CUTTING MARSH MISSIONARY TO THE STOCKBRIDGES
1830-1848

by

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE
HISTORY
at the
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

1959

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are several people I wish to thank for their assistance in the preparation of this thesis. First, to Mr. Vernon Carstensen for his criticism of the early draft and encouragement during the past eighteen months. Then, to his seminar for their comments and suggestions regarding the style and content of this paper. To Miss Harper and her assistants in the manuscript division of the Wisconsin Historical Society and the library staff of the American Board of Commissioners who cooperated to make the documents available for this study. Finally, to Mrs. G. Nichols and Miss M. Ward for their assistance in typing and proofreading the finished copy.

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May, 1959

University of Wisconsin

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INTRODUCTION

Various organizations have carried on mission work among the North American Indians ever since European settlement began. Some of these groups achieved more success than others. For example, William H. Lecky suggested that Catholicism was easy to spread among the Indians because it was a highly pictorial and material religion. He felt this slight similarity to the Indians' pagan beliefs, and the superior training, organization, and moral qualities of Catholic missionaries enabled them to obtain more permanent results than some Protestant groups.

This point may be debated, but he does give one observation that was true. Many Protestant clergymen were unacquainted with the languages and customs of the tribes they tried to work with. The New England Calvinists had some difficulty with the Indians when they tried to persuade them to change their entire social and religious beliefs and practices.

Regardless what Christian group the missionary represented, he usually faced many physical hardships. The frontier preacher was expected to be:

> a Man who can face a prairie wind in winter and swim the swollen Creeks in spring, and eat what is set before him with no questions . . . . a

> man who can sleep sweetly on the soft side of an oak plank or on the green sod of mother earth with . . . no company but his horse. . . and who in the meantime can preach with Apostolic Zeal whenever he can collect a Dozen precious souls to listen.[1]

The missionary's life may not always have been this difficult, but in Wisconsin it was by no means comfortable during the 1830's.

This paper is concerned with the life and work of the Reverend Cutting Marsh. He lived and worked among the Stockbridge Indians near Green Bay from 1830 to 1848. These Indians had been in contact with Protestant missionaries for nearly one hundred years when he assumed control of the mission, and some were already Christians. During the eighteen years he spend with these people, Marsh registered both success and failure. He was able to establish a temperance society that seemed to function well. The mission school and church were able to do their tasks satisfactorily part of the time.

However, because of personal disputes between various tribal leaders, constant changes in government Indian policies, and perhaps a personal sternness that repelled some of the Indians, he was opposed by some members of the tribe. By 1845 his mission work had become ineffective and he was convinced the mission should be discontinued.

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[1]Quoted in Howard Green, The Reverend Richard Fish Cadle (Waukeshaw, 1936), 165.

Marsh's personal views and training were not easily reconciled to those of the Indians. He felt that they were lazy, incompetent and lacked strength of character, and often treated them in a paternalistic manner. He was firmly convinced that his reasoning and logic were far superior to theirs.

The New Testament contains several warning statements to missionaries. One of these says, "Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." (Matthew 10:16) Had Marsh taken this advice he might have been more able to cope with these problems.

CHAPTER 1

FOREIGN MISSIONS AND THE STOCKBRIDGE INDIANS BEFORE 1830

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the pertinent background material concerning mission activities among the Stockbridge Indians before 1830. It will include a survey of colonial mission activities and the formation of the early mission societies. The work of early missionaries to the Stockbridges and a short account of the tribe and church will be given. Some of this material has been included in other studies; however, it is necessary for a background and introduction to the work of the Reverend Cutting Marsh among these Indians.

The story of Christian mission activities among the North American Indians began practically with the arrival of the colonists in New England. Some of these early settlers had come to the United States to escape the religious and political domination of the Anglican clergy in England. They quickly established churches of their own faith and hurried to proclaim their beliefs to the natives. A glance at many of the early colonial documents is enough to show there was a definite interest in the conversion of the

Indians.[1]

In the 1630's the Long Parliament established a Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. After this, few, if any, important mission societies concerning the American Indians were formed until after the turn of the century. At this time, several new groups were started in England to further the cause of missions in North America.

On several occasions attempts to form independent missionary societies were partly blocked by pressure from the English and Scottish groups already in operation. Several organizations formed in Massachusetts were denied the royal seal of approval. The Episcopal policy of opposing any increase in the strength of the Congregational or Presbyterian groups in the colonies was probably responsible for this.

The political and social upheaval brought about by the American Revolution stopped nearly all of the mission activities until the late 1780's. After the war the churches were independent, theoretically at least, and soon turned their attention once again to a program of rapid expansion through mission work. One of the most active of the societies founded in this period was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The movement for the

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[1]Francis N. Thorpe, ed., The Federal and State Constitutions, Charters, and Organic Laws (7 vols., Washington, 1909), 3:1857.

society was begun by five students at Williams College when they formed a Society of Brethren in 1808. Its purpose was to work for the furtherance of foreign missions both in America and overseas. In June, 1810, the Board was established and managed to expand rapidly the size and scope of its operations.

During this same period several other mission societies were formed, and by the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century most states, cities and counties in the eastern United States had their own mission societies. (See Appendix A for the details of this society formation movement.) Missionaries were sent to spread the gospel while the colonists spread their villages and farms over the Indians' land.

The Reverend John Sergeant was one of these early Indian missionaries. He is also the first man of interest to this study. Early in 1734 Sergeant decided to become a missionary to the Indians. He visited the village of Housatonic and preached his first sermon to the Indians there on October 24. After this, a mission was established among these Indians, located at what is now Great Barrington, Massachusetts. Sergeant became the teacher as well as the preacher for a few months.[2]

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[2]John N. Davidson, Muh-He-Ka-Ne-Ok (Milwaukee, 1893), 3.

He found that having to preach through an interpreter was, at very best, poor. To overcome this difficulty, he began a serious study of the Indians' language. However, it took several years before he became fluent in using this new tongue.

During Sergeant's first few years at the mission, the number of white settlers moving into the area increased rapidly. As a result, in 1736 the General Provincial Court set up a town six miles square for the Indians. It was incorporated three years later and named Stockbridge. The colonial government also built the Indians a church and a school house, completing both of them in November, 1739.[3]

After Sergeant's death in 1747, the mission position at Stockbridge was offered to the Reverend Samuel Hopkins,, who declined this call in the hope of being able to work in a more primitive area. In 1750 the commissioners in Boston for the Society in London for Propagating the Gospel in New England and the Parts Adjacent offered this position to the Reverend Johnathan Edwards. Shortly after his discussion with the commissioners, Edwards received an invitation to visit Stockbridge from that congregation. He began preaching to them early in 1751. During the visit he decided to accept the mission position and was installed as

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[3]Augustus C. Thompson, Protestant Missions, (New York, 1894), 99.

pastor on August 19, 1751.[4]

While at the mission, Edwards engaged in considerable reflection and theological writing. His work completed there brought him much acclaim as one of the leading thinkers of the time. Probably as a result of this, he was offered the presidency of Princeton College. He accepted the offer and left Stockbridge in January, 1758.

Edwards was succeeded by the Reverend Steven West. He, like Edwards, never learned to preach without the use of an interpreter and operated at some disadvantage. While West was pastor, the number of white settlers living in the town increased rapidly, and soon the Indians were outnumbered. In 1775 he gave up the Indian church to concentrate on serving the white congregation. He turned over the Indian half of the church to John Sergeant Jr. Sergeant had lived among these Indians as a youth and knew their language well.[5] The mission work at Stockbridge grew slowly, however, and with this growth a temperance movement developed within the tribe.

After 1800, the Indians became interested in the possibility of moving to lands they claimed in Indiana. In 1818 a large group, consisting of one third of the church and one

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[4] Ibid., 102.

[5] Joseph Tracey, "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," in History of American Missions to the Heathen (Worchester, 1840), 18.

fourth of the tribe, prepared to move. Sergeant organized a new church among those who were about to leave.[6] This group worshiped in the established churches in northern Ohio and Indiana, and founded their own congregation upon their arrival in Wisconsin in 1822.

Three years later the Reverend Jessie Miner, who had replaced Sergeant at New Stockbridge, New York, received title to the mission lands and buildings from the Indians.[7] In July, 1827, the American Board sent Miner to visit Statesburg, Michigan Territory, to discuss the problems of transfering the mission from New York there. He spent several weeks among the Indians talking to the headmen and preaching. When he returned to New York, Miner and the Board reached an agreement concerning the establishment of the mission to the Stockbridge Indians at Statesburg.[8]

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[6]John Sergeant to Jedidiah Morse, December, 1818, quoted in Jedidiah Morse, Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs (New Haven, 1822), 116.

[7]Jessie Miner Papers in possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

[8]. . . That this plan will not embrace a boarding school & if ever hereafter such a school shall be established it will be done gradually & not without the sanction of the committee, expressed at the very beginning of the proceeding . . . . That this plan will not embrace a farm, or the keeping of stock, except two cows & Swine & poultry. We hope the expenses of the mission will not exceed $500 a year after the Building shall be erected & the family removed. Certainly there should be a constant effort to keep it within that sum & $600 must not be exceeded . . . American Board to Miner, April 26, 1828, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

Miner and his family arrived in Green Bay in May, 1828. Miner plunged immediately into the work at the mission which included the erection of buildings and getting settled in a new place. In addition, the church was growing in number. Miner reported an increased interest in religion and the growth of church attendance during the year he spent among the Indians.

During Miner's stay the Indians began work on a school building. In November, 1828, Augustus T. Ambler arrived at Statesburg to organize and teach the new school. However, he was never able to carry out this task because of poor health. The following year the Reverend Jedidiah D. Stevens was appointed as the teacher by the American Board. He came to Statesburg in August, 1829.

The mission suffered a reverse when Miner died after a short illness the next spring. The American Board Report contained this notice concerning the mission:

> The Rev. Jessie Miner . . . died . . . on the 22d of March (1829). . . . Immediately after the death of Mr. Miner, the Indians sent a letter to the Committee, making affectionate mention of their late missionary, and soliciting another.[9]

The next missionary was the Reverend Cutting Marsh. Before considering him, however, it is necessary to briefly trace the general history of the Stockbridges before 1830 when Marsh arrived at Statesburg.

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[9]Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1829, p. 88. Cited hereafter as the American Board Report.

The tribe lived at New Barrington, Massachusetts, until the 1780's. Because of increased white settlement they decided to move their village, and were given a six mile square of land by the Oneidas in New York. The village of New Stockbridge was established by 1788.[10]

From time to time there was rumor of moving to some lands further west, but nothing was done about this until 1802. That year a delegation was sent to the Delaware Indians living on the White river in northern Indiana. At this meeting the Delawares reaffirmed the Stockbridge claim to some land in this area. This claim dated back to a Miamie grant over a century before, and was attested by President Jefferson. (See Appendix B.)

In 1818 the Stockbridges received reports that the Delawares were going to sell their land to the United States government. They sent a letter of inquiry, and after receiving a denial, several families decided to move to that area the following spring. In the meantime, the Delawares were forced to sell these lands by the treaty of St. Mary's, August 8, 1818.[11] Upon hearing this news some of the travelers returned to New York. Most of the group, however, remained together and continued toward Indiana, where they resided until the spring of 1822.

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[10]John N. Davidson, In Unnamed Wisconsin (Milwaukee, 1895), 97.

[11]Morse, Report on Indian Affairs, 112.

At this same time a delegation of Indians from New York traveled to Green Bay, Michigan Territory, in an effort to obtain a tract of land from the native Indians. Treaties were concluded in both 1821 and 1822. The first gave the New York Indians a strip of land seven miles wide, running from the northwest to the southeast across the Menomonie lands, and crossing the Fox river at Little Chute. (For more details of the treaties see Appendix C.) The second purchase was more vague and caused nearly constant friction with the government and native Indians.

In an effort to settle this dispute the treaty of Little Butte des Mortes was drawn up in 1827. It referred the problem to the President for a final decision.[12] The difficulty, however, was not settled this easily. The New York Indians claimed their lands had been taken illegally by the United States government. In 1830 a commission was appointed to study the problem. They studied the evidence and submitted two conflicting reports. The majority report upheld the claims of the New York Indians, while the other disavowed them and favored the native Indians.[13]

No action was taken and in 1832 the Stockbridges sent a delegation to Washington to discuss the matter again. One

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[12] Charles Royce, Indian Land Cessions in the United States (Washington, 1900), 718.

[13] James McCall, "Report of the Commission," in the Wisconsin Historical Collections, 1903, 12:207-209.

of the delegates described the result saying:

> We then proposed to take other lands . . . on the east side of Winnebago Lake, which was agreed to, and the amount to be paid to us for our improvements was then fixed upon.[14]

This agreement was ratified that same year, and, for the time being, brought the disputes to a close.

In summary, an increased interest in home and foreign mission work resulted in the formation of numerous mission societies in the eastern United States after 1800. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was one of the groups interested in mission work among the North American Indians. In 1825 they sent the Reverend Jessie Miner to work among the Stockbridge Indians in New York State. A large part of this tribe had moved to Statesburg, Michigan Territory, in 1822 because of encouragement from the United States government and from John Sergeant, their former missionary. Since a majority of the tribe had left New York, the American Board decided to establish a new mission among those settled at Statesburg. In 1827 Miner arrived to supervise the construction of a mission church.

Meanwhile, the Stockbridge claim to the land was contested by the Menominee and Winnebago tribes already living there. The disputes over land titles proved detrimental to later mission work among the Stockbridges. Afraid of losing these lands, they were unwilling to erect permanent farms,

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[14] John W. Quinney, "Memorial," Ibid., 4:331.

homes, schools, or churches. In 1829, when it seemed the mission church was firmly established, Miner died and work was halted until another missionary could be obtained. The following chapter will deal with the Reverend Cutting Marsh, the new missionary.

CHAPTER 2

EARLY YEARS AT THE STATESBURG MISSION, 1830-1833

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the activities of the Reverend Cutting Marsh at the Statesburg Mission from 1830 to 1833. It will, if possible, give some picture of what kind of person he was including his likes, dislikes, interests, opinions, and whatever else might be useful in describing him. A brief description of the mission church, as it was in 1830, will be given, along with a discussion of the activities, problems, and progress of the Indians to 1833. A section about Marsh's duties and trials will be included to give an idea and possible understanding of a missionary's life in early Wisconsin.

Cutting Marsh, the fourth child in the family of Samuel and Sally Marsh, was born on July 20, 1800, in their farm home at Danville, Vermont. Besides Cutting, the children included two girls, Ruth and Sarah, and two boys, Samuel and Jonathen. Cutting was the only one of the children to be given a non-Biblical name. He was named after a maternal great-great-grandfather, Cutting Moody.

His childhood and early teens were spent on the family farm. The first important event to disturb his life was the death of his mother, when he was fifteen. Two years later,

in 1817, he experienced a profound religious awakening and regarded this event as a turning point in his life. He later wrote, "In the year 1817 in Danville, near the close of a revival of religion I indulged the humble hope that I passed from death to life."[1]

Sometime during the next two years Marsh became interested in training for the ministry and in becoming a foreign missionary. With this plan in mind he entered Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts, in the autumn of 1819. The purpose of this academy was the "Promotion of true piety and virtue" among the students. Shortly after his arrival at the academy, he joined the church connected with the Andover Theological Seminary. The three years of preparatory work passed and in 1822 Marsh was admitted to Dartmouth College at Hannover, Connecticut. This school had been founded in 1770 by Dr. Eleazar Wheelock and was a direct outgrowth of Moor's Indian Charity School begun in 1754 for the education of Indian youth. The college was founded and controlled by Congregationalists, but was said to be as nonsectarian as it was possible to be at that time. It offered courses in Languages, Mathematics, Philosophy, Medicine and Theology (see Appendix D). After his graduation, Marsh returned to Andover to complete his education at the

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[1] Cutting Marsh to the American Board, 1833. The Marsh Papers are in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Theological Seminary.

The Andover Theological Seminary had been opened in 1808, and was reputed to be one of the best staffed schools of its kind at that time. The aim of this seminary was to provide for the professional education of ministers for the orthodox Congregational churches in the country; however, students of all denominations were accepted. The faculty was composed of men who were either Congregationalists or Presbyterians, and accepted the orthodox principles of Christianity drawn from the Bible and the Westminster Assembly. Marsh's entire education had been in institutions following these orthodox Calvinistic-Puritan views and ideals.

By the time he completed the seminary training Marsh had spent ten years in preparing for his life's work. These years were filled with some hardships for him because the family farm could not produce enough income to support both Cutting and his older brother Samuel while they prepared for the ministry. In order to help meet these expenses both of the brothers were forced to work at odd jobs while in school. Marsh describes his experiences in the following manner:

> At Phillips Academy I received my board from t. funds of t. Acad. & some clothing from the Ladies Soc. in Boston. In Coll. I received 15 dolls. (I think) annually from the charitable fund of the Coll. . . . In t. Theo. Sem. during 2 & 3 years I received my board, & part of my clothing from the Ladies Soc. in Boston. . . . During the whole course of my preparatory studies I assisted myself very considerably by manual labor; and whilst in

Coll. by teaching school.[2]

On April 22, 1829, Cutting Marsh was licensed to preach by the Andover Association of Congregational Ministers connected with the seminary. He remained at Andover until the following September in order to complete the course of studies. On September 24, 1829, Marsh and three others were ordained by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at the Park Street Church in Boston. He was commissioned to serve the mission among the Stockbridge Indians near Green Bay, Michigan Territory. He had hoped to go to one of the mission stations in the Sandwich Islands, but the quota was full. Marsh went to the Stockbridges with the understanding that he could shift assignments when an opening appeared in the islands.

Assignment in hand, Marsh, a tall, gaunt, angular man, left his home in Danville, Vermont, on October 19, 1829. Traveling steadily by stage he crossed New York State and went by lake boat from Buffalo to Detroit, arriving on Monday, November 2.[3] At this point Marsh's plan to proceed directly to Green Bay was disrupted because severe weather froze the

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[2]Marsh to American Board, September 17, 1833 in Marsh Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society.

[3]Route of the trip from Danville to Detroit. "Danville to Montpellier, 28 mi.; Montpellier to Burlington, 40 mi.; Burlington to Whitehall, 75 mi.; Whitehall to Albany, 70 mi.; Albany to Utica, 76 mi.; Utica to Buffalo, 200 mi.; and Buffalo to Detroit, 300 mi." Marsh Journal, November 4, 1829, Wisconsin Historical Society.

lakes earlier than usual. Accordingly, he remained in Detroit during November and December of 1829. After visiting several of the ministers in the Detroit area, and perhaps corresponding with the American Board, Marsh decided that he would go to Maumee, Ohio, to work at the mission station there for the remainder of the winter. The consensus was that he could gain some valuable experience and perhaps an insight to mission problems while waiting for spring weather. The three months spent at the Maumee station proved to be busy ones for Marsh. He was able to observe closely the mission operations and came into contact with many of the Indians in that area. At this time Marsh was a prolific writer and kept detailed accounts of his activities while at Maumee and elsewhere in diaries and journals. Speaking about these months in his Journal, he wrote:

> I had an opportunity for gaining a more extensive knowledge of the Indian character, than I otherwise could, of seeing and learning how Stations ought to be managed, as well as of studying considerable and of writing a number of sermons. In addition to all this I had an opportunity of preaching the Gospel to a great many immortal souls.[4]

He discussed the Indians' use of whiskey with apparent dismay. At this time the temperance or prohibition movement was gaining momentum in church circles, and Marsh was vitally interested in it. He discovered the Indians had formed a great respect for the late General Anthony Wayne, and drank

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[4]Ibid., April 10, 1830.

because they knew he did. Marsh was very upset by their high esteem for this man. In his Maumee Journal, he said:

> The Indians always speak of Gen. W.(ayne) with great respect . . . But Gen. W. was a very wicked man. and the next year when he had made a treaty with them He says to them "There was never a bullet seen to kill Anthony W. and if you ever go to war again with the white people I will rise fr. my grave and fight you." !! Blasphemous wretch!
>
> The Gen. was buried at Erie and 23 years afterwards it was stated on good authority that when his body was taken up to be removed to Pittsburgh, that it was entire. Probably owing to the effects of alcohol as he was very intemperate.[5]

Despite his concern, Marsh was unable to change the Indians' drinking habits.

Early in April of 1830 Marsh began his journey back to Detroit. He stopped at several settlements along the way to preach and visit with the ministers. He reached Detroit on April 18, 1830. Two days later his ship set sail for Mackinac Island where it was forced to remain four days longer than planned because of adverse winds. Marsh enjoyed this unexpected stay, saying, "passed 4 days at M. very pleasantly." However, he was anxious to complete his journey. The remainder of the voyage passed uneventfully, and the ship reached Green Bay on April 30. Traveling by canoe, he arrived at Statesburg, as the Indian settlement was then called, late in the evening on Saturday, May 1, seven months after leaving Vermont.

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[5]Ibid., March 20, 1830.

Early the next morning Marsh spent some time in preparation for his first sermon and service among the Stockbridges. It was a pleasant morning and he strolled through the village to observe whatever activities were taking place. In his first report to the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge he wrote:

> I was on the first Sabbath struck with the stillness which pervaded in the settlement as I proceeded to the place of worship and nothing which I witnessed was calculated to disturb the repose of the sacred day. I could at first hardly persuade myself that I was on Missionary ground. . . I have since found that the Sab.here is generally observed, all kinds of labor are suspended, & many of them observe it with great strictness.[6]

This auspicious beginning seemed to give Marsh confidence and enthusiasm for his new position. His entire first report fairly breathes this optimism and high expectation. After observing the lack of action in the settlement a while longer Marsh continued on to the worship service. His description of this first service at Statesburg shows that he was again pleasantly surprised by the Indians present:

> And when I arrived at the place of worship, which is not large, I found it filled with decently clad, and apparently devout worshipers. There is on the Sab. a very general attendance at meeting, & better order & more stillness I have seldom witnessed in assemblies of white people than uniformly prevail here.[7]

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[6]Report to the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, 1831. These reports are found in the Marsh Papers in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society. Hereafter they will be cited as Scottish Reports.

[7]Ibid., 1831.

Another description of the conduct during the services is given by Calvin Colton, a traveler through this region in 1830. He gives some interesting observations about this mission and the Stockbridge Indians. One New England custom the Indians had adopted was that of having a man act as the "parish beadle." It was his duty to bring a long slender stick to the services. He acted as a sort of Sergeant-at-Arms, using the stick as a switch to correct the disorderly children. If any of the adults were unfortunate enough to fall asleep during the long sermons the beadle would bang on the stovepipe and call out in the Indians' language, "Wake up there!" This was usually enough to keep the drowsy somewhat more alert, even though it disturbed the preacher at times.[8]

Except for a few minor distractions of this kind, Marsh was pleased with the situation and felt it would be but a short time until the entire tribe would be converted. One important fact that he seemed to overlook was that this tribe of Indians had been under the influence of Christian missionaries for nearly one-hundred years before he came into contact with them. However, by the time he wrote his second report the following year, Marsh noted several problems. He complained about the natural indolence of the Indians, and of the vestiges of paganism. Writing to the American Board

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[8]Calvin Colton, Tour of the American Lakes(London, 1833), 196-197.

the following year he said:

> But t. work of the reformation is not yet accomplished, for whilst I see much to encourage, there is still much to deplore and a work of years remains to be done.[9]

The Indians, on the other hand, seemed glad to have another missionary in their village, and proved to be friendly and cooperative toward Marsh. He enjoyed the work and recorded his feelings rather interestingly in the first journal begun at the mission:

> It is now almost 4 months since my arrival, on the whole I have passed the time agreeably; the deference wh. they pay to me, the willingness and sometimes the eagerness with wh. they listen to my instructions, is indeed pleasant; the cordial manner in wh. I am received when I visit their houses or meet with them otherwheres, induces me to believe that I am somewhat esteemed by them, and I am not without hope that my influence is increasing in a measure amongst them.[10]

This feeling of wholehearted cooperation prevailed for at least the first year, if one can believe Marsh's journals. In December, 1830, he wrote that some twenty or twenty-five men of the tribe came to the mission to cut down and pile a supply of lumber and fire-wood for the remainder of the winter. According to Marsh, this help was completely unsolicited and he was quite pleased with their actions.

Marsh often wrote of feeling despondent and unable to handle the tasks connected with the mission station. With

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[9]Scottish Report, 1832, in Marsh Papers.

[10]Marsh Journal, August 22, 1830.

the rush of getting settled, becoming acquainted, and beginning the many duties at hand, he often had little or no time to study and prepare sermons. On numerous occasions he admitted being embarrassed at his own ineptness and felt unable and unworthy to be trusted with this responsible position. On the first Thanksgiving at the mission he wrote:

> Preached fr. Ps 5:11. . . . felt under a good deal of embarrassment. An awful cloud hung over my head and I could neither pray nor speak. The fault wholly my own for my mind & heart have been for some time past too much set upon the world.

After the first several funerals he was especially depressed and criticized his own efforts. Many of his sermons and lessons seemed to be inadequate and he wrote:

> By a number of deaths God has reminded me in a most solemn manner of the uncertainty & frailty of human life. . . . It was but a Sab. or two before that I was preaching to my people about the Judgement, O thought I! had I known how soon one of my hearers would have to stand before the judgement seat with what earnestness would I have pressed t. subject, how solemnly & affectionately, of the necessity of being prepared for so important an event.[12]

Before moving further into the story of Marsh's life and work among the Indians it is necessary to look briefly at his early observations concerning the tribe and the church.

The reservation at Statesburg was of a rather undefined size and shape because of the disputes that were being

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[11] Ibid., November 29, 1830.

[12] Ibid., August 22, 1830.

settled during the time Marsh was there. The area actually occupied by these Indians when he first arrived was a small strip of land along the southeast side of the Fox River about twenty-one miles from its mouth at Green Bay. This location, near Grand Cakalin or Big Rapids, was seven miles long and varied from one and one-half to two miles in width. There were 225 people of the tribe living in this area by 1831.

Marsh's journals and letters present an optimistic picture of the Indians clearing the forests and cultivating their own individual small farms in what had been wilderness only a few years before. He also discussed the Indian homes in the following manner:

> They live in houses constructed of logs & covered with oaken shingles, all of them have floors & the crevices in the sides of the houses are filled with mortar; the chimneys are made by cutting out the logs in the end of the house for 7 or 8 feet in length & about the same height, this vacancy is filled with stones and mortar this forms the fire place. . . and the top of the chimney is made of sticks and thached clay so that when well constructed they are in but little danger from fire . . .

However, even these optimistic early reports are not entirely free of the fears and difficulties faced by this tribe. After discussing the accomplishments and progress of the Stockbridges, Marsh listed frame houses and barns, a convenient place of worship, and a grist mill as things not yet built

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[13] Scottish Report, 1831, in Marsh Papers.

because of the Indians' unsettled state of mind concerning their possible future removal. He said the Indians were sure it would not pay to put up fine buildings if they were going to move to another location soon. At this point the suspicion that this might be merely native indolence began to creep into his writings. This problem of conflicting treaties and land claims hangs over the entire story of the mission and these Indians, virtually destroying both in later years.

The Stockbridges were chiefly small farmers and so another way to check their progress is to note the size of their crops for a particular year. In 1832 Marsh listed the harvests and crops of the Indians as follows:

> 800 acres of land under cultivation by 50-60 families;
> 5000 bushels of corn and wheat;
> 4000 bushels of potatoes;
> large quantities of other grains and vegetables.[14]

In the mission church, one finds there were forty-three members in good and regular standing in 1830. Most of these had joined the church during the short time the Reverend Miner worked at the mission. The average attendance was about one-hundred at this time. Since nearly one-half of the tribe was attending the services regularly, Marsh felt there was a good chance of converting the remainder of the tribe in a few years. This, of course, was an over-

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[14] American Board Report, 1832, 23:115.

simplification of the problem and most likely came because he did not clearly understand the situation at this time.

The congregation was led by their two deacons, John Metoxen and Jacob Chicks. Describing these two men Marsh wrote:

> The former is at present the head man in the nation. His natural talents are respectable. he is judicious & discerning & perhaps no one possesses more influence in the nation - modest & affectionate but yet decided in his opinions. He is old & gray headed . . . . He is rather large in stature and comely in his appearance . . . . The latter Jacob C. is a man of more talents & has been a great speaker, but was irregular in his habits until about three years ago when he broke off altogether from drinking & is now an example of piety, temperance, sobriety and industry.[15]

Because these men were among the tribal leaders, as well as being church leaders, the mission church soon found itself involved in the intra-tribe squabbles and difficulties that arose. It was also difficult to remain neutral in any disputes between the tribe and the United States, or with other Indian tribes in the area. This proved to be another serious problem confronting both Marsh and the church.

Early in the spring of 1831, Marsh received a letter from the Reverend Jeremiah Everts, Secretary of the American Board, telling him of his coming appointment as missionary to the Indians by the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. The American Board had written to

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[15]Scottish Report, 1831, in Marsh Papers.

them requesting his appointment as they were short of funds, and the Scottish Society had a special fund set aside for the support of Indian missions. The Reverend Evarts told Marsh to accept the appointment, and to reply by sending to Scotland an annual report of the mission, its activities, and progress to that time. Shortly after this he received the letter of appointment from the corresponding secretary of the Scottish Society.[16]

Marsh quickly accepted his new appointment and began sending the reports to Scotland as he had been requested. His assistant was the Reverend Jedidiah D. Stevens, who had arrived at Statesburg in August, 1829. Stevens was superintendent of the Sunday-school. He was also the teacher of the day school connected with the mission. These two men often quarreled about the management of the mission. This may have been caused by the isolated position of the mission workers during the long winter months or, perhaps, by a personality conflict between the two men. Whatever caused the difficulty, Stevens and his family left Statesburg near the end of 1833.

Marsh's major duties included preaching to the Indians,

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[16] Rev. Cutting Marsh
Dear Sir,
As Secy of the Board of Commissioners of the Socy in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge-I have the pleasure of communicating to you your appointment from the Society in Scotland as a missionary to the Stockbridge Indians at Green Bay. With a Salary of £50 pr. ann.
John Codman to Marsh, March 29, 1831, in Marsh Papers.

directing the church centered activities, and supervising the operation of the Indian day school. His papers are filled with reactions to and comments about these duties. Shortly after arriving he gave this description of his weekly activities:

> On the Sab. I preach twice, besides attending to SS. Sometimes I expound a chap in the Bible & in the PM I have an interpreter on account of some of the old people who do not well understand the English language. In the eve. there is a third meeting at which time the members of the church take part. Once a week I have a meeting of inquiry for such as are anxious about their souls; on Wed a meeting for reading the Scr and then explain to them the meaning. . . . And on Fri there is a meeting designed specially for the church.[17]

This may seem to be a great many meetings to hold each week; however, Marsh later added even more to this already imposing list. He operated under the theory that prolonged contact with Christian principles and actions would hasten the Indians' acceptance of Christianity. With this in mind he scheduled as many meetings as possible.

Another duty was to hold classes for the Indian parents in order to teach them the proper methods of family government and the instruction of their children. According to Marsh, this was a very weak point among the Indians and it irritated him greatly. He commented several times in his letters and journals with apparent disgust at the lack of discipline most Indian parents exercised over their children.

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[17]Scottish Report, 1831, in Marsh Papers.

They were usually content to allow the children nearly complete freedom, and rarely knew where they were or what they were doing. To a person with Marsh's Puritan training this sort of behavior was completely unacceptable. He felt it his duty to inform the Indians of their error and to help correct the situation as quickly as possible.

Shortly after his arrival at the mission, Marsh decided it was time to organize a temperance society among the Stockbridges. Many native Wisconsin Indians in that area were heavy drinkers. Marsh thought some of the fur traders and businessmen of Green Bay encouraged this practice. Some of the Stockbridges had already acquired a taste for whiskey, and the Temperance Society was to stop this kind of activity. It was formed in 1830, and by the end of that year had nearly seventy members. This proved to be the fastest growing society connected with the mission, and Marsh was happy with its results.

Each member was required to sign a pledge of total abstinence from the use of whiskey, and later wine and beer were added to this prescribed list. The Indians had seen the effects of alcohol upon old friends, neighbors, and in some cases their own families. Therefore, many of them gave wholehearted support to the new society. In fact, according to Marsh's reports, there were always more members in the Temperance Society than in the mission church. By 1832 Marsh noted increased peacefulness in the village, which he

attributed to the work of this society. That year it grew from seventy to one hundred members. The temperance movement was gaining momentum, and seemed to be a beneficial factor among the Indians. The following spring he again mentioned this society in his journal:

> Connecting the subject of temperance with the Sab. schools amongst the Indians appears to me highly important and the most effectual way of promoting the cause among them. . . . Upwards of one hundred and fifty of different ages have united with the Soc. since its foundation. [18]

This might seem to be an almost impossible growth for such a society to make, but it must be remembered that men, women and children were all allowed to join this group. A few of the members were dropped from time to time, but on the whole the society seemed to be one of the most successful of all the mission activities carried on by Marsh.

Beside the Temperance Society several other church affiliated organizations were formed during Marsh's early years at the Statesburg mission. One of these was a Foreign Mission Association. It was formed in 1831, and held only one meeting each year. The aim of this group was to increase the Indians' interest and knowledge in mission work. Stevens addressed the first regular meeting and an offering of $20 was gathered for the furtherance of foreign mission work. The formation of this group supports the generalization made by some church historians, that a church started as a mission

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[18]Marsh Journal, May 14, 1833, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

project will itself give support to other mission efforts and programs.

In the autumn of 1830 a Maternal Association was formed among the women of the church. This group perhaps corresponded to the present day Ladies Aid Societies. At any rate Marsh felt it was worthwhile, and mentioned it on several occasions in his journals and reports, although he never included anything specific about the scope, interest or activities of this group.

Very few missions were considered to be first-rate unless they had a day-school for the children. Statesburg was no exception, and for the first several years Stevens acted as the teacher. The Stockbridge tribe had a small school annuity and they added this to the mission fund to help pay the salary of the teacher and any other expenses the school might incur. The school attendance was never as good as the missionaries would have liked. In one of his letters to the American Board Stevens stated there were sixty-nine young people and children between five and twenty who were eligible to take advantage of this chance for education. He complained that only fifty-two of these had even bothered to sign up for the school and, what was even worse, the average attendance was between thirty-five and forty.

Marsh visited the school on numerous occasions, and often commented on its operation in his writings. As mission superintendent he felt it was part of his duty to observe

the school and the progress of the students. After one of these visits, he gave a good description of the school in operation:

> In March there was a quarterly examination. The School was divided into four classes. The first was examined in reading, spelling, writing, & geography, the 2nd. in reading, spelling, & Colburn's Arithmetic, the 3rd & fourth in reading & spelling, besides answering many questions of a practical kind. [19]

Trial leaders also observed the school and the students. Usually they were pleased with the examination results. Being a teacher himself, Marsh was able to run the school on several occasions when Stevens was gone from the mission.

He often acted as a sort of unofficial coroner, and investigated any death within the tribe. He also had dozens of medical remedies for injuries and sicknesses. Some of them dealt with cures for hydrophobia, dysentery, and even directions for bleeding sick persons (See Appendix E.) His interests often tended toward natural phenomenon, and things of a scientific nature as the following note suggests:

> Sat. 12 Eclipse of the sun com. a little after 10 o'clock & the whole duration about 2 1/2 or perhaps 2 1/4 h. Time of the greatest darkness of Sun about 3/4 of it covered.[20]

He seemed to be affected by a touch of "Spring Fever" and notes the early croaking of the frogs and coming of the

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[19] Scottish Report, 1831, in Marsh Papers.

[20] Marsh Journal, February 12, 1831, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

robins in 1831. His mission duties prevented the further development of these side interests.

Each week Marsh spent considerable time visiting the sick and talking to the members of his congregation. He preached the orthodox Calvinistic doctrines to these Indians, seriously expecting them to understand with as little difficulty as any New England congregation. (For a brief discussion of a sermon see Appendix F.) This was part of his effort to transplant the customs of New England among the Indians. Since some of the tribe did not understand English very well, Marsh possibly expected too much.

Even with this type of preaching some results were evident within the first year or two. In his journal Marsh included accounts of several conversations with members of the church or the tribe. He enjoyed conversing with the people following the Sunday afternoon service. He records one of these conversations:

> On my way home fell in company with one of the members of my ch. Eunice Q(uinney) formerly a notorious drunkard. . . . Well, said I, to her E. do you feel that is the truth wh. you have heard today. . . . "Yes" she replied. . . . After a little she began to speak of her feelings. "Sometimes," says she, "when you preach so hard, I all naked, I nothing to cover me, but then I get hope, I think Christ has died, and I mean to try as long as I live." This was indeed pleasing in the highest degree... . .[21]

The living conditions were rather difficult at Statesburg,

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[21] Ibid., March 31, 1831.

and in one seventeen-day period Marsh recorded the funerals of three adults and two children. Every event can be used to some advantage by a resourceful person, and he utilized these extra opportunities to preach short sermons. After one day in which two funerals took place he wrote:

> Addressed them in short. . . . Called upon them in view of their unpreparedness,-of the uncertainty of life, the certainty of death, and the opportunity they now have to consider on their ways!and prepare to meet their God.[22]

The mission farm often called Marsh from his more scholarly duties to such mundane activities as haying and hauling wood. According to his comments these seemed to give him a pleasant change-of-pace. The routine was also broken by frequent trips to Green Bay, Duck Creek, Smithfield or Fort Howard for business or to preach. Travel to almost any of these places took nearly an entire day, so he was often gone from Statesburg for several days at a time. The settlement at Duck Creek consisted of Oneida Indians. They were under the guidance of Eleazar Williams, the Episcopal deacon and pulpit reader. Several times Marsh was called there to officiate at funerals when Williams was traveling. He had little regard for Williams as a missionary and only records two such visits when the Indian was there:

> In the PM went to Duck Creek. Passed the night and Sab. at Mr. Beards' who belongs

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[22] Ibid., November 27, 1830.

> to the ch. Immediately after my arrival received a message from some of the leading men, that they had received orders from Mr. W(illiams) not to hear any minister preach of another denomination, & so I must not pr. . . ., Attended the meeting on the Sab. as a hearer.[23]

This apparent lack of cooperation disturbed and disappointed Marsh. At the same time, he was having this difficulty with Williams, the Reverend Richard F. Cadle was working at Green Bay for the Episcopal Church. Marsh and Cadle became close friends and often exchanged pulpits with Marsh going to Green Bay while Cadle was at the mission.

A group of Oneida Indians settled at a place they called Smithfield, which was perhaps ten or twelve miles from the mission house. They were chiefly Methodists, but Marsh and Stevens conducted a Sunday-school and worship service for them each week for two years before another missionary came to serve them. Many of the funerals he performed were among this group.

On several occasions he was asked to preach to the soldiers at Fort Howard and eventually formed a small Presbyterian church there. Besides funerals and church services, Marsh was often asked to officiate the weddings. He sometimes complained of the loose manner in which the Indians kept their marriage vows. Occasionally he blamed this for some of the problems in the church.

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[23] Ibid., December 22, 1830.

Writing about this he said:

> In the eve. solemnised another marriage, it being a couple wh. have lived together in an unlawful state. . . . Gave instructions to them and also the young people respecting marriage and their own conduct.[24]

The very fact that Marsh agreed to marry these people seems to indicate his realization of the difference between frontier mores and those of his native New England. However, most of the time while handling the problems confronting these Indians, he apparently overlooked the fact they had been in contact with western culture for less than a hundred years. They were still partly uncivilized and, as has already been stated, some were unable to understand English. Marsh's task was made more difficult by the pagan example set by many of the native Wisconsin Indians.

To overcome these obstacles he spent many hours each week visiting with the congregation, and other members of the tribe. These visits were partly social but no opportunity to instruct or discuss church affairs and matters of the soul was ever overlooked. While visiting he was often called upon to settle family problems, and seemed to be reasonably successful at this. Once, Big Hare, one of the Menomonie chiefs, observed Marsh baptizing a child. He thought the child had been bewitched and questioned the missionary about this new method for curing children that had

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[24] Ibid., November 28, 1830.

been afflicted in this way. This was all Marsh needed for an opening, and he began explaining Christianity. The following is his account of this experience:

> I then explained to him t. meaning of t. ordinance and from that went on to preach to him the necessity of being born of water & t. spirit etc. He listened attentively but replied that they had received different commands fr. their fathers & they must follow them.[25]

Perhaps because of the amount of traveling and visiting he was doing, Marsh was suggested for the position of Postmaster at Grand Cakelin. Then, too, it was quite possible that he received most of the mail at that place and this would simplify delivery. At any rate, he received the appointment from Postmaster General William T. Barry on September 8, 1832. The pay for this position was a welcome addition, and he accepted the job. Mail delivery began the following March. Usually missionaries were not allowed to have other work. However, because of financial difficulties the American Board acquiesced.

Marsh felt his duties were important and refused to leave the mission during the Black Hawk War. News of the first Indian troubles came in Mid-June, and frightened many of the frontier settlers. Marsh wrote:

> Mind completely distracted in consequence of reports of Indn. hostilities. Heard that the Sacs, Foxes, some Pattawottamies and Winnebagoes were about 70 miles fr. Ft. Winnebago. Found it

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[25] Ibid., February 14, 1833.

> difficult & almost impossible to keep my mind off fr. t. subject.[26]

This news, while frightening Marsh, failed to keep him from carrying out his visitations. Those at the mission settlement heard many conflicting reports concerning the Indian activities, progress of the troops, and the possible danger to themselves. After one alarming bit of news Stevens and his wife took some of the Indian women and children to Green Bay for a few days. Marsh heard many contradictory reports, most of which later proved false. One eye-witness account caused him to make the following comment:

> Saw John Whistler who had just returned fr. Lead. Mines. Heard of some shocking barbarities. . . . Alas. how brutal, how is man turned to be worse than wild beasts of the forests for they devour when pressed with pinching hunger, but these to gratify a spirit of revenge.[27]

About a month after hearing the first news of the war, Marsh talked with two army officers at Fort Howard, and was assured the danger had passed. The missionaries and Indians returned to their usual activities with a general feeling of relief that the hostilities were over.

At this time Marsh and Stevens began a prolonged quarrel which lasted until Stevens and his family left the mission in 1833. Marsh criticised the way Stevens handled his duties as school master and wrote:

> In t. PM visited the school. Felt sorry to see

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[26] Ibid., June 17, 1832.

[27] Ibid., July 6, 1832.

> the evidence of improvement no greater. The children not under proper subjection, appeared little interested in their books, except in turning them over or gnawing them and spoke with very little animation when they read and spelt indifferently.[28]

He also wrote to the Reverend David Crane, one of the secretaries for the American Board, complaining that the school was not progressing satisfactorily. Then too, he berated Stevens for not informing the parents of students who were continually absent or unprepared. Marsh was sure this lack of contact with the parents was the major cause for the truancy problem.

Whether this criticism was justified or not is quite impossible to judge with the evidence at hand. It may have been caused by his deep interest in all of the mission activities. Another possible reason could have been that his pride was hurt by Stevens' criticism of the Temperance Society Marsh had formed shortly after arriving at Statesburg. This society was the most successful group connected with the mission, and Marsh was proud of its progress. He probably was offended by the American Board report for 1832 which stated:

> Mr. Stevens remarks, that during the three years he has resided at that station, (1829-32) not less than ten or twelve murders have been committed in the vicinity, and as many more deaths have happened by drowning, freezing, &c., all of which resulted from the use of ardent spirits.[29]

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[28] Ibid., August 22, 1832.

[29] American Board Report, 1832, 23:116

This statement overlooks the fact most of the drinking was among the native Wisconsin Indians. Marsh mentioned a majority of these deaths and accidents in his letters and diaries, and explained they were among the heathen Indians.

Another reason for this quarrel grew out of Marsh's absence during the winter of 1831-32. He went to Western Reserve in Ohio on a fund-raising campaign. While Marsh was gone, Stevens managed the mission affairs. He was unwilling to resume his subordinate position when Marsh returned early in 1832. By October the bickering had increased and Marsh complained to the Board. He asked for some clarification of his authority. He did so because Stevens claimed the Board had given him sole charge of the mission's secular affairs.

A further subject for complaint was Stevens' management of the mission Sunday School. Marsh wrote:

> I had a fair opportunity to examine the school. . The difficulty was that questions were put and perhaps two or three of the most intelligent. . . would give some answer then would follow his remarks. . . . altogether above the capacities of the children. . . . And the event proved what I had long anticipated, the older teachers and scholars were somewhat benefitted but the majority . . . <u>not at all</u>.[30]

The quarrel continued through the winter and eventually Mrs. Stevens also became involved. She complained to Marsh about the poor quality of his sermons and was generally

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[30] Marsh to Greene, October 2, 1832, in Marsh Papers.

dissatisfied with his actions at the mission. He recorded her comments:

> Mrs. S. remarked that "when she first came here she attended all the ch. meetings . . . . But now they are the most uninteresting meetings that she ever attended . . . . Then she asked me my reasons for not having what was said interpreted . . . . She further remarked that she did not see what I had meetings for etc.[31]

At the same time the Indians "became disaffected towards Mr. Stevens" and hired one of the tribe to teach their school the next summer. However, they rehired him for the winter months.

On January 10, 1833, Marsh asked the Board to remove Stevens. His letter was sarcastic and somewhat bitter. He requested a "man of common sense, who is modest and has not as yet arrived at the Apex of knowledge & experience in all matters."[32]

During the spring months these men were able to reconcile their differences. They discussed the existing problems and Marsh asked the Board to ignore his earlier request that Stevens be removed. The Board complied with this. However, by October, 1833, Stevens decided to leave the mission. With his family he went to New York where he hoped to obtain his preaching license. Marsh seemed to have the final say

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[31]Marsh Journal, August 1, 1833, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

[32]Marsh to Greene, Jan. 10, 1833, in Marsh Papers.

a month later when he wrote:

> Heard nothing directly from Mackinaw, of course I shall not obtain my teacher this fall, and must pass the winter alone. Felt at first disappointed . . . had rather a thousand times be thus situated than as I was last winter. May such scenes as I then passed thro. never return.[33]

With Stevens and his family no longer at the mission, the problem was resolved. However, their departure left Marsh without a housekeeper and forced him to do his own laundry and cooking for a short time. Finally, he was able to hire a discharged soldier to handle these domestic chores.

Besides personality clashes, personal danger often faced the frontier missionary. Marsh was exposed to the same diseases that claimed the lives of many Indians. He recorded deaths from such a variety of causes as dysentery, hydrophobia, small pox, drowning, freezing and various drunken accidents. Perhaps his more limited physical activities or better diet spared him from the accidents and diseases that were common among the Indians.

However, while on a visit to Duck Creek he complained of feeling ill. His journal includes the following note:

> Left Duck Creek for Gr. B. Feeling somewhat unwell. Arrived at t. Settlement a little after noon more indisposed. Consulted Dr. F. who informed me that it was t. incipient stages of t. dysentery; concluded to remain & take medicine. Went to Capt. Arndts & remained until Sat. at wh. time I was convalescent. Thanks be given

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[33]Marsh Journal, November 19, 1833, Wisconsin Historical Society.

to God.[34]

After this, except for an occasional cold or bout with flu Marsh was very fortunate in having good health nearly all the time he worked with the Stockbridges.

While on a trip to Green Bay, Marsh had an opportunity to meet with George B. Porter, then Governor of the Michigan Territory. After a short time the conversation turned to civilizing the Indians and the relation of the church to this task. The two men argued some over the worth of Christian missions and the Governor seemed to feel Marsh was wasting his time working among them. He favored a plan that would include teaching the Indians to read and write as well as handicraft arts, such as spinning and weaving. His idea excluded any mission activities, since he thought they were unnecessary.[35]

These early years at Statesburg revealed Marsh as an enthusiastic, hard-working person. He wished to transfer New England culture and religious thought to the Indians, and expected immediate results. In this respect he was disappointed. Marsh was critical of Stevens, the school teacher, and some of the Indians. However, he criticized them in an effort to improve their spiritual well-being and probably was not aware of this fault. At the same time his

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[34]Ibid., February 27, 1833.

[35]Ibid., June 16, 1833.

criticism by the Stevens family hurt and caused him to act in a manner he later regretted. An unswerving determination to do what he thought was best for the mission caused some friction and led to later complications.

CHAPTER 3

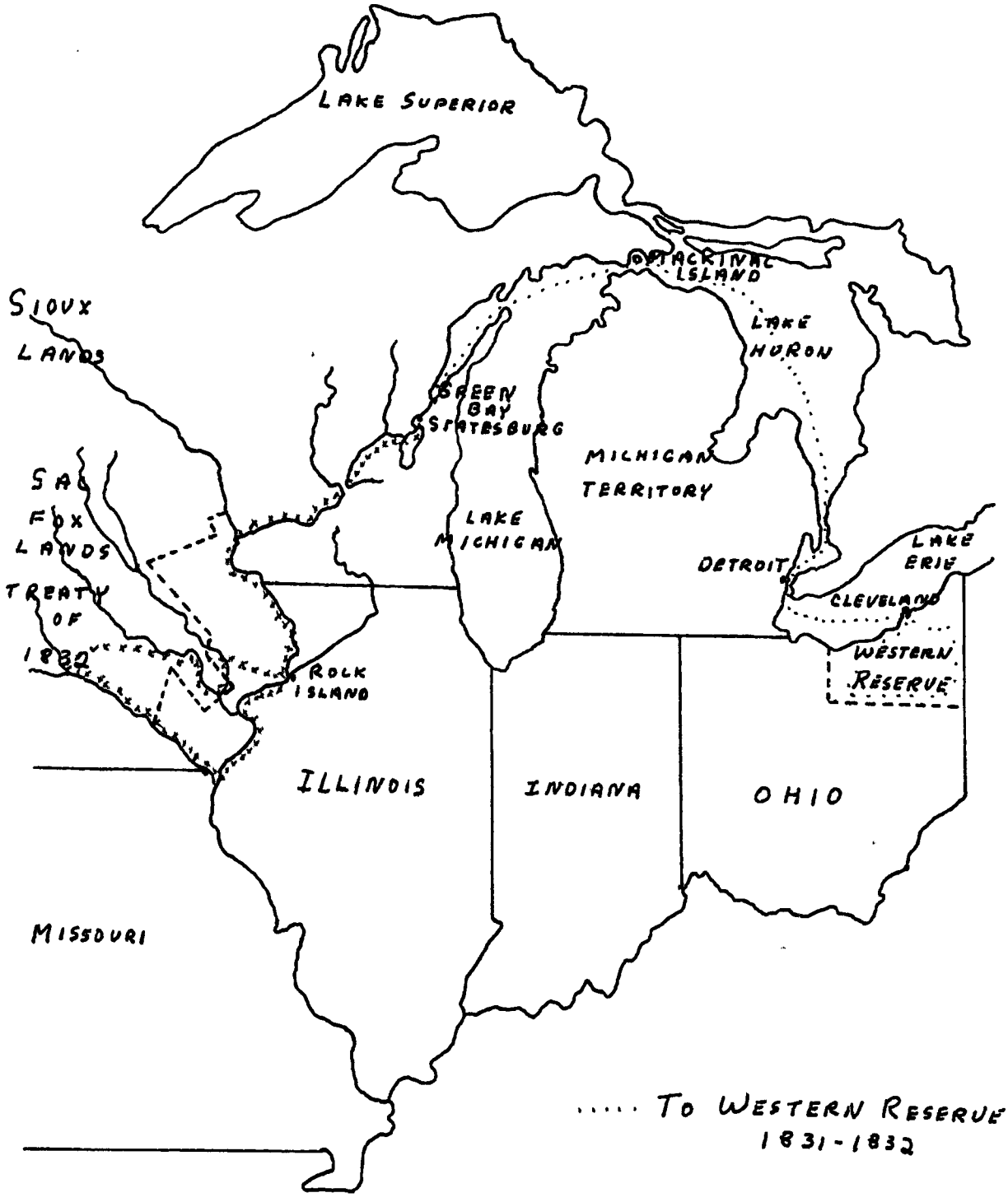
MISSIONARY TOURS OF CUTTING MARSH

Cutting Marsh spent eighteen years among the Stockbridge Indians in Wisconsin. During those years he was frequently called away from this mission for a variety of reasons. Usually his trips took only a few days, or several weeks at the most. However, he was asked to go on two extended missionary tours while working with these Indians. The first was a fund-raising trip to the Western Reserve area in Ohio. It was an attempt to inform the white settlers of mission progress and needs, and at the same time to create a willingness to support foreign and Indian mission work financially. The trip lasted nearly five months and proved to Marsh that many people had little interest, time or money to spend on mission work of any kind.

His second tour was to the West rather than the East. He traveled to the Iowa Territory and visited the major villages of the Sac and Fox Indians living there. His objective was to persuade the Indians to accept missions and schools, which would mean a modification of their entire way of life. This trip was even more unsuccessful than the first one.

This chapter will deal with these mission tours. It

MISSIONARY TOURS, 1831 - 1834



will include the reasons for the tours, a list of the places he visited, a summary of his activities, his description of the areas, and finally, the results of these tours.

The first trip began in the autumn of 1831. "Mr. Marsh was appointed . . . by the Committee to visit the churches on the Western Reserve, in the State of Ohio, as an agent of the Board."[1] He had been at the Statesburg mission a little over a year and was surprised and somewhat happy to be chosen for this special assignment. According to Marsh, his duties were to raise funds for the American Board, to revive county missionary associations, to inspect and report on the capabilities of preachers in the area who might be induced to labor for the American Board, and to get subscriptions to the Missionary Herald. He also was to attend presbytry meetings to discover whether the Presbyterians would continue to support the American Board after the organization of their own mission board at Pittsburg.[2]

Mr. Stevens, the school teacher and mission assistant, was left in charge of the mission and school at Statesburg. After the arrangements had been made, Marsh left Statesburg for Green Bay. On Thursday, November 3, 1831, he boarded the schooner Marshall Ney bound for Mackinaw. This distance required less than two days of sailing time and by early

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[1] American Board Report, 1832, 23:114.

[2] Marsh to Greene, May 16, 1832, in Marsh Papers.

morning, November 5, the first lap of the journey was completed.

For ten days Marsh was occupied discussing the new project and visiting the missionaries at Mackinaw. This was Marsh's first opportunity to leave the mission station at Statesburg since he arrived there nearly fifteen months before. Being able to visit with educated white people of similar religious beliefs probably explains his enjoyment of this short stay. He described the visit, saying: "This season has been indeed cheering and refreshing to my own soul and I hope in some measure profitable to others."[3]

Marsh left Mackinaw for Detroit on November 14. For three uneventful days they sailed slowly across Lake Huron arriving on the 17th. He spent the first few days in Detroit visiting friends and talking with other ministers and missionaries living in the city. Traveling by steamboat he arrived in Cleveland on November 20, 1831. Upon arrival, he bagan to visit the small villages and settlements in that area. His duties on this tour included preparing and delivering sermons; visiting schools, churches, and people; attending conventions; and writing reports of these activities to the American Board. He described one of the conventions held there in the following manner:

Went to Ravenna with Rev. Mr. Hudson. . . in

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[3]Marsh Journal, November 14, 1831, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

> order to attend a convention for the purpose of petitioning Congress respecting the S. W. Indians, t. mails, and the abolition of Slavery in the Dis. of Col. Little however accomplished.[4]

During the remainder of the winter he made few comments in his journal. However, his activities are described in letters to the Board.

March was, "favorably received in fifty-six towns," where he preached about foreign mission activities, addressed numerous congregations, and helped organize twenty-one mission associations.[5]

Most of the churches and groups interested in mission work told him they would continue to support the American Board in spite of the establishment of the new Presbyterian Mission Board in Pittsburg. They donated $375.11 to the American Board and $36.87 for the Missionary Herald. (See Appendix G for his expense account.) Marsh was disappointed with the size of these donations. In explaining these small offerings, he mentioned the settlers' lack of time to attend the meetings, the collections taken for the Western Reserve College shortly before his visit, and the recent building of several churches and schools in the area. However, he suggested "apathy and want of information and love to the cause operate more than anything else to make donations to foreign

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[4]Ibid., December 9, 1831.

[5]Marsh to Greene, May 16, 1832, in Marsh Papers.

missions small."[6]

Marsh also encountered some opposition which angered rather than discouraged him. A few people said the missionaries were using mission funds for their private affairs. Marsh claimed that many "ridiculous and slanderous reports were circulated" in an effort to discredit mission work. He attributed them to infidels, Campbellites, and unthinking people. In spite of this opposition he seemed to think the interest in missions was increasing.

In May, 1832, he began the return trip to Statesburg. On Monday, May 14, he left Cleveland for Detroit. The journey from Detroit to Green Bay was rather unpleasant because high winds caused many of the passengers to become seasick and impeded the progress of the ship. The foul language used by the crew caused Marsh to become disturbed and concerned. He remarked:

> Heard much profane swearing, seldom have I met with a crew so much so, the whole of it and some of the passengers were addicted to this abominable habit, felt deeply that it would be hell indeed to be confined with such a gang.[7]

The trip was nearly completed when the ship docked in Green Bay on June 9. Like most travelers, Marsh was tired and impatient to get home. His journal entries point out these feelings rather clearly:

O the satisfaction of feeling that I shall soon

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[6] Ibid., May 16, 1832.

[7] Marsh Journal, May 31, 1832, in Marsh Papers.

arrive at my place of destination after the long absence of seven months.[8]

The following two years, 1832-1834, were busy ones for Marsh, and he remained in the vicinity of Statesburg, concentrating his efforts on the Stockbridges.

In 1833 the tribal council decided to send a delegation to visit the Sac, Fox and Delaware tribes of Indians living in Iowa. The Stockbridges claimed to be distant relatives of these Indians and wanted to renew their old friendships. Exactly what prompted this action was a mystery; however, Marsh gave several possible suggestions for their actions. During the Black Hawk War of 1832 the Sac and Fox Indians had received a great deal of publicity and attention. Perhaps the Stockbridges were merely curious. Then, too, they could have been looking for an excuse to leave the village for a short time. Regardless what the reasons were, a group of the tribal leaders prepared to make the journey into Iowa. They wrote to the American Board concerning the possibility of having a missionary accompany them.[9] Their letter was not a new

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[8] Ibid., June 8, 1832.

[9] Fathers, we ask if there is not some way that we can make our visit subserve, in some degree at least, the great object of your society? Cannot we tell them of the great benefits we have received from being taught the gospel? Can we not tell them that your society is ready to send teachers if they are willing to receive them? Can you not appoint a missionary to accompany us? -Head men of the Stockbridge Nation to the American Board, October 14, 1833, in Missionary Herald 30:140 (April, 1834).

phenomenon as other groups of Indians had made similar requests to Eastern mission boards. However, it seems to point out the impact of mission activities upon them.

It is possible that Marsh suggested the Indians write this letter; however, there is no information available to support this point of view. Whatever the reasons, this letter achieved the desired results. The American Board hoped to establish schools or missions among the Fox and Sioux tribes in Iowa. Before attempting this, they felt it was necessary to obtain more information about these Indians, as well as the territory they occupied near the Mississippi River. If this were good agricultural land, the Indians would soon be forced to move and whatever time and money had been put into schools and missions would be lost.

Marsh wrote to the Board in November, 1833, requesting their permission to accompany the Stockbridges to Iowa. These requests fit neatly into the Board's plans for the establishment of missions among these tribes, and they decided to send him. Marsh's instructions arrived on February 14, 1834, and he wrote:

> Received two letters from the Board, informing me of my appointment to go upon an exploring tour W. of the Mississippi. Felt indeed to bless God for t. opportunity wh. will thereby be afforded me of doing good and of extending to those benighted pagans the kn. of salvation.[10]

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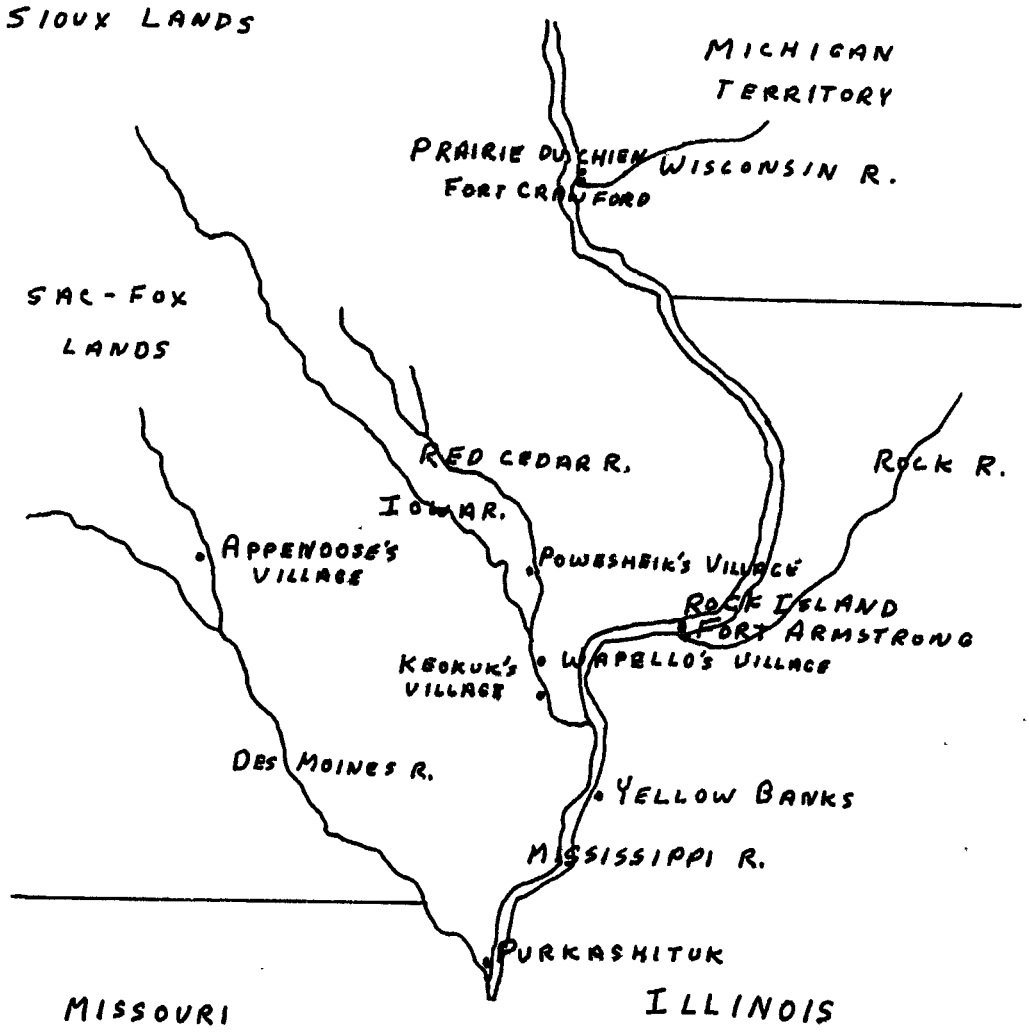
[10] Marsh Journal, February 14, 1834, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

SAC-FOX TRIPP, 1834



Since he failed to keep the actual letter of instruction it is not possible to discover his exact assignment while on this tour. He accepted the Board's action and the next few months were spent in anticipation and active preparation for the trip.

Finally, by early June all of the preparations had been completed. A service was held at the mission and Marsh spent some time reminding his congregation of their obligations and duties. After the service the chiefs addressed the tribe for some time also. When the farewells had been completed, the men boarded their canoes and began the trip. The group, consisting of Marsh and five of the Indians, left Statesburg early June 12, 1834. The missionary had some qualms about leaving his people alone for such a long period of time. He was filled with doubts, and expressed sorrow at having to leave again. His journal contains the following statement:

> As I took leave of them (the Stockbridge Indians) all appeared very kind and affectionate, and I felt a momentary sorrow in leaving but duty, as I hope and trust, calls and therefore I desire to go cheerfully.[11]

The next few days were spent canoeing, first up the Fox River and then down the Wisconsin. The time passed rather pleasantly and uneventfully for the group. The only thing Marsh mentioned was a severe thunder storm which

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[11] Ibid., June 12, 1834.

tested their camping techniques. The tents were blown down and most of the provisions were scattered and badly drenched. However, the following morning they arrived at Fort Winnebago, located at the Fox-Wisconsin portage. There they were able to rest and reorganize. After remaining at the fort overnight, they set out by canoe for Prairie du Chien.

When they arrived at this settlement, Marsh went directly to Fort Crawford, in order to see General Joseph M. Street. Street was the Indian Agent for the Winnebagoes at that place, and the missionary thought he would be able to gather some useful information from this man. However, the general was away on business, and Marsh left the fort before his return.

From Prairie du Chien, they boarded a steam-boat headed south to Fort Armstrong, at Rock Island. They arrived on June 28, and stopped at the home of M. S. Davenport, the Indian Agent for that area. Davenport had just returned from a visit to the Sac and Fox chiefs, and had several discussions with Marsh concerning the Indian situation in Iowa. After these meetings the missionary stated:

> He received and treated me with kindness and hospitality, and declared his readiness to afford assistance in establishing a mission amongst the Indians over whom he had charge. But informed me that it would depend very much upon the feelings of the Indian trader, George Davenport Esq. and the U. S. Interpreter also,

> as they had a very great influence over the Indians.[12]

One of the topics of discussion was the reaction of the chiefs to a proposal, made by Doctor S. Williamson, to establish schools and eventually missions in their tribal areas. Marsh was disappointed to learn the Indians were not only uninterested, but somewhat opposed to this idea. The notion that the Indians would be anything but overjoyed to receive schools and missions had apparently never entered his mind. He complained about this saying:

> I was informed that the chiefs gave a negative answer to t. application of Dr. Williamson to establish schools amongst them. Le-o-kuck said t. Gr. Sp. had given them mouths to speak with and they did not wish to learn to talk on paper. Felt somewhat disheartened at t. intelligence still was not cast down, for God will uphold and bless his own cause.[13]

After this meeting, Marsh called on the Indian Trader, George Davenport. He seemed friendly, but Marsh was upset because he tried to show, "how happy the Indians were in their present state," without any missionaries or schools. Marsh was also disappointed because he refused to help persuade the Indians to accept the missionary.

While Marsh was planning his actions, the Stockbridges decided to remain at Rock Island until the Sacs returned. However, they were afraid of sickness because of the hot

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[12]Marsh to Greene, March 25, 1835, in Marsh Papers.

[13]Marsh Journal, June 29, 1834, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

weather. They talked to Stabber, a chief of the Sacs, and requested permission to visit his village. At first he objected, but finally gave his consent when they revealed they had their own food supply. They arrived at his village, but were unable to understand the Sacs because there was no interpreter. As a result they left for Statesburg after a stay of five days. Marsh was at the Yellow Banks while this was going on and failed to hear of their return for several weeks.[14]

Early Monday morning, July 1, Marsh left Rock Island by steamboat for the Lower Yellow Banks. This was directly on the Mississippi, a short distance south of the junction with the Iowa river. On July 2, Marsh met doctor Williamson for the first time. Williamson, a physician, also employed by the American Board, was working in this same area. He had recently returned from a trip to the Sioux tribes in Iowa. While there he tried to establish schools and missions among the Indians, but without success.

The next few days were busy ones. Marsh and Williamson spent most of their time discussing the coming trip. On July 3, the Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury and the Reverend Byrus Byington, experienced missionaries, arrived. They assisted the two men in their planning. These men met and "passed t.

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[14]Marsh to Greene, March 25, 1835, in Marsh Papers.

day. . . in consultation respecting missionary subjects." They recommended to the American Board that Williamson accompany Marsh to Appenoose's village. This was located on the south side of the Des Moines River about one hundred and twenty-five miles from the Mississippi. They also suggested Williamson take charge of any new mission established in this area.[15]

After this had been agreed upon, the two men left on horseback for the village. Appenoose was one of the most powerful Sac chiefs, and the missionaries felt if they could persuade him to allow a school or mission in his village they would have a strong lever to use upon the other chiefs. They arrived at the village on July 10, but lacked a good interpreter. This handicap plagued Marsh on the entire trip and he often complained about it. His report contained the following statement in regard to this problem:

> Ahother very serious difficulty which I met from the first was an almost entire want of a suitable interpreter. . . . Although there are many on the Mississippi that can speak a little of the language still there are not more than three or four who can express moral or religious ideas.[16]

On July 14, Marsh and a small party left Appenoose's village on horseback and returned southeast, across the prairies, paralleling the course of the Des Moines River. As they passed over these large, vacant, grassy plains,

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[15]Marsh Journal, July 3, 1834, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

[16]Scottish Report, 1834, in Marsh Papers.

he remarked about the probable richness of the land. To him it was great folly the Indians were not using this area for agriculture. Late the next day they reached a small settlement, about one hundred miles down the Des Moines River. Marsh had been complaining about "feeling somewhat unwell," and shortly after they arrived he became very sick. His guess was that he had contacted dysentery from some polluted food or water. Since no doctors were available, he was forced to treat himself. The next few days he spent recovering at the home of Mister William Phelps. Phelps and his brother were trading in opposition to the American Fur Company, and had several small posts in the Sac villages. During his stay Marsh planned the arguments to be used in discussing mission work and education with the Indian chiefs. His recent experience in talking over these matters with Appenoose gave him some insight into the sort of reasoning he could expect in the future. For example, the Indians had objected to accepting missionaries or teachers because they said the Great Spirit had made them different than the white men. Therefore, if they were to accept the ways of the whites, the Great Spirit would become angry and would cause them to become ill. Marsh carefully listed these arguments of the Indians, and placed his answers and other points with each one. In this way he was able to make some use of his time even while being ill.

Phelps' home and trading post was a busy place, and during the four or five days Marsh was there, several white persons stopped each day. It is interesting to note that nearly everyone of them had some habit or trait that Marsh disapproved of. He was constantly appalled by the amount of drinking, fighting, gambling, swearing and Sabbath breaking that took place around him. To a person with his religious and educational background this was a disheartening situation, and he became very discouraged and lonely at times. One interesting comment he made concerned a candidate for the Legislature:

> In t. P. M. a candidate for Legislature a Mr. Owens and another gentleman called who were out upon an electioneering tour in their own behalf. The first instance I have ever known of a man's going round soliciting votes in his own behalf. Modest men it seems to me would shun such contemptible business as fishing for office in this manner.[17]

When Marsh prepared to continue his trip he spent several more days resting. On July 21, a group of men were going up the Des Moines River by canoe and he joined them. The trip was uneventful and lasted nine days. His journal contains only a few remarks for that period, one of which was a list of the attributes necessary to become a successful gambler. It is probable he planned to keep this for possible use in a future sermon. He said:

One of these men . . . said . . .that in order

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[17]Marsh Journal, July 19, 1834, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

> to get along well at gambling . . . it is necessary in t. first place that a man know how to play well 2) to cheat well 3) to lie well, 4th to swear to it and fifthly provided one is very hard by pushed to fight well. This is t. morality of gambling and this t. horrid affects upon morals where a person becomes a finished hand in the art.[18]

On July 30 the group reached Appenoose's village, and asked to attend several feasts being held in the evenings. During the days Marsh observed and recorded what he thought were some of the interesting features of the Sac-Fox culture. His journals contain notes on the general social structure, marriage customs, duties of both men and women, clothing, religious beliefs and practices, feasts, witchcraft, and tribal languages. He paid close attention to the details and gave some colorful accounts of the life in this particular village. After a week Appenoose agreed to confer with him on August 7. They had already talked informally about the possibility of establishing a school or mission, and the chief seemed interested. His apparent cooperation caused Marsh to become very optimistic, but their planned meeting was never held. That afternoon an Indian trader brought several kegs of whiskey to the village and in a few hours all was bedlam. The chief, as well as most of the tribe became drunk and Marsh lost this opportunity. He retired early, complained bitterly about the lack of dependability among the Indians, and blamed the

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[18] Ibid., July 25, 1834.

white men who brought whiskey to the village, saying:

> How awful. . . must the day of judgment be to such as for a little, paltry gain can be accessory to so much evil and wretchedness as well as jeopardy.[19]

The following morning Marsh and Appenoose conferred about the establishment of a school at the village. They were unable to reach an agreement, partly because the chief was suffering from the effects of his drunken spree. Marsh was very disgusted, but he did receive the chief's promise to call the tribal council that evening and discuss the matter with them. The council decided to allow the American Board to start a mission or school there, but only if the other tribes agreed to the same proposition. In this way the Indians managed to treat Marsh with some courtesy and still, in effect, refuse his offer.[20]

Since he was unable to establish a mission, Marsh concentrated on his program of personal contacts and preaching to the members of the tribe. He talked with anyone who would listen, in an effort to convert them to Christianity. Two days later Marsh and the chief had another talk. He described it in the following manner:

> Soon after we commenced eating he began of his own accord to relate to the interpreter his belief . . . . I took t. opportunity . . . to

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[19]Marsh to Greene, March 25, 1835, Marsh Papers.

[20]Ibid., March 25, 1835.

> speak of Jesus Christ and the resurrection and explain it by a picture representing t. rising of t. dead at t. last day. He listened attentively and examined t. picture very particularly and after I got thro he inquired "if there was anybody now living who had seen this God. . . and heard him speak these words?"[21]

Marsh was unable to change the views of this chief, or for that matter, those of any other of the chiefs he met on the tour.

The problem that seems to have been paramount was his poor communication with the Indians. If he had been able to understand or speak the Sac or Fox languages, perhaps the results would have been more to his liking. Another problem he encountered was the antipathy shown by the agents of the American Fur Company and the United States Indian agents. Whether or not this was serious, or even a real problem is open to some question. One authority discussed the operations of the American Fur Company, and wrote:

> Its letters show that above all else the company desired peace among the different tribes . . . . Moreover the company was in favor of prohibiting the sale of liquor to the Indians and of maintaining missions and schools among them.[22]

However, Marsh was convinced these people were working against his efforts. He based this idea upon several things. One was a remark Black Hawk made to John Metoxen,

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[21] Marsh Journal, August 10, 1834, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

[22] (Grace L. Nute, "The Papers of the American Fur Company: A Brief Estimate of their Significance." in the American Historical Review, 32:529(April, 1927).

a Stockbridge chief, on the trip with Marsh. While they were conversing, Metoxen asked Black Hawk why he refused to allow the missionaries to work with his people. His reply was, "but the trader, M. D(avenport) told me not to have anything to do with them for they would only make you worse."

After speaking with one of the passengers on the river boat, Marsh wrote: "Another gentleman informed me that he met a clerk of the Am. Fur Co. on a steamboat, and he manifested the same spirit of opposition which Mr. D. had to Black H."[23] These charges were, at least in part, true. If the missionaries would begin teaching the Indians, the traders might have to pay more for the furs and other goods they bought from them. Then too, the missionaries opposed selling whiskey to the natives, and this was a big item of profit for the traders.

Marsh was unable to convince Appenoose a mission would be of some benefit to his people and became very discouraged. He felt sorry for himself and left the village to spend some time alone in the woods. While he was gone the traders brought another canoe with whiskey, and the merriment began again. Marsh was disgusted by the drunken revelry and savage yelling in the village, and remained away until late in the evening. By then the whiskey supply had diminished

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[23]Marsh to Greene, March 25, 1835, in Marsh Papers.

and most of the Indians were resting. Marsh was afraid of being attacked by some drunken brave, and the chief placed a guard in the lodge he occupied, thus relieving his fears. The next day one of the braves killed a deer, and another feast was held. Marsh was invited and seemed to enjoy the Indian cooking.

The leisurely habits of the Indian braves appalled him. They rarely did any physical labor, and to a New England Puritan this was inexcusable. He described them saying:

> t. men whilst in their villages spend their time, some in playing cards others in fixing their ornaments. . . Much of t. time is spent in smoking and lounging upon couches or in going fr. lodge to lodge, telling stories or trifling conversation. About every day whilst they have anything there is a feast and sometimes two or three in a day.[24]

He often remarked that the Indian society was in a deplorable condition because the women did all of the work while the men spent their time loafing.

Before noon on August 12, Marsh left for the village of Ke-o-kuck, another of the Sac chiefs. Five of the Indians accompanied him, and the group traveled on horseback over the prairie until dark. The next day they started early and made rapid progress, until a severe thunderstorm forced them to halt, in the late afternoon. Marsh made use of this opportunity to bring up the subject of God and religion with the Indians. He asked one of the young braves who made the

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[24]Marsh Journal, August 6, 1834, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

rain, and was told Nah-nah-make-on(the thunder God). Then he told the man the Great Spirit had made all things. However, he was unable to convince any of them. Marsh used every opportunity to discuss the virtues of education and religion with them, but without any apparent success. The travelers reached Ke-o-kuck's village the morning of August 14. They were welcomed, fed, and given places to stay. Marsh often commented upon the hospitality of these people. As a rule strangers were fed, housed and treated with courtesy. After visiting for several hours, he took a canoe down the river to a place below the Yellow Banks. There was a white settlement nearby and a Mister Jennison invited the missionary to remain at his home. They discussed the Indians and Marsh's purpose for being in Iowa. After some time Jennison told Marsh, "they can't be Christianised until they are moralised. Learn them to work and go to work with them and teach them how to farm that is the way to do them good."[25]

Early the next morning Marsh returned to visit and travel with Black Hawk and his group. They set out in five large canoes containing forty or fifty men, women and children. This short trip proved to be pleasant, and he was entertained by the Indian children. He was particularly impressed with Black Hawk's son, and remarked:

As I passed along was much amused with the

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[25]Ibid., August 14, 1834.

> jokes and pranks of Bl. Hs son. He is remarkably tractable, can imitate almost any sound of the human voice or of any other creature, and soon comprehends an idea. . . . I could not but admire his noble appearance, his veracity and playfulness . . . and t. kindness of his disposition.[26]

He held a deep interest in the welfare of these people and wrote, "I thought what excellent and useful men they might make if enlightened by the gospel, but now spend their time and talents to no valuable purpose." Later that same day they arrived at the Yellow Banks. Here Marsh spent some time in what he called "adjusting my affairs." He persuaded several of the Indians to work out a map for his use on the remainder of the trip, but this is not available.

On August 16, Marsh met with Black Hawk for a long personal interview. A Doctor Rupell was there and acted as interpreter for these two men. Among the topics of conversation they pursued was the book The Life of Black Hawk, published by a Mister Patterson. Black Hawk was surprised that a book had been written about his life from his comments to Mister George Davenport. He was somewhat displeased with the trader for having given this information to a publisher without his permission.[27]

On Sunday, Marsh went to "t. Bluff," a nearby settlement, to preach. When he arrived, another minister was

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[26] Ibid., August 15, 1834.

[27] Ibid., August 16, 1834.

conducting a service, and Marsh attended as a visitor. The other preacher, the Reverend Morrow, did not measure up to Marsh's demands, so he held his own service that evening. During the following days he tried to secure an interpreter for the remainder of the trip, but failed. The settlers finally convinced him the only possible place a suitable man could be found was at Rock Island. Once this was decided, Marsh began preparations for returning to that place. He boarded a steamboat on August 23, and busied himself passing out missionary tracts and literature to the other passengers. One of these was General J. M. Street, the head Indian Agent for the Rock Island area. Marsh and Street conversed for several hours, with the missionary explaining the plans and hopes of the American Board.

The boat arrived at Rock Island about noon and Marsh moved his things to the Agency House. The next day he spent talking with Colonel M. S. Davenport, making calls, and trying to locate an interpreter. The new tour began the following morning, when Marsh and his interpreter left Rock Island for the Red Cedar and Iowa River region. They traveled rapidly and spent the first night at a small Indian settlement. After breakfast he spoke to some of the young men of the village, in an effort to interest them in learning to read and write. He showed them samples of writing material, but the Indians were not impressed..

He described this incident as follows:

> some likely looking young men came about me and I showed them t. Ojub-uay writing with wh. they were much pleased. I then asked them if they should like to learn . . . . They said they did not want to learn for they wanted to kill Siox- to these I also spoke respecting t. future world & t. resurrection.[28]

Shortly after this conversation they left for Ke-o-kuck's village. Late that afternoon they reached the village and refused to discuss anything of a serious nature that evening. After Marsh left the lodge the chief told his interpreter he knew why they were at the village and was not interested in a school or mission.

During the evening the Indians received some whiskey and several of them took Marsh's horses and disappeared. When Ke-o-kuck made no attempt to retrieve Marsh's property, the missionary angrily requested him to find the lost horses or have them replaced. After a heated argument the chief told Marsh he had no business in the village, and that the care of his horses was his own concern. Marsh decided it would be useless to spend any more time arguing and prepared to leave. Black Hawk lived at this village and as he was leaving Marsh stopped for another visit. However, the chief had gone to Rock Island again and the missionary only saw his family.

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[28] Ibid., August 28, 1834.

That afternoon Marsh and several of the Indians set out for the Iowa River, twenty or twenty-five miles away. They camped along its banks and March again tried to interest the Indians he met in Christianity, but without success. As they crossed the river the following morning he wrote:

> With mingled emotions of pity & sorrow I crossed t. Iowa and set my face towards Rock Island. . . . Never before this short tour have I witnessed or experienced so fully t. meaning of those words "and they made light of it."[29]

Once on the other side of the river they lost the trail in the hills, and finally wandered back to the river bank. After a short wait Marsh was able to hail a canoe of passing Indians. They agreed to lead the missionary's party to the Mississippi River. That night the group stayed at a small Fox village. The next day was Sunday, and Marsh decided to remain at the village for a rest. However, late in the afternoon the horses strayed into a forested area nearby and he was forced to break the Sabbath to hunt for them.

Monday morning, after traveling several hours, they stopped at one of the trading posts of the American Fur Company. The trader was a man by the name of High, and Marsh conversed with him for some time. Mr. High said he was opposed to traders giving or selling whiskey to the Indians at any time. However, while looking about the

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[29]Ibid., August 30, 1834.

trading post, he discovered a tapped keg of whiskey in one of the corners of the room. By the time he left the place, Marsh was convinced Mr. High was a liar and man of very low character.

The trip to Rock Island passed quickly, and after his arrival such routine matters as paying bills, writing reports and letters, and visiting friends and associates kept him busy for several days. On Saturday, September 6, Marsh boarded a steamboat headed for Galena. He arrived early Sunday morning and was met by the Reverend Arastus Kent, a Methodist missionary there. That evening Kent asked Marsh to preach for him. Later, they spent some time visiting the sick people in Kent's congregation. Marsh was very pleased to be with civilized people again, and remarked that it was a "blessing and a pleasure to be in the company of an educated, Christian man."

From Galena he traveled on horseback to Mineral Point, which at this time was a mining center. A lack of transportation facilities forced him to remain there for several days. As usual, Marsh spent most of his time moving through the village streets, talking to anyone who had a few minutes to spare. Mineral Point was no more to his liking than most other frontier settlements he visited on this trip. According to his account the place was overrun with card playing, drinking and swearing. On Sunday evening he held a church service in the local school, but was very dissatisfied

with the participation. He said:

> A moral change is greatly needed, and pious people are few and in consequence of their being far removed from religious privileges are generally cold and stupid.[30]

Early Monday morning he set out for Fort Winnebago with a Mister Blish. They arrived that same evening and Marsh rested for several days while his companion continued on to Helena. He planned to visit Blue Mounds, but was unable to because of inclement weather. The church at Dodgeville, a small town nearby, asked Marsh to preach for them. He conducted the service and returned to the fort late in the evening of September 14. Mister Blish returned, and the two men left together. They hoped to arrive at the Portage before nightfall, and rode well into the evening.

Along the trail Marsh met Mister Whitney, an acquaintance from Green Bay. The missionary was glad to see a familiar face again and they chatted excitedly for some time. Because of this visit the travelers were not able to reach Portage that day, and they had to stop at the home of a settler named Rowan. Either this man had just arrived on the frontier, or he was a very slovenly character. At any rate, Marsh complained about the very crude facilities Mister Rowan offered them. After living in Indian lodges and at times in open fields, Marsh should have been accustomed to the rough conditions he experienced

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[30] Ibid., September 11, 1834.

here. Perhaps he was merely tired and anxious to complete the trip. This was the first time he had complained openly about the accommodations. He wrote:

> When I arrived at Mr. Rs' . . . he introduced me into a room where there was no door on the outside. . . . In the morn was awaked by the hogs trying to make their way into t. house and soon a pig found his way in . . . . Everything both in t. house and around were remarkable for filth and sluttishness.[31]

Happy to be leaving this place, Marsh traveled with the mail carrier to the Portage. They arrived late in the afternoon and were delayed by heavy rains the next day. On September 18, he left for Grand Cakalin with Messieurs Bushnell and Rees. A canoe of Indians from the mission met them and escorted the group for the last day of the trip. Marsh arrived at Statesburg on the evening of September 19. The tour had taken three months and eight days and he was very happy to be home once again.

Marsh had to evaluate his extended tour for the American Board. First he included a summary of the results of the trip. The tour had been planned by the American Board, the Stockbridge Indians, and in part by Marsh himself. It was to serve a three-fold purpose. First, it was hoped he would be able to provide some concrete evidence as to the feasibility of the plans of the American Board to set up missions and schools among the Sac

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[31] Ibid., September 15, 1834.

and Fox Indians in Iowa. Next, he would be able to observe the Stockbridge delegation that was going west for a visit. And finally, he would be able to leave Statesburg, and thus allow some of the personal friction between a few of the Indians and himself to cool. (These problems are discussed in Chapter four.) Although he did not openly describe these matters in his journals, the trip seemed to have been partly successful.

He also discussed the problems of establishing either missions or schools among these Indians. Marsh listed several obstacles to be overcome. One was the "opposition from white men" referring to the Indian traders and some of the frontier settlers. Another more difficult problem was to change the Indians' habits and culture so they might accept schools and perhaps churches. He mentioned this because they were "very superstitious and attached to their rites" and "their indolence and roving habits" made it extremely unlikely any mission would be accepted. This seems to be a formidable array and Marsh summed up his feelings concerning the possible chances of success in a letter to General Street, saying:

> I know that at the present as a general thing they are opposed to any alterations or innovation upon former modes of life or customs. And I expect that this state of things will continue so long as they are told and made to believe that "Missionaries will only make them worse," and made to believe also that their condition

cannot be bettered.[32]

These extended tours, made at the request of the American Board, were the only two attempted by Marsh during his eighteen years among the Stockbridges. Neither of them was very successful in his estimation. He learned the Sac and Fox Indians would not respond to the American Board's approach, but was unable to discover a workable substitute. This failure to comprehend the basic divergence between white and Indian cultures was Marsh's chief obstacle. His earlier college training had not prepared him to cope with this situation, and he was unable to find a solution to the problems it presented.

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[32]Marsh to Street, November 15, 1834, in Marsh Papers.

CHAPTER 4

MIDDLE YEARS AT STATESBURG AND STOCKBRIDGE, 1834-1838

After a few years Marsh began to change his attitudes toward the Stockbridges. He lost some of his enthusiasm because of the difficulties he encountered. As he came to know the Indians better the scope of their problems became apparent. Both Marsh and the Indians were faced with several problems at this time. Most of these grew from the unwillingness of the national government and the Menominee Indians to accept the claims of the New York Indians in regard to their land possessions as agreed to in the treaties of 1821 and 1822.

The rapid influx of white settlers into this area also made the work of the missionary and the problems of the Indians more difficult. According to Marsh, these settlers brought the vices of the white man to the frontier, but rarely his virtues. His progress was disrupted by personal opposition and tribal divisions. Marsh's chief problem was his inability to adjust his thinking and ideals to fit the situation at this mission.

These difficulties will be noted in an attempt to show their effect upon Marsh, the mission church, and the Indians. This chapter will attempt to show Marsh's

influence upon the Indians, the progress of the church and school, and the attitude of Marsh and the Indians toward each other.

The most evident problem is that of the Indians' confusion over their land holding rights. The Stockbridges purchased land near Green Bay in 1821 and 1822. In 1827, the United States government ignored these earlier purchases and acquired the area from the Menominee tribe. The Stockbridges first sent an appeal and then a delegation to Washington. After several years of inaction a commission was sent to investigate in 1830. They upheld the claims of the New York Indians, but no action was taken. That winter another delegation went to Washington for further talks, and on February 8, 1831, the Menominees agreed to sell a tract of their land to the United States government. This was then to be given to the New York Indians.[1] While this treaty was being arranged, the legal claims of the Stockbridges were ignored. After a careful investigation of their proposed new lands the Indians refused this latest proposal.

In November 1831, two of the Stockbridge Headmen again traveled to Washington to plead for their cause. After

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[1]Beginning on the W. side of the Fox river, near the "Little Kackalin," at a point known as the "Old mill dam," thence NW 40 miles; thence NE to the Oconto creek falling into Green Bay; thence down said Oconto creek to Green Bay; thence up and along Green Bay and Fox river to the place of beginning, excluding therefrom all private land claims confirmed. Royce, Land Cessions, 728.

more proposals and rejections they finally agreed to accept a tract of land equal to three townships on the east shore of Lake Winnebago. The two northern townships of this grant were for the Stockbridge and Munsee tribes, and the southern township went to the Brothertown Indians.

Shortly after this agreement was reached, Marsh sent word of the coming move to the American Board. He was somewhat skeptical as to the permanence of this new agreement and said, "It is now quite probable that the Stockbridge Indians will remove in the course of two years to a place about 15 miles distant on the E. side of Winnebago Lake."[2] He apparently took no active measures to aid the Indians as he did not believe his position warranted any interference in their tribal affairs.

The difficult task of moving their possessions and rebuilding their homes in another wilderness area made the Indians resentful. They felt the time and effort spent in clearing fields and putting up buildings was wasted. In their opinion they were being treated unjustly, and they began to doubt the government's sincerity. They also mistrusted the mission staff and the policies of the American Board. Marsh wrote to one of the Board secretaries saying:

> The Indians have a good deal of jealousy respecting the introduction of white families amongst them for almost any cause because they fear that by and by when their children shall grow up,

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[2]Scottish Report, 1832, in Marsh Papers.

> these assistant missionaries will say to them, "we have brought up our children amongst you and have been all the while laboring for your good; give us a little land for them" . . . . still such sentiments have actually been expressed to me by one who stands at the head of the nation.[3]

By the next year the Stockbridges had carefully examined their new lands and seemed very pleased with them. The actual move was scheduled for the winter of 1834-35. However, the Indians began to parcel the plots of land a year earlier. This caused Marsh some difficulty in his relations with the Indians. On January 16, 1834, he investigated a lot for the new mission buildings. He decided the mission should be built on "a lot situated E of Timothy J.'s 2 hund. rods N. of t. center of t. two T ships and about the same distance E of the great road."[4] He picked an area that was near the center of the proposed settlement, and still close to the road, so that the mission would be accessible for travelers.

This decision brought Marsh into sharp conflict with some members of the tribe. He chose one spot for the mission site, but the Indians decided it should be somewhere else. A council meeting was held, at which time Marsh's views were presented in a letter which included instructions from the American Board. These directed him to locate the buildings on the roadway that passed through

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[3]Marsh to Greene, November 5, 1833, in Marsh Papers.

[4]Marsh Journal, January 16, 1834, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

the area. Several of the Indians bitterly opposed this location as they wanted the land for themselves. They were also angry because the American Board seemed to be dictating the choice of a mission site rather than accepting whatever land the tribe decided to offer them.

Their opposition was directed both at Marsh personally and the American Board. One of the Indians asked "Are t. Am. Brd going to make us servants?"[5] Mister John Quinney, one of the headmen of the tribe backed Marsh and told him to continue his plans for the new mission property. He also said that since the tribe had given a small plot of land to the American Board (15 acres) it was up to the Board to decide where they wanted to erect the mission buildings.

The council meeting broke up without reaching any definite conclusions. The Indians' objections disturbed and angered Marsh, and that evening he visited Jacob Chicks, one of the leaders in the opposition group. Marsh hoped to change his views, but failed as they spent most of the time in heated argument. Chicks had several objections to the missionary's proposals. First, he said the land recommended for the mission had been assigned to some of the Munsees, and they would be crowded out of their rightful holdings. Then, too, he felt the American Board had no

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[5]Ibid., January 28, 1834.

right to any Stockbridge lands and should be grateful for the chance to get anything the tribe offered to them rather than being so bold as to pick out the best land. Another objection he offered was that there would probably be a public road going through the area Marsh had selected, and in that event the mission might have to be moved to another location.

As the argument progressed, Marsh became very irate with the Indians for being so stubborn and threatened to have the mission and school removed if they refused to accept his terms. With this parting verbal blast he left the Chicks' home and wearily returned to the mission. By this time he was tired of the entire argument, and perhaps somewhat confused by the opposition to his suggestions. The next morning he wrote:

> Returned home much disheartened to see a spirit of hostility to a measure upon which I must feel matters of unspeakable higher consequences depend than the object which they have in view-- Was very restless during t. night in consequence.[6]

For the next few days there was undoubtedly some more heated discussion of this problem; however, Marsh chose to ignore it. One week later, on February 6, 1834, Jacob Chicks called at the mission to tell him the council had accepted his proposals. Describing this Marsh wrote:

> J.W.C. called and informed me. . . . that there was but little or no opposition, that those who

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[6] Ibid., January 28, 1834.

> had formerly been violently opposed to t. proposed alteration of the settlement were either silent or had changed their minds . . . . Afterwards they . . . . agreed to make the alteration wh. I had proposed.[7]

This problem was caused in part by a political split within the Stockbridge tribe. John W. Quinney, his friends and relatives, controlled the tribal government, while Jacob Chicks and his followers were the "out" party. One of Chicks' sons had first claim to the land Marsh wanted. This faction tried to use the question for their own political advantage by creating discontent. When they failed, the argument was dropped and Marsh received the land.

This incident points out one weakness in the missionary. He simply could not conceive of the idea that the Indians could be right in this or any argument with him, and was often rather inept in his dealings with them. Perhaps his paternalistic and somewhat high-handed manner alienated some of the Indians at this time.

One week before this uproar about the mission location, Marsh was faced with another problem that brought further dissention to the tribe and church. Sally Anthony, one of the church members, decided to marry a man who was not a member. When Marsh discovered this he took what the Indians considered an unsympathetic and dictatorial stand and suggested she wait a few months. He wrote:

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[7] Ibid., February 6, 1834.

> was grieved to hear that one of my church Sally A. was going to marry a man who was not a Christian- Twice I advised her not to, but to put her trust in t. Lord and wait still longer or not marry at all.[8]

This seems to have been a lot for Marsh to ask of this woman, as she was faced with the continued life of a widow if this chance for marriage was not taken. There were only a few men in the congregation, and the Indians felt Marsh's solution simply did not fit the situation.

On January 15, five days later, he was told she had decided to marry with or without his permission. This was direct opposition to his authority in the church and he sent word to her that he could not perform the ceremony without the consent of the American Board. The next morning Issac Jacobs and Levi R. called at the mission to discuss this problem with Marsh. After a futile conversation they again asked him to marry the couple, but he refused. The Indians angrily reminded him that it was possible to have the marriage performed in Green Bay if he would not reconsider the matter. To this he replied, "that she could if she thought proper, but if the Board did not approve of it she must suffer the consequences etc."[9] The Indians' insistence that Marsh marry this couple shows they considered his approval in religious matters as a necessary or at

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[8] Ibid., January 10, 1834.

[9] Ibid., January 16, 1834.

least desirable thing. If this were not the case, he could hardly have caused such a disturbance or created the hard feelings that seem to have grown from this action.

They continued to discuss this problem with some taking Marsh's part while others criticized him severely. Three days later, on January 18, several of the Indian women stopped at the mission to question him further, and according to Marsh, went away satisfied with his reasoning. At one of the church society meetings that same evening he was again asked why he refused to marry the couple. He discussed the entire problem in detail with them again, and by this time was thoroughly tired of the affair. The next day he received word that the wedding had been performed at Green Bay. His journal contains the following remark written after hearing this news:

> This has been a day of sorrow and disappointment but it is all right because God has done it. I did not calculate upon such disappointments and they come t. more suddenly upon me.[10]

This question did not drop out of public discussion, even when the marriage was an established fact. Marsh was beset by questions, charges, and counter-charges concerning his action. Some of the Indians thought he had given his permission for the couple to be married in Green Bay, while others said he had no authority to tell them when they could

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[10] Ibid., January 20, 1834.

be married or not. To settle both this and the mission site problem a special meeting was held on February 7, 1834. Here everyone had a chance to voice an opinion, and some of the hard feelings were eased. Marsh summed up the accomplishments of this meeting saying, "there seemed to be more harmony of feeling than I had known for a long time."[11] The dispute was not completely over until May 10, when the entire affair was discussed again and apparently settled.

Both of these bitter controversies took place concurrently, within a three-week period. They brought into the open the first serious opposition to Marsh and his policies regarding the tribe and church. Prior to this there had been little questioning of his authority, and according to his account, he had maintained peaceful, friendly relations with the Indians. This partial repudiation of Marsh's leadership must have been a great shock to him. Before these incidents he enjoyed the work among these people and doubts first began to appear in his letters and journals as a result of this friction. During the next few months these personal animosities were not completely resolved, and he reported many minor conflicts with the Indians.

The next problem he faced was of a somewhat different nature. The Catholics maintained a mission church in Green Bay, and a few of the Stockbridges living or working near

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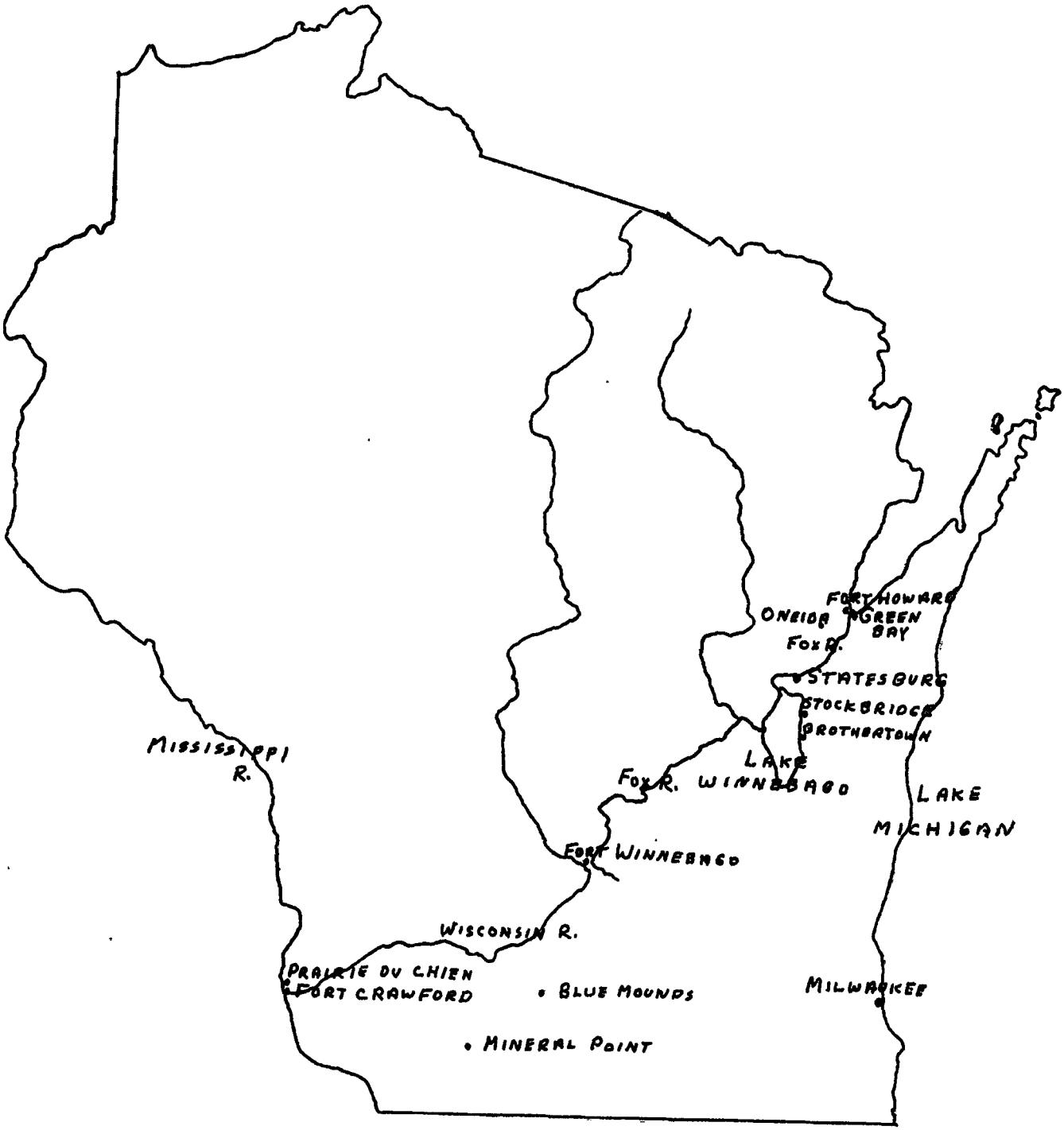
[11] Ibid., February 7, 1834.

WISCONSIN - 1836



the town were persuaded to join this church. Marsh was disheartened to hear this because he regarded the Catholics as a greater obstacle to his work than the pagans, and did everything possible to counteract their teachings.

One of the Indian women, who had become a Catholic, returned to Statesburg during the winter of 1833-1834. She attended the church services, and after a few weeks asked Marsh to explain the differences between Catholic and Protestant beliefs. They spent several afternoons discussing these matters, and Marsh attempted to persuade her of the mistake she made by joining the Catholic Church. However, he was not successful and she refused to give up her new faith. A few weeks later she visited Marsh again, and this time asked to join the mission church. This surprised Marsh and he wrote:

> Speaking of Mary Littleman. . . these expressions were t. more striking to me, inasmuch as she had been a member of the Catholic Church at Gr. B. and when she returned to this place, appeared very strong in the Catholic belief.[12]

He kept working with her and seemed to be making some progress when the priest came to Statesburg. Marsh was disturbed and hurried to her house shortly after the priest left. They discussed the priest's arguments and Marsh found she was much troubled and perplexed because of the conflicting instructions of the two clergymen. Marsh

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[12] Ibid., April 7, 1834.

described this visit, saying:

> After hearing her story I compared the instructions etc. of the priest with God's word, and then told her to choose whom she would believe and obey-the priest or t. holy Scrs.[13]

After this discussion Mary gave him the books the priest had brought, and Marsh left her home satisfied with his results.

The disputes between Marsh and members of the church caused him some difficulty. He was very frank and often outspoken when stating his views on a question, and this caused some of the misunderstandings and hard feelings. He spent many hours in close contact with these Indians, and often aroused opposition or resistance by his actions. His journal is filled with comments about having to visit members' homes with the church elders. Often these visits were concerned with family problems or quarrels between two members of the church. He used the disapproval of the church as a lever to force a settlement of these disputes in a manner he favored.

When discussing personal problems, Marsh often asked people to stop at the mission after one of the church services or society meetings. Here, he felt, they could discuss matters privately. However, this was not successful in dealing with the Indians. On New Year's Day, 1836, he

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[13] Ibid., April 7, 1834.

gave the following description of such a meeting at the mission:

> After meeting invited Mr. A. Miller and Messrs. Metoxen & Chicks to my room in order to attend to a letter which Mr. M(iller) wrote me last summer charging me with insulting him etc. . . . After calling upon him to show the "insult" to which he made little ans--but some statements which were positively untrue, he left in a very abrupt manner.[14]

This difficulty was eventually solved, but his records are filled with similar accounts. One reason for these personal conflicts was Marsh's idealistic approach to the Indians. He had worked with them long enough to know they would respond differently than New England Protestants, but he never seemed to realize this. While the Stockbridges had been under some missionary teachers and ministers for nearly one hundred years, they were still Indians. They could not change their culture and thinking enough to be in agreement with him on many points. A good example of this was the Indians' reaction to his handling of Sally Anthony's marriage problems.

Another unpleasant phase of missionary life was being alone much of the time. Marsh's letters and journals contain many remarks that show his discontent because of this. Visitors and travelers also remarked about the loneliness of the missionaries. One traveler described a stop at Statesburg. She noted the mission personnel were happy

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[14]Ibid., January 1, 1836.

to see some travelers, and described the visit saying:

> To persons so situated, even more emphatically than to those of the settlements, the arrival of visitors from the "east countrie" was a godsend indeed. We had to give all news of various kinds that we had brought--political, ecclesiastical, and social. . . .[15]

Marsh also complained about this in his journal. During the winter of 1833-34 he was alone and by the following May was happy to welcome his new assistant, Chauncey Hall and his wife. Hall later wrote, "Rev. Mr. Marsh gave us a very cordial reception. He had been alone since last fall. . . and he was truly glad to receive fellow-laborers."[16] In the same letter Hall also mentioned they were lonesome at first while Marsh was on his trip to Iowa that summer.

The problem seemed to be more one of intellectual than physical isolation. Except for infrequent visitors or a few travelers, the mission staff had to be content with the companionship offered by their own group. Marsh had spent ten years being trained at an academy, college and seminary, and missed these contacts with educated people. Because there were so few chances for conversation the missionaries often found it difficult to get along with their co-workers for more than a short time.

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[15]Mrs. J. H. Kinzie, Wau Bun (New York, 1856), 78.

[16]Hall to E. F. Ely, deposited in the Wisconsin Historical Society.

During the summer of 1834, Marsh and five of the tribal leaders went on a missionary tour of the Sac and Fox villages in Iowa. While this group was gone the Indians began their move to the new tribal lands on the eastern shore of Lake Winnebago. The land had been divided and assigned to the Indians nearly six months earlier, so there was no great confusion or dispute over the lots. Hall and his wife remained at Statesburg even though many of the Indians had moved to the new location twenty miles away. The missionaries worried that the Indians might be overrun by traders and merchants because the tribe was to collect $25,000 from the United States government for its buildings and improvements at Statesburg. They feared that because Marsh and the tribal leaders were away the Stockbridges might squander the money. This lack of confidence in the Indians resulted from the missionaries' equating civilization with Christianity.

The mission and staff were to move with the final portion of the tribe. In July the trees were still standing on the spot allotted to the mission. Hall worked with the Stockbridges in putting up the new buildings, and shortly after Marsh returned in the autumn of 1834 the mission was moved. The new settlement was named Stockbridge, and Marsh said the Indians were satisfied with it. Commenting on the move he wrote, "they hoped that they had found a place where

they might enjoy peace and a permanent resting-place."[17] However, only a year later the American Board Report printed the following statement concerning the Stockbridges:

> Before the close of the last year (1835) the Indians and the mission family had finished their removal. . . . But even now, when the Indians have hardly put up their fields, the proposal has been made to take them from their homes again, and transport them to a country west of the Mississippi river.[18]

Once the Indians and mission were moved, Marsh was able to return to a more normal schedule of activities. He spent much of the time traveling to the nearby settlements. Often this was for supplies or to visit other Indians. On one of these he was accompanied by Doctor David Ward, a Green Bay physician. They had been conversing for some time when they began a discussion of religious topics. After a while Ward said, "You have said much about religion, but you have not told me what I must do in order to obtain it."[19] This distressed Marsh, and he resolved to be more specific in his instructions.

The mission often received boxes of Bibles from eastern mission or Bible societies, and Marsh distributed them according to the enclosed instruction. In 1836 the Stockbridges received a dozen Bibles from Charles Landgrave of

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[17]Scottish Report, 1835, in Marsh Papers.

[18]American Board Report, 1836, p. 104.

[19]Marsh Journal, May 31, 1834, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

Hesse. He read about the tribe in one of Calvin Colton's books, and sent them some Bibles from Hamburg. They were sent to Henry Hill and he forwarded them to Marsh. In his letter explaining the gift Hill wrote, "The Landgrave is a very aged man & is very desirous to have some document from the Indians shewing their reception of his present."[20] The Landgrave also sent a letter with the package explaining his gift and greeting the Indians. (See Appendix H.)

The summer of 1834 was both eventful and trying for the mission staff. Mister Hall and his wife arrived in May and were placed in charge when Marsh left for Iowa. In July the Reverend A. L. Barber and his wife came to Statesburg. They hoped to become missionaries for the American Board and were to direct the mission activities for the remainder of Marsh's absence. Within a few weeks the Reverend and Mrs. Stevens, formerly employed by the Board as assistants to Marsh returned from New York. They were supposedly traveling to St. Peter (Minnesota) where the Board was making an attempt to establish a mission among the Sioux.

Their arrival caused an almost immediate disruption in the mission affairs. The Stevens insisted things be done their way. Mrs. Barber was ill, and Mrs. Stevens took charge of the household activities, which resulted in hard feelings between these two women. When Marsh returned home

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[20]Marsh to Hill, April 14, 1836, in Marsh Papers.

and discovered this he wrote:

> I was surprised to find Mr. Stevens family in full charge of all the family concerns in the Mission-house at Statesburg. . . . Upon inquiring into the reason of this unexpected change I ascertained that Mrs. Hall had found that she and Mrs. S. could not be Mistress of the same house, and the former chose rather to leave than to contend.[21]

As a result the Barbers were living at the mission but were not taking part in its operation. Mrs. Hall had moved into a house vacated by the Indians, and her husband was at Stockbridge working on the new mission house.

Marsh and Barber spent some time discussing the situation. They reminded Stevens of his business in St. Peter and for a time it seemed he planned to remain at Statesburg for the winter. Marsh described this, saying:

> After my return I communicated to Mr. S. His uniform reply was "O I shall go provided my things come on." After waiting a very considerable time. . . he called Mr. B. and myself to ask counsel of us respecting what might be duty . . . . At length the subject was dropped without a united and definite decision on our part.[22]

When it appeared evident Stevens had decided not to leave, Marsh notified the Board. They replied, asking either Barber or him to go instead. Stevens, realizing this was a chance to become a mission superintendent complied with the Board's request and moved to St. Peter.

With him gone Marsh looked forward to working in peace

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[21]Marsh to Greene, January 13, 1835, in Marsh Papers.

[22]Ibid., January 13, 1835.

and harmony with the other staff members. However, new problems and quarrels arose when the earlier ones were solved. During the autumn and winter months Barber visited Fort Winnebago and tried to organize a Presbyterian church among the soldiers. He was able to interest a few of them, and hoped to move there and become the pastor of this new church. However, Marsh was asked to establish the church and went to the fort. He soon was told, ". . . that the officers were not altogether pleased with him (Barber) and did not desire the continuance of his labors." They refused to make the necessary arrangements for housing and salary so Barber moved to Green Bay for the remainder of the winter.

In February, 1835, Marsh organized the Fort Winnebago church with eleven regular members. He seemed sorry Barber was not acceptable to the officers because the enlisted men liked him and had cooperated with his efforts. He later wrote:

> Since about the first of Feb. Mr. B. has had no connexion with this Mission, nor are his labors needed. I have advised him to make application to the Home Missionary Soc. or else Ohio. I just frankly say I do not consider him a suitable person (or his companion either) for a foreign Missionary. Of his or her piety I have no doubt, But he is poorly acquainted with the ways of the world.[23]

Barber left for Chicago that spring and by July, 1835, he

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[23]Ibid., January 13, 1835.

received an appointment from the American Home Mission Society to preach in Milwaukee.

These moves reduced the mission staff to three people, Marsh and the Halls. For a while they were able to avoid any personal clashes, but during the winter of 1835-1836 new quarrels became evident. According to Marsh, Hall interfered, ". . . with almost every piece of business," at the mission, "until there was an absolute break," between them. He also complained that everyone of his associates tried to direct his actions although he was the mission superintendent.[24] He may have been afraid of an attempt to undermine his powers or perhaps was very positive in his actions. On several occasions Marsh became very angry and wrote critically of his associates in his letters to the Board. However, he usually overcame his anger and later softened the charges.

In April, 1836, the two men had a particularly violent quarrel when Marsh discovered Hall had gone in his room and searched his personal papers. After a series of arguments Marsh wrote:

> I have positively forbid him meddling with my business. . . . Should he write the Board for advice I can see no better course than to recommend to leave and even dissolve his connexion with the Board, for until there is an entire alteration in him he could do little good at any station.[25]

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[24]Marsh to Greene, April 4, 1836, in Marsh Papers.

[25]Ibid., April 4, 1836.

When these difficulties were finally resolved, the mission routine was undisturbed by any major problems for nearly a year.

The following spring Marsh criticized Hall's management of the school and the friction began all over again. Marsh was certain the students were not getting the most possible benefit from their work and complained to the Board several times. On one occasion he wrote, "the reason why the school has not flourished is from want of energy and stability of purpose." He blamed these faults on Hall rather than the Indians. Previously he had given the Indians' lack of initiative, resolution and character as the major reasons for their slow progress. His Puritan background is clearly demonstrated by the nature of these complaints. Marsh listed one of Hall's most serious shortcomings specifically, saying:

> he is too much what is called in N. E. Milk and honey; he would accomplish everything almost by persuasion, and kindness as he calls it. . . . I know this goes a great ways, but, Sir, you know this has its bounds, particularly in discipline, whether in children or in church.[26]

In this same letter Marsh said Hall was, "not a profitable man for the Board to support as a teacher." He described him as a "mechanical genius" and felt his labors should be in those fields rather than in Indian education.

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[26]Marsh to Greene, July 5, 1837, in Marsh Papers.

Near the end of July, 1837, Marsh received a letter from the Board criticizing his handling of the mission and complaining that he was wasting funds. The added expenses had been caused by Hall's actions, and Marsh replied in a biting tone, demanding Hall's removal. (See Appendix I for part of this letter.)

While this was occurring, Marsh was planning for his wedding. A large section of his journal for this period has been removed, so there is no information available on the circumstances leading to this step. His intended bride was Miss Eunice Osmer. She had come to Green Bay in 1836 and apparently taught school there. Before this she had spent twelve years teaching in the mission school at Mackinaw. They were married in Green Bay on November 2, 1837, by one of Marsh's missionary friends, the Reverend Stephen Peet. Some time later, Moses Ordway, another friend, wrote Marsh reminding him not to allow married life to interfere with his mission duties and in one place said, "Mr. Marsh I am hartily glad you have a good wife. Don't make a God of her ! it will spoil both her & you."[27] After his marriage Marsh seemed more able to enjoy his work.

Being a family man simplified the task of entertaining guests at the mission. The buildings were only two hundred feet from the road and travelers often stopped to

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[27]Ordway to Marsh, June 7, 1838, in Marsh Papers.

rest and visit. Bishop Jackson Kemper commented on his pleasant overnight visit during the summer of 1838. He described the mission house as a ". . . comfortable wood (board) house" but complained of mosquitoes on the first floor.[28]

One of the more amusing incidents at the mission took place when Colonel Childs, Judge Morgan L. Martin and H. S. Beard stayed overnight. Every morning, before breakfast, Marsh handed out Bibles to the family and any visitors and they each read a verse until the passage was completed. H. E. Cole described the incident as follows:

> the good missionary selected a chapter in Timothy, read his verse. . . and the time when Childs must read was becoming imminent. He could not find the place, and the succession actually reached him before he reached Timothy in the Testament. However, he continued to struggle among the saints, and the apostles confused and mortified, and in his despair forgot the character of his host and the solemnity of the occasion. Finally he was heard to mutter, "where in Hell is Timothy?"[29]

Marsh's work among the Stockbridges was interrupted by short trips to other villages and towns for the purpose of organizing churches for the incoming white settlers. On January 9, 1836, he organized the First Presbyterian Church of Green Bay. It was founded with only twelve members and had no regular minister. He was to preach once each six

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[28]Jackson Kemper, "A Trip Through Wisconsin 1838," in the Wisconsin Magazine of History, 8:436-437 (June, 1925).

[29]H. E. Cole, "The Old Military Road," in the Wisconsin Magazine of History, 9:58-59, (September, 1925).

weeks and to administer holy communion every second time. On October 28, 1836, the Reverend Moses Ordway was installed as the regular pastor and this relieved Marsh of these trips to Green Bay.

A month later he was asked to do the same thing for a group at Fort Winnebago. In February, 1836, he formally organized this church with eleven members. The following year two protracted meetings were held in the area. They consisted of several meetings each day and evening for a week or ten days. Several missionaries and congregations would usually combine their efforts for one of these. The first of the two meetings was held at Green Bay and the second at Stockbridge. Moses Ordway and Marsh worked together at both of these. Marsh described one of them in his report saying:

> The latter part of last winter (February 20-27, 1837) a season of protracted worship was held, which continued eight days. . . . There were three meetings held each day & prayer-meetings at the intervals. After there began to be anxious inquirers a part of the forenoon was spent in giving them personal instruction & praying with them.[30]

Marsh and Ordway were asked to establish a Presbyterian church in Milwaukee later that same year. They wrote to the Reverend Stephen Peet and arranged for him to become the minister of the new church. Except for this trip to Milwaukee, most of the mission work Marsh carried

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[30]Scottish Report, 1838, in Marsh Papers.

on was fairly close to Stockbridge, because he had to remain there in order to supervise the mission most of the time.

This period of Marsh's work was filled with disputes between him and the other staff members, and with the Indians as well. He was usually unwilling or unable to bend when dealing with others and seldom tried to moderate his views or demands. The difficulties with other staff members may simply have grown because of their close contact. However, they may have been caused by some unreasonableness or interference on Marsh's part.

There were several noteworthy events at this time. The most important was moving the mission and tribe about twenty miles from Statesburg to Stockbridge. Another was his marriage in 1837. The church remained nearly the same size, with the number of new members merely keeping pace with the deaths of the older ones. The schools were returned to the Indians to manage in 1839. This resulted from the friction which occurred between Marsh and the teachers, and because some of the Indians were dissatisfied with his supervision.

Chauncey Hall, the mission teacher from 1834-1837 seemed to feel there was a great amount of progress among the Indians. He later wrote:

> The Sabbath was universally kept; intoxicating drink were prohibited from being brought upon their lands. The women had started meetings for prayer, besides the maternal association and a meeting for improvement in sewing, etc. Fast and Thanksgiving days were always observed as in

> New England. The men lived upon their farms, and regarded hunting and fishing as uncertain employment.[31]

This may have been a superficial view of the situation, but is probably a fairly valid judgment because Hall had no reason to praise anything Marsh did after having had a difficult time living and working with him. It may well be that the mission had accomplished nearly all that was possible, and that by further interference Marsh only created opposition.

By 1838 Marsh realized that maintaining a mission among these Indians under the crude frontier conditions was a difficult task. He became resigned to the slowness and lack of visible progress, although he never altered his basic approach to the problems encountered at the mission.

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[31]Hall to Ely, July 2, 1839, in the Wisconsin Historical Society.

CHAPTER 5

LAST YEARS AT STOCKBRIDGE,, 1839-1848

By 1839 Cutting Marsh was an experienced mission superintendent. He had been employed by the American Board for ten years, and during this time faced many hardships and difficulties. These first ten years among the Indians were spent as a preacher, teacher, part-time farmer and doctor. He also conducted a fund-raising campaign in Ohio, and explored the Iowa Indian country in an effort to discover the Indians' feelings toward accepting Christian missionaries and teachers. These activities kept him busy, but not out of personal disputes with his co-workers and the Indians.

In 1836 a murder caused a dispute which eventually split the tribe. As a result one group sold their property and moved to the state of Missouri. Shortly after this several other acute problems developed. These caused Marsh and the Indians much difficulty and were largely unsolved during his last years among the Stockbridges. This chapter will trace these problems, showing Marsh's attitudes and response to them, and will point out the effects his actions had in either solving or prolonging the difficulties.

A dispute evolving out of a murder trial caused a split

in the Stockbridge tribe from 1837 to 1839. Two of the young men attacked and killed a Brothertown Indian after a drinking party. Marsh was quickly called to the scene and reported, "The man had been shockingly cut to pieces by one of them with his own axe, whilst the other aided with a club, having received on his head and body four heavy blows with the edge of the axe, besides the blows with the club."[1] These two men were caught, tried and convicted within a few weeks. A problem arose after they were sentenced to be hanged by a joint vote of the Stockbridge and Brothertown tribes. The parents of one objected to this drastic action and they did everything in their power to get the murderers released. Marsh was worried this action would have an adverse effect upon both the church and tribe, and these fears proved accurate. He was sure the young men deserved hanging and described one of them saying, "Altho he is not probably 30 as yet, still this is the fourth murder he is strongly suspected of having been concerned in."[2]

Several leading members of the tribe decided to use this dispute as a political issue and quickly joined forces with the parents and friends of the murderers. Marsh realized this and openly backed the actions of the legal tribal leaders. However, both of these men were released and left

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[1]Marsh to Greene, August 12, 1836, in Marsh Papers.

[2]Ibid., August 12, 1836.

Stockbridge for a few months. The opposition bitterly attacked the tribal leaders and Marsh for their stand on this issue. They maintained the New Testament taught forgiveness and that it was not proper to condemn the men. After a few months Marsh was able to convince both sides they were partly at fault for the dispute. He held a reconciliatory meeting and "Most all wept, many made confession publicly and some wept aloud." Marsh thought the problems were settled and seemed unaware of the significance these difficulties would have in his later work.

Two men, Thomas Hendrick and Robert Konkapot emerged as the leaders of this new group. They challenged the political strength of the Sachem and Peace Makers, the regular tribal leaders, and at the same time caused discontent among the church members. Within a year after the murder Marsh described the group as "a pretty strong and powerful party." He charged them with "extreme bitterness" and "slander," and sided with the established leaders of the tribe. Both Hendricks and Konkapot were excommunicated for lying and slander, and this seemed to give added strength to the splinter party.

Shortly after this action Konkapot wrote to the American Board complaining of Marsh's interference in the tribal affairs and his biased preaching. Marsh expected this and in his answer to these charges he discussed the

situation and wrote:

> I was not in the least disappointed to hear that Robert Konkapot had written to the Board. . . . He had been telling the Indians for some time if they would only write the Board they would dismiss me and send them another Missionary. . . . "One who would not tell them all they had been doing and who would preach moderately."[3]

This was the most bold effort to oppose Marsh any of the Indians had dared. He chose to side with one of the factions within the tribe and in this way ruined his usefulness to those members in the opposing group.

This dispute points out how closely the problems of the church and tribe were related in this situation. The split over a civil or political issue caused a corresponding one within the church and directly affected Marsh's work as a missionary.

The "dissafected party" as Marsh termed his opponents, petitioned Congress to allow them to dispose of their holdings on the reservation. In the spring of 1839 Albert Gallup was commissioned and sent to draw up a treaty with them. He studied their problems carefully, and Marsh was impressed with his honesty and competence. The resulting treaty was signed on September 3, 1839. Under this agreement the Indians sold the eastern half of their two townships to the United States government for $1.00 per acre. The Hendrick-Konkapot group received $8,767.75 for their

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[3]Ibid., May 28, 1838.

lands and an additional $3,879.30 payment for their improvements since 1834. The remainder of the cash was divided into two funds. One, of $6,000, was invested by the government in public stocks paying a dividend of 5% or more. The interest on this amount was paid over to the tribe as an annual school fund. The remaining $4,393.95 was paid to the head men with the understanding that it be used for tribal expenses. The government also agreed to pay the costs of transporting these Indians to Missouri. It promised them free land and financial support for the first year after they moved to this new area.[4]

This political split of the tribe placed Marsh in a difficult position with regard to his mission work. The quarrel carried over into the church affairs and for the first time he was faced with the actual disruption of his church. The excommunicated members, their friends and followers joined together and carried on their own worship. In a small church the deflection of even a limited number of the members can be a definite blow to the congregation. Marsh's Presbyterian views kept him from accepting differences of opinion in church or religious beliefs. He criticized the dissenting group and wrote:

> this party by some means started a meeting amongst themselves . . . . They have frequent meetings

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[4]Treaty, Albert Gallup and the Stockbridge Indians, September 3, 1839, in A Compilation of All the Treaties Between the United States and the Indian Tribes Now in Force as Law (Washington, 1873), 937-939.

> around the town and are drawing in such members of the church as they can to join them; and they make some progress . . . . The standards which they have set up suits precisely their notions of religion in a lapsed state and these excom. members and disaffected ones too seemed pleased with it for now they can go together.[5]

The significant fact concerning this partial split within the mission church was that from 1838 on Marsh never again enjoyed the undivided acceptance and confidence of the church members. The breach was closed temporarily when the Hendrick-Konkapot party left for Missouri in the autumn of 1839.

In a few months Marsh was faced with a series of incidents that eventually led to a permanent split in both the tribe and the church. According to him, the Indians were unable to maintain any semblance of order in their efforts at self government. When one of the young Indian men died his property was taken illegally by the Peace Maker, Joseph Chicks, and the dead man's associate was forced to pay what amounted to a bribe in order to obtain what was rightfully his. This action angered the missionary as the officials involved were church members, so he tried to settle the matter by discussing it with them. The tribal leaders asked him to serve as mediator by getting both sides together, but they refused to cooperate when he tried this approach. He was seldom tactful and described his results

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[5]Marsh to Greene, November 29, 1838, in Marsh Papers.

saying:

> Afterwards I remarked to one of the Peace Makers in conversation, that they had not proceeded legally, and that injustice had been done. But this seemed too much for those to bear who were clothed with the authority of the Stockbridge Nation and came to my room and used insulting language.[6]

Eventually the Indians' anger subsided, but some of them were alienated by his course of action and became his bitter opponents during the following years.

As a result of their failure to understand the principles of constitutional government the Stockbridge leaders were divided and at times confused. Commenting on this Marsh wrote, "The Nation succeeds miserably in self-government. The head men do not understand the principles of law well enough to enact suitable ones, and what they do enact, do not properly carry into execution."[7]

While the Stockbridges were experiencing these difficulties, the Brothertown Indians living to the south of them were permitted to become citizens of the United States. Some of the church members decided this would be a more stable and advantageous way to be governed, and asked Marsh for his opinion. Whatever answer he gave them is not recorded, but this new problem gave the final impetus to the disintegration of both the church and tribe. A petition

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[6] Ibid., April 15, 1849.

[7] Ibid., May 23, 1842.

was sent to Congress in 1842. It was transformed into a bill, and signed into law on March 3, 1843.[8] The passage of this bill brought the political, religious, and personal quarrels within the tribe to a head. It seems much of the trouble grew out of personal antagonisms between the various tribal leaders.

John W. Quinney, one of the headmen, had a financial claim against the United States government. He paid much of the removal costs when the tribe came to Wisconsin in 1822. Since this claim had not been settled, Quinney was opposed to dividing the property and funds of the tribe until he was repaid. Joseph Schafer summed up the main cause of this problem when he wrote:

> The Quinney family, in short, represented a kind of Indian autocracy, with vested interests inhering in the tribal relation. The citizenship plan tended to reduce all to the same democratic level, hence they fought it long and bitterly.[9]

Much of the agitation for citizenship was brought about by the political "out" group. Marsh failed to realize this and seemed to favor the movement. He thought the Indians would eventually have to become citizens and wrote:

> If they retain the Indian state they must recede before civilization . . . . If they give up this and seek to avail themselves of all the privileges and blessings of civilisation and the

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[8] United States Statutes at Large, 5:645-647. For the details of this treaty see Appendix M.

[9] Joseph Schafer, The Winnebago-Horricon Basin (Wisconsin Domesday Book, vol. 4, Madison, 1937), 63.

> gospel . . . they will secure an unspeakably greater good.[10]

He appeared to favor the "Citisen Party" and the tribal leaders became angry because they thought he was supporting their opponents. The situation deteriorated rapidly and Marsh discovered his position to be that of a focal point for all tribal disputes. Some of his strongest supporters were disappointed and angry with him. When he discovered the adverse reaction to this stand, he tried to assume a neutral position. However, this only succeeded in alienating both groups to an even greater extent. He reported, "Each party watch my preaching and alternately imagine that I am approving of or condemning the other, altho I scrupulously aim to preach as tho I knew nothing about their affairs."[11]

This was an awkward position to be placed in. However, a person possessing a more diplomatic nature might have been able to settle this split in a satisfactory manner. Marsh was unable to affect any sort of cooperation between the two groups, and appears to have been very disheartened by his lack of success.

By the spring of 1843, the so-called "Citisen Party" had become well organized and managed to sweep the election of Town officers. This surprised and angered the Indian

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[10] Marsh to Greene, October 19, 1842, in Marsh Papers.

[11] Ibid., October 19, 1842.

Party so they proclaimed the election results null and void, and elected their own slate of officials. Marth thought the entire situation somewhat ludicrous and remarked, "Now the Nation a little over 200 in number, presents this novel spectacle of having two sets of town officers, each refusing to acknowledge the acts or authority of the other."[12]

While this situation he described may seem ridiculous, the Indians were now split into two opposing groups that refused to cooperate within the church or tribe. The Indian Party was led by most of the established tribal leaders such as John Metoxen and John Quinney. Their opponents were led by Jacob Chicks and his sons. This split was, in part, a matter of disagreement between the Chicks and Quinney factions. However, another factor to be recognized is that the leaders of the Indian Party were mostly the older men while the Chicks faction contained many of the young, educated males of the tribe.

By the spring of 1843 the Indian Party decided to sell their holdings and move to a new location, but this proved a difficult task. The tribal government was not legally recognized by the United States and the town officials elected by the Citisen Party were in control. This faction was bitterly opposed to Marsh because he refused to join either side of the dispute. When he would not allow them

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[12] Ibid., March 29, 1843.

access to the mail of a certain Indian Party member they became furious and beat the man for whom the mail was intended.[13]

A board of commissioners was established within the tribe to settle land claims and Marsh became involved in yet another dispute. They advocated passing a resolution under which the Stockbridge tribe would assume the control of mission lands and property. Marsh bitterly opposed this measure and attacked it on the grounds that the Board had supplied most of the labor and nearly all of the materials used in erecting the mission buildings. When this problem arose he wrote the American Board for special advice saying, "I wish therefore for special instructions upon this subject from the Board, I hope and trust the Board will not tamely submit to having this property thus taken from them by plunderers."[14]

He received some unexpected aid from the surveyor hired by the Indians. This man kept him informed on all the plans being discussed by the Indians, and persuaded them not to attempt their plan for seizing the mission property. Daniel Whitney, a Green Bay merchant, also joined Marsh in opposing the commissioners for a short time. He owned a saw-mill, located on Jacob Chicks' land and threatened to sue the Indians if they tried to confiscate

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[13] Ibid., April 10, 1843.

[14] Ibid., April 10, 1843.

it. This added pressure perhaps aided Marsh, and after several days of heated debate the commissioners decided to give the fifteen acres of land to the American Board. Marsh then purchased the remaining fifteen from Harold Chicks to secure all of the mission holdings legally.

By this time he was discouraged and felt sure the mission was of little use among the Stockbridges. Writing to the Board he remarked:

> I should not think it expedient for the Board to continue the Mission here in case a treaty is made and the Indian party leaves for there will be but about 80 souls left . . . and a part of them at least would be exceedingly glad to get rid of me.[15]

This was surely a drastic change in attitude when compared to most of his earlier statements concerning the progress of his mission. The bitter struggles within the tribe and their effect upon the mission church marked a turning point in his work. By this time Marsh had, in effect, given up practically all hope for the success of the mission among these Indians. His chief concern from this point on was when to close the mission affairs so as to work for the best interests of both the Indians and the American Board.

The political split within the tribe rapidly affected other areas within the Indian society. In the course of these disputes over town government and the seizure of property much ill-will was created. This quickly spread

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[15] Ibid., May 10, 1843.

to the mission church and in the spring and summer of 1844 several members of the Citisen Party were excommunicated. John Chicks was censured for his intemperance and this action led to the establishment of a Methodist church at Stockbridge.

His father, Jacob Chicks, was a Deacon in the church and was insulted by what he thought was the unfair treatment of his son. He withdrew from the church and joined the Methodist parish at Brothertown. However, his son John was not satisfied merely joining the Brothertown church. He asked the minister, Wesson G. Miller, to establish a church at his home in Stockbridge. This was less than half a mile from the mission and Marsh complained to Miller about holding services so close to his.

What disturbed him most was the fact that Miller accepted people already under some censure or even those excommunicated from his church. He discussed this matter with the Presiding Elder of the Methodist church in that area, but there is some dispute about the Elder's reply. Marsh said he agreed that Miller was wrong to accept any censured members from his church. However, Miller omitted any mention of this point but described the affair in the following manner:

> . . . there came an invitation from Stockbridge . . . We accepted, and a meeting was opened . . . . The meetings had hardly been commenced, when there came a remonstrance from Dr. Marsh. The remonstrance, which was expressed in very

> emphatic terms, assumed that I had no right to embrace any portion of the Stockbridge reservation . . . . My answer was respectful but decided . . . . The Doctor laid the matter before the Presiding Elder, but he refused to interfere, and thus the matter ended.[16]

When one of the Deacons from the church and several important families joined the Methodist group, Marsh was deeply discouraged. He saw nothing but difficulty and dissolution for his church and seemed to think his fifteen years of work had been wasted. In his annual report to the American Board he wrote, "It is deeply painful to see a community, which, ten years ago seemed so nearly reclaimed from the savage and heathen state . . . thrown back into such disorder."[17]

While this was taking place Marsh was spending some of his time and efforts practicing medicine. He had been allowed to audit the medical lectures at Dartmouth while a student, and having some medical books and a supply of medicine at the mission, acted as physician. He justified this action on two counts; because medical aid could not easily be obtained, and because he had more opportunity to visit people as both a minister and a doctor. When he discussed the reasons for establishing a Methodist mission at Stockbridge the Reverend Miller suggested that Marsh spent too much time acting as a doctor and not enough as a

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[16] Wesson G. Miller, Thirty Years in the Intineracy (Milwaukee, 1875), 24-25.

[17] American Board Report, 1845, 36:202.

preacher. He wrote, "It (the mission at Stockbridge) is now in charge of Dr. Marsh, a gentleman of education and ability. He divided his time, however, between the ministerial and medical professions, and, as a result, the spiritual interests necessarily languished."[18]

Another problem growing out of the division in the tribe centered around the Indian schools. Marsh had never been satisfied with the Indians' educational progress, and he blamed this upon their poor schools. He was sure the opposition of some tribal leaders to using English rather than the Stockbridge language had an adverse effect. He wrote:

> In all their social meetings they use altogether their own language where they can speak the Muh-he-kun-new. Much has been said to get them to speak & pray in english but reasoning and persuasion for the most part avail nothing upon this subject.[19]

Marsh gave up the supervision of the Indian schools in 1839, but was occasionally requested to serve in an advisory capacity on school management questions.

The Indians seemed to favor educating only a few of their most clever boys and then sending them East to receive some college or seminary training. In this way they would be equipped to handle the business affairs of the tribe. Marsh was opposed to this method of educating the Indians.

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[18]Miller, Thirty Years in the Intineracy, 24.

[19]Marsh to Greene, October 19, 1842, in Marsh Papers.

He explained his stand, saying:

> I have become opposed to this plan of sending young natives, who have never had any discipline in childhood, and no pains taken to form a correct moral character in youth, and who have never been trained up to steady labor, to school, or to a Seminary and there give them an education.[20]

According to Marsh the Indians often tended to follow anyone in the tribe with more than a common school education. This caused those with some college training to become headstrong and unreasonable. Other missionaries and Indian educators also complained of similar problems. Perhaps the cultural gap between the white and Indian civilizations was too great to be overcome in a few generations.

The specific problem concerning the schools was caused by the Indian Party's refusal to cooperate in the construction and maintenance of the town schools. This group was apparently widely scattered and wanted two schools in the opposite ends of the reservation. The town government, controlled by the Citisen Party, already operated one district school, but this was not sufficient for the needs of the people. In 1845 the Citisen Party asked Marsh to become one of the town school commissioners, and he accepted the position, hoping to be able to effect some reconciliation between the two factions. After a brief study of the situation, he established a second school on the south side of

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[20] Ibid., October 19, 1842.

town. In this way he placed a town school near the homes of the Indian Party and hoped they would make use of it.

However, another problem further confused the issues. Several Negroes had moved into the Stockbridge area and some of them married Indian women. Their children attended this second school, and the Indian Party refused to send their children to any school where "Africans" were admitted. By attempting to reconcile these groups Marsh only created more hard feelings and opposition to himself.

That summer he again suggested the Board allow him to leave Stockbridge. Jeremiah Slingerland, one of the Indians, was studying in a seminary at Bangor, Maine. He planned to return in the autumn and Marsh told the Board, "It would perhaps be best to have him take my place here." He felt the mission affairs had reached an impasse, and that with the Methodist competition there was not enough work to keep a full-time missionary employed. His final point was summed up when he wrote:

> Besides it cannot be an object long to support what may be called a foreign missionary here. The people are selling off their land, and soon there will be another set of inhabitants here. . . . If Jeremiah was disposed to remain amongst them perhaps he would do more good than a white man.[21]

This suggestion ignores his earlier contention that educated Indians were usually not able to work well with their own

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[21] Ibid., July 28, 1845.

people.

He also suggested the Board allow him to return East and attend a course of lectures upon surgery. He felt that with his training, reading, and practical medical experience added to some surgical training he might be able to act as a medical missionary at some other station. At the same time, he requested an opportunity to visit his family and friends in New England. No immediate action was taken in regard to these requests, and Slingerland returned to Stockbridge in October, 1845. He was hired to teach in the one remaining Indian school and had little time for any of the mission work because of the large number of children attending it.

Shortly after his arrival Slingerland had to take over most of the mission duties because Mrs. Marsh became very ill. She suffered a heart attack or some type of stroke, and was near death for a month or more. Marsh called upon the nearby physicians, but after several consultations with them was still uncertain what the exact nature of his wife's illness was. However, it was serious and he was almost certain she was not going to recover. He described her illness and later his feelings while she was sick, saying:

> The struggle was a mighty one in my own mind to yield submissively to the will of our heavenly Father, when we had a little daughter, going on eight years old, and an adopted son considerably younger which it seemed at no time of life they

needed a mother so much as now to guide them in the right way.[22]

Within six weeks she had recovered enough to be out of bed, but remained weak for some time.

In March, 1846, the General Convention of Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in Wisconsin chose Marsh as the alternate delegate for the General Conference to be held the following June in Maine. When the regular delegate was unable to attend, Marsh asked the American Board for permission to go in his place. He was dubious about a trip to Maine with his wife in a weakened condition so he asked for permission to bring her and their daughter along.

The Board granted his requests and the arrangements were quickly made. They left Stockbridge in early May, and after attending the Conference spent the next few weeks visiting friends, relatives, and people interested in mission work. This was the first opportunity Marsh had to return East since he arrived in Statesburg in 1830. While in Boston he confered with several members of the American Board. Their discussions centered around the problems he was faced with at Stockbridge, and his suggestion that he be allowed to move to another station.[23]

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[22] Ibid., February 17, 1846.

[23] Marsh to Hill, August 4, 1846, in Marsh Papers.

By this time Marsh was convinced his usefulness as a missionary to these Indians had ended. He repeated earlier suggestions concerning a possible shift in assignments, but no definite conclusions were reached. The object of the visit was twofold; business and pleasure, and Marsh described it briefly:

> I have been traveling a good deal since I left Boston with the hope of doing and getting good. . . . I had another object in view in visiting N. E. besides visiting friends, and in addition to communicating what information I could with regard to the Indians etc. I wanted to gain information also with regard to the subject of common schools.[24]

Slingerland had been left in charge of the mission and Marsh corresponded with him and a man he referred to as, "a gentleman living near the Station," in order to keep up with affairs there. At the time he was in New England the Indian Party succeeded in getting Congress to pass a bill repealing its earlier act granting citizenship for the tribe.[25] This congressional action brought another period of crisis for Marsh and the Stockbridge church.

The new act divided the township into two areas and each of the two parties within the tribe was to get half. Those wanting to become citizens were given three months to sign up in a special book provided, but the Citisen Party ignored this requirement and no one bothered to enroll. One

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[24] Ibid., August 4, 1846.

[25] United States Statutes At Large, 9:55-56.

important clause in the law declared all previous land sales null and void, but made no provision for compensating the new owners. Another serious problem grew out of the new town government organized by the Indian Party. Their opponents ignored their actions and the previous town government tried to collect the taxes assessed on property belonging to members of the Indian Party before the law was passed.

This group refused to pay, maintaining they were the legal government and the tax collector, a white man, began seizing their property. This brought the conflict between the two groups to a violent conclusion. The Indian Party sent to the Oneidas living nearby and got between thirty and forty men to assist them in retaking their property. Marsh described the action saying, "they came and headed by the headmen of the Indian Party together with their own party went around breaking open buildings and searching homes wherever they suspected the property deposited."[26] During this action one of the Stockbridge women tried to stab a Brothertown Indian while he was searching her house, and both sides became violent. Both Marsh and the Methodist missionary pleaded with the Indians and warned them about breaking the United States laws and acting in an unChristian manner. The Indian Party members became very angry because

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[26]Marsh to Greene, April 1, 1847, in Marsh Papers.

of their interference and Marsh complained:

> I find myself in circumstances more trying and critical than ever before. I felt it to be duty to interfere in the case abovementioned . . . . But it greatly offended the Indian Party, and they feel bitter towards me and perhaps may make a complaint to the Board.[27]

During this crisis Slingerland was actively working with the Indian Party. Earlier he had tried to remain neutral and got along with both factions in the tribe. However, by aiding the Indian Party he hurt his influence with the Citisen Party and the white people living in the area. This was a further blow to Marsh's plans as he hoped to leave and have Slingerland assume control of the mission affairs. Because of his cooperation with the Indian Party, he was of little use to Marsh at this station. The missionary wrote, "It has been a gloomy winter. I am wearied and disgusted with so much and long continued animosity. I see no alternative but for the Indian Party to sell and remove."[28]

During the summer months the breach separating Marsh and Slingerland widened until they rarely spoke to each other. The missionary wrote to the American Board and asked them not to ordain the Indian in the Wisconsin Territory. The exact details of their quarrel are not clear, but it was, in part, caused by differences of opinion on financial

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[27] Ibid., April 1, 1847.

[28] Ibid., April 1, 1847.

matters. Marsh accused Slingerland with being a spendthrift and charged him with dishonesty in regard to payments of debts. Slingerland also wrote to the Board complaining of Marsh's actions and accusing him of interfering in the non-religious matters within the tribe. He said Marsh caused much hard feelings by interfering in the location of a new school, encouraged the Citisen Party school while neglecting that of the Indian Party, and that he, ". . . . did much to encourage the Citisen Party & to discontenance & embarrass the other."

When Marsh received these charges he defended his actions in a lengthy detailed report to the Reverend Greene. However, since nearly all of this information comes from his correspondence, there is no way to determine the accuracy of the evidence presented by either of the men.

As a result of this constant bickering within the church, Marsh finally gave up completely. In October, 1847, he wrote to Greene asking the Board to close the mission the following spring. His position had become untenable and he was certain little was accomplished through his actions. He wrote asking for financial assistance in moving his family to some nearby settlement. His future plans were vague except for a desire to live and preach in a town that would offer good educational opportunities for his children. After a further exchange of letters, he requested a release from the American Board on July 20, 1848. Shortly

after this he moved to Green Bay and in October, 1848, accepted a ministerial position at De Pere for one year.

These last years at Stockbridge were surely unpleasant and possibly unproductive as well. Marsh conscientiously worked for what he thought was right, but his ideas did not agree with those of a large number of the Indians. He was unfortunate because the political divisions of the tribe nearly always became disputed within the church as well. It seemed that whatever course of action he pursued one of the opposing factions within the tribe was sure to be offended. Looking back over his eighteen years work with the Stockbridges, it is easy to see the basis for his great disappointment and disgust with their affairs between 1844 and 1848. He exerted himself to bring civilization and Christianity to the Indians, and never understood the reasons for his failure to achieve his earlier hopes and goals.

CHAPTER 6

OPERATION AND SUPPORT OF THE STOCKBRIDGE MISSION

The frontier missionary faced many problems in his work. Living conditions were often crude, while transportation and communication were irregular and at times practically non-existent. Food and clothing were expensive because of high freight charges, and missionaries were often forced to live with the minimum of manufactured goods as these were not readily available. Limited budgets resulted in hardships, misunderstandings and quarrels among the missionaries, and with the organizations supporting them. This chapter will be concerned with the financial problems faced by Cutting Marsh and his associates while they worked as missionaries and teachers among the Stockbridge Indians. It will explain their management of the mission property, and the financial limitations or restrictions placed upon the operations of this mission. Also, the various methods they used to get extra cash for the mission and their personal needs will be included. Finally, a brief general sketch of the operations of the American Board of Commissioners will be given.

Missionary activities among the Stockbridge Indians were begun long before they moved to Wisconsin. However,

this chapter will begin with 1825 when the American Board moved their mission to Wisconsin. That year the Reverend Jessie Miner and the Stockbridge Chiefs and Peacemakers drew up an agreement giving the title of the mission farm, house, and lands to Miner as the representative of the American Board. This organization was one of several new, rapidly growing mission groups in the United States at that time. It was chiefly concerned with overseas mission work in Africa, Ceylon, and the Hawaiian Islands. However, some of their attention and energy was channeled toward the North American Indians.

The American Board faced three major obstacles in this work. The first was a shortage of trained men to accept the positions they had to offer. The Congregational-Presbyterian theology of the Board required trained, educated men. Few men who spent eight to ten years in school preparing for the ministry wanted to become missionaries either among the Indians or in any foreign lands. Another problem was a constant lack of cash to support those who did accept missionary assignments. The Board employed the same methods of raising money that churches have used for years. They held fund-raising meetings and banquets, canvassed individual church members, asked for the cooperation of church denominations and local mission associations, and printed a newsmagazine, The Missionary Herald. Agents, usually ministers or teachers employed by the Board, traveled to designated

areas to attend meetings and make a more direct personal appeal for money. Marsh acted as one of these agents for the Board in 1831-32, going to the Western Reserve in Ohio. The final difficulty was caused by the frontier idea that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian." Many settlers were opposed or reluctant to support any group that was giving aid to the Indians. Hatred and suspicion coupled with an interest in the Indian lands made it hard to convince many people that the mission work among them was a worthy project.

Marsh was commissioned by the Board in 1829 after his graduation from Andover Theological Seminary. He arrived at the Statesburg Mission early the following May, and immediately became its superintendent. The mission had been given a $500 budget in 1828, and there is no evidence to show any change in this policy when Marsh took charge in 1830.

The mission expenses rose sharply for the year 1829-30. This was brought about by three factors. First, Miner died, and his family had to be supported while they remained in Green Bay, and until they moved to their old home in New York. New buildings were being erected at this time, and proved a heavy burden on the finances of the mission. Finally, Marsh was brought from Boston to Statesburg. His travel expenses added nearly another hundred dollars to the

operating costs.[1]

The staff was reduced to one when the missionary died in 1829. At that time Augustus T. Ambler was employed as a teacher for the Indian school by the Board. However, he was sickly and because of his poor health was unable to fill the teaching position. This left the Board paying wages, or some expense money and support to Miner's family, Marsh, and Ambler, from whom they received no services at that time. Miner was deceased, Marsh enroute from Boston, and Ambler at the mission, but unable to do his work.

In May, 1830, shortly after arriving at the mission, Marsh requested the American Board to appoint Jedidiah S. Stevens as the new mission teacher. He had visited Statesburg in 1828, and assisted Miner in erecting the buildings and in organizing the church and school. In 1830, when Marsh took charge of this mission, Ambler was incapacitated by his illness. He asked to be relieved of all duties connected with the mission, and suggested Stevens take charge of the school and Sunday-school. Marsh discussed this with both men, and the Headmen of the tribe.

> The Indians voted to apply their school Funds for the support of the school under his (Stevens) instruction for one year, and then if the school is managed in such a manner as to meet with their approbation they will continue to apply it from year to year.[2]

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[1] Marsh to Hill, May 10, 1830, in Marsh Papers.

[2] Ibid., May 15, 1830.

The school fund was newly established when Marsh began his work. The Indians seemed to be interested in obtaining good instruction for their children, and agreed to support the mission teacher. If they had set up their own school, the missionaries would be working in competition with it. This would limit the contacts with the children to church meetings and possibly reduce the influence of the missionaries.

According to the treaty of Little Butte des Morte, drawn up on August 11, 1827, and ratified February 3, 1829, the Chippewa, Menomonie, Winnebago and New York Indians in Wisconsin were to receive an annual school allotment. Article 6 of this treaty provided:

> The sum of one thousand dollars shall be annually appropriated for the term of three years; and the sum of fifteen hundred dollars shall be annually thereafter appropriated as long as Congress shall think proper, for the education of the Children of the tribes parties hereto, and of the New York Indians. . . .[3]

This proved to be an unreliable income. Marsh experienced financial difficulties in later years because he often depended upon this fund, and the Indians' ability to turn it over to the mission.

Each year the amount varied from $300 to no payment at all. This constant change made any sort of financial

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[3]Treaties Between the United States of America and the Several Indian Tribes from 1778 to 1837(Washington, 1837), 414.

planning difficult if not virtually impossible. These funds were included in the expected annual income of the mission, and when they were reduced or not paid, Marsh had to request more credit from the American Board. Within one year after the tribal council voted to pay the school expenses, they were unable to meet their pledge. They sent a delegation to Washington in an effort to contest the governmental action in regard to their land claims. The cost of this trip exhausted the entire fund and left the tribe deeply in debt. Marsh was expecting this money and he complained to Henry Hill, the Board treasurer:

> We were not appraised of the fact until the Agent came on in Aug. This was a great disappointment, as we had expended considerable of the Boards' money in the purchase of school books etc. expecting that it would be refunded as soon as the Agent should arrive . . . .[4]

The following year, the Indians also failed to pay for the cost of the school, supplies, or the teacher's salary. The first actual payment recorded by Marsh is found in the returns dated April 30, 1833. That year the tribe paid $254 into the mission treasury. The next year more financial difficulties caused them to withhold payment again. However, beginning in 1835 they were resumed, until 1837-38. That year the money was stolen by one of the Indians. He went to Green Bay and forged the receipt for the check. By the time Marsh discovered this the money had been spent, and

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[4]Marsh to Hill, September 20, 1831, in Marsh Papers.

there was no way to replace it. The payments were resumed in 1838-39 and 1839-40, but late in 1939 Marsh turned the school back to the Indians. (See Appendix J for complete details of the Indian school fund.)

The Indians were not satisfied with the school management and wanted two schools rather than one. They also wanted men to serve as teachers. Marsh said this would not only cost more than the tribe gave to support the school, but more than the entire mission budget for the year. Consequently he surrendered control of the school, to the Indians. However, within two years they hired him to act as supervisor to their teachers and school council.

Supporting missionaries was expensive, and the American Board was often unable to gather enough money through fund-raising campaigns in America. They tried to use every source available, and at times looked to European countries for aid. Churches, individuals, and other mission societies were solicited during these drives. The Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge was one of the groups that worked in cooperation with the Board. This society was the trustee for a Fund for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians in North America. The money had been left by one of the wealthy members, who designated it for that specific purpose. After some correspondence between the two societies an agreement was reached. Marsh was appointed as missionary to the Stockbridge Indians by the Scottish Society with an

annual salary of £50 and his first salary from this commission was drawn in the spring of 1832.[5]

The Scottish Society was disturbed when Marsh left Statesburg in the summer of 1834. They were paying him to work with the Stockbridge Indians and not to travel into Iowa to visit the Sacs and Foxes. Because of a misunderstanding, Marsh thought they had withdrawn their support and he failed to collect his salary in 1835 and 1836. Late the following summer he wrote:

> I concluded that the appropriation was discontinued until I received the Circular from the Board, and was indeed, under all the circumstances surprised that I had not been duly informed that the Scotland Soc was satisfied in respect to my absence in 1834.[6]

By 1832 the mission was making some economic progress. The building expenses were dropping and the money from the Indian school fund and the Scottish Society was supposed to pay a large percent of the operational costs. Marsh and his assistants were rarely able to use their salaries for any personal goods. Their pay was not enough to meet the needs of the mission, and they were usually in debt. In 1833 the American Board decided to assume the debts Marsh had incurred while in college and seminary. On August 27, he received word of this action, and was directed to submit

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[5]Codman to Marsh, March 29, 1831, in Marsh Papers.

[6]Marsh to Greene, August 21, 1837, in Marsh Papers.

a list of unpaid bills to Henry Hill, the American Board treasurer. There was some confusion over which debts were to be paid, but these were removed within the next eighteen months.

Because of the almost constant shortage of cash, the missionaries often did many of the chores connected with the farm. In July, 1831, Marsh wrote, "Weather pleasant. engaged during the day in hauling wood." He spent several days haying during the following week and "succeeded in getting all of the hay wh. grew on the Missn. farm into the barn Wed. before noon."[7]

Several times each year the American Board, church groups, and individuals sent boxes of clothing, dry-goods, tools and other useful articles to the mission. If these were the wrong size or duplicated any material already on hand at the mission, the extra articles were sold to the Indians at what Marsh called "reasonable prices." In this way it was often possible to pay for the shipping costs of the boxes and to perhaps realize a small profit.

The mission also received small financial contributions from the newly organized churches in Wisconsin. The Reverend Stephen Peet, one of the most active organizers of Congregational and Presbyterian churches in the area, corresponded with Marsh and often recommended the Stockbridge Mission as

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[7]Marsh Journal, July 13, 1831, in Wisconsin Historical Society.

a worthwhile recipient of mission offerings and funds. On a few occasions, people living at Green Bay made small contributions to the mission.(See Appendix K for the exact number and size of these gifts.)

Marsh had several sources of personal income. In September, 1831, he was offered the position as Postmaster of Grand Cakalin. He was not sure if this could be accepted and asked the Board for their advice. In his letter concerning this position he made it clear it would not interfere with his mission duties. Since he received most of the letters there would be few deliveries to make. These could be combined with personal visits to the Indians and others living near the mission. The Board concurred, and he accepted the position in the spring of 1832.

When the mission became well established, the farm usually yielded larger crops than necessary for the staff. Whenever this happened, Marsh sold the surplus. In some years he obtained a large cash income in this manner. In 1837 he wrote:

> all of the potatoes which the Mission raises over a supply for the family find a quick market at our door for from 75 cts to one dollar per bushel. I sold in the Spring perhaps from 50 to one hundred bushels at this rate. . . .[8]

Marsh also obtained small sums from the Indians for his medical services. Peter Quinney, one of the tribe, called

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[8]Marsh to Greene, August 3, 1837, in Marsh Papers.

himself a doctor but had no medical training. Marsh had audited some of the medical courses while at Dartmouth, and felt competent to treat the Indians. (See Appendix E for a few of his cures.)

With these various sources of income this mission was nearly independent of the American Board funds. In 1833, the annual Report contained the following description of the financial affairs of the mission:

> Mr. Marsh, has. . . been principally supported by the avails of a fund. . . entrusted to a society in Scotland; and as the . . . Indian fund for supporting the school nearly defrays the expense of a teacher, the mission has been, and is likely to be in the future, but little dependent on the treasury of the Board.[9]

Although the mission was able to meet most of the operating expenses without the aid of the Board, necessary manufactured goods had to be supplied from the East. Marsh found it was cheaper to have the Agents of the Board purchase things and ship them to Green Bay, than to buy the same articles in Wisconsin. He wrote, "the Mission had to make some sacrifice by trading with Mr. W.(hitney) altogether." This left the mission personnel completely dependent upon the shippers and freight handlers, and proved to be very inconvenient at times. At first Marsh's requests were simple and included shoes, books and school supplies. By the summer of 1837 the orders were longer and

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[9] American Board Report, 1833, p. 123.

he asked for such things as:

> Four bunches of goose quills, one half ream of common writing paper, same of letter paper. . . . I should like a few articles of clothing etc. 2 prs of cotton shirts, 4 prs of socks, 2 prs of coarse shoes, high quarters, and a couple prs of coarse shoes a size smaller. 8 or 10 yards of flannel for waist coats and drawers.[10]

Later that same year he was married, and his requests were modified. The lists contained requests for materials to be used in making clothing of all types. Cotton batting, cotton sheeting, linen shirting, satient, muslin, needles, thread and yarn are all included. With few, if any, patterns available some of the hand-made clothing must have been baggy and ill-fitting. When these goods arrived, the women at the mission were kept busy sewing, patching and knitting. (See Appendix L for several of these lists.)

The missionaries were given a set of directions concerning their financial reports to the Board, but there is very little specific information available on this. However, a few observations can be drawn. Reports were sent by the mission superintendent to the treasurer of the Board at least once a year. At times Marsh sent semi-annual and quarterly reports, but there seemed to be few specific rules on this matter. All bills of exchange that were used were to be duplicated, and these copies were to be sent to the treasurer with the report. If each missionary sent detailed

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[10]Marsh to Hill, July 1, 1837, in Marsh Papers.

accounts, they are not available. However, the correspondence between Marsh and Henry Hill, the American Board treasurer, gives a general idea of the financial practices of the mission.

The directions issued by the Board were sometimes rather conflicting. The early agreement reached with the Reverend Miner in 1828 stated, "that this plan will not embrace a farm of the keeping of stock, except two cows & swine & poultry."[11] However, after a few years the mission property increased in value and the size of the cultivated area was constantly being expanded. When the Indians and missionaries were forced to move from Statesburg to new land on the east side of Lake Winnebago, the treaty authorized payment up to $25,000 for their improvements. In January, 1835, the American Board was given $2000 for its property. This included a house, shed or small barn, a building used for both church and school, and several acres of cleared farm land.[12] The Board officials hoped that eventually the Stockbridges would be able and willing to support the entire cost of the mission. However, when the Indians failed to pay these expenses, they continued to supply Marsh with funds.

During the first years Marsh was at Statesburg, the

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[11]American Board to Miner, April 26, 1828, in Miner Papers.

[12]Marsh to Hill, June 29, 1835, in Marsh Papers.

cost of operations dropped rapidly and steadily from $1000 in 1831 to $188.60 in 1833. The following year Marsh reported a surplus of $132.90, and credited it to the treasury of the Board.[13] This downward trend of expenses was completely reversed the next year. The Indians began their removal from Statesburg during the winter of 1834-35. In the spring of 1835 work on the new mission buildings was begun, and a few acres of land were cleared. This brought the expenses for the June, 1834-June, 1835, year to $862.35. This was subtracted from the $2000 Marsh received from Colonel George Boyd the Indian Agent at Green Bay.[14] The next year the expenses climbed to $903.65. However, 1836 marked the high point for mission costs, and in the following years expenses gradually dropped to an average of $300 to $400. (For the detailed returns see Appendix K.)

The mission property became more elaborate as time passed. The farming facilities, number and size of buildings and amount of livestock all increased. The new house was nearly complete by the summer of 1835, and Marsh described it as being:

> seventeen by twenty-seven and one story and a half high. The cellar is nearly dug but not stoned, and the roof boarded and shingled, and the outside covered with boards and feather-edged so that we passed the winter quite

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[13]Marsh to Greene, October 21, 1834, in Marsh Papers.

[14]Marsh to Hill, June 29, 1835, in Marsh Papers.

> comfortably putting up some temporary partitions, with stoves to warm it.[15]

That same spring Marsh hired some of the Indians and was able to clear five acres of land for planting. He explained the need for this, saying they wanted to keep "two or three creatures both summer and winter." Some of the land was to be used for a vegetable garden to supply the mission family, while the remainder was planted in corn or used as pasture. For several years no further mention was made of the property. In 1841 Marsh reported the mission had expanded its cleared land from five acres to eight. Other property included, "a log barn-One horse-two cows and a heifer, one hog and some poultry."[16]

The following summer a frame barn replaced the log one that had become unusable or too small. By July, 1843, the mission had further increased its holdings and Marsh described them in the following manner:

> The property of the A.B. at this station consists of one frame house all finished & plastered etc. one frame barn 30 ft. by 40 all finished. 30 acres of land and perhaps 10 of it under improvement. One horse, two cows, and 2 last spring calves and a yearling heifer. One two-horse wagon nearly worn out however- Some farming utensils and a few tools of various kinds.[17]

This property was legally assigned to the American Board by

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[15] Marsh to Greene, July 15, 1835, in Marsh Papers.

[16] Marsh to Hill, July 12, 1841, in Marsh Papers.

[17] Ibid., July 13, 1843.

the Indian Commissioner when the reservation was partially divided and sold in 1843. The Board received title to the land with the understanding the Indians would have first chance to purchase it whenever it was sold.

At times the mission was placed in the awkward position of being a creditor to the Indians. Marsh often sold extra clothing or tools to them, and from 1838 to 1845 he complained that there was no cash available for the Indians to repay him. Several times during this period the Stockbridges sent delegations to Washington in an effort to get their claims settled. These trips proved expensive, and kept the tribe in debt, or at least without any cash on hand. Several times they suffered heavy crop losses and Marsh loaned them money, food and clothing. His returns usually listed some outstanding debts, and he remarked that the United States government failed to meet its treaty obligations with the Indians. In 1841 he wrote:

> Had the Indians received their money of the U. S. according to treaty stipulation I should not have been under the necessity of drawing more than half the amount I have . . . there are debts due the Mission from the Stockbridge Nation and individuals for clothing etc. furnished the Mission by the Board for more than one hundred dollars.[18]

During the years Marsh worked among the Stockbridges, the financial status of this mission changed each year. After the first few years the expenses and income more

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[18] Ibid., July 12, 1841.

nearly matched. However, the move from Statesburg to Stockbridge created numerous debts that had to be paid with extra funds from the Board. As the years passed the spiritual operations of the mission seemed to become less successful. At the same time the temporal affairs were well managed, and the farm kept the mission out of debt most of the time.

Marsh received support from the American Board, the Scottish Society, the Indian school fund, church and mission groups in eastern states, and a few in Wisconsin. Later this became more difficult to obtain. The Scottish Society suspended its payments between 1834 and 1836 because of a misunderstanding with Marsh. The Indians paid the school fund, but only when the money was not spent for something else. During and after the panic of 1837 the funds of the American Board were curtailed. As the cash income of the mission dropped, the agricultural activities and holdings were increased to compensate for this loss.

The missionaries usually had little personal money, and Marsh was in debt until the American Board decided to pay his bills dating back to college and seminary days. He was unable to pay them because his salary was too small to meet the expenses he faced and pay back debts as well. The records are not complete or detailed, but from what is available, it seems the mission was well managed and that there was little waste or unnecessary spending.

CONCLUSION

In 1830 Cutting Marsh arrived at Statesburg with an enthusiasm for his work and the desire to bring Calvinistic Christianity to the Stockbridge Indians. He remained among these people for eighteen years and while there experienced success and failure. There were many problems and difficulties he had to deal with as a missionary. Most of these were faced by other men in similar positions. However, Marsh had several problems of a local or tribal nature that affected his efforts specifically.

As a missionary his main duty was to work with the people near the station. This day-to-day contact with the mission staff, Indians and travelers made it important for Marsh to be a personable individual. He possessed a dry sense of humor, but it is uncertain how often he displayed it. One other thing is certain, at times he was short tempered and stubborn with his co-workers at the mission. Whether this was his fault or not is, again, impossible to ascertain.

His boyhood, spent on a New England farm, taught Marsh the meaning of hard work and the necessity for constant, ambitious efforts if he wanted to be successful. Probably as a result of this he was a devoted, hard-working missionary.

However, his ideals of hard work, progress and ambition conflicted sharply with the indolent, easy-going attitude held by many of the Indians. His Calvinist Puritan education also caused him to expect more progress and a willingness to accept the restraints of Christianity. This was usually not the case and Marsh became disgusted by the Indians' lack of interest in "important matters."

Their customs and background probably hindered his work as much as any other one factor. The Stockbridges had been in contact with Christian missionaries since the 1730's, but still held views far different than most New England Protestants. Marsh had no training or experience that would qualify him to deal effectively with these people. His education was chiefly classical and theological, leaving him ill-prepared for the difficult task ahead. The problem was to communicate with a stone-age people, and to bring them into conformity with modern (nineteenth century) society. The missionary reported that "in the third and fourth generation which has risen up since the first introduction of the gospel. . . fickleness, want of integrity of character, of principle, of love of truth, an aversion to mental effort, and to restraint" were his greatest difficulties in dealing with the Stockbridges.

The Indians were not entirely at fault. They often were treated unfairly, to say the least, by the United States government. Their land holdings were in question nearly

the entire time Marsh was working among them. Hardly a year passed in which they were not asked to give up some portion of their land or to move from the area entirely. They sent memorials, petitions and delegations to Washington practically every year, but usually were unable to persuade the government officials that any positive action was necessary.

Some of the tribe preferred to use their own language rather than English. When Marsh refused to learn their native language they may have been resentful. He was convinced the Stockbridges had to adopt white customs or eventually face extinction. He tried to model the mission after a typical New England Presbyterian or Congregational church. A temperance society, a Maternal association, a foreign mission society and a Bible society were formed and operated with varying amounts of success during this period. The Indians were asked to support foreign mission activities and most of their own church expenses as well. However, they never contributed more than a small amount to the mission expenses.

Living with the Indians made it impossible for him to remain out of the intra-tribal quarrels that developed. Whatever position he took some of the tribe were offended and these tribal disputes greatly hurt Marsh's effectiveness among the Indians. The quarrels were chiefly over economic and political issues within the tribe, but the

church always seemed to be drawn into them.

Marsh worked hard to achieve the goals he thought were important at the mission. His main purpose was to persuade the Indians to accept Christianity. If he could accomplish this he felt they would be willing to adopt the Church's views on right and wrong, and also work for the spread of Christianity among their friends and neighbors. This assumption by Marsh proved false, and his glowing reports of the Indians improvement soon took on a tone of dispair. When he understood the situation more clearly, Marsh admitted there were many faults still to be corrected, but felt some progress had been made. By 1844 he was convinced his mission work had been in vain and was disillusioned.

Frontier mission work was mentally, emotionally and physically exhausting and Marsh occasionally complained of weariness and disappointment. His position was, at times, thankless and provided but little personal satisfaction to him. In spite of the problems he faced, Marsh did not change his views on Indian missions or education. He was convinced churches and schools were necessary if the Indians were to survive.

It is difficult to say if his work was a success or not. If one considers the immediate progress he made compared to the long-range results there is no simple answer. Marsh was able to convert some of the Stockbridges to Christianity, and the mission church had a membership of between

seventy and one hundred members while he was there. He often described how faithful most of these individuals were to their beliefs. The school, under his direction, taught many of the young people how to read and write even though he was displeased with their slow progress. The temperance society was large and usually successful in curbing the use of alcohol. Marsh did not convert the entire tribe, or even a majority of the members. Also, because of personal conflicts, he was unable to help them during the periods of greatest discord.

At the time Marsh left, the church was divided. This continued to be the case even though one of the Indians became pastor. The Stockbridges were given a township of land adjoining the southwest corner of the Menomonie reservation, and a majority of them eventually mixed with the white settlers. Marsh moved to Green Bay and soon began mission work in the lumbering areas of north-central Wisconsin.

APPENDIX A

A. European Mission Societies for America

1. 1649 - The Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England. England
2. 1701 - Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. England
3. 1709 - Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Scotland
4. 1787 - #1 was rechartered as the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the heathen nations of New England and the parts adjacent in America. England.
5. 1792 - Baptist Foreign Mission Society. England
6. 1795 - London Missionary Society. London

B. American Mission Societies

1. 1787 - the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America.
2. 1796 - the New York Missionary Society.
3. 1797 - the Northern Missionary Society.
4. 1799 - the Massachusetts Missionary Society.
5. 1802 - the Western Missionary Society.
6. 1803 - the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church made its first appropriation for a mission among the heathen.
7. 1810 - the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
8. 1817 - New York, Northern, and Western Missionary Societies combined to form the United Foreign

Missionary Society.

Historical Sketch of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Hamilton W. Pierson, American Missionary Memorial (New York, 1853), 9-12.

Joseph Tracey, History of American Missions to the Heathen (Worchester, 1840), 15-26.

APPENDIX B

Title to the Stockbridge Lands in the White River, Indiana Area

Thomas Jefferson President of the United States, to whom it may concern. Whereas it appears by the declaration of Captain Hendrick, a Chief, and Agent for the Delaware Indians, and is confirmed by the acknowledgment made to me personally by the Little Turtle, a Chief of the Miamies. That the said Miamies have granted to the Delawares and Moheakunnuks and Munsees, and their descendents forever, a certain portion of their lands on White river, for the sole use and occupation of the said Delawares, Moheakunnuks, and Munsees, and their descendents forever; but under the express reservation and condition, that neither they . . . nor their descendents shall ever alienate the lands to any other person or purposes, whatsoever, without the consent of the said Miamies, and the said Chiefs before named having desired me to bear witness to their declarations and acknowledgments aforesaid.

Now therefore, know ye, that I the said Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, do testify, that the declarations and acknowledgments before mentioned by the said Chiefs of the Delawares and Miamies, before named, were made in my presence, and on my interrogation in the exact tenor before stated.

Seal
H. Dearborn,
Secretary of War

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, at the City of Washington, on the 21st day of Dec., 1808.
Thos Jefferson

Jedidiah Morse, A Report to the Secretary of War on Indian Affairs (New Haven, 1822), 111.

APPENDIX C

First Menominie Treaty, August 18, 1821

Article 1. The Menomini and Winnebago nations of Indians, in consideration of the stipulations herein made, on the part of the Six Nations, St. Regis, Stockbridge and Munsee nations, do hereby cede, release and quit claim to the people of the said . . . nations forever: All rights, title, interest and claim of them . . . to the lands comprehended within and described by the following boundaries, viz. beginning at the foot of the Rapids on the Fox River, usually called the Great Kaccalin, thence up the said river to the rapids at the Winnebago Lake; and from the river extending back, in the width on each side, to the north west, and to the south east, equidistant with the lands claimed by the said Menomini and Winnebago nations of Indians.

Article 3. In consideration of the cession aforesaid, the Six Nations . . . do agree to pay the Menomini and Winnebago Indians . . . within one year from this date the sum of fifteen hundred dollars in goods, and they have also paid to the said . . . this day the sum of five hundred dollars.

Approval of the Treaty

The within arrangement, entered into between the Six Nations, the St. Regis, Stockbridge and Munsee nations, of the one part, and the Minominies and Winnebagoes, of the other, is approved; with the express understanding that the lands thereby conveyed to the Six Nations . . . are to be held by them, in the same manner as they were previously held by the Menominies and Winnebagoes.

Second Menominie Treaty, September 23, 1822

Ceded 500,000 acres to the New York Indians. Limits of the cession: SW - lands given the previous year. E - Lake Michigan. NE - Bay des Enoch. N & NW - Height of land between flowage into Lake Superior and Michigan and Green Bay. Payment: $1000 cash, $950 Sept. 18, 1824, $1050 Nov. 13, 1824.

Approval of the Treaty

The aforegoing instrument is approved so far as it conveys to the Stockbridge . . . that portion of the country therein described . . . It is to be understood, however, that the lands to the cession of which to the tribes or nations aforesaid the government has assented, are to be held by them in the same manner as they were held by the Menominies previous to concluding and signing the aforegoing instrument; and that the title which they have acquired is not to interfere in any manner whatever with the lands previously acquired or occupied by the Government of the United States or its citizens.

These papers are appended to the Memorial of the Stockbridge Nation of Indians in Wisconsin, February 10, 1842. 29 Congress, 2 session, Senate Document no. 189, serial 397, pp. 14-21.

APPENDIX D

Education of Cutting Marsh

A. Dartmouth College

Freshman Year

First Term
- Livy
- Roman Antiquities
- Graeca Majora

Second Term
- Horace
- Roman Antiquities
- Homer
- Rhetorical Grammar

Third Term
- Horace
- Arithmetic and Algebra
- Hesiod

Exercises in reading, declamation, translation and English composition throughout the year.

Junior Year

First Term
- Tacitus
- Conic Sections, Spherical Trigonometry and Geometry
- Oedipus
- Chemistry

Second Term
- Natural Philosophy
- Astronomy
- Euripedes

Third Term
- Natural Philosophy
- Astronomy
- Natural Theology

Sophomore Year

First Term
- Cicero
- Euclid
- Thucydides, Desosthenes and Lycias
- General History

Second Term
- Excerpta Latina
- Trigonometry, Mensuration Gauging, Surveying, Navigation
- Xenophon, Isocrates, AEschines
- General History

Third Term
- Excerpta Latina
- Euclid
- Longinus and Aristotle
- English Composition
- Declamation

Senior Year

First Term
- Locke on the Human Understanding
- Edwards on the Will
- Butler's Analogy
- Natural and Political Law

Second Term
- Elements of Philosophy
- Evidences of Christianity

Third Term
- The Federalist
- Dissertations, forensic disputes and declamation

Moral and Political
Philosophy
Greek
Composition
Declamation

From the first catalogue published by the college in 1822 as Quoted in Leon B. Richardson, History of Dartmouth College (Hannover, New Hampshire, 1932), 376-377.

B. Andover Theological Seminary

Junior Class
Stuart's Hebrew Grammar
Chrestomathy
Written exercises
Study of the Hebrew Bible
Principles of Hermeneutics
New Testament Greek
Exegesis to the Four Gospels
Lectures preparatory to the study of theology
Natural Theology
Evidences of Revelation
Inspiration of the Scriptures
Hebrew Exegesis
Greek
Pauline Epistles
Criticism and exegetical compositions

Middle Class
Christian Theology
Theological compositions
New Testament Exegesis
Sacred Literature

Senior Class
Philosophy of Rhetoric
Sermon preparation
History of Christian Doctrine
Exegesis of Hebrew and Greek Testaments
Public Declamation
Elocution
Lectures of the Apocalypse

Henry K. Rowe, History of Andover Theological Seminary (Newton, Massachusetts, 1933), 59-60.

APPENDIX E

Notes Concerning Marsh's Interest in Medicine

In case of dysentary never give rhubarb but salts or castor oil, and let the nourishment be of a mucilaginous kind.

Cure for Hydrophobia:
Make a strong wash by dissolving two table spoonfuls of the Chloriat of Lime, in a half pint of water, and instantly & repeatedly bathe the part bitten. It has proved successful when applied six hours afterwards.

Dr. Skeltons prescription for the irregular beating of the heart. Take fifteen grains of the powder of Qunine or Peruvian Bark, add about as many drops of Sulphuric acid, put these materials into four oz. of water and take 50 or 60 drops 2 or 3 times a day.

Dr. Rice's direction in respect to bleeding.
After cording the arm, see it is not so tight as to stop the pulse. 2dly. See if the artery lies under the vein, wh. will be ascertained by a pulsation, 3ly. Make the incission into a vein obliquely. As a general thing it will be best when fainting takes place to stop bleeding. And not take away more than 24 or 30 oz. of blood i.e. about one quart.

A recipe for making a laxative from walnuts.
Take green walnuts fit for picking, put them in a stone jar, fill up with moist sugar, at t. proportion of half a lb. of sugar to t. score of walnuts, place t. jar in a saucepan of boiling water, for about 3 hours, taking care that t. crater does not get in, & keep it simmering during the operation.

These notes are scattered through the Marsh Journal.

APPENDIX F

Discussion of an Early Sermon to the Indians

Sept. 19. Dwelt mostly upon the words "and to whom will ye flee for help." These words I applied to the impenitent. And first remarked that there was a day of visitation coming from far - from God - that it would be a dreadful day, a day of destruction and wrath from the Almighty. And then inquired of the impenitent to whom they would flee for help? To their wicked associates? No. for they are in the same dreadful condition. and despair is depicted in all their countenances. But to whom will ye flee for help to Christians? They have enough to do to answer for themselves. Besides they have no righteousness to spare; the wise virgins had but just oil enough for their own lamps and could impart none to the foolish. And altho. Noah, Daniel & Job were just men they shall deliver but their own souls. To whom will ye flee for help, I inquired again, to God, to the Savior? He is now "a consuming fire." the Savior has now removed from the mercy seat to that of the Judgement and has become your inflexible judge. This I endeavoured to press home upon their consciences.

Marsh Journal, September 19, 1830.

APPENDIX G

Expense Account, Trip to Western Reserve, 1831-1832

Expenses:: Green Bay to Cleveland plus clothing	$ 50.23
Clothing, traveling and postage	57.23
Supplies for the Statesburg Mission	26.00
	$133.46
Received by draft, November 17, 1831	40.00
	$ 93.46
Double set of team harness and yoke plus leather	28.20
	$121.66

Received from various sources as mentioned here and in my last in cash $375.11. For the Miss. Her. as also mentioned $36.87.

Deposited with Mr. E. P. Hastings the amount for the receipt enclosed. The remainder liquidates the bill of expenses herein contained and for other expenses to be incured on my return to Green Bay. $270.00

Marsh to Hill, May 22, 1832, in Marsh Papers.

Expense Account, Return from Western Reserve, 1832

Passage: Schooner Marshall Ney	$ 15.00
Freight on boxes etc.	3.75
Paid a bill in Detroit for the Mackinaw Mission	3.00
Incidental expenses	1.25
Paid for a set of Scotts Bibles	12.00
	$ 35.00

Leaving a deficiency if I mistake not of seven or eight dollars.

Ibid., March 1, 1833.

Receipts by Counties

Portage County	$215.04
Trumbull County	66.74
Ashtabuler County	56.00

Granger County	$ 34.00
Wayne County	3.33(?)
	375.11

Ibid., April 2, 1832.

APPENDIX H

Bibles from the Landgrave of Hesse

Sometime since I received from Hamburgh a box of Bibles Which the Landgrave of Hesse had sent to be presented to the Stockbridge tribe of Indians on the Fox River. The box was sent in consequence of his Serene Highness reading an extract from Rev. Calvin Colton's books, describing his visit to these Indians . . . . The Landgrave is a very aged man & is very desirous to have some document from the Indians shewing their reception of his present.

Henry Hill to Marsh, April 14, 1846, in Marsh Papers.

Charles, Landgrave of Hesse,

field-marshall general and Stadtholder of
His Majesty, the King's of Denmark's dutchies
Schleswig and Holstein,
President
of the Bible Society in both dutchies;
to
His Christian brethern, the Stockbridge Indians;
Fox River, sends greeting.

Dear brothers' in Jesus Christ,
Our Lord, God and Savior;

I send you in His holy Name these twelve bibles; which I beg you to accept as a proof of the brotherly interest, which I so warmly take at your timely & eternal welfare. I beg you always to keep this Bible in remembrance of me, Your friend and brother in Jesus Christ, and when you find an occasion, to give in His holy Name to other friendly tribes a Bible, which can lead them to the blessing of the Knowledge of Jesus Christ, to the glory of his Almighty Father, so I beg you to distribute the remainder in my name.

Charles to Stockbridge Indians, August 3, 1835, in Stockbridge Papers. These are in possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

APPENDIX I

Marsh's Reply to Hall's Criticism

When Mrs. H(all)'s mother, the widow Hotchkiss moved into the country last fall (1836) with her son, Mr. H(all) lost no time in bringing her up from the Bay to the Mission as he said she had no convenient place to keep at the latter place . . . . In addition to this Mrs. H(all) had a little girl wh(ich) she had taken to take care of her babe . . . . Sometime the fore part of winter he went down to the Bay and in addition to a Teacher for the South school he brought up a niece of Mrs H(all)s to aid him in his department and the first notice I had of it was an introduction to her at the breakfast table . . . . About the time I returned from Milwaukee which was the last of April she was taken sick and for a time confined to her bed . . . . and in 3 or 4 weeks she got about again. But before she recovered Mr H and Mrs H left for N. Y. and sent up the mother of the young lady without consulting myself to take care of her. The mother herself in coming up took cold and it hung about her for about a week when she was violently attacked with what is called the Creek in her back . . . . During this time old Mrs H(otchkiss) had become almost worn out by excessive fatigue, and the lady which Mr H(all) had engaged to take his place in the school was sick and some of the time confined to her bed . . . . and now I was obliged in order to keep the whole of the female members of the family off of a sick bed to hire a girl for almost two weeks . . . .

My request to the Board is that they would dissolve Mr Hall's connection with the Stockbridge Mission if they see fit and permit single teachers to occupy his place.

Marsh to Greene, August 3, 1837, in Marsh Papers.

APPENDIX J

School Fund Receipts

1830-1831	-------	voted to turn over funds to mission
1831-1832	-------	unable to pay
1832-1833	$254.00	
1833-1834	-------	unable to pay
1834-1835	$284.00	
1835-1836	$200.00	
1836-1837	$536.72	from Indian and other sources (probably $300.00)
1837-1838	-------	stolen by forgery
1838-1839	$205.00	
1839-1840	$300.00	

Late in 1839 Marsh turned over the school supervision to the Indians.

Marsh to Henry Hill, June, 1830-June, 1840, in Marsh Papers.

APPENDIX K

Financial Reports From Cutting Marsh to Henry Hill

Expenses		Receipts	
May 1, 1830		A. B. Draft	30.00
N. Y. to Green Bay	89.43	"	100.00
Mis.	9.79	Friends	2.50
	$99.22		$132.50
Cash on hand: $33.28			
Sept. 1, 1830			
Provisions	44.53	Draft D. A. Whitney	93.75
Merchandise	31.67	Loan-Mr. Stevens	55.12
Sundries; P. O. Bill	24.08	Paid in cash	66.66
Labor	52.39		$205.53
Unsettled Accts.	17.49		
Property, Mr. A.	31.00		
Freight tombstone	4.37		
	$205.53		
Dec. 1, 1830			
Provisions	128.87	From Mr. Ambler	30.00
Freight, N. Y. to Gr. Bay	27.57	Recd by note	13.50
Sundries	29.99	Cash-May 1, 1830	33.28
Merchandise	7.99		$76.78
Labor, men & oxen	6.55		
Unsettled Accts.	7.95		
One milk cow	25.00		
	$227.85		
May 1, 1831			
Dry goods, etc.	43.49	Recd by note	64.17
P. O. Bill	6.17	cash on hand	2.61
Labor	11.58		$66.78
	$61.24		
Error on last return	.98		
	$60.26		
Sept. 1, 1831		Cash on hand	5.54
Expenses for quarter	73.13	Recd. Thomas	12.65
		" Dr. S. Foot	1.50
			$19.69

Balance due	$53.44		
Dec. 7, 1831			
Provisions	67.40		
Merchandise	17.50		
Transportation	14.75		
Sundries	8.19		
P. O. Bill	4.87		
	$112.51		
May 1, 1832			
Labor	21.87		
Materials for house	29.91		
Merchandise	8.90		
P. O. Bill	2.72		
	$63.43		
April 30, 1833			
Provisions	188.60	School fund	254.00
Due J. D. Stevens	61.66	Cash due mission	45.00
	$250.26	Pay to Stevens	130.00
		Recd from Indian	22.50
Cash on hand	$201.24		$451.50
June 1, 1834			
Merchandise	178.38	Recd Stevens	20.00
Teacher pay	59.91	" "	8.17
Labor & Sundries	61.42	Sold two cows	55.00
	$299.71	Recd Indian	2.00
		Draft - Hastings	214.54
March 17, 1835			$299.71
Draft on AM. Bd	214.54		
		School fund	$284.00
Cash on hand	$69.46		
June 29, 1835			
Supplies, labor etc.	762.35	Various sources	12.80
Paid Mr. Hall	100.00	On hand	43.20
Forwarded to Hastings, Detroit	1250.00	Recd Mr. Hall	10.00
	$2070.10	" D. B. Whitney	4.00
		" Col. Boyd	2000.00
			$2112.35
Deficiency of $45.25			
Feb. 23, 1836			
Provisions, labor	903.65	Recd.	231.22
Purchases - Hall's trip to N. Y.	257.60	Recd.	248.00
	$1160.65		$479.22
Deficiency of	$681.43		

July 1, 1837			
Expenses	561.79	Recd.	$536.72
Deficiency of $25.02			
June 28, 1838			
Supplies, labor etc.	$480.55	Draft - N. Y.	125.28
		Recd. Gr. B. Ch.	57.79
		" Mr. Hastings	132.68
		Other sources	164.80
			$480.55
June 1, 1839			
Teachers pay	277.00	Draft - Detroit	104.00
Provisions	104.00	N. Y. Agent	70.00
	$381.00	Utica Agent	2.00
		School fund	205.00
			$381.00
August 5, 1840			
Expenses	$400.00	School fund	300.00
		Draft - N. Y.	100.00
			$400.00
July 12, 1841			
Expenses	$421.32	Drafts - Am. Bd.	$421.32

I have small demands upon individuals for more than enough to liquidate all of the other debts which the Mission owes and which will be paid so soon as there is any money in circulation which people can get hold of.

Marsh to Hill, July 12, 1841, in Marsh Papers.

This appendix includes all of the formal returns from Marsh to Hill that were deposited with the American Board financial records.

APPENDIX L

Requests for Supplies and Clothing

June 9, 1840

1 pr cow-hide boots, 10 1/2 inches long
1 pr calf-skin walking shoes for Mrs. M. 9 1/4 inches long
2 prs " slippers
3 prs shoes for a child two years old
2 prs coarse shoes for myself
Strainer cloth, 3 yds

June 23, 1841

2 prs coarse shoes - high quarters
Some black Satinet for vests and winter pantaloons
Woolen yarn and shirts
Sewing needles of various sizes, cotton and linnen thread
Cotton knitting yarn
Calico and cotton handkerchiefs
10 yds of coarse dark muslin and 2 doz brass thimbles of a middling size

April 20, 1843

1 pc of cotton sheeting
2 yds Linen shirting
3 dark dress patterns
a few prs woolen socks
Woolen yarn
4 lbs cotton batting
6 yds apron check for children
10 yds domestic flannel
6 yds of woolen cloth suitable for pantaloons for myself
Some coarse towels
A few yds of coarse brown cloth suitable for wiping cloths
Some Linen thread
A few prs of knitting needles & some sewing needles
2 bunches of goose quills
1 pr of coarse boots and 2 prs of coarse shoes with high quarters for myself
3 or 4 prs of childrens shoes from 3 to 5 years old suitable for winter
1 stock
A half a dosen Cotton pocket handkerchiefs

Marsh to Hill, in Marsh Papers.

APPENDIX M

Stockbridge Citizenship

Report on the Stockbridge Memorial, July, 1842

the petitioners represent themselves civilized Indians . . . . The petitioners further represent, that they have ever endeavored, by enacting rigorous and judicious laws among themselves, and by imitating to the greatest possible extent the spirit and forms of civilized jurisprudence, to vie with their white bretheren in good order and industry . . . . unfortunately for them, they . . . . can no longer enforce proper government among themselves, unless they are backed and supported by the supreme law of the land . . . . They therefore pray, in the most respectful and deferential manner, to be made "citizens of the United States, to all intents and purposes."

Committee on Indian Affairs, "Report on the Stockbridge Indians," (27 Congress, 2 session, House Report no. 961, vol. 5, serial 411).

"An Act for the relief of the Stockbridge tribe of Indians, in the Territory of Wiskonsan," March 3, 1843

1. That the township of land . . . . may be partitioned and divided among the different individuals composing said tribe of Stockbridge Indians, and may be held by them, separately and severally, in fee simple, after such division shall have been made.

2. A board of commissioners shall be constituted, to consist of five of the principal or head men of said tribe.

3. An election shall be held on the first Monday in April, 1843, and all men over 21 may vote.

4. Land is to be divided according to the tribal customs . . . . except none is to be taken from present holders unless they are thought to have too much.

5. The commission is to make a map and a report by July, 1843.

6. Three copies of this are to be made. One to the Secretary of the Territory, one to the county clerk, and one to the President of the United States.

7. After January 1, 1844, the "said Stockbridge tribe of Indians, each and every one of them, shall then be deemed to be, and from that time forth are hereby declared to be, citizens of the United States and of the Territory of Wisconsin, in the same manner as other citizens of said Territory; and the jurisdiction of the United States and of said Territory shall be extended over the said township or reservation now held by them, in the same manner as over other parts of said Territory; and their rights as a tribe or nation, and their power of making or executing their own laws, usages, or customs, as such tribe, shall cease and determine.

United States Statutes at Large, 5:645-647.

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Approved Verne Carlson

Date May 20, 1959