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In terms of style, Crediford's work is conversational and most reminds me of *As Long as the Waters Flow: Native Americans in the South and East* (1998) by Frye Gaillard and Carolyn DeMerritt. Both works would be valuable for the general public and undergraduates to learn about tribes that most of them have never heard of or may never encounter, even if living in the same or a neighboring state. From a very practical perspective, all the various federal and state agencies that are tasked with working with these Native communities should at least own a copy of this, as it will give them real insight into the contemporary lives of these South Carolina tribes.

For the many South Carolina tribes, communities, and Native organizations, outside of the Catawba, I am not aware of any other contemporary study or even a sketch of these communities. To create an awareness and understanding of these peoples was Crediford's goal, one that he admirably accomplished. To further the study of these tribes, it can be hoped that scholars will seriously consider using *Those Who Remain* as a map of contemporary South Carolina Indians and that it will inspire them to engage in comprehensive, collaborative ethnographic studies with these communities. This type of academic endeavor will serve to document the history of these peoples better and, at least to some extent, seek to ameliorate the historic neglect by the state of South Carolina toward its indigenous population.

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**To Live Upon Hope: Mohicans and Missionaries in the Eighteenth-Century Northeast.** By Rachel Wheeler. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008. 328 pages. \$45.00 cloth.

The study of Christian missions in early America has witnessed a dramatic shift throughout the past two decades. Although missionaries have traditionally been viewed as a kind of advanced guard for imperial domination, recent studies emphasize the ways in which indigenous peoples actively sought out missionaries for their own political, religious, social, or economic agendas. The greatest change in the scholarship about missions is the effort to face east from Indian country and examine why some groups and individuals embraced Christianity and others rejected it. Rachel Wheeler's insightful new book, *To Live Upon Hope: Mohicans and Missionaries in the Eighteenth-Century Northeast*, contributes significantly to this ongoing reappraisal of American Indians' encounters with Christianity by comparing two Mohican settlements

from about 1730 to 1760 and illuminating their divergent experiences after they accepted two very different types of missionaries into their midst.

The Mohicans, who resided in western Massachusetts, northwestern Connecticut, and eastern New York, traded in cultural knowledge and prided themselves on their reputation as intermediaries between Europeans and the Indian communities to their west and south. European territorial and cultural expansion, however, threatened to deprive them not only of their lands but also of their respected authority as a gateway between Indian peoples. By the 1730s, Mohican leaders began considering forming a new alliance with European powers, one that would protect their status and lands and hopefully preserve a peaceful future for their people. These negotiations resulted in two major missionary communities among the Mohicans: Stockbridge in Massachusetts and Shekomeko in New York.

Wheeler first argues that Mohican chiefs Umpachenee and Konkapot actively invited prominent landholders (known as the River Gods) and Congregational ministers to establish a missionary town at Stockbridge. The plan was to recruit Indians and white settlers to erect a church and English-style homes, while using sedentary agriculture to transform the wilderness into "civilized" lands. Indians like Umpachenee and Konkapot understood the kind of spiritual rigidity that characterized these descendants of Puritans, but they invited Christian missionaries because they believed doing so would help them preserve their lands, acquire necessary linguistic skills, navigate European colonialism, protect them from disease, and battle the social menaces of alcohol. For those unfamiliar with Stockbridge's story, Wheeler provides a solid overview. However, scholars like James Axtell and Patrick Frazier have already covered much of this narrative deftly. Wheeler begins the section about Stockbridge by focusing on indigenous hopes and expectations, but by the end of it the emphasis is almost completely on white missionary John Sergeant. Although Wheeler spends several pages detailing Sergeant's romantic quest for a wife, she never fully ties in how this amorous mission contributed to the forging of Indian Christianity at Stockbridge. She concedes that the primary sources from Stockbridge tended simply to count baptisms and conversions, rather than offer qualitative statements about Indian religious life. Nevertheless, Wheeler might have used other sources, as well as interdisciplinary techniques, at least to posit some theories about the nature of Indian Christianity at Stockbridge.

If Wheeler's analysis of Stockbridge treads on somewhat familiar ground, the sections dealing with Moravian Christianity at the Indian village of Shekomeko in New York are creative, provocative, and superbly researched. Wheeler's ability to use German-language sources marks a significant addition to the sudden deluge of scholarship about Moravian missionaries by Jane

Merritt, Jon Sensbach, and Aaron Fogleman. Wheeler argues that, although Congregational ministers in Stockbridge emphasized civilization projects, biblical study, literacy, and rigid doctrine in order to proselytize Natives, Moravians were an entirely different batch of Christians. They were a diasporic missionary corps that faced tremendous religious persecution in Germany and fanned out to Greenland, the Caribbean, the southern colonies, and the mid-Atlantic, where they preached to slaves and American Indians. Wheeler argues that Moravians were “low-impact missionaries,” colonial outsiders who did not seek a rejection of Mohican culture but rather found much common ground (93). As such, they were able to gain the trust of Indians while helping Mohicans craft a Christian Indian identity.

Why did the Shekomeko Indians find Moravian Christianity appealing? First, instead of emphasizing biblical learning or rote memorization, Moravians highlighted the visceral and emotional experience of Christianity by focusing on the gory details of Christ’s suffering. Wheeler argues persuasively that the Moravian “blood and wounds” theology resonated powerfully among a people who experienced waves of disease and dispossession, as well as a culture that embraced the centrality of ritual torture to restoring the balance of their world (106). The main figure in this relationship was not God but Christ, whom Indians viewed as a powerful warrior spirit (*manitou*) that could help them safeguard their culture, lands, and lives. Most importantly, Mohican Indians did not simply lay Moravian Christianity on top of traditional religion, for they actively integrated the two whenever possible. The best example of this was the “lovefeast,” a massive gathering of Christian Indians to share food, offer thanksgiving for their blessings, and contemplate religious matters. Wheeler argues that the Moravian lovefeast integrated seamlessly into Mohican traditions of celebration, thanksgiving, and collective spiritual reflection. When Moravians were officially barred from preaching in New York in 1744, Native evangelists like Abraham Luckenbach and Johannes Hagen took up the call to spread Moravian Christianity to their brethren, further indigenizing Moravian Christianity and synching it with existing Mohican traditions, cosmologies, and rituals.

Wheeler’s greatest strength is her ability to use minibiographies throughout the book to provide a nuance, sophistication, and detail that few studies of Christian Indians can match. Moravians, in particular, kept rich and copious accounts of their spiritual charges. Rachel, a young Mohican who married a white Moravian, was a restless woman who had trouble loving her husband, but she turned to Moravian Christianity and her spiritual mother as a way to settle down and seek guidance. Joshua came from a long line of Moravian Indian leaders, but his experiences during the Revolutionary and early Republican period assured him that neither an alliance with Americans

nor militant revitalization movements were the key to the Mohican future. Even Jonathan Edwards, of fire and brimstone fame, comes across as an accidental missionary who found proselytizing to the Stockbridge Indians to be challenging but surprisingly exhilarating and rewarding. In Wheeler's telling, Edwards is less of an angry firebrand and more of a compassionate egalitarian who believed that Christianity was open to whites and Indians alike, and that Indians did not necessarily have to be "civilized" along English lines to be virtuous Christians.

Only a few minor problems exist with this book. As noted previously, the sections on Stockbridge will be familiar to specialists, and there were some typographical errors in the text. Furthermore, Wheeler argues that these missions eventually failed because their promoters, as well as colonists, began to embrace a more racialized view of Indians. Although this is a provocative argument, and although I do not necessarily disagree, the pattern of negotiation, deterioration, and racial conflict that played out in Stockbridge and Shekomeko also played out in other places, at other times. The story of Natick and John Eliot's other seventeenth-century praying towns, along with their eventual demise after Metacom's War, suggests that the creation of racial distinctions did not simply follow a linear trajectory but rather ebbed and flowed with the exigencies of territorial expansion, imperial warfare, and colonial anxiety. The argument on race, therefore, could have been more fully developed and drawn out than it was. Nevertheless, Wheeler is certainly right to note that, at least for Mohican Indians, being Indian and Christian in the eastern parts of the newly fashioned United States was basically impossible and untenable.

*To Live Upon Hope* is, along with David Silverman's work on Wampanoag Christianity on Martha's Vineyard (see *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity, and Community among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard, 1600–1871*, 2005), the most comprehensive, in-depth, and thoroughly researched book on Indian Christianity to date, and it should be required reading for anyone interested in religious exchanges between Europeans and American Indians. It challenges the commonly held convention that Indian religion and Christianity were somehow incompatible or mutually exclusive and explains how eighteenth-century Native communities fashioned a new identity that was simultaneously Indian and Christian. By comparing the experiences of Mohicans at Stockbridge and Shekomeko, Wheeler persuasively reminds us that missionary Christianity served not just as a weapon for the colonizers but also as a shield for the colonized.

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