昆尼帕人：新港最早的居民

白登·本
新港博物馆与历史学会教育理事，美国 康州 新港 06510
翻译：李辉，耶鲁大学医学院遗传学系，美国 康州 新港 06520

摘要：新港的本地居民虽然人数较少，但是在与欧洲人接触之前就已经有了先进的文化。由于疾病、战争、文化入侵以及作者定义的“一种不太决绝的民族清洗”，昆尼帕人的生活方式发生了剧烈的变化，最后他们再也不是一个民族了。本文追溯了这个部落消亡过程中的一些事件。

关键词：美洲土著；新港原住民；昆尼帕人；阿尔冈琴族系；英帝国主义

The Quinnipiac: New Haven's First Inhabitants

Benjamin BRETON
Education Director, New Haven Museum and Historical Society, New Haven, CT06510 USA
Chinese translator: LI Hui, Department of Genetics, School of Medicine, Yale University, New Haven, CT06520 USA

ABSTRACT: Prior to European contact, the indigenous people living in New Haven, though small in number, had an advanced civilization. As a result of disease, war, acculturation, and what the author calls “a not-so-subtle form of ethnic cleansing”, the Quinnipiac way of life was dramatically changed, to the point that they no longer exist as an autonomous tribe. This article traces the events which led to the downfall of the tribe.

Key words: Native Americans; Aboriginal New Haven; Quinnipiac; Algonquians; English Imperialism.

为了表达对昆尼帕人的敬意，引发公众对美洲土著研究的关注，作者在新港的若干地方作了一系列讲座，本文内容来自于讲座的总结。有关美洲土著部落的大部分“简史”和辞典几乎不提及昆尼帕人，即便提及也是一笔带过，一般指出他们是向“琵阔”人上贡的部落之一。如果你在互联网上查找他们，很少的站点提到他们，充满了历史性的错误。本文的目的就是填补这一空白，并更正这些错误。

史前的新港

康奈狄格州的这个地区早在公元前一万到七千年之间就已经有人居住了，而新港最早的定居，我们则可以追溯到公元前八千到六千年。因为在欧洲人到达之前这些土著并没有文字(因此没有记录他们的文化史)，我们得到的关于他们起源的唯一证据就是石器，而新港发现的最早的石器大约是公元前六千年的([1], P3)。我们不知道留下这些石器的人是不是昆尼帕人(也可能是其他早已消失的部落)，但是我们能够肯定在欧洲人到来之前昆尼帕人就已经在康州中南部至少居住了数百年([1], P5)。

“昆尼帕”一词意为“长水地”(本为地名，后用作人群名称；关于康州的土著语地名的有趣来源，见[2]；“昆尼帕”一词的描述细目在第 15 页)，当英国人来到这个地区的时候，本地人口大约有 460 人。昆尼帕人的确切人数很难获知。最早的英国定居者通过计数 46 个“战斗印第安”，估计人口范围在 250[3]到 460[1]，分布在大约三百平方英里的地域内(图 1，包括现在的新港、且郡、普盼、墙津、满屯、全津及外围另外七个乡镇)([1], P17)。昆尼帕人与康州大部分的阿尔冈琴部落一样，住在由部落中的妇女搭建的棚屋中(图 2A)。为了搭建这种简单的住处，昆尼帕妇女会弯曲和绑扎嫩树枝，做成一个穹顶结构。然后她们在这个框架上覆盖动物皮张、茅草和树皮。村子里大部分的活都是妇女做的，她们也掌握着大部分的家庭用品和物质([1], P23)。和其他阿尔冈琴部落一样，昆尼帕社会是母系的。当一对夫妇结婚时，男方会搬到女方家中，成为她的家庭成员。

典型的昆尼帕住所比英国人的房子暖和，但是通风不好。虽然大部分棚屋很小(只容纳一个核心家庭，图 2B)，有一些还是能够住下 3 到 4 个家庭 ([1], P25)。长屋往往和易洛魁人联系在一起(图 2C)，并没有说起新港的昆尼帕人也同样拥有。然而我们知道他们至少在当地造过一所“不同寻常”的大房子(可能是酋长或者首领的家)。虽然英国定居者在当地没有观察到任何长屋的出现，可能因为，冬天当昆尼帕人搬到内陆打猎的时候，他们住在更大的棚屋构造的长屋里，那样更多的人住在一起，分享有限的食物来源和薪柴。(长屋与棚屋的建造方式相似。然而，其框架中包

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括了平行排列的树枝，而不是在顶部交叉。图 2D)

昆尼帕人的交通依靠小路和水道。他们制作独木舟在水道上航行(图 2E)。没有金属工具使得这种小舟的制作方法非常有趣。首先，在剥去皮的树根部点上火，那样昆尼帕人就容易用石斧把树砍倒。把树从根部砍下以后，树干的一侧要烧掉，独

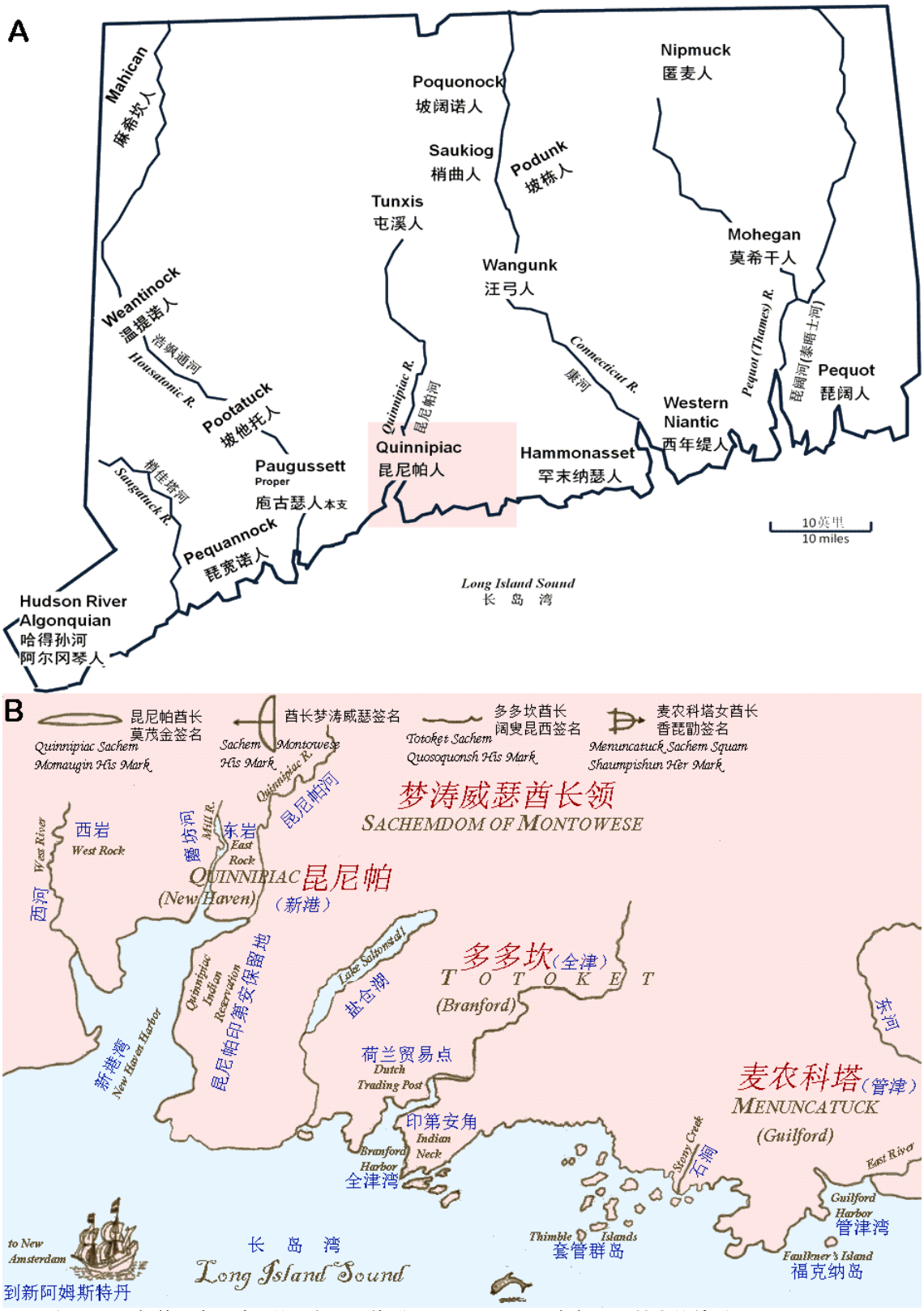

图 1 公元 1600 年前后康州地区的阿尔冈琴族群(A)和 1635–1640 年间昆尼帕人的社群(B)

Fig.1 The Connecticut Algonquians circa 1600AD (A) and the groups of the Quinnipiac Indians during 1635-1640 (B)

图 2 史前新港地区的昆尼帕人生活 A.棚屋；B.昆尼帕家庭；C.易洛魁长屋；D.长屋的框架；E.抠木舟；F.抠木舟的制作；G.捕鱼围渎；H.烤鱼；I.石器；J.种植；K.猎物(白尾鹿、熊、河狸、水獭、狼和犴)；L.食用鱼(第一行：鲟鱼、鲈鱼、竹荚鱼、灰西鲱、梭子鱼，第二行：青鱼、美西鲱、鳕鱼、河鲈)。

Fig.2 Quinnipiac life style in prehistoric New Haven A. a wigwam; B. a Quinnipiac family; C. a Iroquois longhouse; D. the foundation of longhouse; E. dugouts; F. making a dugout; G. a fish trap; H. cooking fish; I. stone artifacts; J. farming; K. game animals; L. fishes for food.

木舟的内部用木质和骨质工具掏空(图2F)。虽然大部分抠木舟可以轻松坐下四五个成年人，但是有一些长达 20 英尺，宽达 4 英尺([4], P65)。抠木舟比桦皮舟重，但是很少翻船(如果翻过的话)。昆尼帕人用这些小舟溯游昆尼帕河(54 英里到垡明屯)，以及到达小岛外的钓鱼点([1], P27)。

昆尼帕人的陆上交通依靠一个复杂的小路网，可以穿越他们所有的活动区域。印第安小道常沿着河流或者最方便的通

道，所以现在的道路(比如 1 号、5 号、10 号公路)往往覆盖在古代印第安小道的上层([1], P28)。有些印第安人被叫做“跑路人”，是做信使的(甚至欧洲人也用他们)，有记录证明他们最快在这些熟悉的道路上一天奔走上百英里([1], P27; [5])。

狩猎和捕鱼不是昆尼帕人的兴趣爱好(对于英国人来说是兴趣爱好，他们有更成熟的武器技术，把狩猎当作一项运动)。狩猎占用了昆尼帕男子的大部分时间。猎区在内陆，远离海边的农作区。在那里，昆尼帕男子捕猎白尾鹿、熊、河狸、水獭、狼、豸(图 2K)，有时还会打到一两只鸟。为了便于狩猎，土著焚烧低矮灌丛以便空出草地，成为理想的狩猎区域，在空旷区域更容易看到动物。一个最常用的焚烧点是西岩的山顶，用以搜寻鹿([1], P43)。他们主要的狩猎(和战斗)工具是弓箭，东部的弓箭比西部更大。他们也会使用矛、戈、棍、盾和刀，但是大多用于对其他印第安人作战，或者用来在猎获以后剥皮和处理动物。(已发现了十万多件昆尼帕人的用品。许多被保存在新港博物馆与历史学会、耶鲁大学、旦兰博物馆，还有许多属于私人收藏。图 2I)

昆尼帕男子用骨钩穿上印第安麻线来钓鱼，还用围渎来捕鱼(围渎包括一排排插入河底的棍子，把鱼群导向围渎的入口，图 2G)。他们在河流中用矛、网和围渎捕捉鲟鱼、鲈鱼、竹荚鱼和灰西鲱鱼。在温暖的季节，他们捕获青鱼、美西鲱、鲈鱼和鳕鱼，在冬季，他们就破开冰层捕获梭子鱼和河鲈(图 2L；[1], P46)。新港海湾的淡水和咸水混合度理想，是绝佳的贝类捕捞区。几千年来，印第安人在当地捕获牡蛎、蛤蜊、扇贝、海螺和贻贝(最后两种是做饵料的)。当英国人来的时候，昆尼帕人教他们冰上钓鱼，制作渔矛以及用脚来抓蛤蜊([4], P62)。

除了肉类和鱼类，昆尼帕人的食物还包括野生植物，例如坚果、橡子、朝鲜蓟和一些根茎类，都是由妇女采摘的。妇女也采集野果，例如李子、覆盆子、草莓、黑莓、茶藨子和葡萄([1], P47)。大约在公元 11 到 16 世纪，康州的阿尔冈琴人开始种植自己的食物。由于海边的食物来源丰富，海岸地区的耕作技术开始得比内陆地区晚([1], P48)。由于康州肥沃的土壤，又得益于新港地区超长的作物生长季节(195 天)，昆尼帕人相比许多北方部落有更长的定居时间。昆尼帕人种植的作物主要有玉米、豆类和倭瓜，土著称之为“三姐妹”，因为它们在一起长势良好，而且都可以晾干了作为冬天的储备(那时他们可以用来炖汤，或者作为面包和蜂蜜蛋糕上的花饰来烘烤)。这些作物和朝鲜蓟、西瓜一起，由妇女来种植、培养和收获(图 2J)。(英国人和昆尼帕人不同的分工方式使得前者轻视后者，尤其是土著妇女的大量工作负担使得英国人认为昆尼帕男子懒惰，图 2H) 。男子清除树木以便种植庄稼，也种植烟草(不仅有宗教意义还有镇静作用)。土著人的这种生活方式经历了数百年(可能是上千年)，欧洲人到来之后，一切都发生了剧变，下文将详述。

接触欧洲人

最早接触昆尼帕人的欧洲人是有阿德里安·布洛克带领的荷兰探险者(图 3)。1614 年，荷兰人与昆尼帕人开始贸易(用欧洲货物交换河狸皮)，到 1620 年代这一贸易量剧增([3], P71)。在十七世纪早期，昆尼帕地区有大量的河狸。荷兰人极其需要河狸皮，因为在欧洲时尚市场上河狸皮极受欢迎。在与荷兰人的大宗贸易之后，在 1630 年代英国人到新港定居前夕，康州的河狸数量锐减([1], P65)。

图 3 十七世纪初欧洲人开始接触昆尼帕人
Fig.3 The Europeans first began making contact with the Quinnipiac in early 17th century

虽然荷兰人从未在此定居，但是与他们的接触造成了昆尼帕文化的一个重要方面的改变。在 1622 年之前，念珠是酋长(部落领导)和巫师(医疗人员)佩带的神圣首饰。那一年，海岸印第安人在荷兰商人的鼓励下开始用金属工具制作更多的念珠，用来与内陆的部落交换河狸皮和鹿皮。这一“念珠革命”改变了迁徙格局，诱使一些强大的部落(例如琵阔人)剥削弱小的部落([1], P66)。

在 1637 年之前，康州最强大的部落是

琵阔人，在整个康州南部占据优势。在琵阔战争(1636-1637)之前，他们控制了至少半个康州([1], P71)。到 1634 年为止，瘟疫杀害了大量的康州阿尔冈琴人，这是英国人决定尝试在最近形成的无人区殖民的一个主要原因。美洲土著对那些欧洲疾病没有免疫力，比如天花、黄热病、疟疾、米珠病、鼠疫、流感和水痘。在欧洲人到来之前，新大陆估计有一亿的本地居民。由于战争和瘟疫，在十九世纪末，人口降到了仅仅几百万。在琵阔战争之前，仅琵阔人就因为疾病而丧失了 77%的人口，他们被英国人打败以后，在康州留下的权力真空地区很快被欧洲人填补了([1], P60)。

琵阔战争也让英国人发现了昆尼帕乡村([4], P18)。刚刚从英国来到马萨诸塞海湾殖民地的德菲鲁斯·伊通与约翰·达文浦看到了不断增加的区域报告。伊通是个富有的贸易商，他和他的童年伙伴达文浦牧师对马萨诸塞海湾殖民地不满意，那里宗教冲突太严重，他们寻求的经济机遇也不多。1638 年，伊通和达文浦带领了 500 个定居者来到了我们今天称作新港的土地上，昆尼帕人欢迎了他们。昆尼帕人友好地期望新来的邻居能够保护他们免于琵阔人的压迫和莫霍克人的不时袭击，而昆尼帕人给新来者提供的帮助却更为亟需([1], P83)。

达文浦/伊通公司的成员是政治上保守的、充分信奉正统基督教的人，他们希望在荒原上建立一个基督教的乌托邦，并在那里积累财富。小镇的神父们坚持严格的清教徒教规，被历史学家称为“整个新英格兰地区加尔文教派最严格的形式”[6]。小镇会议的报告显示他们不屑于庆祝节日，而且迷恋于性压抑([7], P20)。自以为是上帝的选民，他们对不同的宗教和文化没有丁点宽容([1], P83)。

昆尼帕人教这些从前的城市居民如何捕猎、做陷阱、打鱼和种植。甚至在他们学会了这些技术以后，昆尼帕人的农业经验还是比殖民者熟练得多(他们每英亩收获 60 蒲式耳玉米，而殖民者只有 30;[1], P50)。殖民者依赖土著种植食物，交换以金属工具、英式服装和酒类(虽然有法律禁止卖酒给土著)。

尽管昆尼帕人试图取悦英国人，两种文化的巨大差异很快引发了冲突。昆尼帕人的社会传统比英国人的更为公有化。他们常常不敲门就进屋，不经允许就借用东西，叫他们离开还不走。他们在安息日进镇，他们的工作和旅行破坏了安息日的规矩。针对任何犯了“亵渎罪”(然而定义宽松)的昆尼帕人一项惩罚是鞭打和罚款([4], P39)。

在宗教差异(下文还将提及)之外，英国人和昆尼帕人在土地使用、财产所有和物资占有上的观点都冲突。而英国人来到新大陆的最重要目的就是拥有土地，对于昆尼帕人来说土地占有的概念完全是陌生的，他们认为土地属于他们的创造者开天，人类只是地球的简单乘客，凡人不能占有土地。由于这些巨大的文化差异，英国人很难接受昆尼帕人的生活方式。英国人把他们的牲畜在小镇周围没有篱笆的地里放牧，破坏了昆尼帕人的农作和狩猎格局。而当昆尼帕人的狗攻击了游逛的家猪，他们却说是昆尼帕人不应该让他们的狗游荡(除了狗以外，昆尼帕人没有其它牲畜)。显然，法律是偏向英国人这边的。

由于昆尼帕人对物品占有的严格所有权的无知，他们常常不经同意就借用英国人的船，搜空英国人的陷阱([1], P84)。为了减少这些问题，在英国人到达那年制定了一个条约。在 1638 年 11 月 24 日，昆尼帕部落新港聚落的酋长莫茂金将土地的所有权移交给了伊通和达文浦公司。部落的不同聚落在土地主张上有冲突，因为在英国人到来之前，印第安人没有土地占有的概念。因为在国王眼中，新港市非法的未经授权的定居点，达文浦和伊通寻求通过与土地的合法主人签署条约来使他们的主张合法化([1], P98)。为了有一个稳固的后方，英国人尽量多地从当地土著手中购买土地，有时候因为部落领地的重叠，他们会重复购买土地。同年 12 月 11 日，达文浦和伊通公司从控制了大约 100 平方英里土地的梦涛威瑟(北昆尼帕人酋长)手中购买了土地。1639 年 9 月 29 日，麦农科塔昆尼帕的女酋长香琵勖签让了现在管津乡的区域给亨利·维费，并且搬到了东河边的保留地，但是很快就被迫卖掉了她的保留地而加入新港的昆尼帕部落([1], P56)。

莫茂金条约的条款自然是惠及了英国人，他们被准许通过提供军事保护来交换土地所有权，并在海湾东岸设立了一个 1200 英亩的保留地(图 4; [4], P20)。这个保留地被认为是北美历史上第一块印第安人保留地([7], P96)。与后期的保留地不同，昆尼帕保留地是一个理想的农作区，有清澈的泉水，面临海湾，聚落酋长莫茂金最初的村庄也在里面。虽然英国人把条约看

作购买土地的凭据，从未听说过土地所有权和正式条约的土著把它看作和平共处分享土地的意向书([1], P87)。根据条约的款项，昆尼帕人同意不在英国人的牛群放牧的地方设置陷阱，或者从英国人的围渎里面把鱼捉走。他们也被禁止在安息日做买卖、不敲门就进屋，同意以后再要求离开时离开英国人的家。他们同意不使用英国人的小舟，还有任何时间不能有超过六个武装男子同时进入小镇。

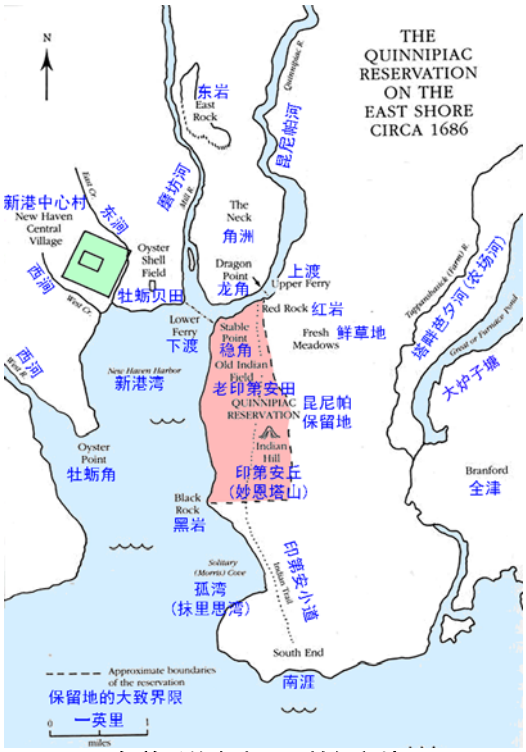

图 4 1686 年前后的东岸昆尼帕保留地

Fig.4 The Quinnipiac Reservation on the East Shore circa 1686

条约也规定昆尼帕人不能在保留地之外建造棚屋和种植庄稼。因为昆尼帕人有季节性迁徙的习惯，有半永久的村落，这一规定严重破坏了他们的迁徙方式。昆尼帕人也不可以味精他们的英国人邻居同意接纳“陌生印第安人”作为客人。作为放弃所有这些权利的交换，英国人给了他们一小包礼物，包括十二件外套、十二个汤匙、十二把短斧、十二把锄头、两打刀子、十二个金属汤碗、以及四套法式的刀剪，这对于这么大的社群根本不够分([1], P88)。尽管昆尼帕人从没有和其他部落联合对抗英国人(即便在菲利浦国王战争时期)，英国人却从不信任他们，条约签署以后，法律阻止土著人获取枪支，尽管他们因为住在区域的边缘，需要枪支来针对其他部落而自卫。

信仰

英国人和昆尼帕人的一个主要差异是不能用条约尝试解决的，那就是两个民族的信仰差异。欧洲人认为新英格兰的阿尔冈琴人信仰多神教，然而欧洲定居者记录的大部分“神”实际上根本不是神，只是灵而已(他们认为大部分的自然事物都有灵)。例如若杰·威廉记录纳日干瑟部落有 37 位神。大部分阿尔冈琴人敬畏创造了天空、大地、海洋和其中所有的动物、人类和生灵的“至尊”(昆尼帕人称为“开天”)[8]。英国清教徒用他们的宇宙观来理解土著人，用他们自己的理解简化了阿尔冈琴人的信仰，特别突出了两个“神”：善神开天和恶神惑魄魔。(在大多数故事里面，惑魄魔是一个顽皮的“骗子”，但他总体上是一个和善的角色。欧洲人来了以后，惑魄魔被描述成一个“妖怪”，被父母用来吓唬不听话的小孩子。)

图 5 被认为是惑魄魔化身的睡巨人山

Fig.5 Sleeping Giant Mountain which was believed to be formed by Hobbomock

昆尼帕人敬畏“睡巨人”(在邻近的罕屯乡的一组山岭，从南面看起来就像是一个巨人仰面躺着，图 5)，关于山他们创造了许多故事。根据一个传说，惑魄魔和茅貅是创造者开天最早创造的两样东西。祂们住在现在称为东岩的大岩层上。惑魄魔比较好，茅貅却是个吃人妖怪，经常袭击昆尼帕村庄，吃掉村民。由于恐惧，昆尼帕人请求开天降下雷鸟(保护人类免遭恶灵侵害的神话生物)和暴雨。雨下得那么大，海水上涨，昆尼帕人被迫逃到了北方。惑魄魔爬到树上活了下来，茅貅却淹死了。水退了以后，惑魄魔发现了茅貅并埋葬了祂，茅貅化成了今天叫做西岩的岩层。惑魄魔决定为祂兄弟之死向人类报仇。祂决定躺下来，盖上岩石和树木，等昆尼帕人回来。于是祂睡着了，再也没有醒来。祂的身体和盖在身上的土地变成了现在罕屯乡的睡巨人山[9]。

美洲土著印第安人特别敬畏自然现象，许多地方和地形构造都被认为是神圣的。例如感恩岩(图 6，在木往大道上)就是一个庆典和节日的地点，昆尼帕人给岩石

供上牡蛎来感谢丰收。根据小镇档案，住在附近的居民常常抱怨昆尼帕人的节日太喧闹，让他们离开都不行。) 当昆尼帕人死了以后，他们认为会去开天居住的西南方。他们会用生前的用品陪葬以便死后使用，好人和坏人没有什么差别，没有什么地狱([1], P35)。

清教牧师们完全没有试图认真理解土著的信仰，谴责巫师(医疗人员)是魔鬼崇拜者，控告他们使用妖法([1], P34)。十七世纪巫师的权力萎缩了，因为他们不能治愈欧洲人带来的疾病。

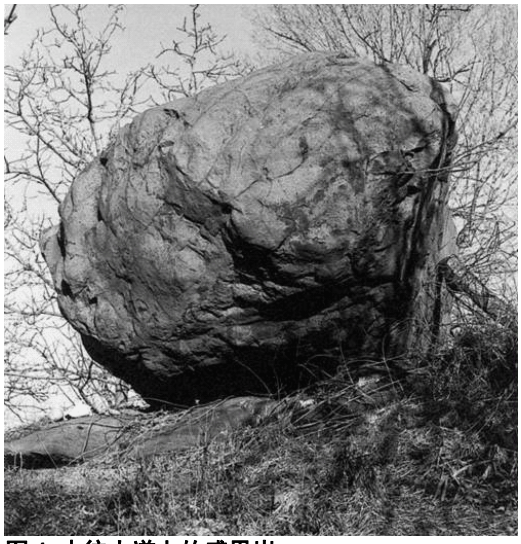

图 6 木往大道上的感恩岩
Fig.6 The Thanksgiving Rock on Woodward Avenue

在 1650 年代之前，也没有认真尝试让昆尼帕人转信基督教。1651 年，尊敬的亚伯拉罕·皮尔森牧师把一个问答集翻译成了癸日琵方言[10]。皮尔森被逼着给昆尼帕人解释基督教的一些方面，比如三位一体怎么会同时存在一个上帝和三个上帝，而他通常给出的回答更合适出现在教会期刊上，而不是传教士的口头。尽管皮尔森尝试转变昆尼帕人失败了，经过他的努力一部分奎日琵方言(十八世纪失传)得到了保存([1], P32)。直到 1725 年康州殖民当局才开始认真尝试保护语种。

盎格鲁–印第安关系恶化

虽然英国人不希望和印第安人混居，但是因为必要的贸易，完全的隔离是做不到的。英国人依赖土著获取鹿肉和贝珠(由于缺乏现金，早期定居者用贝珠作货币，[1], P102)。昆尼帕人也为英国人提供了各种各样的服务。他们为镇上的居民杀死袭击他们牲畜的狼。印第安跑路人给英国人运送物品和信件，建造房屋，充当向导，甚至为他们追捕逃犯和罪犯。在殖民战争期间，昆尼帕战士和英国人一起对法国人和其他印第安人作战([1], P103)。

昆尼帕人的友好和忠诚却换来了英国人长期的猜忌，他们当作贵客的人却给了他们冷面孔，使得他们很快开始寻找其他地方更为友好的邻居。英国人对昆尼帕人一点也不满意。他们的新殖民地的几个问题使英国人很沮丧。当地的皮毛交易结果很令人失望，因为荷兰人已经收集了当地的大量河狸皮，周围捕河狸的印第安人也少了。小镇因为没有直接入海口(只有进入长岛湾)而烦恼，也没有河流通向鹿津。英国人也不擅农事，他们建造了奢侈的住宅，却在贸易投资中很失败([7], PP12-16)。在这种绝望的氛围中，英国人和印第安人的关系恶化了。

1650 年代，莫茂金的聚落增大了(由于其他聚落卖掉了保留地而搬入了他的聚落)，保留地的面积不足以养活那么多昆尼帕人。其他聚落卖掉了保留地以后，莫茂金的保留地是新港唯一的他们可以搬去的昆尼帕人保留地。签署条约后的几年，英国人改变了周围的地貌，生存艰难了。更糟糕的是，昆尼帕人被禁止在保留地外耕种，英国人也拒绝把土地出卖或出租给他们(虽然他们最后出租了一小片土地，[1], PP111-112)。这一政策被称为不太决绝的民族清洗形式：给一个民族指定一个居住区，制定法律侵犯他们的生活方式，让他们的生存越来越难以把他们从土地上赶走，从不允许他们把土地买回来。

背井离乡

在大多数的殖民时期内，小镇禁止居民未经官方许可从昆尼帕人手中购买土地。第一次从保留地大宗购买土地是在 1670 年，艄公乔治·拍堤从保留地购买了 20 英亩土地，那样东岸的农夫可以穿越保留地到镇上来，不用再绕远路了([1], P127)。这是终结昆尼帕保留地的始作俑者。

英印关系由于英国人在 1675 年菲利普国王战争期间的行为而被进一步破坏。战争期间，小镇建起了防御(图 7)，不允许昆尼帕人进入小镇观看防御工事，即便昆尼帕人与英国人并肩作战，并且条约规定英国人要保护他们([4], P45)。战争以后，英国人和土著之间的态势一直很紧张。东边的农民不愿意绕过保留地才到镇上，在 1680 年镇政府把海湾东岸的更多土地给农

民耕种，这进一步恶化了态势，因为东边的农民向镇政府施压要求购买保留地土地以便直接到达市场([1], P142)。

图 7　1675 年建造了防御外墙的新港镇
Fig.7 New Haven fortified in 1675 ([4], P105)

1683 年，汤姆士·楚桥从昆尼帕人手中购买了一块地，因为昆尼帕人当时急需钱。许多昆尼帕人因为小错而入狱(比如当众酗酒)，却无法支付保释金。(昆尼帕社会中没有类似的监狱，一般的惩罚是当众羞辱，对稍严重的恶行的罪犯实行社会排斥和驱逐。) 1650 年，酒精成瘾成为一个问题，由于大量当众酗酒的行为出现，法律规定禁止向印第安人卖酒(但是因为有利可图，还是有许多人买酒给印第安人)。有一个昵称朗姆汤姆的昆尼帕人因为当众酗酒和斗殴被终生囚禁，对于昆尼帕人，交纳保释金变得日益艰难([1], P116)。楚桥建议他们，为了把他们的人从监狱中领出来，他们应该把他们的财产卖给他(土地是他们仅有的对英国人有价值的东西，[1], P145)。这开了先例，在十七世纪的后一时期中，昆尼帕人持续买出他们的土地，一块接一块。

到 1700 年为止，英国土地主们把保留地看作英国人农业扩张的一个严重障碍。同时，英国人的管理是的昆尼帕人更难在这个地区生活下去。英国农民对牲畜的管理很差，不进行圈养。一项法律规定把猪放养在距离英国人小镇 5 英里以外的地方，这对印第安人的农作很不好，因为猪在海滩上很快破坏了蛤蜊和牡蛎的生长基层。印第安人的狗会攻击这些猪，这是两个民族之间的关系更紧张。印第安人年的狗用来打猎、看门，吃一些残食，是忠实的伙伴。考古发掘的证据显示狗也可能有宗教意义。因为昆尼帕人拒绝杀狗，他们和新港政府之间的重要土地谈判破裂了([4], P34)。

到十八世纪为止，昆尼帕人的状况更加困顿了，因为皮毛交易和贝珠交易的结束意味着他们基本失业了，而英国人的工作机会大部分是不对他们开放的。在 1700 年代早期，卖土地的压力更大了。在安妮女王战争期间，1703 年，很多昆尼帕人被召为雇佣兵。虽然他们是盟友，印第安人还是受到了类似马歇尔法一样的限制，他们甚至被限制旅行([1], P162)。更糟糕的是，1714 年，那些无法缴纳罚金的昆尼帕人开始被“抵押”给债权人，强迫工作到他们的债务支付完毕([1], P159)。这种做法无疑会被模仿，那个世纪的稍后时期，在那些不太紧张的地区也显得很有诱惑力。

到 1720 年代，镇上所有的好土地都已经被抵债或购买了，而昆尼帕人口也下降到了大约 400 人。因为昆尼帕人的数量减少，英国定居者觉得土著居民需要的土地少了，想要剥夺他们肥沃的农田([1], P166)。市政府允许富有的东岸农民向昆尼帕人购买土地。结果马上发生了大批的交易。约翰·抹里思购买了 200 英亩，这是计划把昆尼帕人迁移到水埔里的主要促因。抹里思在水埔里购买了 50 英亩，许多昆尼帕人把他们的土地卖给了英国人以后可能去那里。

从 1680 年到 1750 年，大量的昆尼帕战士在殖民战争中牺牲，他们为了英国人的目标战斗，而后者慢慢地剥夺了他们祖先的家园([4], P48)。针对他们缩小的土地资源，昆尼帕人开始搬到土地充裕的地区。到 1756 年，新港只剩下不到 100 个昆尼帕人，而 1774 年的人口统计显示镇上只有 11 个印第安居民([1], P178)。当他们离开了祖先的家园，他们的生活方式又发生了改变，就像一个半世纪前他们第一次接触欧洲人发生的改变那样必然。

迁离与文化入侵

1770 年，昆尼帕人搬到了康州垡明屯(图 8)，那里的屯溪部落人口也减少了，所以欢迎其他的美洲土著加入。为了筹路费，昆尼帕人把他们在新港的最后 30 英亩土地卖掉了(仅值 30 英磅)。由于他们被屯溪印第安人吸收了，所以再也不是一个自治的部落了([1], P179)。

在垡明屯，昆尼帕人受到了一位莫希干传教士三森·奥康的宣教影响，他在 1730 年的大觉醒运动中搬迁过来，宣传印第安人应该搬到西部去，那样就可以免于白人文化的侵袭([1], P181)。奥康的追随者约瑟夫·约翰逊把他的观念传播给了屯溪人。在垡明屯，昆尼帕印第安人皈依了基督教，这距离他们第一次接触基督教已经 150 多年了([1], P178)。他们这么晚才皈依基督教的事实证明，他们自己的本土信仰

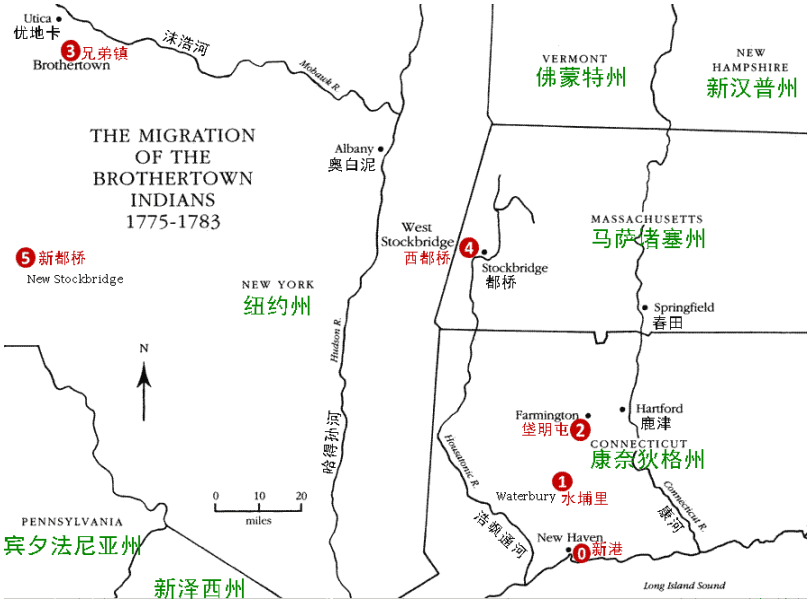

图 8　昆尼帕人离开家园与兄弟镇印第安人的迁徙
Fig.8　Emigration of the Quinnipiac and the migration of the Brothertown Indians

带给他们足够的精神满足，另一方面也是英国清教徒主义残酷压迫的烙印。

昆尼帕/屯溪印第安人没有在垡明屯留居很久。1774 年，他们开始向更西部迁移。他们认可了易洛魁人的一个条约，在纽约州奥奈达附近获得 15 到 20 平方英里的土地([1], P183)。因为他们希望和睦相处，那个定居点被叫做“兄弟镇”。他们在 1775 年搬迁，实在不是好时候。他们一离开康州，美国独立战争就打响了。他们不想卷入，并且保持了两年中立。然而，因为英国北美殖民地的分化，殖民者和印第安人都被迫选择立场。而大部分的易洛魁联盟选择英国一方，而奥奈达人和他们的兄弟镇屯溪人盟友站在爱国者一方，这使得他们很不受欢迎。1777 年，亲英的印第安军队摧毁了兄弟镇的定居点，兄弟镇印第安人被迫丢下财产逃离。无家可归后，他们来到了麻省的都桥，与从浩飒通和麻希坎部落来的一群印第安人一起居住([1], P184)。1783 年战争结束以后，他们回到了纽约州，这次得到了一块六平方英里的土地，他们称之为新都桥([1], P185)。

他们回到纽约州以后，文化被永远地改变了。他们带回来一本康州法令的书，建立了一个模仿新港殖民地的小镇，还有清教徒思想和族长制结构([1], P185)。尽管以前妇女地位较高，甚至可以当部落酋长，现在妇女平等的公民权被剥夺了(她们经过许可方能在会议上发言)，还有非洲人和印第安人的混血儿也没有相关权利。就像在新港殖民地一样，种族通婚被禁止，安息日规矩被严格遵守([1], P186)。毫不奇怪，宗教派系争斗很快爆发了，但是在成为大问题之前，更紧急的问题迸发了。美国在扩张，急需土地的定居者开始向更西部迁移，努力实现他们自己的“人生价值”，而兄弟镇印第安人却挡在这一热潮的途中([1], P187)。

临近十九世纪，边境迁移到了更西部，兄弟镇印第安人也伴随迁移。在 1795 年，纽约州镇府把他们的土地削减为 9340 英亩([1], P189)。1832 年，他们打起背包搬到了威斯康星的一个保留地。害怕再次搬迁，部落申请了美国国籍，那样他们就可以个人拥有土地，而不是集体拥有。1839 年，国会批准了，兄弟镇印第安人拥有了国籍(在 1924 年印第安国籍法案之前 85 年，[1], P192)。

在南北战争的时候，很多兄弟镇印第安人卖掉了他们的土地加入其它保留地。在 1930 年代大萧条时期，生活更拮据，他们卖掉了更多的土地([1], P192)。二战时的服役使他们散居到全国各地([1], P193)。今天美国生活着很多本地居民是新港最初的昆尼帕人的后裔，从十八世纪后期开始他们再也不是一个独特的部落实体。

历史没有善待昆尼帕印第安人。文化误解、盲目漠视以及赤裸裸的贪欲不仅使他们丧失了土地，而且改变了他们的整个生活方式，使他们不再是一个部落。今天，一些幸存的昆尼帕人后裔尝试着复兴他们的语言、文化和制度。然而结果令人沮丧，这几乎是不可能的事情。因为他们的数量那么少，又散居在美国各地，他们依赖互联网作为主要的交流方式。这给一

些研究人文学科的学者提出了有趣的问题：在“信息时代”，一个部落的人们必须生活在同一区域吗？古代文化的多少成分可以从书本上复兴？是否需要一定程度的遗传相似度才能包括入一个部落，或者识别部落主要依靠文化？不管这些问题的答案如何，那些声称昆尼帕后裔的人们不会被国家认可为一个部落。正如约翰·德佛瑞斯特所推测的那样，“昆尼帕人如果早知道白人的到来必然在他们的历史中引发一种那么空前的奇妙变化，他们或许宁可选择向琵阔人和五大民族剃头党上贡贝珠，而不是和那些如此和善如此平静却又如此具有破坏性的人们共处”([3], P165)。显然，如果在“广阔的荒原”上自由生活，昆尼帕人会更好。

This article began as a lecture which was delivered by the author in various forms at several locations in New Haven, as a homage to the Quinnipiac, and to raise awareness of Native American studies. Most “concise histories” and dictionaries of Native American tribes make no mention at all of the Quinnipiac, and those that do mention them only in passing, usually referring to them as one of the tribes that paid tribute to the Pequots. The few internet sites that mention them are replete with historical inaccuracies. The purpose of this article is to fill the vacuum of knowledge, and correct some of those inaccuracies.

Prehistoric New Haven

The area of Connecticut was first populated between 10,000 BC and 7,000 BC, and New Haven was first settled, so far as we can tell, sometime between 8,000 BC and 6,000 BC. Since the natives had no written language before the Europeans arrived (and therefore wrote no history of their civilization), the only evidence of their origins come to us in stone artifacts, and the first artifacts from New Haven are from approximately 6 thousand BC ([1], P3). We don’t know if the people who left these artifacts were the Quinnipiac (or some other long lost tribe), but we do know that the Quinnipiac tribe lived in South Central Connecticut for several centuries before European contact ([1], P5).

The word Quinnipiac means “Long Water Land” (which is a place name that became attached to the people who lived there; for an interesting etymology of aboriginal toponyms/place names in Connecticut, see [2]; a breakdown of the word “Quinnipiac” is featured on page 15), and at the time the English came to the area the indigenous population was somewhere around 460 people. (The exact number of Quinnipiac is hard to determine. Estimates range from 250 [3] to 460 [1], and are based on the count of 46 “fighting indians” counted by the first English settlers.) Their domain encompassed roughly 300 square miles (Fig.1, containing the modern towns of New Haven, Cheshire, Prospect, Wallingford, Meriden, and Branford, as well as several outlaying towns) ([1], P17). The Quinnipiac, like most Connecticut Algonquian tribes, lived in Wigwams (Fig.2A) which were built by the women of the tribe. To construct these simple dwellings, Quinnipiac women bent and tied young tree saplings, making a dome-like structure. They then covered this foundation with animal skins, grasses and tree bark. Much of the work in the village was done by women, who controlled most of the household goods and supplies ([1], P23). Quinnipiac society, like that of other Algonquin tribes, was matriarchal. When a couple got married, the young man moved into the young woman’s household, and was absorbed into her family.

The modest dwellings of the Quinnipiac were warmer than English homes, but smoky. Though most were small (containing only one nuclear family, Fig.2B), some wigwams contained as many as 3 or 4 families ([1], P25). Longhouses are usually associated with the Iroquois (Fig.2C), and there is no mention of the New Haven Quinnipiac living in one. They were, however, known to have built at least one large, “unusual” dwelling in the area (and this was probably the home of the sachem, or chief, [1], P25). Though the English settlers did not observe the presence of any longhouses in the area, it may be that, when the Quinnipiac migrated inland during the winter to hunt for food, they lived in longhouses or larger wigwams which allowed more people to dwell together, and therefore share dwindling food provisions and firewood. (Longhouses were built in a similar fashion as the wigwams. The foundation, however, consisted of rows of tree saplings laid out parallel to each other, instead of crossing at the summit. Fig.2D)

For transportation, the Quinnipiac relied on footpaths and waterways. To navigate the waterways, they built dugout canoes (Fig.2E). In the absence of metal tools, the method of constructing these vessels was quite interesting. First, a fire was lit at the base of a tree which had been stripped of its bark, making it easier for the Quinnipiac to chop the tree down with stone hatchets. After chopping the tree down at the base, one side of the trunk was burned away, and wood and bone tools were then used to hollow out the inside of the canoe (Fig.2F). Though most dugouts could fit four or five grown men comfortably, some were as large as 20 feet long and 4 feet wide ([4], P65). Dugouts were heavier than birchbark canoes, but rarely capsized (if ever). The Quinnipiac used these vessels to travel up the Quinnipiac river (54 miles to Farmington), and to fishing stations off the islands ([1], P27).

For travel on land, the Quinnipiac relied on an intricate system of footpaths, which ran all across their extended domain. Indian trails either followed water or the most practical path, and it is for this reason that many modern roads (such as Routes 1, 5, and 10) sit right over top of ancient Indian trails ([1], P28). Some Indians, known as “Runners” were used for messengers (even by the Europeans), and according to some accounts they could travel on these well worn paths as far as 100 miles in a single day ([1], P27; [5]).

Hunting and fishing was not a hobby for the Quinnipiac (as it was for the English, who had much more sophisticated weapon technology, and considered hunting to be a sport). Hunting consumed

a large percentage of the male Quinnipiac's time. Hunting territories were inland, away from the planting grounds near the shore. Here, Quinnipiac men hunted white-tailed deer, bear, beaver, otter, wolves and moose, and even an occasional bird or two (Fig.2K). To facilitate hunting, the natives burned the underbrush to keep the meadows open (which created an ideal space to hunt, since animals could be seen better in the open). One popular site that was designated for burning was the summit of West Rock, which was used as a lookout for deer ([1], P43). Their chief weapon for hunting (and fighting) was the bow and arrow, which were larger in the east than those used by the Plains Indians in the west ([1], P28). Spears, tomahawks, war clubs, shields, and knives were also used, though many of these were used to fight other Indians, or as tools to skin and prepare animals after the hunt. (Over 100,000 Quinnipiac artifacts have been discovered. Many are owned by The New Haven Museum & Historical Society, Yale University, and the Dawn Land Museum, as well as many in private collections. Fig.2I)

To fish, Quinnipiac men used Bone hooks, tied to lines of Indian hemp, and trapped fish in weirs (fish traps composed of rows of sticks driven into the river bottom, which diverted the fish to an opening where a trap was set, Fig.2G). In rivers, they caught sturgeon, bass, bluefish, and alewives with spears, nets and weirs. In warm weather, they caught herring, shad, bass and cod, and during the winter they'd cut through the ice to catch pike and perch (Fig.2L; [1], P46). The New Haven Harbor (with its ideal mixture of fresh and salt water), was perfect for shell fishing. For millennia, Native Americans in the area harvested oysters, clams, scallops, snails and mussels (using the latter two as bait). When the English arrived, the Quinnipiac taught them how to ice fish, set up weirs and catch clams with their feet ([4], P62).

In addition to meat and fish, the Quinnipiac diet was supplemented by wild plants, such as nuts, acorns, artichokes and roots, and these were gathered by women. Women also gathered wild fruits such as plums, raspberries, strawberries, blackberries, currants, and grapes ([1], P47). Sometime between 1000 and 1500 AD, the Connecticut Algonquin began growing their own food. Because of the abundance of food near the shore, farming began on coast later than in the interior ([1], P48). Because of Connecticut's rich soil, the Quinnipiacs were more sedentary than many northern tribes, taking advantage of the New Haven area's extra long growing season (195 days). The main crops grown by the Quinnipiac were corn, beans and squash, and the natives referred to these as the "three sisters", since they grew well together and could all be dried out and saved for the winter (at which time they would be boiled in a stew, or ground into flower to be cooked in bread and honey cakes). These, as well as artichokes and watermelons, were planted, grown and harvested by the women (Fig.2J). (The differences between the work habits of the English and the Quinnipiac cause the former to view the latter with disdain, particularly since the amount of work done by native women made the English see the Quinnipiac men as lazy. Fig.2H) Men cleared the trees for crops to be planted, and also grew tobacco (which not only had religious significance, but was smoked for its calming effects). This lifestyle was practiced by the aboriginal people for hundreds (if not thousands) of years before European contact, at which point drastic changes occurred, to which the remainder of this article is dedicated.

European Contact

The first Europeans to make contact with the Quinnipiac were Dutch explorers, led by Adriaen Block (Fig.3). In 1614, the Dutch established trade with the Quinnipiac (trading European goods for beaver pelts), and this trade intensified dramatically in the 1620s ([3], P71). In the early seventeenth century, the Quinnipiac country had a plentiful supply of beaver. As a result of the large amount of trade with the Dutch, who eagerly sought out beaver pelts because of their popularity in European fashion markets, the supply of beaver in Connecticut was greatly reduced by the 1630s, just before the English came to settle in New Haven ([1], P65).

Even though the Dutch never settled in the area, contact with them changed one important aspect of Quinnipiac culture. Before 1622, Wampum beads were worn as a sacred jewelry by sachems (tribal leaders) and powwows (medicine men). That year, coastal Indians (encouraged by Dutch traders) began using metal tools to make more wampum, which they then could trade with tribes in the interior for beaver pelts and deer skins and meat. This "wampum revolution" changed migration patterns, and created incentive for powerful tribes, such as the Pequot, to exploit weaker ones ([1], P66).

The most powerful tribe in Connecticut, prior to 1637, was the Pequot tribe, which dominated the southern portion of Connecticut. Before the Pequot war (1636-7), they controlled as much as one-half of Connecticut ([1], P71). By 1634, epidemics decimated the Connecticut Algonquians, which was a major factor in the decision of the English to attempt to colonize the recently depopulated area. Native Americans had no immunities to such European diseases as smallpox, yellow fever, malaria, measles, plague, influenza, and chicken pox. Before European contact, there were an estimated 100,000,000 indigenous people in the New World. As a result of war and disease, this number would drop to only a few million by the end of the nineteenth century. The Pequot alone lost 77% of their population to disease before the Pequot war, and their defeat by the English led to a jurisdictional vacuum in Connecticut that the Europeans would soon fill ([1], P60).

The Pequot war also led to the English discovery of the Quinnipiac country ([4], P18). Glowing reports of the area reached Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport, who had recently traveled from England to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Eaton was a wealthy trader, and he and his childhood friend the Reverend John Davenport were unsatisfied with Massachusetts Bay Colony, where they found much religious infighting and not enough economic opportunity for their liking. In 1638, Eaton and Davenport led 500 settlers to the land we now know as New Haven, and the Quinnipiac welcomed them. Seeing friendship with them as a potential protection from the Pequot and periodic Mohawk raids, the Quinnipiac provided some much-needed assistance to the new settlers ([1], P83).

The men of the Davenport/Eaton Company were politically conservative, wealthy religious fundamentalists who sought to create a Christian utopia in the wilderness (and amass monetary profits while they were at it). The town fathers practiced a strict form of Puritanism, which one historian has called “the most rigid form of Calvinism practiced throughout New England” [6]. Reports from town meetings show that they disdained from celebrating holidays, and were obsessed with sexual repression ([7], P20). Perceiving themselves to be God’s chosen people, they had little tolerance for different religions and cultures ([1], P83).

The Quinnipiac taught these formerly urban people to hunt, trap, fish and plant. Even after they learned these skills, the Quinnipiac were more adept at agricultural practices than the colonists (growing 60 bushels of corn per acre to the colonists’ 30 bushels, [1], P50). The colonists were therefore dependant on the natives to grow and plant food, which they would trade with the English for metal goods, English clothing, and alcohol (despite a law against trading alcohol with the natives).

Despite Quinnipiac attempts to please the English, the two cultures were vastly different, and soon began to clash. Quinnipiac social customs were much more communal than those of the English. They often opened doors without knocking, borrowed things without asking, and stayed after being asked to leave. They visited town on the Sabbath, and violated the Sabbath by working and traveling. One punishment doled out to any Quinnipiac who committed “blasphemy” (however loosely defined) was being whipped, and paying a fine ([4], P39).

Aside from religious differences (which we shall return to), the English and the Quinnipiac held conflicting views on land use, property ownership and material possessions. While the most important reason the English had for coming to the New World was to own land, the concept of land ownership was completely foreign to the Quinnipiac, who believed that the land was owned by Keihtan, their creator, and that humans were simply stewards of the Earth (which could not be possessed by mere mortals). As a result of these vast cultural differences, it became hard for the English to accept Quinnipiac ways. The English allowed their livestock to graze in unfenced fields around town, which hurt both Quinnipiac agriculture and hunting patterns. When the Quinnipiac dogs attacked wandering hogs, it was said that the Quinnipiac were at fault for allowing their dogs to wander (Other than dogs, the Quinnipiac had no domesticated animals). Clearly, the law was on the side of the English.

Since strict ownership of material possessions was unknown to them, the Quinnipiac often borrowed English boats without asking, and emptied English traps ([1], P84). To alleviate these problems, a treaty was created the year the English arrived. On November 24, 1638, Momaugin (the sachem of the New Haven band of the Quinnipiac tribe) transferred ownership of the lands to the Eaton and Davenport Company. There were conflicting land claims made by each of the bands of the tribe, since prior to English arrival, the Indians had no concept of land ownership. Since, in the eyes of the crown, New Haven was an illegal, unauthorized settlement, Davenport and Eaton sought to legitimize their claims by signing treaties with the lands’ legitimate owners ([1], P98). To cover their backs, the English bought as much land as they could from the local natives, sometimes buying land more than once because of overlapping tribal territories. On December 11 of that same year, the Davenport and Eaton Company bought land from Montowese (the sachem of the Northern Quinnipiac) who controlled about 100 square miles of land. On Sept 29, 1639, Shaumpishuh, female Sachem of the Menunkatuck Quinnipiac, signed over the area now known as Guilford to Henry Whitfield and moved onto reserved land on the east River, but was soon forced to sell her reservation land and join the Quinnipiac of New Haven ([1], P56).

The terms of the Momaugin Treaty naturally favored the English, who were granted the right to the land in exchange for military protection, and a reservation of 1200 acres on the east side of the harbor (Fig.4; [4], P20). This reservation, incidentally, is considered to be the first Indian reservation in North America ([7], P96). Unlike later reservations, the Quinnipiac reservation was an ideal place for agriculture, with springs of fresh water, a great view of the harbor, and the original village of Momaugin, the sachem of the band. While the English saw the treaty as a purchase of land, the natives (who had never heard of land ownership, or formal treaties) saw it as an agreement to share the land in peaceful coexistence ([1], P87). By the terms of the treaty, the Quinnipiac agreed not to set any traps where the English cattle grazed, or remove fish from English weirs. They were also disallowed to trade on the Sabbath, open doors without knocking, and agreed that in the future they would leave English homes when asked. They agreed not to take the Englishmen’s canoes, and could not enter the town with more than six armed men at any given time.

The treaty also stipulated that the Quinnipiac were not allowed to set up wigwams or plant crops outside of their reservation. Since the Quinnipiac were seasonal migrants, with semi-permanent villages, this stipulation would seriously disrupt their migration patterns. Nor could the Quinnipiac receive “strange Indians” as guests without permission from their English neighbors. In exchange for all the rights they relinquished, the English gave the Momaugin band a small bundle of gifts, which consisted of twelve coats, twelve spoons, twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, two dozen knives, twelve metal porringers, and four cases of French knives and scissors (hardly enough to go around in such a large community [1], P88). Despite the fact that the Quinnipiac never allied themselves with other tribes against the English (even during King Phillip’s War), they were never trusted by the English, and following the signing of the treaty, laws were passed to prevent the natives from getting guns, even though they needed guns for protection from other tribes, since they lived on the outskirts of the settlement.

Religion

One major difference between the English and the Quinnipiac no treaty could attempt to resolve was the difference in religion that existed between the two peoples. While Europeans shared a common

misconception that the New England Algonquians were polytheistic (a misconception that is still held by some in the present day), most of the "gods" recorded by European settlers were not gods at all, but spirits (which were thought to inhabit most natural objects and phenomena). Roger Williams, for example, recorded 37 deities among the Narragansett tribe. Most Algonquians revered the Supreme Being (whom the Quinnipiac referred to as Keihtan) who created the heavens, earth, sea, and all the animals, men and spirits contained therein [8]. English Puritans (projecting their cosmology onto the natives) simplified Algonquin religion to conform more to their own, emphasizing two "gods" in particular: Keihtan, the good god, and Hobbomock, the bad. (In most stories, Hobbomock appears as an impish "trickster," but he is overall thought to be a rather benign character. Following European contact, Hobbomock was made out to be a "bogey man" which parents would use to scare their children into good behavior.)

They Quinnipiac revered Sleeping Giant (the mountainous formation in the neighboring town of Hamden which, when looked at from the side, takes the form of a giant lying on his back, Fig.5), and they had many stories about how the mountain came to be created. According to one account, Hobbomock and Maushop (the first two beings made by Keihtan, the Creator) abided on a large rock formation now known as East Rock. While Hobbomock was relatively good, Maushop was a cannibal who often raided Quinnipiac villages, eating the inhabitants. In terror, the Quinnipiac asked Kiehtan to send thunderbirds (mythical creatures who protected humans from evil spirits), and a storm. When it rained so much that the sea rose up, the Quinnipiac fled north. Hobbomock survived by climbing up a tree, but Maushop drowned. When the waters receded, Hobbomock found Maushop and buried him (which formed the rock formation we now know as West Rock). Hobbomock decided to take revenge on the humans for his brother's death. He decided to lay down and cover himself with rocks and trees, and wait for the Quinnipiac to return. Thereupon he fell asleep, and never woke up. His body and the land that covers it now make up the mountain we know as Sleeping Giant, in Hamden [9].

In Native American cosmology, it was essential to respect natural phenomenon, and many places and topographical formations were considered to be sacred. The Thanksgiving Rock (Fig.6, on Woodward Avenue), for example, was often the site of ceremonies and festivals in which the Quinnipiac would offer the rock oysters as a way to give thanks for plentiful harvests. (Town records contain complaints from those living nearby that the Quinnipiac festivities were often loud, and the Quinnipiac would not leave when asked.) When the Quinnipiac died, they believed they went to the south-west, where Keihtan lived. They were usually buried with worldly goods for the afterlife, in which there was no distinction between good and bad, and no hell ([1], P35).

Puritan clergymen, who made no earnest attempt to understand the religion of the natives, condemned powwows (medicine men) as devil worshippers and accused them of witchcraft([1], P34). The power of powwows waned during the 17th century, as their remedies failed to cure the diseases that the Europeans brought with them.

There was no serious attempt at converting the Quinnipiac to Christianity until the 1650s. In 1651, the Reverend Abraham Pierson translated a catechism into the quiripi dialect [10]. Pierson was hard-pressed to explain certain aspects of Christianity to the Quinnipiac (such as how the trinity can be one god and three gods at the same time), and he often gave answers that would be more appropriate in an ecclesiastical journal than on the lips of a missionary. Despite the fact that Pierson's attempts to convert the Quinnipiac failed, through his efforts he preserved a portion of their quiripi dialect, which by the eighteenth century was extinct ([1], P32). Only in 1725 did the Connecticut colony begin serious attempts at conversion.

Anglo-Indian Relations Deteriorate

Though the English didn't desire to mingle with the Indians, complete segregation was impossible, because of the necessity of trade. The English were dependant on the natives for deer meat and wampum (which early settlers used as money because of a lack of currency, [1], P102). The Quinnipiac also performed various services for the English. They killed wolves for the townspeople (which fed on their livestock). Indian runners delivered goods and messages for the English, constructed buildings, served as guides, and even caught runaways and criminals for them. During the Colonial Wars, Quinnipiac warriors fought on the side of the English against the French and other Indians ([1], P103).

In spite of all their friendliness and loyalty, the Quinnipiac were perpetually mistrusted by the English, and the cold shoulder given to them by those they considered their guests would soon lead them to look elsewhere for friendlier neighbors. Nor were the English thrilled about the Quinnipiac. There were several factors about their new settlement that disheartened the English. The local fur trade proved to be a disappointment, since the Dutch had already collected the bulk of the areas' beavers, and there were fewer Indians around to catch them. The town suffered from a lack of open access to the sea (instead opening into Long Island Sound) and had no navigable river to get to Hartford. The English were bad farmers, who built luxurious homes, and made bad trading ventures ([7], PP12-16). In this climate of despair, English-Indian relations deteriorated.

In the 1650s, Mamougin's band increased (as other bands joined his after selling off their reservations), and the reservation lands were no longer big enough to support the Quinnipiac. As other bands of the Quinnipiac tribe sold off their reservations, Momaugin's reservation in New Haven was the only Quinnipiac reservation left for them to migrate to. In the years following the signing of the treaties, the English had changed the surrounding landscape, making subsistence rough. To make matters worse, the Quinnipiac were not permitted to plant outside of their reservation, and the English refused to sell or lease lands to them (though they eventually leased them a tiny piece of land, [1], PP111-112). This policy can be referred to as a not-so-subtle form of ethnic cleansing: designating an

area for an ethnic group to inhabit, placing invasive laws on their lifestyle, and slowly driving them off their land by making subsistence harder and harder, all the while disallowing them from buying their land back.

Alienation of Ancestral Homelands

Throughout much of the colonial period, the town forbade settlers from buying land from the Quinnipiac without official permission. The first major purchase of reservation land occurred in 1670, when George Pardee, the ferryman, bought 20 acres of reservation land so that farmers on the east shore could pass through the reservation on their way to town, without having to go completely around it ([1], P127). This was to be the beginning of the end for the Quinnipiac reservation.

English-Indian relations were further strained by the behavior of the English during King Philip's war of 1675. During the war, the town was fortified (Fig.7), and no Quinnipiac were allowed into town to view the fortifications (even though they fought on the English side, and were promised English protection by treaty; [4], P45). After the war, the situation between the English and the natives remained tense. East side farmers didn't like going around the reservation to get to town, and in 1680 the town gave more land on the east side of the harbor to farmers, which exacerbated the situation, since east side farmers began putting more pressure on the town government to allow them to buy reservation land so they could have easier access to the marketplace ([1], P142).

In 1683, Thomas Trowbridge bought a piece of land from the Quinnipiac, who by this time badly needed money. Many were in jail for petty crimes (such as public drunkenness), and couldn't afford bail. (The Quinnipiac had no equivalent of jail in their society, where common forms of punishment included public humiliation, or for more heinous crimes, social ostracism and banishment.) In the 1650s, alcohol addiction became a problem, and because of many acts of public drunkenness, laws were passed prohibiting the sale of alcohol to Indians (though many still sold Indians alcohol, for it was profitable). One Quinnipiac, nicknamed Rum Tom, was perpetually getting arrested for public drunkenness and fighting, and it became increasingly hard for the Quinnipiac to make bail ([1], P116). Trowbridge suggested to them that in order to get their men out of jail, they should sell him their property (which was the only thing they possessed that was of any real value to the English; [1], P145). This set a precedent, and throughout the rest of the seventeenth century the Quinnipiac continued to sell off their reservation land, piece by piece.

By 1700, English landowners viewed the reservation as a serious impediment to English agricultural expansion. At the same time, English husbandry practices were making it harder for the Quinnipiac to live in the area. English farmers managed their livestock poorly, and didn't enclose them in fenced off areas. A law was passed to put hogs five miles outside of the English town, which was bad for Indian agriculture, since hogs on the beach soon destroyed clam and oyster beds. Indian dogs would attack these hogs, thus creating further tension between the two peoples. Indian dogs were used to hunt, served as watchdogs, ate garbage, and were loyal companions. Evidence from archaeological digs suggests that dogs may have had religious significance as well. An important land negotiation between the Quinnipiac and New Haven government fell through because the Quinnipiac refused to kill their dogs ([4], P34).

By the eighteenth century, the Quinnipiac were reduced to even more severe poverty, as the loss of the fur trade and wampum trade meant that they were basically unemployed, and English jobs were for the most part unopened to them. In the early 1700s, there was more pressure to sell land. During Queen Anne's War, in 1703, many Quinnipiac were hired as mercenaries. Despite their alliance, the Indians were under marshall law-like restrictions: even their right to travel was limited ([1], P162). To make matters worse, in 1714, those Quinnipiac who couldn't afford to pay their fines began to be "bonded out" to creditors, forced to work until their debts had been paid off ([1], P159). This type of treatment would no doubt make removal to some other, less constrictive area, seem attractive later in the century.

By the 1720s, all the good land in town had already been delegated or purchased, and the Quinnipiac population was down to around 400 persons. Because of the lower number of Quinnipiac, the English settlers felt that the native people needed less land, and wanted their fertile farmland for themselves ([1], P166). Wealthy east shore farmers were now allowed by the city to purchase land from the Quinnipiac, and this resulted in a flurry of sales. John Morris bought 200 acres, and became the principle promoter of a scheme to move the Quinnipiac out to Waterbury. Morris bought 50 acres in Waterbury, and many Quinnipiac may have gone there after selling their land to the English.

Between 1680 and 1750, a large number of Quinnipiac warriors died in colonial wars, fighting for the goals of the English, who were slowly disenfranchising them of their ancestral homelands ([4], P48). In response to their dwindling land resources, the Quinnipiac began migrating to areas where land was more abundant. By 1756, there were fewer than 100 Quinnipiac left in New Haven, and the census of 1774 listed only 11 Indian inhabitants left in town ([1], P178). As they left their ancestral homeland, their way of life changed just as surely as it did when they first made contact with Europeans almost a century and a half earlier.

Emigration and Acculturation

In 1770, the Quinnipiac emigrated to Farmington, Connecticut (Fig.8), where the Tunxis tribe, reduced in numbers, welcomed other Native Americans. To fund the move, the Quinnipiac sold their last 30 acres in New Haven (for 30 English pounds). As they were absorbed by the Tunxis Indians, they ceased to exist as an autonomous tribe ([1], P179).

In Farmington, the Quinnipiac were influenced by the teachings of Samson Occum, a Mohegan preacher who, moved by the Great Awakening in the 1730s, preached that Indians should emigrate to the west where they would be free from the vices of the white man's civilization ([1], P181). Joseph Johnson (a convert of Occum's) preached his message to the

Tunxis. It was in Farmington that the migrant Quinnipiac converted to Christianity, over 150 years from the time of their first contact with Christians ([1], P178). The fact that they converted to Christianity so late is a testament both to the spiritual satisfaction derived from their own indigenous religion, and to the repressiveness of the particular brand of Puritanism practiced by the English.

The Quinnipiac/Tunxis Indians did not remain in Farmington for long. In 1774, they began moving further west. They ratified a treaty with the Iroquois which gave them 15 to 20 square miles of land near Oneida, NY ([1], P183). Since they desired to live in harmony with each other, they named this settlement "Brothertown." They moved in 1775, which was a bad time. No sooner had they left Connecticut, than the American War of Independence broke out. They tried not to get involved, and for two years they managed to remain neutral. However, as the British North American colonies became polarized, colonists as well as Indians were forced to choose sides. While most of the Iroquois Confederacy sided with the British, the Oneida and their Brothertown Tunxis allies sided with the Patriots, which made them very unpopular. In 1777, pro-British Indian forces destroyed the settlement at Brothertown, and the Brothertown Indians were forced to flee without their possessions. Now homeless, they went to Stockbridge, Massachusetts and settled with a group of Indians from the Housatonic and Mahican Tribes ([1], P184). At the end of the war in 1783, they returned to New York, this time to a six-square-mile tract of land which they named New Stockbridge ([1], P185).

By the time they returned to New York, their culture was almost completely transformed. They brought back a book of Connecticut statutes, and set up a town which resembled colonial New Haven, with its Puritan-minded, patriarchal structure ([1], P185). Whereas before, women were exalted, and could even serve as sachems of tribes, equal privileges of citizenship were now denied to women (who now needed permission to speak at meetings), as well as mixed-race Indians with African parentage. As in colonial New Haven, miscegenation was banned, and the Sabbath was strictly observed ([1], P186). Not surprisingly, religious factionalism soon broke out, but before it proved to be a major issue, other, more pressing problems sprang up. America was expanding, as land-hungry settlers began moving further west in an effort to realize their own personal "Manifest Destiny", and the Brothertown Indians stood in the way of that effort ([1], P187).

As the nineteenth century approached, the frontier moved further west and so did the Brothertown Indians. In 1795, the state of New York stripped their land down to 9,340 acres ([1], P189). In 1832, they packed up and moved to a reservation in Wisconsin. Fearing further removal, the tribe applied for American citizenship (so that they could own land individually, instead of collectively). In 1839, Congress approved, conveying citizenship upon the Brothertown Indians (85 years before the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924; [1], P192).

By the time of the Civil War, many Brothertown Indians sold off their lands and joined other reservations. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, when times got tougher, they sold off even more land ([1], P192). Service in World War II scattered many of them across the country ([1], P193). While there are many indigenous people in America living today that are descended from the original Quinnipiac of New Haven, they have not existed as a distinct tribal entity since the late 18th century.

History has not been kind to the Quinnipiac Indians. Cultural misunderstandings, blind indifference, and naked greed have resulted in not only the loss of their land, but also a change in their entire way of life, to the point that they are no longer recognizable as a tribe. Today, those few descendants of the Quinnipiac who remain are attempting to resurrect the language, culture and institutions of the Quinnipiac. However, this proves to be a daunting, if not impossible task. Since their numbers are so few, and they are scattered throughout the United States, they rely on the internet as their primary mode of discourse. This raises some interesting questions for those who study the humanities: In the "information age," must a tribe of people live in the same vicinity? How much of an ancient culture can be resurrected from books? Are a certain amount of genetic similarities (or a certain quantity of native blood) required for inclusion in a tribe, or is tribal identity primarily a cultural construct? Whatever the answers to these questions may be, it is unlikely that those who claim to be the descendants of the Quinnipiac will ever gain federal recognition as a tribe (especially considering the federal government's prior track record in dealing with the tribe, their timeworn diaspora from the region, and the fact that their genealogical record is primarily passed down by oral history). As John W. De Forest speculated, "Could (the Quinnipiac) have anticipated that a change so wonderful, and, in their history, so unprecedented, would of necessity follow the coming of the white man, they would have preferred the wampum tributes of the Pequots and the scalping parties of the Five Nations, to the vicinity of a people so kind, so peaceable and yet so destructive" ([3], P165).

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