

**The Collected Writings of
Samson Occom, Mohegan:
Leadership and Literature in
Eighteenth-Century Native
America**

*JOANNA BROOKS,
Editor*

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OF SAMSON OCCOM,
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Edited by

JOANNA BROOKS

Foreword by

ROBERT WARRIOR

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FOREWORD



Robert Warrior

Samson Occom, best known for being the protégé of Dartmouth College founder Eleazar Wheelock and for being the author of a short autobiography that has become standard fare in many Native American and American literature classrooms, is finally getting his full due as a writer, leader, and historical figure, thanks in no small part to the painstaking efforts of Joanna Brooks in bringing this volume to light. Native American studies scholars, Americanists in literary and historical studies, scholars of religion and missions, and many others who encounter Occom's work in these pages stand to gain new, robust insight into heretofore opaque instances of eighteenth-century Native American agency, intellectual production, and writerliness. Because of Occom's significance and the completeness of Brooks's work, this volume and the history it documents seem destined to be important scholarly landmarks.

Occom's 1768 autobiography, which has been so crucial to his recovery, is also a deceptive marker of who Occom was and what he believed. Students in my own classes usually appreciate the critical edge Occom brings to the antiracist conclusion of the autobiography, which you can read in the prose section of this volume, but they also are typically put off by his diffidence, disappointed in both his Christian piety and his concomitant lack of a traditional Mohegan spirituality, and befuddled by his eighteenth-century rhetorical conventions. Some undergraduates in my classes—this is especially true of my Native students—never see past Occom's repeated referral to himself as a heathen and think of him as a dupe of his Christian handlers.

Occom's best-selling 1772 *Sermon on the Execution of Moses Paul* has become more widely known in recent years and presents a different angle on Occom, one that highlights Occom's incisiveness as a social critic of the systemic problems Native people in his era faced. Still, the sermon's strong strains of moralism and triumphant Christianity can buttress, rather than challenge, a view of Occom as a cold-souled Calvinist who seemed never to miss an opportunity to scold sinners, warn of the dangers of unbelief, and at least flirt with capitulation to the structures and ideologies that were spelling ruin for Native American communities in his time.

The sermons, letters, political documents, hymns, and other writings Brooks has collected here under one cover, however, provide ample proof that Samson Occom was a much more complex figure than most readers of only the short narrative and the Moses Paul sermon have perceived. While his piety and commitment to proselytizing other Indians remain a consistent theme through most of these writings,

Occom also appears as a trusted political leader of tribal communities and a fierce advocate for amelioration of injustices among the Mohegans and others. He also comes across as a beloved spiritual leader among an extensive intertribal community of Native people. More, he was a person held in high regard in his time, with friends and associates in the upper economic strata in New England and Great Britain.

Brooks presents these writings by type, each of which presents a different perspective on Occom. The letters reveal him as a man deeply concerned with his family, faithful to his circle of devout Calvinists on both sides of the Atlantic, and capable (though probably not as often as many might wish) of indignation when mistreated or taken advantage of. His occasional prose includes material that shows his respect for and commitment to traditional forms of indigenous knowledge. The journals, though primarily concerned with documenting the movements and activities of Occom's travels, are remarkable for the record they provide of the daunting challenges of getting around New England, Great Britain, and Iroquoia in that era—usually on a shoestring. The surviving sermons, which are a tiny fraction of the thousands Occom appears to have preached, show the straightforward missionary Christian theology he professed. The petitions and other political documents Occom wrote for the Mohegans and others are vistas into the political mind of indigenous people encountering the available, quite narrow routes of redress in eighteenth-century New England. The hymns, along with documenting the importance of hymn singing in the development of eighteenth-century indigenous missions, also show Occom's musical talent and round out a portrait of Occom in his fullness and complexity. All the documents reveal the depth with which Occom and other New England Native people were marked not just by race and growing marginalization but also by chronic, deep poverty.

In her introduction, Brooks details the many facets of Occom's life and places him in the context of his times in New England. Here, I will make three observations about how these writings point us toward a new, deeper understanding of Occom's importance to New England Native history and the ongoing history of written Native intellectual work.

First, Occom comes across in these writings as a traveler, of his Native world, of the circuit of his faith, and to points across the Atlantic. His world was one in which travel was prohibitive in many ways, and most people in New England never made it very far from the places they were born. Even immigrants to the colonies most likely stayed put once they arrived. Occom, then, with his movements from place to place, including his eighteen-month sojourn in England and Scotland to raise money for Eleazar Wheelock's college, was likely one of the most well-traveled people in whatever company he was in.

Though he does not write about them except in a general way, his encounters in England and Scotland exposed him to a full range of clergy and other elite people there. Staying in their homes, dining at their tables, and soliciting their funds for Wheelock's college must have taught him an immense amount about human nature, much of it apparently not that pleasant to him. Still, the metropolitan perspective he must have gained on the British outpost in which he had spent his life must have impacted how he considered the world of New England.

I would be surprised if the high and mighty of white society back home in the colonies—including Wheelock, who was already taking his college in a direction away from its commitment to Native education by the time Occom got back—did not seem at times unsophisticated to the sojourner, which is perhaps behind Occom's newfound critical boldness upon his return to New England. I would venture to say that the wisdom of his later years came at least in part from the opportunity his travels gave him to see the world in its interconnected largeness.

The second observation I want to make has to do with a perception I have that Occom's writing brightens when he spends time in Native communities or when he travels with David Fowler and other Christian Indian leaders. Occom provides glimpses of the sense of camaraderie Occom and this nascent Native Christian leadership shared. Their lives featured a noticeable lack of many material things, but between the lines one can see that one thing they did have was each other. Occom, Fowler, and the other Native Christians who founded the historic Brotherton settlement in the latter part of the eighteenth century did so for political, economic, and religious reasons. But surely they also did it because of their affection for each other and the joy they shared in simply being together, which is reflected in these writings.

One reason that recent readings of Occom have been so impoverished, I would offer, is that he has been considered as a lone figure rather than as someone standing for and standing amid an extensive social network. Certainly, he must have spent long seasons confronting isolation and loneliness. But he also participated in generational, communal struggles for justice and one intertribal movement in the founding of Brotherton, which predictably created a deep sense of collective action, work, and togetherness. The best readings of Occom's work, including those by Jace Weaver, Lisa Brooks, and Sean Teuton, find these threads. The documents collected here should make Occom's life of shared struggle available to even more scholars and students.

The last observation I offer regarding Occom and what we learn from him in these documents has to do with what I call a fundamental orientation to the future that he evinces throughout his writings. Amid chronic poverty and impossible political odds, Occom and those he worked alongside must have maintained an amazingly tight focus on how their communities and their progeny might continue. Far from being focused either on otherworldly rewards or a pathway into the trappings of life in white society, Occom works consistently and tirelessly to advance the claims of his own tribal nation and others, create institutions through which the next generation of Native leadership could emerge, and heal the damage caused by generations of oppression.

Leadership, as these writings attest, is hard, but the future is one of the things that seems to keep people like Occom going. Being a leader requires long hours, attention to the needs of others when one might want more to attend to the needs of oneself or one's family. Occom makes personal sacrifices again and again as he wends his way through New England to visit communities, represent tribal interests, or keep track of the efforts with which he associated himself. He lived to see few of the lasting results of his decades of work, but the Mohegans are now one of the most culturally and politically intact groups of Natives in New England, and Dartmouth,

two centuries after Wheelock's betrayal of Occom and subsequent neglect of the education of Native students, has established itself as an important center for Native American higher education. The future, it turns out, was worth the trouble.

For everything positive these writings reveal, however, it is also clear that Occom was far from perfect. In spite of the complexity that emerges in these writings, he remains liable to the criticism that his commitment to Christianity made him vulnerable to a triumphalist Christian interpretation of New England history. It certainly committed him to a deeply patriarchal institution that excluded the overt leadership of women, including his sister, Lucy Occom Tantaquidgeon.

Though quite vocal in his opposition to slavery, he also worked actively against the inclusion of Afro-Mohegans in the political and social world of his tribal nation. That same tribal nation was born, I think it is important to add, in the divide-and-conquer crucible of Puritan colonialism, and the Mohegans participated with their colonizers in the decimation of those from whom they divided, the Pequots, during the massacre at Mystic in 1637 and the subsequent Pequot War. While Occom himself was not responsible for the divide or for Mohegan cooperation with the British in the destruction of their Pequot relatives, the conditions under which Occom and other Mohegan leaders worked in the eighteenth century were in many ways defined in that earlier era; the pragmatism that helped guarantee their survival and eventual resurgence, then, was not without problems.

Fortunately for all of us, success in intellectual work does not require perfection, and judging historical figures like Occom need not mean he should be defined by his failings, even if it is worth keeping in mind the ways Occom limited himself through his own blindness to injustice. Foibles and all, Occom's contribution to the history of Native New England and to Native intellectual history and writing remain.

Encountering this world-traveling Native intellectual who found joy and hope for the future in working alongside other Natives is a rare treat for me as a historian of Native writing and intellectualism. It cements Occom's place of importance in that history. His affection for and correspondence with Phillis Wheatley, referred to herein, is a stunning reminder that Native American written intellectual work has contemporaneous roots with a comparable African-American history. Further, Occom paves the way for the more interpretive, but less documented, work and life of William Apess in the 1820s and 1830s. He prefigures the travels abroad (especially to England, but to other places, as well) of George Copway, John Joseph Mathews, D'Arcy McNickle, Gerald Vizenor, and others. His love of community and the future will later be seen in the lives and works of the best and brightest lights in Native intellectual history, including Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Zitkala-Sa), Ruth Muskrat Bronson, Clyde Warrior, Joy Harjo, Simon Ortiz, and others.

The publication of this volume, then, including the tremendous work Joanna Brooks has done in making it happen, is a wonderful thing. It is a testament of hope, and a witness to why the unfolding of Native intellectual history is so important and interesting to chart. Across more than two centuries, Samson Occom demonstrates once and for all his courage, tenacity, and intelligence in having left behind this trail that we can now follow. The rest is up to us.

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I would like to express my gratitude to leaders and members of the Mohegan and Brotherton tribes who have graciously fielded my inquiries and encouraged my research. Mohegan historian Melissa Tantaquidgeon Zobel generously made copies of my transcripts of the Occom archive available to the Tribal Council, Historical Preservation Department, Tribal Publications Department, Chief of Staff's Office, and Education Department, helping me carry out my responsibilities to return this body of knowledge to its communities of origin. I appreciate also warm and helpful responses to my work from tribal archivist Faith Davison and Council of Elders vice-chairman Joseph Gray. Tribal linguist Stephanie Fielding has been exceptionally generous in providing translations of Mohegan-Pequot-Montauk words appearing in Occom's writings. I thank her for her spirited feedback and insights. Special acknowledgment is also due to Will Ottery, Jim Ottery, and June Ezold, all descendents of Samson Occom. Will Ottery and the late Rudi Ottery especially deserve recognition for their groundbreaking genealogical research in Native New England, which appears in *A Man Called Samson*. Will Ottery was kind enough to send me a copy of the book and to discuss Samson Occom with me by phone.

Emily Baker served as my editorial assistant throughout the crucial middle phases of this project. This edition owes much to her superbly meticulous work. I am grateful to her for keeping the project afloat during a very eventful year.

Robert Warrior provided guidance and encouragement at an early stage of the

project and contributed the gracious foreword to this volume. LaVonne Ruoff has also been an example and an inspiration to me. Paula Gunn Allen and Greg Sarris were my first teachers in American Indian literature at UCLA. Bernd Peyer, Laura Murray, and Hilary Wyss also deserve my thanks for their own groundbreaking work on Occom, Joseph Johnson, and Native New England. The visionary scholarship of Lisa Brooks has influenced tremendously my own thoughts on Occom. I thank her as well for being a friendly and receptive correspondent during this project.

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My graduate students at the University of Texas served as my ideal test audience for this volume: Jodi Relyea, Sylvia Gale, Emily Baker, Caroline Wiggington, Amanda Moulder, Katy Young, Anthony Fassi, Noah Mass, Heidi Juel, and Jeremy Dean. Their enthusiastic responses to Occom and his writings renewed my courage in the final stages of the project.

In preparing Occom's mountain of manuscripts for publication, I have incurred many debts to family, friends, and coworkers. Caroline Herring, a true friend, trekked to the Library of Congress during an especially rainy winter to check my transcript of an Occom manuscript. Blanca Madriz provided crucial physical support in the nick of time in copying and mailing this massive manuscript.

Colleagues and friends at the University of Texas have sustained me, my family, and my work during a very eventful two years. It was Michael Winship who first encouraged me to undertake this project. Lisa Moore, Madge Darlington, Jim Lee, Julie Cho, Ann Cvetkovich, Neville Hoad, James Cox, Domino Perez, Shirley Thompson, Steve Marshall, and Jennifer Wilks helped keep love alive in so many ways—with home cooking, humor, collective childcare, spiritual wisdom, scholarly acumen, insight, humor, style, grace, sarcasm, honesty, loyalty, and perspective.

As always, I owe Michele Brooks thanks for her expert genealogical research assistance, as well as for teaching me to love and listen to the past.

I began work on this project about the same time that Ella America Brooks-Kamper was conceived, and I concluded just weeks before the anticipated arrival of Rosa Lucille Brooks-Kamper. Ella, as a spirited, loving, resilient, hilarious two-year-old, it appears that your in utero exposure to so much eighteenth-century manuscript did you no harm. May the same be true for our beautiful Rosa. My husband, David Kamper, has traveled, shared, talked, thought, and (best of all) laughed with me every step of the way during these wild couple of years. David, you make everything possible for me.

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A NOTE ON THE TEXTS



This collection brings together for the first time the known published works and surviving manuscripts of the eighteenth-century Mohegan writer Samson Occom. The Occom archive comprises in total more than 1,000 holograph manuscript pages of letters, diaries, sermons, hymns, petitions, and other prose writings. Dartmouth College and the Connecticut Historical Society hold the largest collections of Occom manuscripts, while smaller collections and individual documents can also be found at the New London County Historical Society, the Library of Congress, the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, the Newberry Library, and the University of Georgia. At Dartmouth College, Occom's diaries, sermons, and prose writings are housed in a special vault collection in the Rauner Special Collections Library, while his letters are catalogued among the Eleazar Wheelock Papers, which were collated under the direction of librarian Edward Connery Lathem in the 1970s. A typescript of Occom's diaries was prepared and donated to Dartmouth College in 1974 by the Dartmouth College Class of 1911. Microfilm editions of the Dartmouth College Eleazar Wheelock Papers and the Connecticut Historical Society Samson Occom Papers are also available.

Aside from those letters received and preserved by recipients such as Eleazar Wheelock, it is unclear how most of Occom's writings survived and came into the possession of these libraries. Some sources suggest that Occom's son-in-law Anthony Paul inherited the books and papers Occom kept at his New York home; it is possible that Benoni Occom inherited the books and papers his father left behind in Mohegan. A writing desk from the Occom home at Mohegan is said to have come into the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society. Perhaps this desk also contained some of Occom's papers. Neither the Connecticut Historical Society nor Dartmouth has records of how they came into the possession of large bodies of Occom's manuscripts.

I have designed this collection mindful of the needs and concerns of scholars and students in the fields of literature, history, American studies, and Native American studies. My goal has been to make available as much of the Occom archive as possible in an accessible, reliable scholarly edition. This process has necessarily entailed many decisions about text selection and presentation.

This edition has been prepared in accordance with the guidelines of the Modern Language Association Committee on Scholarly Editions. It offers letter-faithful transcriptions of Occom's manuscripts and transcribed reprints of his published writings. All transcriptions have been checked for accuracy against imprint and

manuscript originals. Occom's original capitalization, spelling, grammar, and punctuation have been retained, except for instances in his published writings that I have judged to be the result of printers' errors, which have been silently corrected.

In developing a system of annotation, my goal has been to supply contextual information to support the interpretation and comprehension of Occom's writings in a way that does not overwhelm the primary texts themselves. Available biographical information for named individuals appears in the glossary of names at the end of the volume rather than in the footnotes.

The Collected Writings of Samson Occom, Mohegan presents diaries compiled by Occom over the course of more than fifty years. Manuscript evidence suggests that Occom composed installments in his diaries from brief daily notes of his itineraries and transactions. Dartmouth College holds one notebook of these daily notes for the dates December 16–18, 1787, February 24–April 6, 1788, and January 1–February 22, 1788. Because these notes do not differ substantially from the diaries, I have not reproduced them here. I have also chosen not to reprint an account book documenting Occom's income and expenses in Montauk in 1761.

This collection features twenty integral sermons by Samson Occom. The Dartmouth Occom Vault collection also contains four undated sermon fragments by Occom that I have not included here, as well as six sermons and sermon fragments that I have determined (primarily on the basis of orthography) were not written by Occom and consequently have not included in this collection:

- “Sermon No. 13” on 2 Corinthians 13:2; dated “Middlef^d Jan. 3. 1762,” “Sharon M. J 1762,” “Haveshill [17]64,” “Gorham July 17. L.D. 1766 with variations and additions.”
- “No. 25” on Romans 7:12, dated “Attleboro 26th Sept 1762,” “Newbury 4 Oct^r L. D. 1762,” “Geo. Town 30 Oct^r 1763.”
- “Sermon no. 57” on Psalms 11:7, dated “9 July 18, 1762.”
- Sermon fragment, opening phrase “of Life; & to complete the System of destruction,” undated but probably composed after 1783.
- Sermon fragment, opening phrase “III. To shew why y^e Serv^{is} of y^e L. J. C do earnestly desire,” undated.
- Sermon fragment, opening phrase “versal whether it extends to all the command of God holy law,” undated.

Samson Occom has been credited with the authorship of dozens of hymns. I have been able to verify his composition of only the six hymn-texts reprinted here. Modern bibliographers have sometimes attributed to Occom “The Unknown World,” which appears in *A Choice Collection of Hymns and Sacred Songs* (1774), but this poem was in fact written by Laurence Sterne. “A Sailor’s Acknowledgement,” which appears with “The Unknown World” in *A Remarkable Prophecy* (Boston, 1798), has also been credited to Occom, but there is no evidence to support this conjecture. Consequently, neither “The Unknown World” nor “A Sailor’s Acknowledgment” appears in this volume.

Some manuscripts in the Dartmouth Occom Vault Collection—a few diaries as well as the 1768 manuscript autobiography—were emended by William Allen when

he compiled his unpublished biography of Occom in 1859. Allen attempted to modernize and regularize Occom's spelling, punctuation, and grammar, marking his corrections on the originals in black ink; he also underlined in black ink the names and places of persons in the diaries. My transcriptions of Occom's diaries and his 1768 autobiography represent my best efforts to reconstruct the original holograph manuscript text. The edition of the 1768 autobiography transcribed and published by Bernd Peyer in 1982 and now widely anthologized includes many of Allen's emendations; Peyer also omitted passages lined out by Occom. I have excluded Allen's emendations and restored Occom's lined-out passages in strikethrough type.

This edition was prepared in accordance with the following rules of transcription, formatting, and emendation:

- Interlineations have been inserted into the text and marked between two carets, except for interlineations resulting from line breaks, which have been silently inserted into the text.
- Original paragraphing has been retained, although the format has been standardized to the modern indent.
- Original capitalization has been retained, even though it has sometimes been difficult to accurately distinguish upper-case and lower-case, especially for the letters "w," "v," and "g."
- Original abbreviations and contractions have been retained.
- Original underlines have been retained and are represented here in italics.
- Long dashes as punctuation have been retained.
- Cancelled passages have been retained in strikethrough type.
- Superscript letters have been retained in superscript type.
- Terminal punctuation has been supplied in brackets where necessary to aid comprehension.
- Where conjectural interpolation is possible, illegible words and letters or words and letters missing due to manuscript damage have been supplied in brackets followed by question marks. Where conjecture is not reasonably certain, damaged or illegible words and letters are represented by bracketed ellipses: "[. . .]".
- Words intentionally omitted or left blank in the original manuscript are represented by empty brackets: "[]".
- For letters, the placement of datelines, salutations, and closings has been standardized. Missing date and place information have been supplied, if possible, in brackets. Conjectural place and date information has been marked with question marks.
- For letters, text appearing in the margins or on envelopes has been transcribed after the document in a note.
- Marginalia appearing on the covers of journals has not been transcribed.

In preparing this edition, I have tried to be mindful of my responsibilities to acknowledge and work respectfully with the tribal communities represented in this body of writing, especially the Mohegan and Brotherton tribes. I have given complete transcripts of Occom's writings to Mohegan tribal historian Melissa Fawcett

Tantaquidgeon, archivist Faith Davison, and linguist Stephanie Fielding. Tantaquidgeon graciously made these transcripts available to the Mohegan Tribal Council of Elders, Tribal Council, Education Department, Tribal Publications Department, and Historical Preservation Department; through her, I invited feedback and advice from tribal members as I prepared the scholarly apparatus for the volume. I have also sent complete transcripts of Occom's writings to Brotherton tribal chair Theodore Stephenson, former Brotherton tribal chair and Occom descendant June Ezold, and Occom descendants Will Ottery and Jim Ottery. Copies of this volume will be donated to the Mohegan and Brotherton tribes. I would like to acknowledge the often unrecognized efforts of generations of American Indian writers, historians, and genealogists in compiling and preserving tribal histories. It is my hope that this collection can serve to bring Occom's literary legacy home from the archives to its tribal communities and thus in a small way contribute to the important work of intellectual and cultural repatriation now taking place in tribal communities across North America.

CHRONOLOGY



- 1723 Samson Occom born to Sarah and Joshua Occom (or Ockham) at Mohegan.
- 1739 The Great Awakening comes to Mohegan territory.
- 1741 New Light itinerant James Davenport visits Norwich, Connecticut, in August; Occom hears him preach and experiences spiritual stirrings.
- 1742 Occom selected as a councilor to Mohegan sachem Ben Uncas II.
- 1743 Joshua Occom dies. Samson Occom attends hearings of the Mason-Mohegan land case in Norwich. On December 6, he travels to the home of Eleazar Wheelock in Lebanon Crank, Connecticut, where he begins a college-preparatory course of study. During his four years with Wheelock, Occom visits and facilitates worship meetings in neighboring Native communities.
- 1747 Occom terminates his studies with Wheelock in November; during the winter, he keeps school at New London, Connecticut.
- 1748 Preparing for enrollment at Yale, Occom studies Latin, Greek, and Hebrew with Benjamin Pomeroy at Hebron, Connecticut, during the spring and summer. In November and December, he visits Boston and Natick, Massachusetts, where he lodges with Native elder Joseph Ephraim.
- 1749 Occom embarks on a summer fishing expedition to Montauk, Long Island. Officially released from his studies on account of debilitating eyestrain, in November, Occom establishes a school for thirty students at Montauk.
- 1751 Occom marries Mary Fowler (Montaukett) in the fall, and the couple establishes their home among the Montaukett people.
- 1752 First child, Mary, born to Samson and Mary Occom.
- 1753 Second child, Aaron, born.
- 1754 Third child, Tabitha, born. Samson Occom undertakes a course of study in traditional herbal medicine from Ocus (Montaukett).
- 1755 Fourth child, Olive, born. With the encouragement of Aaron Burr and the New York Commissioners of the Scotch Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, Occom attempts a visit to the Lenape and the Iroquois. His visit is interrupted by the onset of the Seven Years' War.
- 1756 Samuel Buell and Eleazar Wheelock seek financial relief for Occom, who has struggled to meet the needs of his growing family and fallen into debt due to poor pay and unfair treatment from his missionary sponsors. In November, the Boston Board of Commissioners of the London Society for Propagating the Gospel recommends Occom's ordination.

- 1757 Fifth child, Christiana, born. Occom examined for ordination on July 13 at Lebanon, Connecticut, by Benjamin Pomeroy, Nathan Strong, Stephen White, Samuel Moseley, and Eleazar Wheelock.
- 1758 Presbyterian minister Samuel Davies of Virginia recruits Occom for a mission among the Cherokee. Occom's ordination referred to the Long Island Presbytery.
- 1759 Occom examined and ordained by the Suffolk, Long Island, Presbytery on August 29 and 30. Samuel Buell delivers the ordination sermon.
- 1760 Samson and Mary Fowler Occom take their oldest son, Aaron, to Moor's Indian Charity School in April. Occom and David Fowler visit New England Native communities during the fall. In November, Occom is recruited by the New York Commissioners of the Scotch Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge to undertake a mission among the Oneida.
- 1761 Occom and David Fowler leave Montauk in May. In June, they arrive at Oneida, bearing the recommendation of Sir William Johnson. Occom spends nine weeks preaching and establishing a school; he also recruits three Mohawk young men—Center, Ngeyes, and Joseph Brant—to attend Moor's Indian Charity School. At a farewell ceremony on September 18, Occom receives a wampum belt from the Oneida. He baptizes three Oneida converts and preaches a farewell sermon on September 20. Occom arrives home at Montauk on October 22. Sixth child, Talitha, born.
- 1762 In May, Occom returns to Oneida, where he finds the people in desperate economic circumstances due to war and an early frost the previous growing season. He returns to Montauk in the fall.
- 1763 Seventh child, Benoni, born. In May, Occom embarks on his third Oneida mission, but he and fellow Mohegan minister Samuel Ashpo are forced to return from New York by the outbreak of Pontiac's War. Occom travels to Mohegan in December to select a homesite.
- 1764 Occom accompanies George Whitefield on a preaching tour of New England until February. The Boston Board of Commissioners subsequently appoints him as a missionary among the Niantic and Mohegan. In March, Occom, his wife, and seven young children move their household across the Long Island Sound from Montauk to Mohegan, losing some of their possessions in the crossing. Political trouble erupts at Mohegan in April and May, when Ben Uncas III leases out tribal lands without the consent of his councilors. Occom takes part in an effort to reconstitute the tribal government. His preaching at Mohegan draws parishioners away from the white minister David Jewett, who criticizes Occom for his political activities. In August, Wheelock obtains a commission from the Connecticut Board of Correspondents ordering Occom to undertake another mission among the Iroquois, but the mission fails due to lack of funding.
- 1765 On March 12, Occom is brought before the Connecticut Board of Correspondents on charges of misconduct and heresy for his involvement in Mohegan political affairs, especially the Mohegan-Mason land case. Occom apologizes under pressure from Wheelock and is exonerated. After spending the sum-

- mer among the Iroquois, Occom leaves Mohegan in November for a two-and-a-half-year fund-raising mission for Moor's Indian Charity School. Occom and white minister Nathaniel Whitaker embark from Boston harbor for London on December 23, amid controversy about the fund-raising effort and Occom's identity as a Mohegan convert.
- 1766 Occom and Whitaker land at Bricksham, England, on February 3; on February 16, Occom preaches his first sermon in England at George Whitefield's Tabernacle in London. During his tour of England, Occom is introduced to nobles and prominent religious figures, attends King George II in his robing room at the Parliament House, visits the Tower of London and Westminster Abbey, and is invited to take Anglican orders. In November, back at Mohegan, Mary Occom sends her son Aaron to Moor's Indian Charity School.
- 1767 Occom and Whitaker tour Scotland in the spring. On May 16 at Edinburgh, Occom displays the wampum belt and recites the speech given him by the Oneida; he is offered an honorary doctorate in divinity by the University of Edinburgh. Occom and Whitaker visit Ireland in July.
- 1768 While Whitaker sails for home on March 2, Occom remains in England to testify in another hearing of the Mohegan-Mason land case. He arrives home at Mohegan by early June to find his family in financial straits. That summer, Occom receives a number of visitors, including a delegation of Oneida, and renews his ties to neighboring Native communities in southern New England. In September, Occom composes a second draft of his autobiography.
- 1769 Eighth child, Theodosia, born. Suffering from poor health and a debilitating shoulder injury, Occom is unable to travel. In January, he confesses being "shamefully over taken With Strong Drink" to the Connecticut Correspondents. Controversial Mohegan sachem Ben Uncas III dies in May. Occom and others protest at the funeral, and the tribe refuses to name a new sachem. In November, the Long Island Presbytery acquits Occom of public drunkenness.
- 1770 Eleazar Wheelock relocates Moor's Indian Charity School to Hanover, New Hampshire.
- 1771 Ninth child, Lemuel Fowler, born. Aaron Occom dies at Mohegan in February. Wheelock writes Occom to accuse him of repeated bouts of intemperance; Occom accuses Wheelock of betraying the Native educational mission of Moor's Indian Charity School and breaks ties with him in July.
- 1772 Occom declines invitations to accompany white missionaries among the Lenape, choosing instead to remain home, recover his health, and attend to the needs of his own family. Occom renews his connections with John Thornton and other sympathetic English trustees of the former Moor's Indian Charity School, who offer him moral and financial support. On September 2 at New Haven, Occom delivers an execution sermon on behalf of Moses Paul, a Wampanoag man convicted on murder charges. The first edition of Occom's *Sermon, Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul* is published on October 31; three additional editions (one in broadside) appear by the end of the year.
- 1773 As demand for his execution sermon continues to grow, Occom attains public celebrity among Native and white people. He receives numerous invitations

- to preach and enjoys improved health. On March 13 at Mohegan, Occom attends the initial organizational meeting of the Brotherton movement, including members of the Mohegan, Pequot, Niantic, Montuakett, Farmington, and Narragansett communities. He preaches in southern New England Indian towns throughout the summer. Joseph Johnson (Mohegan), the leader of the Brotherton movement, marries Tabitha Occom in December.
- 1774 Tenth child, Andrew Gifford, born. Joseph Johnson completes land negotiations with the Oneida on behalf of the Brotherton effort, as enthusiasm for the movement continues to grow among Native peoples in southern New England. Occom publishes his *Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs* on April 6. In July, he and David Fowler set out for Oneida territory to survey the newly granted Brotherton lands.
- 1775 In January and February, Occom preaches in Connecticut and southeastern New York. The first wave of emigrants leaves for Brotherton in April. Olive Occom marries Solomon Adams on April 13. Emigration to Brotherton is interrupted by the onset of the American War of Independence.
- 1777 During wartime, Occom preaches itinerantly in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts.
- 1780 Occom suffers a crippling hip injury when he slips on the ice in February. His resulting lameness and wartime hardships place Occom's family once again in difficult economic straits.
- 1784 Emigration to Brotherton resumes at the end of the war. Occom accompanies a party of migrants including the families of his brother-in-law Jacob Fowler and his daughter Christiana Occom Paul to Brotherton in May. He returns to Mohegan in early June.
- 1785 Occom preaches among southern New England Indian towns during a summer revival season. He departs Mohegan for New York on September 22 and arrives at Brotherton on October 24. On November 7 and 8, he participates in the formal political organization of Brotherton.
- 1786 Occom arrives back at Mohegan in February. After spending the spring and early summer at home, he returns to Oneida territory in July. He ministers and counsels the people of Brotherton and New Stockbridge for the next five months, as emigration from New England continues. On October 16–18, Occom participates in discussions with Oneida leaders about the status of the Brotherton land grant. He departs for Mohegan on November 9.
- 1787 Occom reaches Mohegan on January 4. He spends the winter and spring visiting local Native communities and attending to tribal business. In April, he travels to Long Island to attend a meeting of the Long Island Presbytery and to visit with the Montaukett and Shinnecock tribes. He embarks again for Oneida in May, arriving in early July. Brotherton and New Stockbridge residents clear a homesite for Occom. On August 27, New Stockbridgers issue a written invitation to Occom to live among them as their minister; controversy consequently ensues when John Sergeant, Jr., arrives in September from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, to resume his ministry among the Mahican.

- Occom leaves Brotherton on November 13, traveling southward through New York and New Jersey.
- 1788 Occom visits Princeton College and Lenape communities in New Jersey on his way to Philadelphia, where he joins Peter Poquunnuppeet and David Fowler on a tour to raise funds for churches and schools at Brotherton and New Stockbridge. He returns home to Mohegan in late March. Occom sets out once again for Oneida territory on May 26, arriving in July. In September, the Oneida sign the Treaty of Fort Schuyler, which results in the loss of millions of acres to the state of New York but reserves small tracts for the New Stockbridge and Brotherton communities.
- 1789 In February, the New York Assembly passes "An Act for the Sale and Disposition of Lands," which confirms and orders an official survey of the Brotherton reservation and places some restrictions on white leasing of Brotherton lands. In May, Samson and Mary Fowler Occom move their household from Mohegan to Brotherton. Occom visits Mohegan in October and November.
- 1790 Occom's son Lemuel Fowler dies at Mohegan by drowning. Controversy at Brotherton intensifies over the disposition of tribal lands. Occom fiercely opposes the leasing of tribal lands to whites; he is criticized and ridiculed at Brotherton town meetings by counterfactual leader Elijah Wampy (or Wympy).
- 1791 Despairing the loss of about 2,000 acres of Brotherton lands, including common groves and cedar swamps, in January, Occom petitions the New York Assembly to revoke altogether the authority of Brotherton residents to lease lands to whites. On February 21, the Assembly passes "An Act for the Relief of the Indians Residing in Brothertown and New Stockbridge," vesting powers to lease lots in an elected tribal council. Occom moves his family to New Stockbridge in December.
- 1792 On April 12, the New York Assembly authorizes a May date for the ejection of whites from illegitimately leased Brotherton lands. Samson Occom dies at New Stockbridge on July 14. Three hundred Native people attend his funeral on July 15.

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ABBREVIATIONS



CC	Samson Occom, <i>A Choice Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs</i> , New London, Connecticut: Timothy Green, 1774
CHS	Samson Occom Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut
CHS-M	Samson Occom Papers microfilm reel, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut
DCA	Dartmouth College Archives, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire
DHSS	<i>Divine Hymns, or Spiritual Songs, for the use of religious assemblies and private Christians: being a collection by Joshua Smith, Samson Ockum and others</i> . Troy, New York: Moffit & Lyon, 1803
HM	Huntington Manuscript, Huntington Library, San Marino, California
LOC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
MPMRC	Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, Mashantucket, Connecticut
Newberry	Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois
NLCHS	New London County Historical Society, New London, Connecticut
Rauner	Rauner Special Collections, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire
UG	University of Georgia, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Athens, Georgia
WJP	<i>Sir William Johnson Papers</i> , ed. Milton W. Hamilton, 14 volumes (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1962)
WJM	Sir William Johnson Manuscripts, 26 volumes, New York State Library, Albany, New York

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THE COLLECTED WRITINGS
OF SAMSON OCCOM,
MOHEGAN

Discover ideas about American Literature. Collected Writings of Samson Occom, Mohegan: Leadership and Literature in Eighteenth-century Native America #nativeamericanjewelry. American Literature Writings Antique Jewelry Antiques Artwork Native American Jewelry Jewelry Collection Leadership Nativity. More information.Â Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England (The Iroquois and Their Neighbors) [W Love] on Amazon.com. *FREE* shipping on qualifying offers. This biography tells of a man in the 18th century who embraced many cultures: Christian, yet Mohegan; an ordained Presbyterian minister. Shanna G. US History Unit 4 - Growth and Conflict before the Revolution. What others are saying. The Collected Writings of Samson Occom, Mohegan: Leadership and Literature in Eighteenth-Century Native America (2006), edited by Joanna Brooks, pp. 58-59. 3 Ibid. pp. 79-80.Â North America, they Hope by this Means their poor Children's Eyes may be opened, that they may See with their own Eyes â€” I had 4 Onoydas and 2 Mohawks Come to See me Some Time Last July, and were very glad to See me, they Said, they had heard of my arrival and they wanted to See me, and So they Came.

The Collected Writings of Samson Occom, Mohegan: Literature and Leadership in Eighteenth-Century Native America 1st Edition, Kindle Edition. by. Samson Occom (Author). â€º Visit Amazon's Samson Occom Page.Â Besides its obvious historical value, the collection provides considerable insight into the life and character of an extraordinary human being."-New Perspectives on the Eighteenth Century. About the Author. Joanna Brooks is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Texas at Austin and the author of *American Lazarus: Religion and the Rise of African-American and Native-American Literatures* (Oxford, 2003), winner of the 2003 Modern Language Association William Sanders Scarborough Prize for best book in African-American literature and culture.