

**JOE PYE, JOE PYE'S LAW, AND JOE-PYE-WEED:
THE HISTORY AND EPONYMY OF THE COMMON NAME
JOE-PYE-WEED FOR *EUTROCHIUM* SPECIES (ASTERACEAE)**

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ABSTRACT

Published accounts have differed greatly with regard to the origin of the common name Joe-Pye-weed, which is applied to *Eutrochium* spp. (Asteraceae: Eupatorieae). Discrepancies have long existed as to the race of the man for whom Joe-Pye-weed was named, the century and the part of the country in which he lived, and even whether the plant name was derived from the name of any person, real or fictional. Our investigation has indicated that this plant name is from the cognomen of Joseph Shauquethqueat, an 18th- and early 19th-century Mohican sachem, who lived successively in the Mohican communities at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and New Stockbridge, New York.

KEYWORDS: *Eutrochium*, common name, Joe-Pye-weed, Shauquethqueat

INTRODUCTION

The common name Joe-Pye-weed is applied collectively to a group of closely related North American species in the family Asteraceae, tribe Eupatorieae, historically included in *Eupatorium* L. but now generally segregated as *Eutrochium* Raf., following studies by Schilling et al. (1999) and Lamont (2004). Several other vernacular names have been applied to these plants in the past, but, as noted by Borland (1964), the name Joe-Pye-weed is the only one that remains in common use.

Of the five species of Joe-Pye-weeds currently recognized (Lamont 2006), *Eutrochium maculatum* (L.) E. E. Lamont is the most widespread, and is the most abundant throughout the Great Lakes region, New England, and Atlantic Canada. The most popular species in ornamental horticulture are *E. dubium* (Willd. ex Poir.) E. E. Lamont, which is native primarily to the Atlantic Coastal Plain, and *E. fistulosum* (Barratt) E. E. Lamont (often grown under the incorrectly applied name *Eupatorium purpureum* L.), which is more common as a native species southward.¹

Where individual authors are cited in this study, the punctuation and capitalization of vernacular plant names follow those used, respectively, by those authors.

¹In the nineteenth-century publications cited here, the circumscription of *Eupatorium purpureum* often encompassed more than one of the currently recognized species of *Eutrochium*.

WHO WAS JOE PYE? OR WAS THERE A JOE PYE? STORIES DIFFER

The tenth (1993) and eleventh (2011) editions of *Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* give 1818 as the year in which the plant name Joe-Pye-weed entered the English language, and give the origin of the name as "unknown." In contrast, many other publications do give an origin for this plant name, some of them very confidently. These statements of its origin, however, vary greatly, even as to whether or not the plants were named for any person, real or fictional. These discrepancies led us to investigate the questions of whether a person named Joe Pye, for whom the plants were named, had in fact existed, and if so, when and where he had lived.

Although the most recent editions of *Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* give the origin of the name as "unknown," as had their predecessor in 1967, the ninth (1989) edition suggested that the name might have been derived through folk etymology from *eupatory*, an older common name derived from the Latin name of the genus in which these species were included for many years. As words beginning with "tu" are pronounced as though they began with "ch" or "j" in some regional dialects of English, this suggested derivation, with a similar sound being added to a word beginning with "eu-," did not seem implausible, especially since some early botanical publications gave "Joe Pye" or "joepye" as the common name of the plants themselves, rather than the compound "Joe-Pye-weed."

For over a century, wildflower guidebooks have given quite a different etymology. An early example is found in *Nature's Garden*, by Neltje Blanchan (1900), according to whom "Joe Pye, an Indian medicine-man of New England, earned fame and fortune by curing typhus fever and other horrors with decoctions made from this plant." But although many wildflower guides, continuing to the present time, tell more or less similar stories, they do not indicate their sources except occasionally through such wording as "legend has it" or "the story goes."

The popular literature on native plants often associates Joe Pye with "Colonial days" and the "Massachusetts Bay Colony," the latter being a designation applied to eastern Massachusetts north of the Plymouth Colony, and to its English settlers, from 1628 to 1691. The literature on the Colonial period in history-conscious New England is extensive, and quite a few persons of the First Nations who had befriended, assisted, or sought peace with, early white colonists in New England are mentioned by name in that literature. But although some recent publications have attributed spectacular success to Joe Pye's treatment of typhus using the plants that now bear his name, even to the extent of saving an entire colony of early white settlers from being wiped out, in none of the records from the Colonial period had we, as we began this study, found any mention of Joe Pye. If he had been so famous and even revered, as some wildflower guides allege, why, we wondered, did we not find him mentioned in the literature of American history or epidemiology, or in any context other than the eponymy of Joe-Pye-weed?

Over the years, the popular literature on wildflowers has tended to include

more and more supposed information about Joe Pye, but no sources have been cited or otherwise indicated for material that had not appeared in earlier publications. This trend has led to discrepancies, both geographic and chronological. Some authors have said that Joe Pye had lived in western Massachusetts, others in eastern Massachusetts or in Connecticut. Harris (2003) said that Joe Pye was “supposed to have been an Indian herbalist . . . from a Maine Nation, [who] sold medicinal concoctions to settlers [in] the Massachusetts Bay Colony.” Other authors, perhaps attempting to reconcile some of the geographic discrepancies, have portrayed Joe Pye as a traveling salesman, at least one mentioning a horse and wagon. Borland (1964) and Durant (1976), for example, said that he “made the rounds of rural New England in the late 1700’s.” Among the conflicting stories mentioned by Sanders (2003), one said that Joe Pye was from Maine and had traveled around the Northeast peddling medicines about the time of the American Revolution. Other authors, e.g., Westcott-Gratton (2013), have placed Joe Pye in the Carolinas.

Some authors, the first perhaps being Britton (in Britton and Eaton 1916) and subsequently including Greene (1917), Hottes (1931), Donabella (2013), Robertson (2014), and others, have specifically associated Joe Pye with the Pilgrims or (Hussey 1974) with the “first colonists” in New England, that is, with the 1620s. Other authors, as noted above, have placed Joe Pye in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and still others have placed him as late as the nineteenth century.

There have also been discrepancies with regard to the ailments allegedly treated by Joe Pye with the plants that now bear his name (although the term “typhus” was used less precisely in the nineteenth century than more recently), and as to whether he used the leaves and stems of the plants or the roots.

Although many authors on wildflowers and herbs have identified Joe Pye with the First Nations, they have generally not identified him with any specific Indigenous nation. Kavasch (2002), however, noted that “[s]ome say he was a Wampanoag Indian herbalist,” without identifying the “some” to whom he referred. This may have been an assumption that ensued from other authors’ association of Joe Pye with the Pilgrims, as the Wampanoags were the Indigenous people of southeastern Massachusetts in the time of the Pilgrims’ arrival.

Joe Pye was consistently identified as Indigenous in earlier publications, but unanimity on this point ended abruptly in 1990, when Foster and Duke (1990), in the Peterson Field Guide series, stated that Joe Pye had been “a 19th-century Caucasian ‘Indian theme promoter’ who used the root to induce sweating in typhus fever.” Since the publication of this popular work, some authors have repeated this statement with various degrees of emphasis and modification, or have mixed portions of it with other accounts of Joe Pye. Horn et al. (2005), for example, said that Joe Pye had learned about medicinal herbs from Indigenous people and promoted their use, but not that he had been of Indigenous origin himself. In a far cry from earlier portrayals of Joe Pye as a benevolent and revered rescuer of the early colonists, some recent authors have gone so far as to portray him as a traveling Caucasian “snake-oil salesman” (e.g., Cutler et al. 2011) or “medicine showman.” No sources were cited for any of the statements that Joe Pye was Caucasian, and it seems most likely that those published after

1990 are the respective authors' own extrapolations from, or embellishments of, Foster and Duke's account, as is sometimes indicated by the recurrence of the word "theme" or forms of the word "promote." We have found no evidence to support the statements that Joe Pye was Caucasian or that he was a peddler or showman of any kind.

Some recent authors (e.g., Stiefel 1991) have said that Joe Pye was an anglicization of Jopi or Zhopai, which had been the name of an Indigenous medicine-man who had introduced early settlers to the use of this herb. We have also encountered a few publications (e.g., Manos 2004) stating that "jopi" or "zhopai" had been the term for fever, or sometimes more specifically typhus or typhoid fever, in an unspecified Indigenous North American language. In none of these publications were sources cited, and we have found no evidence to support either of these derivations.

Legendary expansion, as it is called, is a phenomenon familiar to folklorists and historians. When stories are retold, details may be added to make an action or event seem plausible, to make or emphasize a point, or merely inadvertently. Scholars, when comparing quotations attributed to the same person or accounts of the same allegedly historic event, tend to suspect that the most concise version is closest to what was actually said or done. More than elaboration and embellishment, however, appears in the history of the Joe Pye stories, as they have come to differ not only in peripheral details but in the alleged basic facts. In recent decades, several authors (e.g., Martin 1984; Sanders 2003; Dickinson et al. 2004) have commented on these conflicting accounts. Silverman (1985) and Coffey (1993), having noted the diversity among stories of Joe Pye that they had encountered, concluded that whether Joe Pye had really existed remained in doubt. During our study, authors of the more recent statements about Joe Pye that differed distinctly from those in earlier literature were contacted, but those who responded were unable to recall or find records of their sources.

EARLY USE OF THE PLANT NAME JOE-PYE-WEED

The earliest publication in which we have found the plant name Joe-Pye-weed or any variant thereof was the second edition of Amos Eaton's *A Manual of Botany for the Northern and Middle States*, published in 1818. Few of the earlier works on the North America flora had included vernacular names for plant species. Exceptions included a paper by Manasseh Cutler (1785) on medicinal herbs native to New England; Hosack's (1811) *Hortus Elginensis*, which listed the native and cultivated plants in the Elgin Botanic Garden, which was within the present bounds of New York City and in which the plant collections emphasized medicinal herbs; Jacob Bigelow's (1814) *Florula Bostoniensis*, which listed the wild plants in the vicinity of Boston; and Barton's (1815) *Florae Philadelphicae Prodromus*, which listed those in the vicinity of Philadelphia. All of these works included common names for species that would now be placed in *Eutrochium*, but in none was the name Joe-Pye-weed or any variant thereof mentioned.

The first (1817) edition of Eaton's *Manual* had included *Eupatorium purpureum* [as applied by Eaton, probably = *Eutrochium fistulosum* and perhaps *E. maculatum* in part, the specific epithet *purpureum* having been misapplied at that time] and *Eupatorium verticillatum* Muhl. [= *Eutrochium purpureum* (L.) E. E. Lamont]. Although this edition gave vernacular names for many of the plant species described, none was given for either of these species. In the 1818 edition, and in his *Botanical Exercises* (Eaton 1820), Eaton gave "purple thoroughwort, or joe-pye" as common names for *Eupatorium purpureum* and "joe-pye's weed" for *E. verticillatum*, without commenting on these names. *Eupatorium maculatum* L. and *E. punctatum* Willd. [= *Eutrochium dubium*] were included without common names. In the third (Eaton 1822) and fourth (Eaton 1824) editions of his *Manual*, Eaton gave the same common names for the species called *Eupatorium purpureum* and *E. verticillatum* and added a footnote stating that "[t]he two species, called joe-pye, (from the name of an Indian) are in common use in the western counties of Massachusetts as diaphoretics, &c. in typhus fever." Eaton noted that Zephaniah Moore, while president of Williams College, in Williamstown, Massachusetts, had ascribed his recovery from a "very alarming fever" to the "liberal and continuous use of a tea made with these plants," but he did not associate Moore with the plant name or with Joe Pye himself.

Eaton would have been familiar with the prevalent practices and local argot in western Massachusetts. He had graduated from Williams College in 1799. He wrote these editions of his *Manual* when he was lecturing on natural history, first at Williams, then elsewhere in western Massachusetts, Vermont, and adjacent New York, and while working as a consultant in geology and botany in those regions (Youmans 1896; McAllister 1941).

The next year, Torrey (1819), in *A Catalogue of Plants, Growing Spontaneously Within Thirty Miles of the City of New-York*, listed, under *Eupatorium*, four taxa that would now be placed in *Eutrochium* and gave the common name Joe Pye's weed for *Eupatorium verticillatum*. Torrey was a friend and former pupil of Eaton's and presumably had obtained the plant name from Eaton or his works rather than from usage near New York City. In 1828, Rafinesque, who at that time was living in Philadelphia, stated in his *Medical Flora* that *Eupatorium* species (incorrectly including *E. perfoliatum* L. as well as *E. purpureum*) were given "the name of Joepye . . . in New England from an Indian of that name, who cured typhus with it." Rafinesque (1828) was the first to state explicitly that Joe Pye himself had employed the plants named for him in the treatment of typhus, but this statement is probably merely an inference from Eaton's work. It was, however, repeated by many subsequent authors, with and without reference to Rafinesque, and sometimes expressed more emphatically (but without the citation of sources), attributing "many marvelous cures" to Joe Pye's treatments, which were said to have led to profound gratitude among the colonists.

In 1829, Hitchcock, in a list of the plants growing without cultivation in the vicinity of Amherst, in central Massachusetts, followed Eaton in using Joe Pye for *Eupatorium purpureum* and Joe Pye weed for *E. verticillatum*. That same year, Dewey (1829), who had taught at Williams College and at the Berkshire Medical Institution in nearby Pittsfield, gave Joe-pye-weed as the common name for *E. purpureum* in a list of the plants of Berkshire County, Massachusetts, in

which Williamstown and Pittsfield are located. (Two other species now placed in *Eupatorium* were called “queen-of-the-meadow.”) In a later publication, Dewey (1840) said that a decoction of the roots of that species was often used in western Massachusetts as a remedy for “gravel” (i.e., kidney stones), and that the plant was “said to have been recommended to the whites by an Indian of the name Joe Pye.” Even this early, Dewey used the phrase “said to” as a disclaimer of certainty with regard to the plant name. He did not mention typhus. His reference to “gravel” was presumably based on information obtained from persons he had met while living in western Massachusetts, and he may have heard of Joe Pye from sources additional to Eaton.

Riddell, of Cincinnati, Ohio, who had been a student of Eaton’s, used the name Joe-pye’s weed for *Eupatorium verticillatum* in 1836, in *A Synopsis of the Flora of the Western States*. In 1841 another Ohioan, John Milton Bigelow, who was familiar with Riddell’s and Torrey’s works, gave Joe pye as one of the common names for *Eupatorium purpureum* in his list of the flora of Fairfield County, Ohio, with notes on its medicinal plants. Both Torrey (1843), in *A Flora of the State of New-York*, and Lee (1848), in a list of New York’s medicinal plants, gave the name Joe Pye weed for plants that they identified as *Eupatorium purpureum*. (Torrey had done some taxonomic “lumping” since his earlier work was published.) Torrey’s comments on the eponymy of the plant name and the use of these plants in treating “gravel” were similar to those of Dewey (1840). In 1849, Williams, in a list of the medicinal plants of Massachusetts, gave the common names Jopi root, purple boneset, and gravel root for *E. purpureum*. Except for the unexplained difference in spelling, Williams’ explanation of the name Jopi was similar to that given by Rafinesque (1828), to whose work he frequently referred.

The plant name Joe-Pye weed was used in all of the editions of Gray’s *Manual of Botany*, starting with the first (Gray 1848). Gray, at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was familiar with the works of Eaton, Torrey, and Dewey. Following its appearance in Gray’s widely used and influential works, the name Joe-Pye-weed (with the hyphenation varying) was included with increasing frequency in floras and botanical textbooks intended for use in northeastern North America and beyond. But although Tuckerman and Frost in 1875 included this name in their list of the wild plants found near Amherst, Massachusetts, Robinson’s flora of Essex County, in northeastern Massachusetts, published in 1880, gave common names for most of the vascular plants listed but none for *Eupatorium purpureum* (the only species included that is referable to *Eutrochium*). Although by that time the name Joe-Pye-weed had been widely dispersed in print, its common, everyday use may still have been largely limited to western Massachusetts.

In popular wildflower guides, the use of the name Joe-Pye-weed is as old as the genre itself in North America. In *How to Know the Wild Flowers*, which is considered to have been the first field guide to North American wildflowers, Frances Theodora (Mrs. William Starr) Dana (1893) wrote that “Joe Pye is said to have been the name of an Indian who cured typhus fever in New England by means of this plant.” (As in Dewey’s work, a disclaimer is included.) A few years later, similar wording, but with the qualification relocated, appeared in

Alice Lounsberry's (1899) *A Guide to the Wild Flowers*, in which the author said that Joe-Pye-weed "received its quaint name from a New England Indian who is said to have cured typhus fever by its use." In *Field Book of American Wild Flowers*, another early "classic," F. Schuyler Mathews (1902) omitted the disclaimer, stating that Joe-Pye-weed had been named "for a New England Indian who used the plant in some concoction for the cure of fevers." This was the first use of "concoction," a term that indicates a mixture of ingredients and often, at least nowadays, has disparaging implications. Later authors would repeat this term. Such field guides, as well as other books and magazine articles on native plants that tell a similar story about Joe Pye, have since become numerous. The selection of those to be cited here has concentrated on works that included especially detailed accounts of Joe Pye or statements markedly at variance with those in earlier publications, those that are especially well known, and those that appear to have influenced subsequent authors directly.

JOE PYE'S LAW

A phenomenon familiar to historians, as expressed by Berland (1990), is that "[a]ny anecdote worth telling about one historical personage is equally applicable to any other personage of equal or comparable status." That is, a story, with or without a basis in fact, originally told about one notable person may, over time, become associated with other individuals with comparable positions in history. According to Berland, who did not indicate his source, this has been called "Joe Pye's law," although we have not encountered the term except as used by him. Conversely, different anecdotes originally told, respectively, about several individuals may later become associated with one especially renowned person. Such tendencies probably account for some of the disparate tales of Joe Pye. The association of Joe Pye with a "Maine Nation" may have been derived from earlier accounts actually of Samoset, an Abenaki sagamore from what is now Maine. In the spring of 1621, Samoset, who had been visiting a Wampanoag counterpart in what is now the vicinity of Plymouth, Massachusetts, had greeted the Pilgrims at their settlement and had helped them to survive in their new home and to live in peace—for a time—with the Wampanoag people in that area. The identification of Joe Pye himself with the Wampanoags may have been derived from accounts actually of Tisquantum, also known as Squanto, a member of the Patuxent band of the Wampanoag confederacy, known to history for his assistance to the Pilgrims after their first winter. A story in which Joe Pye was said to have lost favor because he became so obsessed with the plants now called Joe-Pye-weed that he prescribed their use for every ailment, whether or not it brought any relief, may have evolved from hazy recollections of stories about John Tennent, an early Virginia physician who allegedly became obsessed with the supposed healing powers of Seneca snakeroot (*Polygala senega* L.). Some persons have pretended to be of Indigenous North American descent for diverse reasons, such as enhancing their credibility as actors, writers, or activists for environmental causes, a well-known example being the Canadian conservationist

Archibald Belaney, alias Grey Owl. The story of such an individual might, through an expression of “Joe Pye’s law,” have contributed to allegations, further discussed below, that Joe Pye was Caucasian.

Traveling salesmen for dubious nostrums were numerous in late nineteenth-century America, and they sometimes claimed arcane knowledge of herbal medicines employed by people of the First Nations, either through their own heritage or through a special relationship with an Indigenous healer. Some impersonated Indigenous persons or employed such impersonators in their troupes. Some peddler, might, as an aid to sales, have attributed the origin of his own nostrum to the (supposed) medicine-man Joe Pye. Although we have found no definite evidence of this, such a peddler, long after he had moved on, might himself in some locality have become linked in memories with the legendary Joe Pye himself.

According to DeVries (2016), who cited no source, “[i]t was in 1893 that Joe Pye cured the people of New England.” Being aware that Eaton had used the plant name Joe-Pye-weed in 1818, DeVries postulated that, after the plant name had come into use, an itinerant medicine salesman might have taken the name “Joe Pye” as a pseudonym. Such an action might explain some of the stories of Joe Pye as a nineteenth-century traveling salesman. We have not, however, found any supporting evidence that anyone, Indigenous American impersonator or not, adopted the name Joe Pye subsequent to its application to the plants. Perhaps more likely, the date might have resulted from someone’s having misread a reference to Dana (1893).

SPECK AND DODGE CONSULT “CATNIP BILL”

The first persons to attempt a scholarly investigation of the Joe Pye stories were Frank G. Speck, a professor of anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, whose research specialty was the Algonquian and Iroquoian peoples of northeastern North America, and Ernest S. Dodge, a historian and ethnologist who was the director of the Peabody Museum of Salem (Speck and Dodge 1945). Salem is on the northeastern coast of Massachusetts, and Speck’s family had a summer residence in nearby Gloucester.

In their search for the surname Pye in literature on the Indigenous people of the northeastern United States, Speck and Dodge found from the journal of the Rev. Samson Occom, which was excerpted by Love (1899) and later published in full, with extensive annotations, by Brooks (2006), that a Mohican known as Joseph Pye, a member of the First Nation community known to themselves and others at the time as the Stockbridge Indians, had lived in the 1780s. Occom himself was a Mohican who had been ordained a Presbyterian minister and who became one of the most successful Christian evangelists among the Indigenous people in the northeastern United States. He is perhaps best known to history for his association with Eleazar Wheelock, the founder of Dartmouth College, initially as Wheelock’s student and protégé, and later for a fund-raising tour of Britain on Wheelock’s behalf in 1766 and 1767.

After his association with Wheelock had ended acrimoniously, one of the rea-

sons being that Wheelock's use of the funds raised differed from what Occom had been led to expect, Occom lived for a time on Long Island, then returned to the Mohican community in Connecticut. From there he traveled extensively in the northeastern United States and, beginning in 1785, spent considerable time at the Mohican communities in New York, as will be discussed below (Jones 1854; Love 1894, 1899; Brooks 2006).

In his journal entry for July 14, 1787, Occom wrote: "Some [time] in the morning went to see Joseph Pye, alias Shauqueathquat [sic], and had very agreeable [sic] conversation with him, his wife & another old woman about their Heart Exercises, and they asked some questions and I answered them, and after a while I went back." Although Occom was, at times, a practitioner of herbal medicine as well as a clergyman and teacher, other writings by him indicate that this entry referred to hearts in a metaphorical sense, the "exercises" being a part of the routine in seeking God's forgiveness from sin (Love 1899; Brooks 2006). Occom's journal contains no further mention of Joseph Pye.

Speck and Dodge, having seen at least portions of Occom's journal, knew that Occom had visited Shauquethqueat (the latter's own usual literation) and his family when they were living in New York. They also knew that the Stockbridge people had lived in New York State and that they included not only the original Mohican contingent, but also people from other Indigenous nations who had come from various parts of New England and elsewhere. Speck and Dodge acknowledged that Shauquethqueat might have been descended from ancestors who had lived in Massachusetts, but they did not say, and appear not to have known, that he had lived in Massachusetts himself. (Evidence that Shauquethqueat had lived in Massachusetts is presented below.)

Passages in Speck and Dodge's paper suggest a presupposition that associated Joe Pye with the seventeenth century and Atlantic coastal Massachusetts. This was not explained, but may have resulted from their having seen publications such as Britton and Eaton (1916), in which Joe Pye had been associated with the Pilgrims. Not having found evidence to connect Shauquethqueat directly with Massachusetts, where they believed that the plant name had originated, they doubted that Joe-Pye-weed had been named for him. Also, although they had found no published use of the plant name Joe-Pye-weed or any variant thereof earlier than Rafinesque (1828), Speck and Dodge believed that the plant name had been in existence too long, and that its use had become too widespread, for the plants to have been named for someone who had been living in 1787.

Speck and Dodge, therefore, sought evidence that would unequivocally connect an eponymous Joe Pye with Massachusetts. In this pursuit they asked William A. P. "Catnip Bill" Luscomb what he knew about Joe Pye. Luscomb was a lifelong resident of the Salem-Gloucester area whom they identified as "an herb-gatherer and itinerant Indian 'doctor,'" and who they believed was in his 80s when they interviewed him shortly before 1945. Speck and Dodge, who had anthropologists' interest in and respect for the oral transmission of tribal history, knowledge, and folklore, believed that Luscomb was "of Indian extraction" and represented a people with a long orally transmitted heritage. Luscomb told them that, many years earlier, his father, who had also been an "herb-doctor," had told him that Joe Pye had been "an Indian medicine-man who [had] lived near Salem

in colonial times,” where he had owned a large tract of land, that he had “taught the settlers to use ‘Joe Pye weed’ to cure fever,” and that he had moved away—to western Massachusetts, Speck and Dodge assumed—after the white settlers whom he had befriended had “crowded [him] out of his land” near Salem.

Speck and Dodge apparently assumed that the story of Joe Pye, as recounted by Luscomb, had been transmitted from generation to generation among the Indigenous people of eastern Massachusetts since early Colonial times, but it is doubtful that the significance they accorded this story was justified. Luscomb, as Speck and Dodge themselves recognized, was an eccentric and talkative “character,” who, judging from recollections by those who had known him (Lefavour 2014), was likely to come up with a story whenever an opportunity arose. Massachusetts birth records indicate that, rather than having been in his 80s when Speck and Dodge interviewed him, he was actually about 70 years old. According to U.S. census records, his father had worked in a glue factory, and we have found no indication that he had practiced herbal medicine. Recollections by others (as recounted in Lefavour 2014), some of which go back to the 1940s, are of Luscomb only as a grower and peddler of catnip. Neither in these recollections nor in the resources at the Beverly Historical Society (Luscomb spent his later years in Beverly, Massachusetts, near Salem) is there any mention of his having been an “herb-doctor” or of Indigenous ancestry. Whether Luscomb really had heard anything about Joe Pye from his father, who had died in 1902, and if so, how accurate his recollection was, could not by that time be investigated.

Speck and Dodge accepted Luscomb’s story as an indication, at least, that “old Salem [was] a center from which the fable may have spread.” Aside from their apparent presuppositions, Luscomb’s story appears to have been Speck and Dodge’s only basis for their associating either Joe Pye himself or the origin of the plant name Joe-Pye-weed with the northeastern coastal region of Massachusetts or with a period earlier than the late eighteenth century. Neither Eaton’s (1822) nor Dewey’s (1840) works, both of which had indicated that the plant name was first used in western Massachusetts, was cited by Speck and Dodge.

Luscomb’s story reinforced Speck and Dodge’s doubt that Joe-Pye-weed could have been named for the Joseph Pye of the 1780s, especially if, as they believed, that Joseph Pye had lived in New York. They postulated instead that that Joseph Pye might have been a descendant, perhaps a grandson, of an earlier Indigenous American herbalist in the Salem area, likewise known as Joe Pye, for whom the plants had been named. They acknowledged, however, that in their search of the published histories of Salem and Essex County, as well as Robinson’s (1880) flora of Essex County, they had found no record of any such person. Hendrickson (2008) summed up Speck and Dodge’s conclusion by saying that “the original Salem, Massachusetts, healer . . . has not yet been unequivocally identified.”

Following Speck and Dodge’s study, other authors on wildflowers quickly picked up on this putative association of Joe Pye with Atlantic coastal Massachusetts, sometimes specifically with Salem and some including details from Luscomb’s story. This seems to have led to further speculation and assumptions. Salem had been an early site of English colonization and had long been, and through folklore and literature continues to be, associated in the public mind

with the Puritans and events of the seventeenth century. Stories of Indigenous people in what is now eastern Massachusetts befriending the early colonists and rescuing them in times of hardship are likely to recall tales of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, farther south along the Massachusetts coast. Because of the prominence of the early Colonial period in popular concepts of Massachusetts history, references to an unspecified but supposedly distant past in Massachusetts may become associated in people's minds with that period. Such assumptions, whether made before or after Speck and Dodge's paper was published, probably contributed to the association of Joe Pye with the early Colonial period and coastal Massachusetts.

Other than Luscomb's story, which we consider to be unreliable, we have found no evidence to support the association of Joe Pye with the vicinity of Salem, Massachusetts, or with the seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Since the earliest published use of the plant name that we have found dates from 1818, it seems plausible that the plants could well have been named for someone who had been living as late as 1787. We have, moreover, found that Shauquethqueat, also known as Joseph Pye, had lived in western Massachusetts, from which region the plant name was first recorded. We therefore consider Speck and Dodge's postulated history of the plant name Joe-Pye-weed to be improbable and their dismissal of Shauquethqueat as a likely eponym of the plant name to have been unjustified. A similar conclusion was reached by Brooks (2006), who explicitly identified the Joseph Pye of Occom's acquaintance as the "namesake of the 'Joe Pye' weed."

SHAUQUETHQUEAT

Occom's identification of Joseph Pye with Shauquethqueat has been valuable to us in locating information on this individual, as he preferred to use the name from his ancestral tradition and generally identified himself in formal contexts as Joseph Shauquethqueat. We have found records, presented below, of several events in Shauquethqueat's life, indicating something of his role in the Stockbridge Mohican community.

By the late seventeenth century, the Mohicans, whose original homeland had been the Hudson Valley and western New England from the Catskills to the southern end of Lake Champlain, had become depleted in numbers by epidemics and by wars with other Indigenous nations and were under increasing pressure from white settlers to give up their lands in Connecticut and downstate New York. In the 1730s and 1740s, although some remained in Connecticut, the Mohicans concentrated much of their population in western Massachusetts, in and around the village of Stockbridge. This area had been set aside by the General Court (i.e., the legislature) of Massachusetts, initially envisioned as an experiment in Indigenous and white cooperation, and subsequently further justified as a reward for the Mohicans' service on the British colonists' side in intercolonial conflicts with the French. Those who migrated to Massachusetts were joined by Munsees and people of other First Nations, and developed an identity distinct

from those in Connecticut. They now identify themselves as the Stockbridge-Munsee Band of the Mohican Nation (Jones 1854; Frazier 1992; Miles 2015; History Files 2017).

These Mohicans were predominantly Christian, many having adopted that religion during visits by missionaries from several denominations, and others having done so when the resident missionary John Sergeant, Sr., came to Stockbridge in 1734. Many of the Mohicans had adopted biblical first names upon becoming Christians, and their children and descendants were usually given such names at birth. Surnames identical to or resembling those of English-speaking persons were also adopted by the people of many Indigenous North American nations, often at the urging of white missionaries, or in later years were imposed upon them by government agencies. These surnames facilitated dealings with whites, being easier for the whites to remember and spell and being indicative of family relationships, but among people of their own Indigenous nations, many continued concurrently to use names from their ancestral tradition.

According to the genealogical website MyTrees (2016) and Mohican genealogical records excerpted and discussed by Siemers (2009), Joseph Shauquethqueat, a.k.a. Joseph Pye, was born in 1722. His father was Benjamin Kokhkewenaunaunt, who was called “King Ben,” a Mohican sachem who had three sons, of whom Joseph was the eldest, and one daughter. Since Kokhkewenaunaunt moved to Stockbridge in the 1740s (Frazier 1992), it is probable that Shauquethqueat was born in Connecticut, near the Thames River, where his father is known to have lived prior to his moving to Stockbridge.

The surname Pye has long existed among English-speaking people, and was already in use among the Mohicans in Connecticut by the 1730s or earlier, variously spelled Pey, Pie, Py, and Pye in the early years (De Forest 1851; Talcott 1896). The papers of Joseph Talcott, colonial governor of Connecticut from 1724 to 1741, include a letter from Benjamin Uncas and 58 other members of the Mohican community in Connecticut, dated August 2, 1737, informing the governor that they had accepted Uncas as their sachem. Among those who signed, most of them using distinctive marks, were persons identified as “Jo Pey” and “Jo Pey Junr” by the witness who attested to their identity. Subsequent correspondence in the Talcott papers, dated 1738/39 (providing for the transition from Old Style to New Style calendars), was signed with a mark attributed to “Jo Pie” [sic], with no indication of his generation. In the papers of Talcott’s successor, Jonathan Law (Connecticut Historical Society 1907), correspondence from the Mohicans dated 1742 and 1743 is signed with marks attributed to “Old Jo Py,” “old” in this context presumably meaning “senior,” and in the last of this correspondence, dated 1745, to “Joseph Pie.” There is no mention of “Jo Py Junior” later than 1737.

How these documents relate to the story of Shauquethqueat is uncertain. None of the council members who signed this correspondence is unequivocally identifiable as Benjamin Kokhkewenaunaunt. Speculation that Joe Pye Junior was Shauquethqueat and Old Joe Pye was his father would require the corollary that Benjamin Kokhkewenaunaunt changed his Anglo-Christian name upon moving to Stockbridge. Moreover, in August 1737 Shauquethqueat would have been about 15 years old, very young for a tribal councilor or a participant in

communication with the governor, even if his leadership potential was recognized at an early age. An alternative hypothesis is that the two individuals mentioned in the Talcott and Law papers were other members of the Mohican nation who shared the surname Pye, perhaps members of Shauquethqueat's extended family, although it might be considered unlikely that any additional person would take or be given the name Joe Pye when other members of the Mohican community already bore that name. If the premise is accepted that the plant name Joe-Pye-weed originated in western Massachusetts, it should be noted that, as indicated by sources cited above, the English-speaking people in western Massachusetts during the mid- and late eighteenth century knew only one of their Indigenous neighbors as Joe Pye, and that was Shauquethqueat.

The signatures attributed to "Old Jo Pie" have no evident connection to much later uses of "old" in literature on the plant name Joe-Pye-weed. Jaeger's (1945) reference to Joe Pye as "an old medicine man" when he first encountered English colonists probably reflects a subconscious image of a man who had attained a venerated status among his people. Occasional references to "old Joe Pye" (e.g., Shaw 1911; Borland 1964) probably reflect the authors' association of Joe Pye with times long past, as such a usage of "old" is not uncommon, rather than to his supposed age when he encountered white settlers. References to the plant itself as "old Joe Pye" (e.g., Lounsbury 1899) are probably a literary stylization, combining personification—applying the man's name to the plant—with an intensive related to the authors' long-time familiarity with the plant, in combination with its commonness and coarse aspect, and/or perhaps to its association with a man of long ago.

The earliest record of activities by Joseph Shauquethqueat that we have found dates from May 25, 1757, when he witnessed a document related to a transfer of land from Rhoda Poncoat and Mary Fast Case to Matheus van Guilder (Winchell 2001). At that time he was living in Stockbridge. In 1774, after Ms. Poncoat's death, he was called upon to testify to the authenticity of this document. His name next appears in the records of Isaac Marsh, who would later be one of the captains of the Stockbridge Indian Militia during the American Revolution, but who, in 1775, was operating a tavern in Stockbridge. On July 26 of that year Marsh charged Joe Pye 1 shilling/6 pence for a quart of rum. Similar charges and two cash advances appear later in Marsh's records for that year. In 1782 Marsh credited one hat and a bushel of wheat received from Joe Pye toward settling his account. In 1789, by which time Shauquethqueat had moved to New York, Joe Pye was still listed among Marsh's debtors (Borland 1964; Edsall 1984; Bulkeley and Bulkeley 2004).

Records of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery and Anti-Segregation Petitions (1781) show that, from March through June 1781, Governor John Hancock and the Massachusetts legislature received a series of petitions from Joseph Shauquethqueat and other Stockbridge Mohicans, and from Asa Bement, Isaac Ball, and other white millers, requesting confirmation that Shauquethqueat et al. had held title to potential mill sites in Stockbridge and had legally been able to convey those properties to the millers.

During the Town of Stockbridge's early years, both races were represented on the Board of Selectmen, and Shauquethqueat was elected a selectman in 1777

and again in subsequent elections (Jones 1854; Frazier 1992). About 1777, Shauquethqueat also became Chief Sachem of the Stockbridge Mohicans (Frazier 1992; Miles 2015).²

Service on the pro-independence side in the American Revolution, and especially the loss of many of their men in the Battle of Kingsbridge, had greatly exacerbated the hardships of the Stockbridge people. In February 1780 Shauquethqueat, with other spokesmen for the Stockbridge Mohicans, sent a petition to the General Court of Massachusetts “praying that some Way be provided by which they may be enabled to procure Clothing.” The *Resolves of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, April 1780 session, Chapter 82, state that the General Court had granted a petition from Joseph Shauquethqueat, Benjamin Wauchnauwet, and David Naunauneck to sell certain tracts of Mohican land to white purchasers named in the resolve, “any act or law of this State to the contrary notwithstanding.” In 1781 and 1782, after the conflict between the British and American forces had ceased, the Stockbridge Mohicans, who had continued to suffer from depleted resources and white encroachment, petitioned the governments of New York and Vermont for grants of land in reward for their service during the war. Shauquethqueat reminded the recipients of these petitions not only of the Mohicans’ service in the war but also that “[w]e and our fathers had once been the rightful possessor of all your Country,” and that they had not been compensated for much of the land that they had lost (Calloway 1995).

In 1785, the Stockbridge Mohicans, impoverished and having succumbed to pressures to sell much of their land in Massachusetts or surrender it in settlement of debts, and with their civil rights in Stockbridge being eroded as the white population increased, began an exodus to what is now part of Madison and Oneida counties, New York. They had been granted land there by the Oneidas, whom the Mohicans had assisted in their struggles against the Mohawks and with whom they had been allied on the pro-independence side during the American Revolution (Hammond 1872; Love 1894, 1899; Frazier 1992; Miles 1994). From time to time they were joined by Munsees and others from linguistically kindred Indigenous nations that had likewise embraced Christianity. In New York, the Mohicans and those who had joined them established the towns of New Stockbridge (now Stockbridge, New York) and Brothertown, the latter of which was settled primarily by Munsees from New Jersey, about 20 km distant from each other, northeast of present-day Oriskany Falls.

On July 2, 1783, after the war had ended but before George Washington had resigned as commander-in-chief of the American forces, Shauquethqueat (1783), as Chief Sachem of the Mohicans in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, sent a message to Washington, who was still at his Revolutionary headquarters in Newburgh, New York, informing him that he was preparing a delegation, consisting of the Chief Warrior and four other Warriors, to meet with their “great Brother” whom they had served during the war. Captain Hendrick, the Chief Warrior, would inform Washington as to their welfare and present their request. In response, Washington issued a certificate of allegiance to safeguard the Stockbridge Mo-

²On the traditional role and status of a Mohican sachem, see De Forest (1851) and Jones (1854).

hicans on their migration to New York, stating they had “remained firmly attached to us, [and had] fought and bled by our side.” White settlers, who might have assumed that the Stockbridge Mohicans were hostile, were assured by Washington that they were not and were advised “not to molest them in any manner whatever, but to consider them as friends and subjects to the United States of America” (Frazier, 1992).

Probably early in 1787, Shauquethqueat, accompanied by his wife and sister, joined the other Stockbridge Mohicans in New York (Brooks 2006). There he was one of the signatories to a letter dated August 29, 1787, asking Occom to serve as their minister. Although Occom had frequently visited the New York communities, as when he visited Shauquethqueat in July of that year, he was at that time still based in Connecticut. In November 1787, Shauquethqueat was one of those who signed a plea “to all benevolent gentlemen” seeking financial support for Occom’s ministry, which plea Occom and two others took to New York City and several locations in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Occom moved to New York State in the spring of 1789 (Love, 1894, 1899; Brooks, 2006).

Shauquethqueat was one of the two Mohican sachems in New York State, the other being Hendrick Aupaumut (sometimes identified as Captain Hendrick, as in the letter to Washington, since he had attained that rank in the Stockbridge Militia during the American Revolution). While in New York the Stockbridge leaders pursued settlement of their claims against the federal government related to their service in the Revolution, made several requests for aid from the federal and New York State governments, and entered into agreements with respect to lands.

When the Mohican municipality in New York was organized in May 1793, the adult male inhabitants chose “three men as peacemakers whose business it was to attend to all matters of difficulty arising between any of the Inhabitants of said Town &c.” (J. Sergeant, Jr., diary entry for May 7, 1793, quoted by Miles 2015). According to Miles, “[t]he first peacemakers were probably the Chief Sachem, Joseph Shauquethqueat (Pye), Chief Joseph Quinnaquant (Quinney), and his son, Counsellor John Quinney.” Miles (2015) noted further that “[t]he important role of peacemakers to settle disputes,” established at that time, “continues to this day and is codified in the current constitution of the Mohican Nation.”

Although the Mohican land in New York had been granted by the Oneidas rather than by the state, their land in Vermont had been granted by the state. In 1789 the Vermont land was sold to Isaac Marsh. One account says that the land was sold for £140; another that it was received by Marsh in full settlement of debts (presumably including the longstanding debt of Joe Pye, noted above). These versions are not incompatible, as white speculators encouraged Indigenous people to run up debts as a means of obtaining title to their lands in payment thereof. Joseph Shauquethqueat had been the first-named of the twenty Stockbridge Mohicans to whom the grant had been chartered by the Vermont General Assembly, and he was one of the eighteen from New Stockbridge and Brothertown who signed the agreement with Marsh. This tract later became the Town of Marshfield, Vermont (Frazier 1992; Calloway 1995; Bulkeley and Bulkeley 2004; Kent 2005). About the same time, as the migration to New York

approached completion, the Stockbridge Mohicans arranged with trusted white friends in Massachusetts for their remaining land in Stockbridge to be sold.

Subsequently, Mohican land in New York was also sold. When Solomon Perkins came from Maine in 1792 seeking good farmland, he was shown land that the Stockbridge and Brothertown people were willing to sell by a man identified as Captain Pye (Hammond 1872). In view of the time and place, it is probable that this was Shauquethqueat. White persons of the time often used the honorific “Captain” when referring to First Nations chieftains, whether or not it had formally been bestowed.

The Rev. Elkanah Holmes, a Baptist clergyman much concerned with missions among the Indigenous people in upstate New York and Upper Canada, visited Brothertown in 1797. Following this visit, spokesmen for the Mohicans and other people of New Stockbridge and Brothertown joined with the New-York Baptist Association’s Committee for Indian Affairs in seeking support from the New-York Missionary Society for the Promulgation of the Gospel among the Indians, an interdenominational organization, for further missionary work by Holmes, specifically for a tour of five or six months by Holmes among the Indigenous people of New York. The Mohican leaders encouraged Holmes not only to continue his missionary work among their people, but also to extend his efforts to other Indigenous nations. Their letter to Holmes advised him to let others know that he had the approbation of the Stockbridge Mohicans, and included pragmatic advice on getting along with those whom he might visit, such as, “[t]ake willingly any thing eatable laid before you; you must not manifest any slight or disrelish on account of its not being dressed well.” In another letter to Holmes, with “Joseph Schauquethqueat” [sic], as one of the sachems, being the first of the several signatories, the Stockbridge and Brothertown people expressed their pleasure that Holmes was “willing to take notice of the kindness shown” to his ancestors by theirs. In this letter, the Stockbridge and Brothertown spokesmen said that “you have a council fire at one end of the path [connecting them], and we have ours [at] this end. Let us always keep this path clear.” This letter was accompanied by gifts to Holmes of a belt of wampum and an account of the traditional customs of the Mohicans, which Shauquethqueat and the others recognized were in danger of being forgotten ((Shauquethqueat et. al. 1800; Davis 1800; Crawford 1801).

The Mohicans also received assistance from the Quakers during this period. The extensive correspondence on this subject at Haverford College includes a letter written September 9, 1797, upon the impending departure of the resident Quaker missionary Henry Simmons, expressing thanks for all that the Quakers had done for the Stockbridge and Brothertown people, with Joseph Shauquethqueat as the first of the six signatories. A letter from the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, addressed to “Joseph Shauquethqueat, Hendrick Aupaumut, and all others of the Stockbridge Nation” in 1797, relates to three Stockbridge girls who—as desired by the Stockbridge leaders, according to this letter—had been taken into Quakers’ homes in Chester County, Pennsylvania, there to be educated in English and domestic arts until they reached the age of 18.

As time passed, much of the tribal land in New York was acquired by the

State, often through deception, according to Brothertown history. Also, relationships with the Oneidas had deteriorated, as many of the latter had chosen to follow the Seneca leader Handsome Lake, whose religious teachings were based on ancestral Haudenosaunee beliefs, whereas the Stockbridge people remained Christian. In 1808 the people of New Stockbridge and Brothertown were discussing an alliance with the Miamis of Indiana that potentially would mutually strengthen the Indigenous nations. Joseph Shauquethqueat, as a sachem, was one of the three Mohican signatories to a letter to the “western Indians,” as the Miamis were called in this correspondence, dated July 8 of that year. In this letter, the Stockbridge and Brothertown people proposed to send a substantial quantity of “mostly blue” wampum to the Miamis, with the objective of forming a union for “the peace, friendship and happiness of said western Indians, and to confirm a gift of said western Indians of a large country of land to the Stockbridge and Brother Indians, to be thereafter confirmed by the general government” (Andler 2016). Hendrick Aupaumut spent the years 1808 through 1815 with the Miamis in Indiana. In his absence, the Stockbridge Mohicans, and those of the other Indigenous nations who had joined them in New York, were, according to Miles (2015), “ably led by Chief Sachem Joseph Shauquethqueat (Pye), David Neesoonnuhkeek, John Quinney, John Metoxen, Isaac Wnaupey and others.” These plans were disrupted by the Battle of Tippecanoe and the War of 1812, and when about a quarter of the Stockbridge people went to Indiana in late 1818, they found the land occupied by white settlers, having shortly before been ceded to the United States under the terms of the Treaty of St. Mary’s (Hammond 1872; Andler 2016).

In November 1809 the peacemakers granted Joseph Pye the right to have ten pine trees cut on the undivided lands of the Stockbridge Mohicans in New York by whomever he thought fit. This led to the case of Chandler vs. Edson, which came before the Supreme Court of New York in 1812. The legal question was whether Pye had the authority to convey this right to Edson, who was white, without the consent of the state legislature, which had established such an interdiction to protect the Indigenous people from sharp practices by the whites (Johnson 1839). The court ruled against Edson.

It does not appear that Shauquethqueat was present when this case was heard, nor have we found any references to Joseph Shauquethqueat/Joseph Pye after 1809. If 1722 is correct as the year of his birth, he would have been 87 years old in 1809, so it is likely that he did not live long beyond that date. Although he was not among the Stockbridge Mohicans who moved from New York to their new reservation in Wisconsin in the 1820s and 1830s, several people with the surname Pye were among those who did, and some or perhaps all of them were probably members of Shauquethqueat’s extended family.

KEEWAYDINOQUAY’S STORY

Uniquely among the stories of Joe Pye that we have encountered, the story told by Keewaydinoquay (recorded by Geniusz 2013) is attributed directly to

First Nations rather than to white folklore. This story is discussed here, rather than in the first part of this study, because its value as a source of historical information is best assessed in the light of Occom's and others' identification of Joe Pye with the Mohican sachem Shauquethqueat, and the accounts of Shauquethqueat that we have seen in this study.

Keewaydinoquay Pakawakuk Peschel (1919?–1999) was an Anishinaabe herbalist, ethnobotanist, storyteller, and recorder of Indigenous North American lore who had studied at the University of Michigan and who spent much of her life on Garden Island in the Beaver Islands group of northern Lake Michigan, near which she had been born on a fishing boat en route to a hospital. According to her story, which she attributed to the folklore of her own Anishinaabe people, Zhopai was an Abenaki medicine man who had lived in the vicinity of Stockbridge, New York, and who had had great success among the Indigenous people in treating “typhoid” [sic] fever with a preparation made from a *Eutrochium* species in combination with boneset or thoroughwort, *Eupatorium perfoliatum*. When a typhoid epidemic beset a nearby white community, a blacksmith who had befriended and done much for the Indigenous people pleaded with Zhopai to treat his two young sons, who were in danger of death from the fever. In his distress, the blacksmith offered Zhopai anything he possessed, even his farm, if he saved his sons. Zhopai treated the boys and they recovered, and Zhopai declined to accept the blacksmith's farm. Others among the Stockbridge Indigenous people objected to Zhopai's having used knowledge from his Indigenous heritage for the benefit of white people, and when they moved to Wisconsin, Zhopai was told to stay with his white friends and was denied permission to accompany them. Zhopai gave his grandchildren a bag of *Eutrochium* seeds, telling them to sow them on their journey westward, so that, in his next life, he could follow their trail by looking for the plants.

Keewaydinoquay's story is more appealing than the portrayals of Joe Pye as a “snake-oil salesman,” but whether it contributes to our quest for information on the historical Joe Pye is questionable. Keewaydinoquay's objective in learning and communicating stories such as this was the preservation of Indigenous folklore, which she valued for its own sake rather than as a source of historical data. That she learned this story from an Anishinaabe source is thoroughly credible, but when and how the story migrated from New York to Michigan, and from the Stockbridge people to the Anishinaabeg, if indeed it did, is not known. The genesis of a legend can occur at any time in any culture, and this version of the Joe Pye story might have arisen among the Anishinaabeg when they learned that their Caucasian neighbors knew *Eutrochium* as Joe-Pye-weed and that they identified an eponymous Joe Pye as an “Indian medicine man,” and may have incorporated some portions of accounts heard from white persons. The identification of Zhopai as Abenaki is reminiscent of Harris's (2003) version of the Joe Pye story, but, in the absence of known sources, whether this or other similarities are merely coincidental cannot be determined.

In the shorter version of Keewaydinoquay's story presented by Lukes (2011), Zhopai is said to have treated his people “for centuries.” This clearly indicates an input from fantasy in the development of the legend. Even if this component of the story is omitted, as it was by Geniusz (2013), incongruities remain. Signifi-

cantly, the name Zhopai is presented as a literation of the man's name in his Indigenous culture, with no mention of the name Shauquethqueat. Although individuals as well as clans and tribes have migrated throughout human history, the story of an Abenaki man's having lived among the Stockbridge people in New York, well to the west of the Abenaki homeland (from eastern Vermont to the Canadian Maritime Provinces) introduces an element of improbability for which no explanation is given.

The story of Zhopai's ostracization casts further doubt on the historicity of this story. As noted above, Mohican records indicate that Shauquethqueat/Joseph Pye was born in 1722, became a sachem about 1777, and was still a member of the community in 1809, when he was about 87 years old. If this is correct, Shauquethqueat would have been well over a hundred years old when the Stockbridge people were compelled to move from New York to Wisconsin in the 1830s. Even though his father, King Ben, reportedly lived to the age of 104, it is unlikely that Shauquethqueat was living at the time of the migration. To someone who was aware that Stockbridge people with the surname Pye were among those who had moved to Wisconsin, and that Joseph Pye had not been among them, ostracization may have seemed to be a possible explanation. The details in the story of the blacksmith and his sons suggests that it may have had some factual basis, but if so, whether it really was Shauquethqueat who brought about a remarkable cure, or (through an expression of "Joe Pye's law") another Indigenous herbalist who had treated white patients, is not known. We have seen no other version of the Joe Pye legend that mentions this episode.

CONCLUSION

Although other persons, at other times and in other places, have been known as Joe Pye or Joseph Pye, the evidence we have presented above indicates that the *Eutrochium* species called Joe-Pye-weed were named for the Mohican sachem Joseph Shauquethqueat, who was also known, especially among his white neighbors, as Joe Pye. The earliest recorded uses of the plant name Joe-Pye-weed or variants thereof are from western Massachusetts, the area in which Shauquethqueat had lived (Eaton 1818). Eaton, a botanist who himself lived in western Massachusetts, noted that the plant name Joe Pye's weed, and variants, had become established in that area (but apparently not yet elsewhere) by 1818, only 21 years after Shauquethqueat had lived in Stockbridge, and (Eaton 1822) shortly thereafter stated that the plant name was derived "from the name of an Indian." We have found no record of any other person known as Joe Pye having lived in western Massachusetts prior to 1818.

We have found no explicit evidence that Shauquethqueat was a "medicine-man" or "herb-doctor," as Joe Pye has often been said to have been, or that he was a vendor of herbal medicines, itinerant or otherwise. Even if he had been a practitioner of herbal medicine, it is unlikely that such evidence would now exist. Shauquethqueat was acquainted with Samson Occom, who, as indicated in his collected writings (Brooks 2006), was interested in traditional herbal medi-

cines, about which he had been taught by a Montauk man named Ocus in 1754, when he was living on Long Island. According to Brooks, Occom occasionally practiced medicine throughout his life. His posthumously published writings include notes on “herbs and roots” that appear originally to have accompanied something no longer extant, probably a collection of plant specimens. It has sometimes been said that Joe Pye learned the practice of herbal medicine from Occom, but we have found no evidence of this, or of any close association of Shauquethqueat with Occom, in Occom’s writings or elsewhere. Other than what is noted here, the Stockbridge people’s writings that we have seen, and the publications on the Stockbridge people by their white contemporaries, say nothing about herbal medicine and mention no practitioners by name.

The association of Shauquethqueat with Joe-Pye-weed does not require explicit evidence or even the assumption that he was a practitioner of herbal medicine. Most of the Mohican people of his time probably had some knowledge of this subject. Since Shauquethqueat was both a sachem and a selectman in Stockbridge, he would have been well known among the white people living nearby, and it would not have taken many observations of his collecting the plants now called Joe-Pye-weed for medicinal use, or suggestions from him that they use those plants for the treatment of fevers, or merely observations of the plants near his residence, before someone, when referring to those plants, associated them with the man they knew as Joe Pye.

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L’ENVOI

The story of Shauquethqueat presented here is not mere mythoclasy. It is rooted in the history of the Mohican people and is supported by works of the Mohicans’ own authorship, to some of which Shauquethqueat himself contributed. Shauquethqueat was for many years a leader of his people, much concerned about their well-being, and it is appropriate that he should have a place in history.

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