeks of "making sugar with the sap of maple trees," winter at the fort, springtime labor in planting, brief stops at French houses here and there. Meanwhile, the French governor will be "often sending to the Indians to buy me." And, finally, in May 1705 these efforts will succeed—at the price of "forty crowns." Stephen will spend the rest of his captivity living with his father in a French village to the east of Quebec.

And then: Eunice. She, like her siblings, has been treated well so far. Her father will write later, with evident gratitude, that she "was carried all the journey and looked after with a great deal of tenderness." But she belongs now to the Indians—to the Mohawk residents of the mission "fort" near Montreal called, by the French, St. François Xavier du Sault St. Louis, and, by the residents themselves, Kahnewake.

Her father begs the governor for assistance in recovering her, and Vaudreuil responds sympathetically. A priest is summoned "to go along with me to see [her]... and endeavor her ransom." But when they arrive at the mission, "the Jesuit" in charge informs them that I should not be permitted to speak with or see my child... and that the Mohawks would as soon part with their hearts as my child.

Williams is disconsolate as he returns to Montreal and reports to Vaudreuil. The governor becomes "very angry" with the Jesuits; they will try again, he says, together. And so:

after some days he went with me in his own person to the fort. When we came there, he discoursed with the Jesuits, after which my child was brought into the chamber where I was.

Fateful reunion. Father and child. A chance to talk, to give comfort, to reassure.

I discoursed with her near an hour; she could read very well and had not forgotten her catechism.

At least she is safe, she is well. And her roots hold strong. But, understandably, she was very desirous to be redeemed out of the hands of the Mohawks and bemoaned her state among them.

The Mohawks, however, are unyielding. As the priest had previously warned, they will not part with her on any terms.

As the conversation continues, Eunice shows her bewilderment—and her pain. It is all so strange for her: the fort, the people, their words and customs. She tells him, in particular, how they profaned God's Sabbaths and [how]... a few days before they had been mocking the devil and... one of the Jesuits stood and looked on them.

He feels helpless, powerless. God alone has the power here. But how will He use it?

I told her she must pray... for His grace every day. She said she did as she was able and God helped her. But, says she, "they force me to say some prayers in Latin... I hope it won't do me any harm."

A fist in his belly, a dagger in his heart. Here is the beginning of... what? Of change, of "harm," as yet unmeasured. "Latin prayers," the "French tongue," "popish religion," "Indian savagery": a chain unwinding far into the future. He knows its meaning, but can only repeat what he has said before.

I told her she must be careful she did not forget her catechism and the Scriptures she had learned by heart.

But is this enough? What does she think?

She told the captives after I was gone... almost everything I spoke to her and said she was much afraid she should forget her catechism, having no one to instruct her.

Seven years old... much afraid... having no one: the core of her redemption.
tact with her during the time of his own captivity: had seen her once at her Indian home and again "a few days after in the city [of Montreal]." Moreover, he had surely heard about her from time to time, through the French governor (who tried unsuccessfully to buy her freedom) and "his lady" (who "went over...[and] begged her from them, but all in vain"), not to mention fellow captives, "messengers," and assorted visitors to the mission-village. Now that he was himself redeemed, he was farther from her—much farther—and quite helpless to affect her fate. For the time being he would have to rely on others. 20

The first news to reach him after his return came through Peter Schuyler of Albany, a merchant with extensive contacts among the northern Indians. Writing to Samuel Partridge (commander of frontier garrisons at Hatfield, Massachusetts) on February 18, 1707, Schuyler said:

As to Mr. Williams Daughter, our spies which we sent to Canada are Returned, who as they were hunting, saw Mr. Williams Daughter wth ye Indian who owns her, she is in good health but seems unwilling to Returne, and the Indian not very willing to part wth her, she being (as he says) a pritty girl, but perhaps he may Exchange her if he can get a very pritty Indian in her Rome, which he must first see, you may assure Mr. Williams I will do all that lays in my power to serve him, as I have formally wrott to him...

A puzzling—and disturbing—report. Good health: all right, thank God for that. The Indian who owns her: her master? her adoptive father? It just isn't clear. Not very willing to part with her: they'd heard as much already; still, painful to have it confirmed. A pretty girl: ambiguous qualifier. Clever? Skillful? Pleasing to look at? (All are acceptable eighteenth-century meanings.) Perhaps he may exchange her: an opening there, something to remember for the future. (Or is he simply leading them on?) She seems unwilling to return: that is new, and especially hard to bear. How can she? How dare she?... But, Schuyler will keep trying. And if anyone can bring it off, he can. 20

A few weeks later, Partridge wrote back to Schuyler. A "Captive Boy" had recently returned, largely through Schuyler's efforts: "many thanks for yor kindness therein & [I] have Sent you...Seventeene pounds Nine shillings to make & Complete the dues for his Redemption." (The ransom line again.) As for the future: "Please to do what
"those who prefer of their own will to remain here, I will not force
them to go back." She doesn't want to leave.

These replies must have seemed virtually to foreclose further re-
demptions, since captives held by Indians and captives unwilling to
leave covered almost the entire lot. Eunice Williams was, evidently,
irretrievable on both counts. Thus in 1711, the Massachusetts lead-
ership began to consider another—and tougher—approach to the pro-
blem of her continuing captivity. Twice that year, and once a year later,
proposals surfaced for a more coercive form of exchange. In April,
Samuel Vetch, the newly appointed English commander at Port Royal,
reported the taking of a certain "Father Justinian, a French Priest," as
a "lawfull prisoner of War." Vetch ordered the priest held "with
design to obtain Mr. Williams' daughter in exchange for him," and
asked the Massachusetts Council to approve of this (and pay for it).
The Council "advised that the sd. Priest be kept to be exchanged
accordingly." Moreover, the very same meeting approved a separate—
but similar—plan. An "Indian woman" and her two young children
had recently been captured in a campaign "against the enemy East-
ward." And the governor proposed "sending [her] . . . with a Letter
directed to Maxis the Eastern Indian Sagamore, importing that if he
will procure Mr. Williams' daughter from her Indian Master at Canada . .
then this squaw & her son & daughter (who are to be detained as
hostage for her return again) shall be sett at liberty and returned
home."52

Two proposals—one with French, the other with Indian, bait. In
fact, the records do not refer again to the first, but the second was
definitely pursued. The "squaw" appeared in Montreal some two
months later, as noted in the following letter by an English-speaking
priest there.

Montreal, June 26, 1711

Sir:

Since you are gone, a squaw of the nation of the Ab-
nakis is come in from Boston . . . She goes about getting
a little girl daughter of Mr. John Williams.

The Lord Marquis of Vaughtreul helps her as he can.
The business is very hard because the girl belongs to
Indians of another sort, and the master of the English
girl is now at Albany . . . The same Lord chief Governor
of Canada has insured me in case he may not prevail with
the Mohoggis for Eunice Williams, he shall send home

Tantalizing, to say the least. Did the Williamses know of this curious
initiative? Perhaps—but, unfortunately, none of their surviving corre-
spondence dates from these months. Did the "squaw" succeed? Yes
and no. Yes, she succeeded in regaining her freedom and that of her
children. But, no, the exchange was not for Eunice Williams. (A
subsequent note in the Council Records mentions only "some English
prisoners procured . . . for that purpose." ) Probably the "hard busi-
ness" of crossing tribal lines—of persuading Kahnawakes to yield for
the sake of Abenakis—was simply too hard to resolve. But other
English families, not to mention the squaw's own Indian kin, must
have been gladdened as a result.53

These maneuvers could only have heightened public concern over
Eunice Williams's fate. Cotton Mather, for example, mentioned her
twice in his diary that summer. "I have a poor Kinswoman," he began
on July 31, "who has been six or seven years a Captive, in the hands
of the French Popish Indians. I am afraid I have not considered the
miserable Condition of that Child, with such a frequency and fervency
of Supplication, as I should have done." And again, a month later:
"As I have often pray'd for her Deliverance, I would now grow in
the Importunity of my frequent Supplications for her; every Day
constantly remember her and mention her." John Williams was himself
in Boston at midsummer, and perhaps his presence drew further atten-
tion to Eunice. Mather's diary noted a special resolution to "make
her condition an Argument in Discourses with my own children, for
Thankfulness and Piety." Already something of an exemplary figure,
Eunice would in subsequent years become "an Argument in Dis-
courses" among people all across New England.54

The summer of 1711 also took John Williams back toward Canada
for the first time since his own redemption. He accepted appointment
as chaplain to the latest, and largest, in the annual series of military
expeditions against New France. Alas for the English, the ships car-
rying their attack force went aground and broke up near the mouth of
the St. Lawrence, with much loss of life and weaponry.55 How the
chaplain personally experienced these events is not known. Back in
Deerfield weeks later, he and his family awaited another winter with
mingled hope and apprehension. "No news from Albany," he wrote
to Stephen in early December.56

Spring brought plans for renewed activity, on both the military and
Their attitude—Schuyler must know—could well decide the result of his “proceedings” about Eunice.

And [as I] was informed before that this infant (As I may say) was married to a young Indian, I therefore proposed to know the Reason why this poor captive should be Married to an Indian being a Christian born (tho nearly taken from the Mothers Breast and such like Instances &c). . . .

Schuyler has learned, either before leaving Albany or after his arrival in Montreal, of Eunice’s recent marriage. He sees this as a key to the question of her return, and, too, as a weak spot for the Jesuits. Eunice is, after all, a birthright Christian, and is still so young. And is “pitiable,” and vulnerable, by reason of her continuing captivity. Her marriage, under such circumstances, seems morally questionable—to say the least.

Whereupon the priest Sett forth to me Such good Reasons, with Witnesses that [neither] my Self, or any other person (as I believe) could fairly make Objection against their Marriage; (First sd he they came to me to Marry them) very often wch I always refused with good words and persuasions to the Contrary, But both continuing in their former resolutions to Such a Degree, that I was constrained to be absent from ye fift three Several times, because not Satisfied my Self in their Marriage.

Which priest, first of all? Probably Cholenc—in his position as “superior,” and as the one with longer tenure at the mission. So he, too, finds their marriage questionable. He has tried, he says, to dissuade them; and failing in that, to avoid them. All to no avail. This is clearly their own idea—no sign of families involved—and their persistence is itself impressive. But is the priest being truthful? Well, he has “witnesses,” and Schuyler is inclined to believe him.

Untill [at] last, after Some days past they both came to me, and sd that they were Joined together, And if he would not Marry them they matter’d not, for they were resolved never to leave one the other But [to] live together heathen like; Upon wch I thought proper to Join them in Matrimony and Such like Reasons as aforesaid the priest did plainly Sett (forth). . . .

A striking admission here: the limits of the priest’s own authority. They will have what they want, this young Indian and his English-born sweetheart. They would rather be “joined” in the Christian way;
I first Spoke to her in English, Upon wch she did not Answr me; 
And I believe She did not understand me, she being very Young 
when she was taken, And living always amongst the Indians 
afterwards . . . 

Schuyler has heard as much already, so perhaps he is testing her now. 
All right, the test confirms her loss of her native tongue. 

I Employed my Indian Languister to talk to her; informing him 
first by the French Interpreter who understood the English Lan-
guage, \textit{What should she tell him, and what Questions should} 
\textit{Ask her}, Accordingly he did I understood amost all what he said 
to her; And found that he Spoke according to my Order . . . 

The translation system goes into effect: English to French to Mohawk, 
just as planned. Moreover, Schuyler himself has a working knowledge 
of Mohawk, so he can check on the results. 

but could not get one word from her. . . . 

Now the real problem: she will not respond—will not so much as 
open her mouth—even when, clearly, she does understand. Schuyler 
makes his case anyway. He tells her, he asks her, he implores her. The 
war is over now; many captives have returned already, others will be 
returning soon. Her family longs for her: her father, the beloved pastor 
of Deerfield; her sisters and brothers, growing older now; her new 
half-siblings; her grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, and countless 
other "friends." All awaiting—prayerfully awaiting—her eventual re-
demption. Must she still disappoint them? Does she not belong with 
them? \textit{Come back with me, child, come back to your home.} But still 
she sits there: impassive, silent. No single sign that she is moved by 
any of this. No flicker of warmth or even of interest. 

Upon which I advised the priest to Speak to her. . . . 

He must try another approach. She will not answer him, it seems; but 
perhaps Cholonec will have better luck. 

And if I could not prevail wth her to go home to Stay there, that 
She might only go to see her ffather, And directly return hither 
again. . . . 

Another proposal, too: more limited, a compromise. Let her try a 
visit—and then make up her mind.

The priest made a long Speech to her and endeavoured to per-
suade her to go, but after almost half an hour's discourse—could 
not get one word from her . . . 

Cholonec is doing his best. To Schuyler's arguments he adds some of 
his own. The charity she has learned in his church. The honor of her 
adoptive community. She dare not resist such reasonable proposals. 
But the steel holds tight; her silence continues. 

And afterwards when he found She did not Speak, he again 
Endeavoured to persuade her to go and see her ffather, And I 
seeing She continued impersuadable to speak; I promised upon 
my Word and honour, if she would go only to see her ffather, I 
would convey her to New England, and give her Assurance of 
liberty to return if she pleased—the priest asked her Several 
times for answer upon my earnest request, And fair offers . . . 

They are virtually begging her now. The terms of the offer will protect 
her fully; what more could she possibly ask? At least they must have 
hcr answer. Some answer. Any answer. And finally they do. 

wch was after long Solicitations \textit{(Jaghte oghte)} which words being 
translated into the English Tongue their Signification \textit{(is)} maybe 
not but the meaning thereof amongst the Indians is a plaine 
denyall. . . . 

There it is. Two Mohawk words. \textit{Jaghte oghte. Peut-etre que non.} 
\textit{Maybe not.} It comes to the same thing: one word really. A word the 
Indians would rather soften. But, to be blunt about it: \textit{no.} Not to stay, 
not for a visit either. \textit{Eunice won't go.} 

and these two words were all we could get from her; in almost 
two hours time that we talked with her, Upon this my eyes being 
almost filled with tears, I said to her mySelf, had I made such 
proposals and prayings to the worst of Indians I did not doubt 
but [that I would] have had a reasonable Answere and consent to 
what I have so. . . . 

One last-ditch appeal, baldly based on shame: Eunice is worse than 
the worst, her behavior wholly unreasonable. Or is this simply a bitter 
thrust—an attack—born of Schuyler's mounting frustration? Attack 
and attack: probably a little of both. 

Upon wch her husband seeing that I was so much concerned 
about her replied had her ffather not Married againe, She would
sionaries proposed the marriage of a captive to some member of the lodge to which she had been given... [and] the Indians rejected the proposal with horror. From this he deduced both the strength of the maternal connection and the fullness of the adoption process. In fact, wrote Lafitau, "the father's household is foreign, as it were, to the children." And another early visitor commented that "in general, the children are regarded as belonging more to the mother than to the father." Moreover, said a third, for the father himself "his mother and his sisters are more dear than his wife." Kahnawake men would always retain "the right to be fed" in their mother's household, where "care was taken to guard their portion"—and where they would "ordinarily spend most of the day."19

...Indian people, and Iroquoians in particular, were notorious among Europeans for indulging—indeed "spoiling"—their young. "We may justly reproach them with the way in which they bring up their children," wrote Pierre Charlevoix in an early-eighteenth-century travel journal; "they do not so much as know what it is to correct them." And another traveler commented, just a few years later, that "the [Indian] child is not troubled in any way; they leave him to do entirely as he wishes." Toddlers and younger children were typically left "naked in the lodge"; mothers would "let them do everything that they like... under the pretext that they are not yet at the age of reason." Lafitau was especially struck by their playfulness: "One sees them jostling each other with kicks and punches." Older children were given little chores—"they follow their mothers and work for the family"—but through suggestion, not firm discipline. Moreover: "No one... would dare to strike and punish them."20

In short, the "savage" child experienced a notably mild regimen—at least by European standards. And this seems to have been true for captive children as well. Franquet explained the reluctance of captives to return home by "the liberty and licentiousness with which they are raised," and described an Englishman, introduced to him at Kahnawake, as a clear case in point. Deerfield's own Joseph Kellogg, taken in the massacre but subsequently repatriated, confronted the parallel question of why so many had willingly accepted Catholicism. His answer was as follows: "The Indians indulge the English boys abundantly [and] let them have the Liberty they will... and so an easy way of life and libertinism is more prevailing with them than any affections they have to religion." These outcomes of captivity seemed to underscore the differences between English and Indian childrearing.

Equally different were the physical surroundings of domestic life.

From framed wooden dwellings, of square or rectangular shape and replete with English "appurtenances," captives moved to homes of Iroquoian design. The latter were built "in the form of a vault or arbor," with rough posts at the sides and bent saplings to create an arched roof; these, in turn, were covered with elm-bark. "Traditional Iroquois longhouses extended to as much as 100 feet, with a lengthwise alignment of hearths (feux) down the center and smoke-holes overhead. Kahnawake dwellings, like Kahnawake families, were far smaller: A single hearth was perhaps the norm, and two or three the maximum. Indeed, by the 1750s (according to Franquet) "these savages [were developing]... the taste for building houses French style, in square frames, or even in masonry." Still, their "ordinary cabins" (the great majority) followed the old model. A drawing from mid-century shows Kahnawake as an array of "arbor"-like structures.21

Typically, their interiors were simple—and very functional. Longhouse construction had always included open "platforms" along each side (for lounging and sleeping), and roughly the same pattern was retained at Kahnawake. Franquet speaks of side "cots," assembled from "planks... elevated about two feet above the ground [and] covered with mats of rushes or straw." The "place of honor," he said, was near the door and was customarily reserved for the chef de la cabane.22

Europeans found these arrangements uncomfortably close and disorderly; Franquet called them a virtual "pell-mell." Lafitau, though less fastidious than most, deplored the "fleas and bedbugs" of the houses in summertime—and the way they "stink... when the Indians dry their fish." In winter there was cold so penetrating that "I do not know how they can survive... as little covered as they are, especially those who sleep far from the fires." Worst of all, in any season, was the smoke—which Lafitau called "unendurable... when one is standing erect," and which another priest found "so dense that I fail to understand how they do not lose their sight."23

For Eunice Williams, the changes may have been especially abrupt—more so even than for other captives. Her Deerfield family was, after all, an accentuated version of the main English type. Her house itself was more spacious and elaborate than most—as befitted the Williamses' high status. There were "chambers" of several sorts, and furnishings well beyond the average for a frontier settlement, and books, and other accoutrements of "civilized" life.24 Her father's eminence in the local community must have translated into special, even "paternal," prerogatives at home. Certainly, in later years, he...
THE UNREDEEMED CAPTIVE

The news would not reach Stephen for a long time. But in November we find this in his diary:

I hear my Sister Eunice's Husband is dead. Ye Lord mercifully regard my Sister in her widowed Estate & . . . have mercy upon her Soul . . . Oh Lord, thou hast the Hearts of all in thine Hand. If it may be for thine Honour & her real Good, be pleased to Encline her to return to her native Land.

Did he imagine that the odds of a return to her native land were now significantly improved? That just as her marriage long before had cemented her ties to Kahnawake, so, too, her newly widowed estate would loosen those ties? He doesn't specifically say, but the implication is clear. It seems, however, improbable that she experienced Arosen's passing this way; though widowed, she was hardly alone. Various bits of evidence suggest close relations with her (now grown) children. They had traveled with her, and would continue to do so. And every communication received from or about her linked her fate and theirs. Moreover, the Kahnawake clan system with its many-sided obligations among kin, would itself have given comfort and protection. Finally, there was the mission-church: the "offices" of the priests, the support of her fellow worshippers. No, Eunice had many reasons to stay—and few, if any, to leave—even in the face of her loss.

By curious coincidence Stephen was about to undergo a similar change. His own wife (Abigail) had been chronically ill for some years, and now her condition was worsening. In August 1766, he noted that she was "very poorly," and prayed "ye Great Physician will help her." His children gathered from their various homes, and waited with him "between hope and Death." Then, on the 27th, he wrote: "We are preparing for ye funeral of my Dear wife (who Dy'd yesterday) . . . are Getting a Grave dug & a Coffin made & she is put into it. . . . Our House is now an House of Mourning." On the 28th, they had "ye funerall Exercise" and "Carid the Body of my Dear Consort, and laid it in ye Dark, Silent Grave." On the 29th, his children and friends departed, and "a Great Gap is made in the House"; Stephen was left to ponder his having "liv'd with her more than 48 years, in the marriage State." He described his nights as "restless" and filled with "disquieting dreams, about Indians." 47

Yet his grief would subside in the succeeding months, and he remarried barely a year later. His new wife was a Longmeadow widow named Sarah Burt. Perhaps these transitions explain another interval of apparently diminished concern for his "poor sister at Canada." In 1767, he did report a visit by one of the Cuylers "from Allbany," who "brings me account yt my Sister Eunice . . . was alive ye beginning of January & [that] She & her two daughters were well." But otherwise he scarcely mentioned her through a good half-dozen years. 48

In fact, this same period brought a shift in the substance, as well as the frequency, of his comments about Eunice. No longer did he appeal for her "return to her native country"; in fact, his diary made not a single reference to this theme after 1765. Instead, he expressed the wish that "I might be serviceable to her & hers," that "Some Good may be done" by the letters he wrote her, that his prayers "might be of some advantage [to her] Eternall Soul." The prayers themselves ran strictly to spiritual matters: for example, "ye Ld be pleased to reveal himself in his Son . . . and Grant she may be saved in ye day of Lord." This, of course, had always been among his central concerns—coupled always with prayers for her return. "Redemption" in two senses, in this world and the next. But now in only one.

Had he actually given up the hope of all his earlier years—the hope, too, of his father and his other Williams kin, not to mention their numerous "friends" throughout New England? Perhaps his most recent disappointment, in the aftermath of Arosen's death and the start of her "widowed estate," seemed somehow final. Or perhaps, with his advancing age (also hers), he was drawn more and more to the prospect of otherworldly reunions. Perhaps, too, he was simply "wearied and fatigued" (the words he had used during her 1761 visit). Whatever the mix of reasons, the shift itself seems palpable—and stunning. A dream of sixty years' duration was gone.

But the story of their lives would continue for some while longer. And, in 1771, it produced something that is otherwise unique in the surviving record: a letter from her to him.

Coughnawago 12th March 1771

My dr Brother
We have not Reed any acct from you Since your Letter of the 10th of Sept. 1761 and are much Surprised that you Cannot find some opportunitie of Letting us know from you by Letter or otherwise. We are all in good helth. My two Daughters are married and well. The one of them has one Child, and the other has not had ane nor any apperance of him Everey having any. We have a great desire of going down to see you, But do not know when an opportunitie may offer. We are very desirous of hering from you, and when you write let us know if all our
Friends are yet alive and if they are in helth and how they Live, with there names that are alive. I am now growing old and can have but little hopes of seeing you in this world. But I pray the Lord that he may give us grace so to Live in this as to be prepared for a happy meeting in the world to Come. Doubtless you have herd that my husband is ded. He has been ded this six yeres. I have nothing more to aquot;ent you with, but I am desirous to be Remembred to all Friends and Relations, and Remaine your

Loving Sister until death,
Eunice Williams

On the back was written the address: "To Mr. Stephen Williams in Longue medow New England."

Apart from the short Mohawk phrase uttered during her fateful interview with the trader Schuyler more than half a century before, these are her only words that survive today. To be sure, they are not fully hers, since she knew no English—and could not write in any language. The role of a translator/scribe is evident in the phrasing itself—"going down" (presumably the French verb descendre) to visit New England, for example, and "the one of them... and the other" (l'un et l'autre)—not to mention the rendering of the place-name "Longue medow." Still, we can get no closer to her thought and feeling than this.

What, then, is the thought and feeling expressed here? Interest. Affection. And, above all, a wish for connection. The reproach with which she begins: her being much surprised that he hasn’t written in so long. The recounting of her own family news, followed by the request for his—and that of all our friends. The great desire to revisit New England, but her little hopes of actually managing to do so. The prayer for a happy meeting in Heaven. The opening salutation to my dear brother, and the farewell from your loving sister until death. And the way she identifies herself as, simply, Eunice Williams. Connection is indeed her theme, from beginning to end.

Stephen noted his receipt of her letter three weeks after its writing (April 2), and responded with a familiar prayer: "Oh, yt God wd bless hr & hr off Spring, and reveal himself in his Son, in a Savaing manner to yr Souls." This was, of course, his own mode of connection. From now on his diary shows only occasional, intermittent concern with Eunice. At one point he described himself "writing letters to my Sister at Canada." At another, he "receivd a letter from N York (from Col-

P. Schuyler) Giveing me an account yt my sister Eunice was alive & well ye middle of Novembr: last." And, at still another, he was "informed... yt my sister Eunice's 2nd Son was come to Hatfield with a young french wife." This last he found "Surprizeing & cant be true as my Sister has no Son." A week later the information was corrected: "the person yt was Soposd to be my Sister Eunice's Son proved instead to be the son of another woman also "taken Captive at Deerfield when ye Town was taken."

During this same period a group of Protestant ministers began to proselytize the Indian communities of Canada, and their work would open new channels of communication to New England. Most were young men associated with "Moor's Charity School" (later reorganized and renamed Dartmouth College) in New Hampshire. The Reverend Thomas Kendall, for example, spent the summer of 1773 in Kahnawake, and kept a lengthy journal of his experiences there. He lived in the house of an ex-captive named Stacy, attended at least one mass (in which he "saw more Hypocrisy than could possibly go with a rational mind"), went occasionally into "counsel with the Chiefs," conducted an informal school for "Indian boys," himself learned to "speak Indian perty fast," and promoted the admission of several of his best pupils to the Charity School the following winter. His journal does not mention Eunice, but certainly he knew her. For, in December, Stephen's diary noted receipt of a letter "from Mr. Thos Kendall... who has been (last Summer) at Canada." Kendall offered "Some account of my Sister Eunice & family"; moreover, he "thinks they are willing to come (at least some of yr) & See us if they were invited."

In February, he heard from his friend Henry Cuyler that "Eunice's daughter Katherine & her Husband were with him [in Albany] a few days ago," and that Eunice herself had traveled part of the route south (to within "about 3 miles from fort Edwards"). They had hoped, indeed, "to have come hither [to New England], but... winter over taking them preventd their journey." Stephen found "ye affair... difficult" to understand, believing that "they might have come thither Easily in a Sleigh." Still, he "wrote to Mr. Cuyler to Supply them with ye value of ten or twelve Dollars if they need it," and left the rest for God to "mercifully over-rule." Two months later, Cuyler wrote again "yt he has not heard from my Sister Eunice & family Since ye beginning of March." He had been unable, therefore, to "advance [them] some mony (as I desir'd)," but would do so if and when he had the chance. In July came yet another letter from the same source, and "I learn yt tis probable my Sister returnd to Canada upon ye very
EPILOGUE

In "this world," too, the story continued—even without the living presence of its leading protagonists. Their descendants would remain in touch, and at least occasionally in direct contact, for decades yet to come. And would add new twists to the ties of blood and interest that still connected them.

As Eunice’s sole surviving grandchild, Thomas Thorakwaneken Williams was a key link to the next stage. His activities as huntsman and trader—and as sometime military scout, negotiator, and middleman in the world of intercolonial politics—took him repeatedly southward from his Kahnawake home. Occasionally, perhaps quite often, he would visit en route with his New England “friends.” In the summer of 1785, for example, one of the Longmeadow Williamses wrote to his aunt in Deerfield that “the last Sabbath A Grandson of your Sister Eunice came here & with him a Cousin of his.” This was Thomas and a certain Jean Baptiste Toietakherontie (who may also have had some Williams blood). They “propose tarrying here nine or ten days, & are going from here to Deerfield.” They had made other stops already; as a result, they carried “letters of Genl Schuyler of Albany [a Revolutionary War hero] and Mr. West of Stockbridge [the current missionary there] informing who they are & recommending them to the kind treatment of their friends.”

This evidently cordial encounter followed a pattern that would long endure. In the winter of 1800, Thomas reappeared with two of his children, apparently at the express invitation of Deacon Nathaniel Ely (husband of a granddaughter of Stephen Williams). Deacon Ely recorded their arrival as follows: “January 23 . . . Mr. Thomas Williams with his two Sons, viz. Lazau [short for Eleazer] Aged 11 and John Sunwattis 7, came to my House at Longmeadow.” The boys were in Indian Dress and could not speak a word of English. They were put immediately to School.” Ely noted also that “These Lads are Great Grandchildren to Eunice Williams who was Carried into Captivity in the year 1704.”

Putting the two boys to school was, in fact, the purpose of their visit; subsequently, Ely would describe what “indefatigable Pains have been Taken to Learn them to Read & Write and also to Give them some Knowledge of Agriculture and the Arts of Civil Life.” The result—he seemed to imply—might even reverse the “capture” of their notorious forebear; gradually, they would be brought back to “civil life.”

Deacon Ely declared that “the Lads are well Inclined and in Particular the Oldest Appears to be a Solem youth.” However, a short “reminiscence” composed years later by a fellow pupil suggests a more complicated story. There was, first, the matter of their “very grotesque and attractive appearance”: the colorful “blankets [they wore] . . . worked into the forms of a loose great coat,” the “beaded wampum . . . about the loins,” the “scarlet gaiters” buttoned up their legs, the moccasins on their feet, and “the hair of their heads carelessly stuck with feathers.” In a “country retreat” like Longmeadow “this exhibition excited a wonderful and wondering attention.” In church “the whole congregation, on Sunday, instead of looking at the minister . . . could . . . think of little but the Indians.” And, in school, they were equally “as much the objects of curiosity.” Their teachers were obliged to “humor . . . the wildness of their nature and habits . . . [and] to endure the disorder which their manners at first created.” From time to time they would “jump up and cry ‘Uumph’ or some other characteristic and guttural exclamation, and then perhaps spring across the room.” Occasionally, they would “dart out” of the schoolhouse altogether “and take to their heels in such a direction as their whims might incline them.”

The boys remained in Longmeadow for about five years—and gradually dropped their Indian dress and manners and adopted those of their new society. They traveled occasionally to the homes of other Williamses, one of whom noted their visits in her diary. (“In the evening our Indian cousins visited us,” or: “Today . . . came here . . . our Canada cousins.”) Their father “came down” to check on their progress, and later sent a fulsome letter of thanks to Deacon Ely. (“I do think, Sir, that you are a best friend to me I have in the world.”) Eventually, the younger boy was taken back to Kahnawake. But
about the glaciers in Alaska and Canada and the prairies and deserts in the American West? They knew what North America looked like because of ancient trading routes among the nations. They also knew about these places from *The Wallam Olum*, a collection of Lenape stories collected as pictographs and now published as a book (Avery Press, 1993). According to the Delawares’ oral tradition, the ancient Lenapes left central China thousands of years ago and gradually migrated to the eastern seaboard of North America.

*The characters*
Glickihigan and Bamaneeo were real people. They were Turtle clan Mohicans who left the Hudson River Valley in the 1740s and were living in the missionary town of Gnadenhutten, Ohio, by the 1770s. In March 1782 American troops led by Lieutenant Colonel David Williamson killed ninety Mohican and other Delaware residents in Gnadenhutten. One of those killed was an old man named Isaac Glickihigan. He was described as “a sachem, and was noted among his countrymen, for superior wisdom and courage.” There is no record, at least none I could find, of what happened to Bamaneeo.

Jonathan Starr is pure fiction, but Starr is a family name of mine. The Starrs lived in colonial New York and Connecticut. The Lenapes or Delawares have always been a source of fascination for me, because one of the New York Starrs was born a Delaware woman.

*About the Hudson River Valley*
I used the Village of Saratoga as a model for my river town of Saratoga-on-the-Hudson. The Village of Saratoga was founded in 1690. The local patron family, the original Dutch settlers on this part of the Hudson, were the Schuylers. On November 28, 1745, the Village of Saratoga was burned to the ground by French and Huron marauders. Thirty people were killed, thirty buildings were burned, including the Schuyler home, and one hundred captives were taken to New France (Quebec).

In the early part of this century the Village of Saratoga, New York, was renamed Schuylerville. The Schuyler home has been rebuilt and still stands just south of the town.

In colonial days, the Hudson River Valley was an interesting mix of people. The Algonquins, the Iroquois, the Dutch, and the English all called it home. French and aboriginal Canadians traveled south to Albany to trade their furs. The English hired Irishmen and Hessian Germans as soldiers for their Hudson River armies. There were slaves from Africa living in the towns and fortresses. In many ways, the Hudson River Valley in those days was like our country today, a mix of many different kinds of people.
Eunice Williams: My Story

by Nancy Knipe
Storyteller and Guide, Historic Deerfield

In the winter of 1703–04, snow lay deep against the palisades [a fence or barricade of stakes]. But the bitter cold and snows of February 1704 did not stop the forty-seven French soldiers and two hundred Indians from marching three hundred miles south to attack Deerfield in the predawn hours of February 29. Crossing the frozen river, they stormed our village, slaughtering our animals for much-needed food, collecting townsfolk for captives, and setting fire to our homes. Although I was only seven years old, I can still remember the cold, the sound of running feet, guns firing, glass shattering, painted faces, and the sight of blood everywhere. My family was taken from our home and our village and forced to walk to Canada.

Like the other children who had been taken, I was snugly wrapped in a blanket and carried on an Indian's shoulders. From my high perch, I could see my mother and

Illustrated by Lydian Green
My memories of Deerfield were of gunshots, screaming, fire, and blood. I wished never to return. I spoke as a Mohawk. I thought as a Mohawk. These were my people. I was an Indian.

father labor painfully over the ice and snow. Our captors knew we were being followed, so they set a quick pace for the march. My mother traveled only one day. She could not keep up and was killed. We marched on, many suffering frostbitten feet, some lagging behind and meeting the same fate as my mother. We had little to eat. When I was allowed to speak with my father, his words were those of the Puritan minister: “Keep the faith — pray.”

Following the Connecticut River north, we reached the White River [in Vermont], where we were divided into small groups. My father, brothers, sisters, and I were separated. It would be forty years before I saw my brothers and sisters again. I was taken up the White River, down the Winooski River to Lake Champlain, and on to the St. Lawrence River to the Mohawk village of Kahnawake. Many of the Indians had died of white men’s diseases or in battle, and they were eager to adopt captive children.

After many attempts, my father was finally given permission to visit me. I was frightened in this strange place. I needed comfort. He talked only of my religious faith and being strong. Attempts were made to secure my freedom, but the Mohawks said they would rather cut out their hearts than give me up.
I learned the stories of the tribe. The women taught me how to plant the fields in the spring and care for them. We dried the meat of animals and made their hides into clothes and shelter. I loved my new clothes and my beads. I learned to dance and sing and to play the drums for the other dancers.

When I was sixteen, I married Amrusus, a Mohawk. Representatives from the English and French governments were sent to persuade me to return to Deerfield. They argued all day with me. I would not speak. My memories of Deerfield were of gunshots, screaming, fire, and blood. I wished never to return. I spoke as a Mohawk. I thought as a Mohawk. These were my people. I was an Indian.

ABOVE: Eunice's husband, Amrusus, may have worn this moccasin made of deer hide and decorated with moose hair. BELOW: Storyteller Nancy Knipe brings Eunice Williams to life for visitors to Deerfield.
be something more congenial to our native dispositions, than the fictitious society in which we live; or else why should children, and even grown persons, become in a short time so invincibly attached to it? There must be something very bewitching in their manners, something very indelible and marked by the very hands of nature. For, take a young Indian lad, give him the best education you possibly can, load him with your bounty, with presents, nay with riches; yet he will secretly long for his native woods, which you would imagine he must have long since forgot; and on the first opportunity he can possibly find, you will see him voluntarily leave behind him all you have given him, and return with inexpressible joy to lie on the mats of his fathers.

Mr. ——, some years ago, received from a good old Indian, who died in his house, a young lad, of nine years of age, his grandson. He kindly educated him with his children, and bestowed on him the same care and attention in respect to the memory of his venerable grandfather, who was a worthy man. He intended to give him a genteel trade, but in the spring season when all the family went to the woods to make their maple sugar, he suddenly disappeared; and it was not until seventeen months after, that his benefactor heard he had reached the village of Bald Eagle, where he still dwelt. Let us say what we will of them, of their inferior organs, of their want of bread, etc., they are as stout and well made as the Europeans. Without temples, without priests, without kings, and without laws, they are in many instances superior to us; and the proofs of what I advance, are, that they live without care, sleep without inquietude, take life as it comes, bearing all its asperities with unparalleled patience, and die without any kind of apprehension for what they have done, or for what they expect to meet with hereafter. What system of philosophy can give us so many necessary qualifications for happiness? They most certainly are much more closely connected with nature than we are; they are her immediate children, the inhabitants of the woods are her undefiled offspring: those of the plains are her degenerated breed, far, very far removed from her primitive laws, from her original design. It is therefore resolved on. I will either die in the attempt or succeed; better perish all together in one fatal hour, than to suffer what we daily endure. I do not expect to enjoy in the village of —— an uninterrupted happiness; it cannot be our lot, let us live where we will; I am not founding my future prosperity on golden dreams. Place mankind where you will, they must always have adverse circumstances to struggle with; from nature, accidents, constitution; from seasons, from that great combination of mishances which perpetually lead us to new diseases, to poverty, etc. Who knows but I may meet in this new situ-