Mohican Seminar 1

The Continuance – An Algonquian Peoples Seminar

Selected Research Papers – 2000

Edited by
Shirley W. Dunn

New York State Museum

Mohican Seminar 1

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[Cover Drawing] The cover drawing, titled "The Homeland," shows an imaginary Mohican wigwam of the seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The sketch is by historical and marine artist L. F. Tantillo, 1997.

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PREFACE

The chapters in this volume represent the first rewards from a unique partnership between the New York State Museum at Albany, New York, and the Native American Institute, headquartered at Columbia–Greene Community College, in Hudson, New York. The volume presents a selection of valuable research papers from the first annual Mohican Seminar co-sponsored by the two organizations.

The New York State Museum is an institution currently managed by the University of the State of New York through the New York State Education Department. The Museum, whose origins date to the nineteenth century, has a long tradition of scholarship. Its educational exhibits and its meeting rooms are housed in a striking modern building, the Cultural Education Center, on Madison Avenue in Albany.

The Native American Institute, or NAI, an organization of dedicated volunteers, is more recent. Credit for its formation in 1996 at Columbia-Greene Community College goes to Associate Professor of Criminal Justice Richard Powell, whose research on the Dutch period led him to study Native American criminal justice. He initiated the idea of an Algonquian research organization, for which he received encouragement from the Mohican Council at Bowler, Wisconsin, where many members of this Indian nation occupy a reservation. The Mohicans also have an active presence in the east in their former homeland in New York and western Massachusetts. This interest has encouraged the Native American Institute to focus on the Mohicans, while also fostering study of other Hudson Valley and New England Algonquian groups. The purpose of NAI is to promote awareness of Native American cultures, with emphasis on northeastern peoples.

After Professor Powell proposed the volunteer Native American Institute to the Behavioral and Social Science Division of Columbia-Greene Community College, the new organization was approved by the college in 1996. As a Board of Trustees including college faculty became active and a membership was attracted, Steve Comer, an enrolled Albany area Mohican, acted as liason with Mohican tribal committees in Wisconsin. Educational events and a lecture series at Columbia-Greene Community College preceded cooperation with the New York State Museum in mounting the first seminar on April 14 and 15, 2000. The first Mohican seminar drew letters from England and Germany, as well as from the United States. Since that event, there have been three more seminars, from which additional papers will be published in the future.

Acknowledgments: Although it is not possible to recognize every person who helped make the first Mohican Seminar possible, it is important to express gratitude to the following people: Richard Powell, Associate Professor of Criminal Justice, Columbia-Greene Community College, was chairman of the seminar, and George Hamell, Manager of the New York State Museum's Ethnographic Collections, gave support to the seminar concept and presented a museum tour and a slide show for participants. The museum contains artifacts from a number of sites probably occupied by Mohicans. Other museum staff

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who were encouraging and helpful were Penny Drooker, Curator of Collections, Dan Bridges, in charge of vital house arrangements, and John Skiba, Manager of the museum's Office of Cartography and Publications. In addition to museum staff, Charles Gehring, of the New Netherland Project, and Stefon Bielinski, of the Education Department's Albany Project, gave valuable organizational advice. Steve Comer served as liason with potential speakers and worked on arrangements.

Noted historical and marine artist L. F. Tantillo prepared a much-appreciated drawing of a Mohican wigwam for NAI. The picture was used as a logo for the seminar; Tantillo's drawing also has been used as a cover illustration for this museum bulletin. In addition, the computer expertise and time contributed by Geoffrey Dunn have been vital to the preparation of the manuscript. As this volume goes to press, special thanks go to John Skiba and his staff, without whom this publication would not have been possible.

Please note that Chapter 4, "The Highland King Nimhammaw," by J. Michael Smith, and Chapter 8, "Analysis of 'Ben Pie'," by Warren F. Broderick, have previously appeared in *The Hudson Valley Review*, and Chapter 6, "Adapting a Culture," by Shirley W. Dunn, is part of Dunn's book *The Mohican World 1680-1750* (Purple Mountain Press, 1994). The three papers are printed here with permission.

Shirley W. Dunn, Editor

INTRODUCTION

A word should be said about the name of the Mohicans, a Native American nation associated with territory bordering part of the Hudson River of New York as well as encompassing the upper Housatonic River of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Members of today's nation, descended from Mohicans of the past, are Federally recognized as the Stockbridge-Munsee Band of the Mohican Nation. Therefore, the word *Mohican* is correctly spelled with an "o," as it commonly was spelled in New England in the past. In New York, the seventeenth-century Dutch-speaking population often used an "a" instead and called the natives Mahicans or Mahicanders in old documents. Translators of early Dutch often use the "a" form. In addition, as the sound in the native tongue suggested a "u" spelling, *Muhhekunneyuk*, meaning Mohicans, occasionally appears. The reader may encounter the name spelled in a number of other ways.

As a result of these variations, the James Fenimore Cooper story, *The Last of the Mohicans*, has plagued the Mohicans of the Hudson and Housatonic valleys since the early nineteenth century. A main character of Cooper's book, Uncas, was an important leader of a separate group, the Mohegan people of southeastern Connecticut. Unfortunately, Cooper combined the Mohegan tribe of Uncas with the Mohicans of the Hudson Valley and chose the latter spelling for his title. Chief Uncas had descendants; he was not the last Mohegan. And, as you already know, there never was a last of the Mohicans, either. They are, fortunately, still here.

Before contact with Europeans, a large population of Native Americans lived along the Hudson River. Various groups encountered Dutch explorer Henry Hudson in 1609 and soon after many groups were recognized and assigned separate identities by visiting Dutch fur traders and, after a few decades, by settlers. The Mohicans were named on the earliest Dutch maps, some of which appear in this volume. They commanded the most extensive territory on the upper Hudson River and probably had the largest population of any of the area's native groups. Friendly to the Dutch arrivals, the Mohicans set out to protect the newcomers from the Iroquois, located to the west. Although that effort proved unnecessary, the unhampered use of Mohican territory was crucial to the survival of the Dutch colony, New Netherland, in its earliest years.

The first fur-trading fort, Fort Nassau, was built in 1614 by the Dutch on a Mohican island near present Albany, and a crew lived there year-round for three years. On this former island, the Port of Albany now stands. A few years later, Fort Orange was established nearby on the west shore of the Hudson River, again on Mohican land. European families as well as soldiers lived at Fort Orange from 1624 to 1626. However, the families went downriver to bolster Fort Amsterdam at Manhattan, leaving only a small garrison in Fort Orange.

The growing fur trade was dependent upon a unique permission given to the Dutch by the Mohicans. This agreement allowed Mohican enemies, such as the Mohawks and other Iroquois, to cross Mohican territory to trade. The Mohicans and Mohawks were soon at war. Reeling from defeats, Mohicans sold land around Fort Orange to a Dutch entrepre-

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neur, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer. In this and other ways, the Mohicans proved more than generous to the newcomers in the early years of trading and settlement. The population of the Mohicans and the other Hudson River Indian nations was greatly diminished by European diseases and war with the Mohawks within a few decades of the arrival of Europeans.

During the seventeenth century, a Mohican chief sachem, Skiwias, agreed to sell additional land south of Fort Orange. Under his leadership, during the war of Peter Stuyvesant against the Waranawankongs (Esopus) Indians, situated on the west shore, Mohican chiefs acted as peacemakers. Mohicans gave refuge to their Esopus friends but also protected exposed Dutch farms. The Mohicans continued to provide services to the successors to the Dutch after the English takeover of 1664.

Due to their large territory, Mohicans controlled much of the land that colonists would need for early settlement on both sides of the Hudson River. Through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, land deeds from Mohicans were essential in the upper Hudson Valley and in the Housatonic Valley of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Obtaining a deed from the Indian occupants, both in New York and in New England, became a necessary step to patenting not only estates like those of the Van Rensselaers and Livingstons but also to the founding of New England townships along New York's eastern border. Indian deeds were required as well for the establishment of small farms and basic industries.

Mohicans as a group were never alienated and never violent except for their willingness to fight on the side of their colonial friends. In 1675, the Mohicans announced an alliance with their relatives living at Westenhook on the Housatonic River of Massachusetts and with Indians to the south of them. These included the Wappingers of Dutchess County and the Wekquaesgeks of Westchester County and the Bronx. A subsequent succession of wars between England and France brought the conflicts known as the French and Indian Wars to the northern colonies. The "River Indians" were overshadowed in numbers by the Iroquois, who artfully played off the two colonial powers. Mohicans and their allies, however, provided soldiers for the service of England in these wars. As friends and allies, Mohicans fought not only beside colonial soldiers in successive wars with Canada but in the American Revolution. In every war, some died loyally for the cause of their American friends, with little reward.

Moreover, as landowners from whom deeds must be obtained and as workers in the fields, as friends, and as hunters and as customers of traders, the Mohicans and their allies remained a vital part of the area cultural mix. Their presence was an irritant to some colonists, especially those who wanted land. Missions were formed in the eighteenth century to bring the Indian bands closer to their colonial neighbors in religion and culture. The missions had varying successes, but mission records have provided a lively record of names and personalities of individual Algonquians. Through the years, the burgeoning colonial population pressed hard upon basic Indian needs for extensive wild lands for hunting and spacious, fertile fields for Indian corn.

For colonials, the means of obtaining Indian land varied. Sometimes, land was mortgaged or sold willingly and knowingly by Indians, in exchange for much needed goods. Often, however, especially as the years passed, the Indian's land was obtained through trickery. Hunting land was taken over by government edict or by speculators under the guise that no one lived there. An eloquent Mohican chief articulated these problems in 1722: Ampamit of Schodack spoke to the Governor, saying "We have no more Land, the Christians when they buy a small spot of Land of us, ask us if we have no more Land & when we say yes they enquire the name of the Land and take in a greater Bounds than was intended to be sold them &

the Indians not understanding what is writ in the Deed or Bill of Sale sign it and so are deprived of Part of their Lands." (O'Callaghan 1855, 3:663-64)

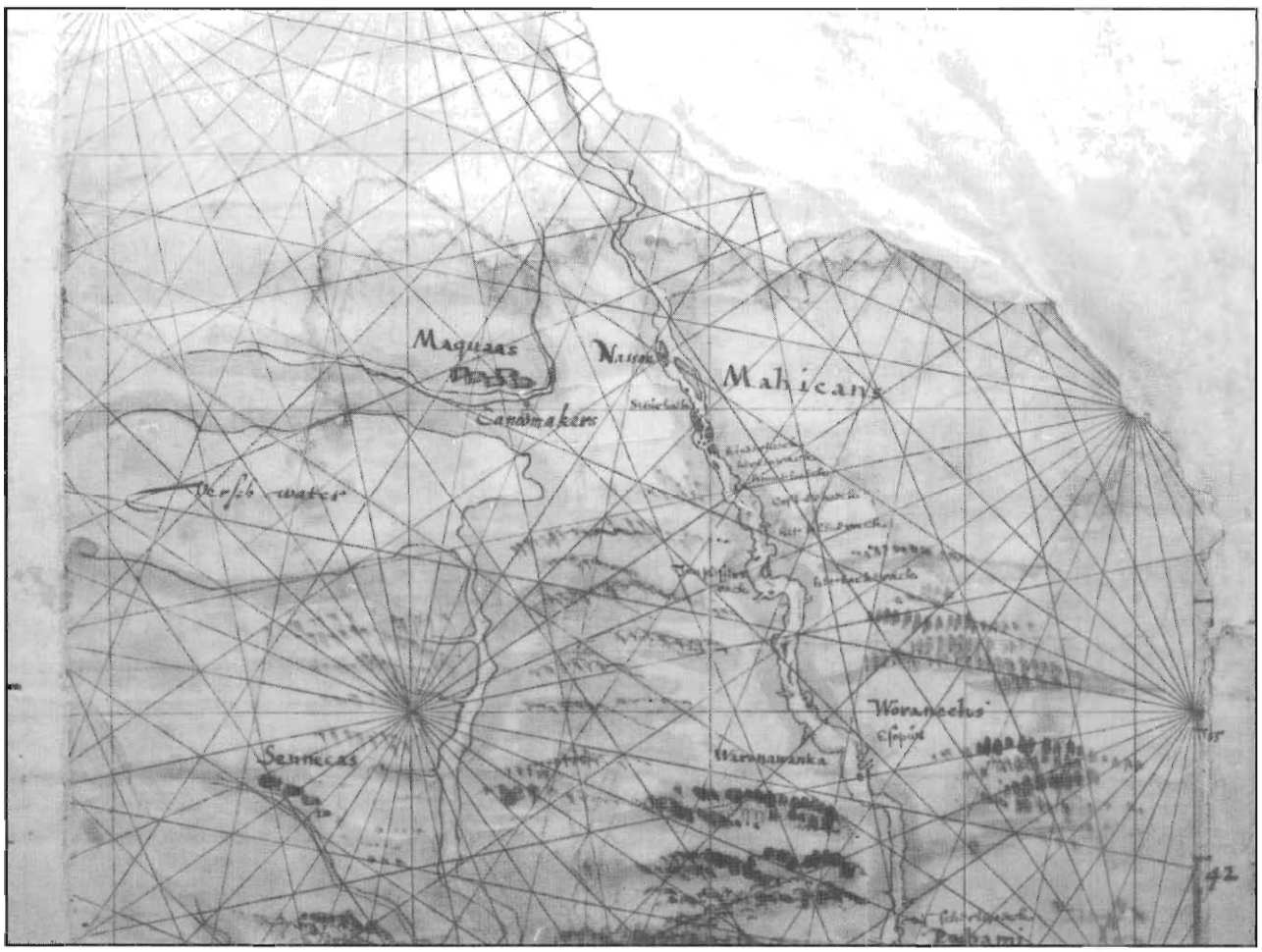
Finally, their land gone, their customs altered, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries many Mohicans and their friends dispersed from Massachusetts' Housatonic Valley and New York's Hudson region to locations such as New Stockbridge in New York, where the Stockbridge Mohicans had a village. Some went to Moravian locations in Pennsylvania, or to villages including Oquaga and Otsiningo on the Susquehanna River. Others moved to the Ohio country and to other refuges in the west and in Canada, leaving, however, pockets of unreconstructed native families in residence in secluded areas in New York and New England. These population pockets, surviving as enclaves for a century or more, became nearly invisible to colonial eyes. Other Mohicans, under intelligent leaders who coped with colonial and state governments creatively and persistently, gathered at last at the Mohican Reservation near Bowler, Wisconsin, where their descendants live today. Modern scattered members of the nation keep in contact with relatives on the Reservation; some now live in various states and Canada.

The nine seminar papers of this volume, dealing with the experience of the Mohicans and of the Wappingers, their neighbors to the south, are arranged in roughly chronological sequence, taking the reader from pre-historic time through colonial impacts on native life and to the Revolution. The papers feature land occupation and ownership; in addition, there are unique examinations of the historic relationship between the Mohicans and their Mohawk neighbors.

Edward V. Curtin, for example, writes about pre-historic artifact similarities and cooperation between Mohicans and neighboring nations, despite different origins and different adaptations to the land. Lucianne Lavin provides archeological evidence of Mohican settlement patterns with implications for social and political organization. Jaap Jacobs notes documents from the Dutch colonial period which pertain to Native Americans in the Hudson Valley, and he adds a valuable list of sources. J. Michael Smith gives previously uncharted information about a Wappinger leader, Nimhammaw, and his important successors. Shirley W. Dunn traces three generations of the family of a Mohican chief, Abraham of Shekomeko, and details that village's experience as a Moravian mission. Timothy Binzen explores the adaptations of Connecticut's Mohicans in the Indian communities of Weataug and Wechquadach as their land was appropriated for colonial towns. Richard Walling depicts the contribution made by a troop of Mohican and other native soldiers assembled by General Washington in the fight for American independence. Warren Broderick analyzes writings that present Mohicans in fiction and finds that facts underly a popular story of the 1820s. Denis Foley looks at the effects of the introduction of alcohol into Mohican society. The nine authors are variously teachers, administrators, archivists, historians and hands-on-archeologists. Their qualifications and accomplishments are briefly listed at the end of this volume.

While it is true that the bookshelf dealing with Native Americans of the northeast is not long, it has grown considerably over the last decade. In addition, there is valuable documentary material in various, if obscure, collections for future use. The old idea that there are few resources for research into the Mohican experience has been disproved. The nine research papers in this volume represent a flurry of historical findings; these papers set a precedent for future annual seminars. Moreover, the bibliographies presented with the papers reveal some of the diverse material available and should direct readers to new avenues of study.

Shirley W. Dunn, Editor



0.1. A 1616 map of the upper Hudson River shows Mahicans (Mohicans) near Fort Nassau. Below the island fort is a point called Steurhoeck (Sturgeon Point), named for the plentiful sturgeon in the river. The Waranawanka (Esopus Indians) are at lower left. (Map at Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, The Netherlands)

CHAPTER 1

THE ANCIENT MOHICANS IN TIME, SPACE AND PREHISTORY

Edward V. Curtin

This paper is concerned with the ancient Mohicans in time, space, and prehistory. It asks, how old are the Mohicans as a people, where were they in the past, and how can the *ancient* Mohicans be related to the *historic* Mohicans who lived in eastern New York and western Massachusetts during colonial times? The investigation of these questions is not straight-forward, because identifying ethnicity or tribal affiliation without historic or ethnographic information has no single, well-accepted methodology. Even relying on culturally diagnostic artifacts is problematic in the Mohican case, because the artifacts of contemporary Iroquois and Mohicans of the late prehistoric and historic periods are so similar that archaeological typologies do not distinguish adequately between them (Funk 1976; Starna and Funk 1994). Moreover, geography is of limited use because the early historic period territorial boundaries, and the intermediate lands eventually contested between the Mohicans and Mohawks, were not empty frontiers during the late prehistoric period, but rather, lands filled with people who used the generic Mohican and Mohawk artifact forms such as collared pots and triangular chert projectile points.

So how can we trace the Mohicans who lived before written history? The earliest recorded Mohican and Delaware stories of Mohican origins involve a long migration from the west (Dunn 1994:36-39) (1). During the early twentieth century, archaeologists also subscribed to migration theories for the origin of Northeastern Indians, although during the 1950s and 1960s, the migration theories were replaced by *in situ* theories of both Iroquoian and Algonquian origins (Funk 1976; Kraft 1986; Lenig 1965; MacNeish 1952, 1976; Ritchie 1969; Ritchie and MacNeish 1949; Tuck 1971).

Nonetheless, over the past decade or so, a small number of archaeologists have reintroduced the issue of prehistoric population movements to aid the interpretation of Northeastern prehistory (Dincauze and Hasenstab 1989; Fiedel 1987, 1991, 1999, 2001; Snow 1994, 1995, 1996). The findings of historical linguists such as Frank Siebert (1967, 1975), Ives Goddard (1978a, 1978c) and Floyd Lounsbury (1978) have provided the major stimulus for this re-evaluation. The field of historical linguistics has identified ancient Algonquian and Iroquoian homelands through the study of words that are common to the modern or historic languages. These are usually environment-associated terms such as for plants and animals. The overlapping geographic range of these words is considered to indicate the ancient home of the language group. The languages are believed to have expanded geographically through the differentiation and movement of human communities.

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These studies consistently indicate an ancient homeland for Algonquian language-speakers in the eastern Great Lakes region. Similar research indicates a homeland for Iroquoian-speakers in the Appalachian uplands. Interpretations relating the concepts of these homelands, and the presumed migrations, to archaeological information have been published by Stuart Fiedel (1987, 1991, 1999, 2001) and Dean Snow (1994, 1995, 1996).

These recent archaeological interpretations agree with each other in the hypothetical sequence of Algonquian and Iroquoian migrations. According to this view, the Algonquians came to occupy a vast area by expanding out from the eastern Great Lakes. This area came to include the northern lands and the central part of the mid-continent, as well as New York and New England and the Atlantic coast from the Canadian Maritime provinces to North Carolina. Sometime after the settlement of this great Algonquian domain was complete, Iroquoian migrations intruded into its middle, permanently separating the Central and Eastern Algonquian language groups (see also Goddard 1978a:586-587).

Fiedel interprets the results of his own and several other historical linguistic and glottochronology studies as indicating periods of Algonquian migration between about 150 BC and AD 800. He identifies the Point Peninsula and related cultures (such as Saugeen and Laurel in Canada) as the geographic expression of the Algonquian expansion. In addition, he prefers an interpretation with two waves of Proto-Algonquian expansion, one at the beginning of the Middle Woodland period, about 2000 years ago, when Point Peninsula culture first appeared, and a second, c. AD 500-700, corresponding with the sudden appearance and rapid expansion of the Kipp Island and related phases of Point Peninsula culture. In the upper Hudson valley, this is the period of the Four Mile phase and the final occupation of the Tufano site (Curtin 1995; Funk 1976). Fiedel indicates that the waves of Algonquian expansion may have been enabled by the adoption of new, successful subsistence strategies and associated technologies, including fish net improvements and the bow and arrow. He identifies the Micmac, who seem distantly related to other groups, as a remnant of the first wave, and the Delaware, Mohican, Chesapeake region, and North Carolina coastal Algonquians as representative of the last wave (3).

Both Fiedel and Snow (1994, 1995) see New York State as the home of Algonquian peoples at the time of an Iroquoian incursion about AD 900. Snow [1996] indicates that a somewhat earlier time of incursion may fit current data better. This is the approximate period of origin of the Owasco culture and related cultural expressions (such as Clemsons Island in central Pennsylvania and the Princess Point or Glen Meyer and Pickering cultures of Ontario).

While a compelling argument on the basis of similar geographic distributions correlates the archaeological Point Peninsula culture with the expansion of Algonquian-speakers (Fiedel 1987, 1991, 1999), the equation of Owasco with early Iroquoian is problematic, since Owasco and Owasco-like cultures are widely distributed and occur in areas of historic Algonquian territory as well as Iroquoian territory (Starna and Funk 1994). It also deals poorly with Ontario and western New York, where the Owasco culture is either absent or aberrant in some respects and weakly represented at best west of the Genesee valley (Niemczycki 1984) (4).

It is a bit of a paradox that, while an Iroquoian intrusion is probable, recognizing it archaeologically is very difficult - difficult, but perhaps not impossible. It would seem that there should be some trace in the archaeological record of the relationship between the indigenous Algonquian populations and the intrusive Iroquoian populations (5) (6). I take the position that archaeological evidence of this relationship may be situationally variable

1.1. The relative locations of Mohicans near Fort Orange and of Maquaas (Mohawks) to the west on the Mohawk River in historic times are suggested by this map of c. 1630. The Mohawk River is shown as separate from the Hudson. (Library of Congress, Map Division, Harrisse Collection)

and involve a variety of local adaptations as well as interaction between regions and among communities over a long period of time.

For several reasons, I favor the hypothesis of a gradual or delayed Iroquois incursion with more subtle indications of cultural boundaries as well as interaction with Algonquians who were also moving, perhaps in the process of a long, ongoing migration (7). I do not see the discontinuity between the late Point Peninsula and early Owasco ceramic traditions that Snow proposed. I see differences of degree rather than kind. I also emphasize the geographic distribution of Owasco ceramics and triangular projectile points widely across Algonquian territory as well as Iroquoian. Finally, I find settlement pattern data to be too varied to indicate the sudden and widespread appearance of Iroquoian culture about 1000 years ago. My view is that after AD 1000, several settlement patterns are in evidence in the archaeological record (Curtin 1998b). In some cases, competing communities may have dwelt in adjoining areas. Moreover, along the historic boundary separating the Mohawks and Mohicans, different prehistoric settlement patterns appear, reflecting the different adaptations within each tribal territory. A strong argument can be made in favor of relative peace and cooperation along this cultural frontier, in contrast to widespread evidence of competition and warfare within the historic Iroquois territories. To me, this implies that residents at the strongly fortified prehistoric Mohawk settlements were protecting themselves against other expanding Iroquois populations.

More specifically, during the period AD 900 to 1400, there was a great diversity among Owasco and post-Owasco settlements, ranging from small, open communities with subrectangular or oblong houses to larger longhouse villages surrounded by palisades. A review of the data on community patterns from the Susquehanna valley, Finger Lakes, Onondaga tribal area, and Mohawk drainage indicates an early appearance of longhouses and fortifications in the Susquehanna drainage, probably before AD 1100. These features appear much later in the Five Nations Iroquois territories, where they postdate AD 1300-1400, based upon radiocarbon evidence and somewhat related estimates derived from ceramic seriation (Curtin 1992, 1998b; Prezzano 1996). One interpretation of these data would be that they indicate the gradual time frame and varied circumstances in which fortified longhouse villages came to characterize the areas occupied by the Five Nations during the early historic period. An alternative interpretation is that the data available indicate discontinuities in the development or appearance of the stereotypical Iroquoian village. These discontinuities may even indicate multiple hearths for the development of village life (Crawford and Smith 1996; a point Snow [1996] has conceded), or some combination of multiple origins with a subsequent, contentious period of Iroquois colonization (Curtin 1992; 1998b).

If archaeologists accept some version of the Iroquois incursion model, they must ask, which settlements were Iroquoian, and which represent indigenous, Algonquian communities? As the Iroquois expanded, did these ancient Algonquian communities move to the Mohican lands of the Hudson drainage (Figure 1.1)? (Coincidentally, there is widely acknowledged evidence of the substantial abandonment of the upper Susquehanna valley about this time [Plog, Weide, and Stewart 1978; Rippeteau 1978]).

Certainly, the cultural context of the Late Woodland period involved both Iroquois and Algonquian speakers. And this cultural context became very complex by the period AD 1300-1500 (Curtin 1992). I can offer several examples of this complexity and, to some extent, trace different cultural complexes into the historic period, where they are associated with Iroquois peoples such as the Onondagas and Mohawks, or Algonquian people such as the Mohicans.

The first example involves the relationship between the two entities that archaeologists refer to as the Oak Hill and Chance phases. These phases are distinguished primarily by ceramic decoration differences: The Oak Hill phase retains the cord marked ceramic decorative technique used in the Owasco and late Point Peninsula cultures, while the Chance phase introduces the zoned, incised decorative approach that first appeared in Ontario and seems to have pulsed outward about AD 1200 (Lenig 1965; Niemczycki 1984). The best radiocarbon chronologies available indicate that these two phases overlap over most of their presumed duration in both the Onondaga area and the Mohawk drainage. For example, radiocarbon dating indicates that the Oak Hill phase probably spanned the late thirteenth to late fifteenth century. This span suggests we should refer to the Oak Hill tradition rather than the Oak Hill phase (8). Moreover, the Oak Hill tradition seems to persist later in eastern New York than in central New York (9).

In central New York, the Oak Hill and Chance phases are both associated with large, fortified villages, longhouses, including exceptionally large longhouses, and evidence of a pattern of violence found among certain human remains recovered from archaeological sites (Tuck 1971). At the same time, two settlement types are evident in the Mohawk drainage. These settlement types are represented by the Chance phase Getman site and the Nahrwold site of the sequential Castle Creek and Oak Hill phases. The Getman site was fortified with a double stockade, located on a hill, and filled with tightly packed longhouses. The Nahrwold site on the floodplain was unfortified and contained evidence of a small, oblong house. The Getman site appears to be a classic Iroquois fortified longhouse village, while the Nahrwold site is like the Late Woodland and contact period settlements in the Algonquian areas of the Hudson and upper Delaware valleys. (For information on probable Wappinger, Munsee, and Mohican sites, see Cassedy 1998; Diamond 1996; Grumet 1991; Kraft 1986; and Lavin et al 1996).

I submit that these comparisons between Oak Hill and Chance phase settlements represent different responses in different areas to the evolving relationships between neighboring populations. Considering the settlement data and the high probability of overlapping Chance and Oak Hill phase chronologies, a very complex pattern is apparent, especially in central New York, which may have seen intense competition between neighboring groups — whether solely Iroquoian, or Iroquoian as well as Algonquians-rapidly-acculturated to the Iroquois pattern of clustered, protected settlements and warfare.

In the Mohawk area, the Getman and Nahrwold sites seem to show the coexistence of fortified and unfortified settlements. Moreover, the entire pattern of pre-contact Algonquian settlement in eastern New York and northern New Jersey seems to show a lack of concern with fortification. The relationships between these groups and well-organized Iroquoian neighbors dwelling in strongly fortified towns must have involved a set of cooperative and conflict-reducing mechanisms.

At the same time, the Getman site residents, presumably Chance Phase Mohawks, must have feared attack from someone other than their Schoharie or Hudson valley neighbors to the south and east, respectively. Since the pattern of site fortification disappears south and east of the Mohawk valley proper, it seems reasonable to assume that diplomatic means may have been much more important than warfare in mediating relations among the eastern New York populations. The spatial boundary and locational contexts separating contemporaneous Oak Hill and Chance phase settlements provide some of the basis for this relationship.

In another paper (Curtin 1998b), I have developed a series of arguments about ecological relationships and social organization

that help to explain the settlement pattern differences, and provide a hypothetical prehistoric relationship between the Mohawks and Mohicans. These arguments are too lengthy to include here. However, I can summarize some of the important conclusions that have a bearing on this paper. Traditionally, the early Iroquois and Mohicans had distinctively different ecological adaptations, which favored flexibility and resiliency in Mohican land use strategies and social arrangements but which led to intervillage competition and a dynamic social strategy that might result in either community integration or in fissioning among the Iroquois (10). The Mohawks had relatively less social integration and relatively more clan autonomy than other tribes among the Iroquois. This was probably an adaptive situation for a population seeking land while trying to reduce competition within the community (Plog 1978). However, clan autonomy provides a better basis for fission and dispersal than for aggregating for mutual defense against competitors, such as other Mohawk villages, or larger, more socially integrated Iroquoian neighboring tribes. Under these circumstances, alliances along the eastern cultural frontier could serve the Mohawks well, especially when they were pressured by other, land-seeking populations from the west or north (11).

This is an apt situation in which to consider the interesting names of the clans in eastern New York State: Unlike the Onondaga and western Iroquois, the Oneida and Mohawk traditionally had only three clans, the Turtle, Wolf, and Bear. The Mohicans and Delaware also had three clans, the Turtle, Wolf, and Bear (Brasser 1978; Goddard 1978b), or possibly Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey among the Munsee or other Delaware. Unfortunately, there is conflicting information about the name of one clan, whether Bear or Turkey (Goddard 1978b). Nonetheless, the parallel is probably more than coincidental, and quite significant in structuring a series of rights, obligations, responsibilities, and protocols in diplomacy occurring between neighbors (Tooker 1971). Alliances with Mohican communities may have been quite significant for the Mohawks of the late prehistoric period, and the existence of these alliances may have been the significant factor in the lack of fortification of Schoharie and Hudson valley sites.

With this theoretical perspective gained from consideration of early Algonquian origins and the contingent processes of interaction with neighboring Iroquois, I offer a picture of the ancient Mohicans in prehistory. Historical linguists believe that the ancestors of the Mohicans moved to their homeland from the west. They probably broke off from Delaware-speaking peoples along the way. In the Hudson valley, they may have replaced earlier Algonquian, or even non-Algonquian, people. There is reason to believe that their territory was larger at one time or featured a continuous dynamic of migration with Iroquoians expanding behind them along the western frontier. Although the ancestral Mohicans may have entered the Hudson valley by about AD 500, western settlements from the Hudson drainage divide to the Susquehanna valley, or even farther west, may have been occupied by related populations until some time well after AD 900. Over time, these relatives also may have moved eastward. The implication of this hypothesis is that lands such as the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys, commonly considered to be within the Mohawk or other Iroquois homelands, may have been Mohican lands as recently as 500-700 years ago (Figure 1.1).

Although it has been common to consider Iroquoians as warlike invaders seeking to control large territories, their fortified villages occur in clusters (Snow 2001:20), and neighboring settlements outside these clusters often are unfortified and in open locations. This suggests that Iroquoians typically may have been at war with each other rather than with the Algonquians, who were already established and, presumably, were a large

group occupying large areas that met the needs of their traditional subsistence strategy. Along the peripheries of the Iroquois and Algonquian lands, neighboring groups would have found advantage in relationships that fostered diplomacy and reciprocity. This may be indicated by clan name identity, as well as the apparent lack of a need for defense on the part of the Schoharie and upper Hudson populations. This creates an alternative view of the Mohicans and Mohawks in prehistory as mutually reinforcing, cooperative neighbors over significant stretches of the past, rather than the hostile enemies recorded during the seventeenth century.

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NOTES

1. Interestingly, the earliest written Mohican history refers to the ancient migration of the Mohicans from the west. The Mohicans moved east until they found the water that was never still, that ebbed and flowed, the great Hudson estuary. A parallel story of the Delaware relates how, after a great and perilous journey from the west, the Mohicans diverged from the Delaware and settled in their home on the Hudson. Subsequently, according to this story, the Mohicans gave rise to the Algonquian peoples of southern New England (Dunn 1994:36-39). This is a heroic story set in mythic time. Archaeologists look for a more absolute chronology. Nonetheless, reconsideration of the archaeological record in the 1990s, in view of the findings of historical linguistics, recapitulates a story of the great journey of the Algonquian peoples. This is not to say that archaeology proves the migration legends. But this connection is drawn because the archaeological reconstruction provides an interesting parallel to the Mohican and Delaware traditions. With respect to the older ancestors of the Algonquian speaking peoples, Fiedel (1987, 1991, 1999) provides an argument that the speakers of the ancient, proto-Algonquian language, considered to be ancestral to the Algonquian language, were located in the far west, probably in the Columbia Plateau region or possibly on the Northwest Coast.
2. Archaeologists carefully considered the implications of Native American migration myths to structure the view of Northeastern prehistory that prevailed during the first half of the twentieth century (Fenton 1940; Parker 1916; Ritchie 1961; Tuck 1971:11-14). The climax of this interest was in the 1940s, when Fenton (1940) addressed the issue of the peculiar geographical situation of the Northern Iroquoians, who anthropologists regarded as an island of southeastern Indian culture within a vast sea of Algonquian culture. The conventional explanation was that the Iroquois had migrated northeast from an earlier home near the mouth of the Ohio. However, by the end of that decade, Ritchie and MacNeish (1949) recognized continuity between the artifacts of historic Northeastern tribes and the prehistoric Owasco culture, as well as with those of other predecessors (MacNeish 1952, 1976), although the acceptance of an *in situ* model posed substantive problems for Ritchie (1949, 1952, 1961:31-32) that

were not resolved until the 1960s (Ritchie 1969:301-302). Some of these problems persist even now. These include the hypothetical common roots of both Iroquoian and Algonquian cultures in the Owasco culture of eastern and central New York, as well as the absence of a well-defined Owasco culture in western New York. Another problem for Ritchie was the explanation of the seemingly sudden appearance of the Chance phase after the florescence of Owasco culture and whether the Chance phase was related to the Owasco culture through an intermediary Oak Hill phase. By about 1970, the Oak Hill phase had come to be regarded as a transitional form of culture in the evolution of Owasco into Iroquois (Lenig 1965; Ritchie 1969; Tuck 1971). Archaeologists suspected a similar set of steps in the development of Algonquian culture in the Hudson valley (Funk 1976). From the mid-1960s to the late 1980s, the *in situ* model has been the vogue. Archaeologists have used it to infer cultural continuity over a period of 2000-3000 years, and sometimes longer (Kraft 1986).

3. For example, Fiedel (1991:20) cites Siebert's (1975) inference that Delaware and Mohican constituted a relatively late intrusion from western New York onto the coast, which split the pre-existent "archaic" coastal Algonquian chain. That is, in this view, the descendants of the original Algonquian expansion about 2000 years ago were supplanted by a later expansion of Delawaran and Mohican speakers about 1500-1000 years ago. The Chesapeake region archaeologist Steven Potter (1993:2-4) disagrees with Fiedel about the timing of migration, assuming the date of AD 200 as the start of a continuous cultural sequence leading to the Powhatan chiefdom. Potter, however, concurs with two general points: the Algonquian-speakers were intrusive into the Chesapeake region, and the Proto-Algonquian homeland was in the Great Lakes region. Moreover, Potter notes two archaeological discontinuities that could correspond to an Algonquian intrusion, about AD 200 and AD 700-900. He prefers the AD 200 date, but both dates agree with Fiedel's reconstruction, and the difference may really be in the preference for a one- or two-intrusion model to fit the linguistic and archaeological data sets.
4. As an aside, I should note that cultural traits of any kind are problematic as diacritical variables, because trait distributions indicating boundaries during times of stability may alter rapidly during episodes of cultural change and economic stress (Hodder 1979). Anthropological research indicates that ethnic boundaries and boundary conditions are both mutable and manipulated, particularly in their material aspects, but also in language (Barth 1969; Flannery 1968; Leach 1954).
5. Snow (1994:19) points out that very significant cultural information could be obtained by studying human skeletal remains, but that this should not be done without the consent of the appropriate Native Americans.
6. Snow's incursion model stipulates a rapid movement of Iroquoian populations into upstate New York from Pennsylvania as people sought land for the expansion of new horticultural strategies focused upon maize cultivation. He mentions evidence of the relationship between indigenous and invading groups in terms of mixed assemblages, sometimes deriving from the reoccupation of Middle Woodland period, Point Peninsula sites by Owasco populations, or at other times from the inclusion of resident, Algonquian, female pot makers in the newly arrived Iroquoian communities.
7. The time frame of Snow's Iroquois incur-

sion model is based upon the presumed separation of Five Nations Iroquois languages somewhat more than 1000 years ago. The accuracy of this timing is dependent upon two factors, one of which is the age of language separation based upon historical linguistics. The other is the assumption that the languages diverged as the Five Nations entered the approximate areas of their historic homelands, quickly, and at about the same time. The time frame of incursion has been subject to scrutiny with respect to archaeologically-based chronologies (Crawford and Smith 1996; Snow 1996).

8. In addition to a long span of radiocarbon years, the internal settlement pattern data of the Oak Hill phase Kelso site indicates a long period of occupation, as well as a significant change in house form, and presumably, social organization, during the occupation of this site.

9. Radiocarbon dating in the Mohawk drainage indicates that the Chance phase there is contemporaneous with the Oak Hill and Chance phases in the Onondaga area. The radiocarbon dating of the Oak Hill phase in the Mohawk drainage has been very limited, but the dating of the Nahrwold site in the tributary Schoharie valley provides two dates covering the same range as the other Oak Hill and Chance phase dates, approximately AD 1300-1500. In addition, my excavation at the Schoharie Outfall site in 1997 yielded a radiocarbon association that strongly supports the dating of the Nahrwold site. This excavation identified an association between Oak Hill-like pottery and a radiocarbon age of AD 1480+/-80 (calibrated 1410-1475), quite similar to the Nahrwold site date of AD 1450+/-80. The physical context of the Schoharie Outfall site radiocarbon date is a deeply buried, floodplain stratum outside of an elevated, village site believed to date to the Chance phase or later, based upon ceramics collected from its surface (Curtin 1998a). Yet another similar C-14 date of AD 1410+/-70 has been reported farther north near Esperance, New York (Cassedy 1991). Its apparent association with a possible contact period component containing incised ceramics and a copper alloy artifact seems anomalous within one standard deviation, although it is not anomalous within two standard deviations.

10. Although ceramics and projectile points are inscrutable witnesses to tribal identity, some basic aspects of different Iroquian and Algonquian settlement patterns and human ecological relationships appear during late prehistoric times (Curtin 1998b). Historically, Iroquoians lived in tight, crowded, fortified villages in upland locations (Englebrecht 1987; Snow 1994; Starna 1988; Wright 1979). Their villages were surrounded by extensive gardens, and this secure, constrained settlement space was surrounded by the forest, a place filled with uncertainty and danger. Fishing and hunting trips passed through these dangerous places, inducing continuous terror.

The Mohicans lived in small, open, dispersed settlements among networks of gardens and foraging areas. Mobility was an important strategy, as habitation could shift seasonally, and people could move to gardens in other areas, or to relatives established in different places. Clans controlled land on the flats in dispersed locations and in different drainages (Dunn 1994). The location of settlements in gardens on the floodplain made extensive use of rich, productive soil (Bender and Curtin 1990). These soils, in fact, were significantly more fertile than the soil available to the upland Mohawk villages (Bond 1985; Cesarski 1993). The Mohican system favored flexibility, a multiplicity of social relationships, and ecological

resilience. Given the contrast between the Mohican and Iroquois adaptations, the discovery of these different characteristic settlement patterns at archaeological sites of the late prehistoric period is quite significant (Bender and Brumbach 1992). The location of Mohican-like settlements such as the Nahrwold site in the Schoharie valley is not unanticipated if the Mohicans are seen as a population moving from the west and consolidating in the Hudson drainage over time. Even though the Schoharie valley was a cultural frontier at a later time, the recognition of a Mohican-type settlement pattern in the Schoharie region in relative proximity to Mohawk settlements in the uplands north of the Mohawk River helps to contextualize the relationship between prehistoric Algonquian and Iroqouian populations.

11. I have discussed this issue previously in the context of Iroquoian and Mohican social organization (Curtin 1998b). Social organization varies from west to east from tribes such as the Onondagas, who had eight or nine clans and a strong moiety organization, to the Oneidas and Mohawks, who had three clans and a weak moiety organization (Fenton 1940, 1951; Tooker 1970). The Mohicans also had three clans, but no evidence of moiety organization (Brasser 1978). Thus, social integration was highest among the Onondagas, in the core of Iroquois territory, while clan autonomy was most pronounced among the Oneidas, Mohawks, and Mohicans, along and beyond the eastern Iroquois periphery. At the same time, the use of similar clan names among the Oneidas, Mohawks and Mohicans may have facilitated interaction among these peoples, particularly with respect to exchange or other forms of reciprocity and diplomacy (Tooker 1971).

The relationship between social integration and clan autonomy has been recognized as representing an important dynamic in the relationship between community and land (Plog 1978). In this case it probably represents the dynamic involved with Iroquois expansion into an inhabited land, particularly as that land became filled with new Iroquoian communities in addition to indigenous communities. Iroquois social organization relied in large part on the ideology of segmentary opposition, based upon the principles of kinship through unilineal descent, to promote the formation of large groups holding common interests in land, resources, or enterprises such as raids. This ideology allows the rapid increase of group size as clan segments gather together, creating a relatively large nucleated tribal society capable of predation upon neighbors, while establishing safety in numbers (Sahlins 1961). The further elaboration of this system through moieties strengthens the community by concentrating power and defensibility.

However, competition over land is also concentrated in nucleated communities, creating a tendency to fission unless integrative mechanisms are relatively strong (Plog 1978). The advantages of maintaining clan autonomy are best realized along the margins of expansion: competition for land is reduced as new lands are colonized, while the dispersion of clan segments provides flexibility in buffering against natural calamities.

Fissioning is most likely to occur with regularity on the margins of a society, where land is more available. In contrast, strong integrative mechanisms are more likely where territorial packing is greatest. The dynamic is further enhanced by the tendency for expanding segmentary societies to move out from the center, pressuring the groups on the margins, who must move or form alliances for strength. On the margins of Iroquois society, an interesting situation likely obtained: The societies on the periphery,

such as the Mohawks, tended to have weak integrative mechanisms in order to disperse away from larger settlements and reduce land competition within their own communities; yet they needed to rely on strength in numbers due to village competition, as well as pressure from larger Iroquoian societies to the west. In this context, diplomatic relationships with neighbors would be very important, especially if those neighbors occupied a somewhat different ecological niche, reducing the potential for direct conflict. I submit that the Mohawk-Mohican frontier has evidence of two societies, two settlement patterns, and two ecological niches. These different societies, settlement strategies and niches, articulated with the Wolf, the Bear, and the Turtle - that is, with traditional clan prerogatives and responsibilities - mythically justified and provided sufficient complementary social organization to facilitate appropriate alliances and invest reciprocal obligations. This kind of relationship would better help the many small communities of both language groups to adapt to an increasingly complex and violent world.

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CHAPTER 2

MOHICAN/ALGONQUIAN SETTLEMENT PATTERNS: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Lucianne Lavin

INTRODUCTION

Several hypotheses have been generated concerning Mohican settlement patterns. They are mainly derived from early European documents and negative archaeological evidence. Recent archaeological investigations in the Hudson watershed and southern New England provide complementary and sometimes conflicting evidence for late prehistoric and historic Algonquian settlements. Summary of these data and comparison with archaeological remains from contemporary Iroquois sites indicate very different settlement types between the two groups. The implications for social and political organization within Muhheakunnuk are explored.

This paper has four goals:

1. To summarize the prevalent theories on Mohican community structures and settlement patterns.
2. To summarize the archaeological evidence for Mohican structures and settlement.
3. To compare these with archaeological information from contemporary non-Mohican sites.
4. To make some general statements about how the archaeological data inform on early Algonquian economy and sociopolitical organization, particularly with regard to contemporaneous neighboring Iroquois societies.

MOHICAN SETTLEMENT THEORIES

Several hypotheses have been generated concerning Mohican settlement patterns. They are mainly derived from early European documents and maps, and negative archaeological evidence. The traditional theory is strongly influenced by colonial reports of 17th and 18th century Native American forts in portions of the Hudson drainage (see Diamond 1996:105 and Dunn 1994:231-232 for discussion of these accounts). The 1635 Dutch map of New Netherland and adjacent regions illustrates two palisaded villages containing double rows of quonset-shaped houses bearing the inscription "mode of fortifying their houses among the Mohicans" (Blaeu 1635). Supporters of this theory describe Mohican people as residing in palisaded villages composed of large longhouses such as those commonly found on Iroquoian sites (e.g., Ruttenber 1872).

T. J. Brasser also advocates for year-round palisaded villages, although he contends that portions of the population left a village during certain parts of the year. Groups of men or family groups would set up seasonal camps

Mohican Seminar 1, The Continuance–An Algonquian Peoples Seminar, edited by Shirley W. Dunn. New York State Museum Bulletin 501.

elsewhere for the exploitation of seasonally available resources such as springtime fish runs or fall hunting drives. Referring to the Blaeu map, Brasser describes fortified villages "containing 3 to 16 bark-covered longhouses each...the available data suggest an average of about 200 individuals in each village" (Brasser 1978:198).

In his 1980 book on the archaeology of New England, Dean Snow also ascribes stockaded hilltop villages containing up to 16 longhouses to the Mohicans. Snow, however, suggests that the villages were not occupied year round but that at certain times of the year the Mohican families dispersed to seasonal hunting or fishing stations where they "probably lived in single-family wigwams" (Snow 1980:88). A major problem with these hypotheses, however, is that no stockaded archaeological sites have ever been discovered in Mohican territory

Taking this into account, as well as the negative evidence for large Mohican village sites in general, Susan Bender and Ed Curtin concluded that palisaded villages among the Mohican were "highly questionable." They proposed a third theory, that Mohican people were dispersed throughout their homelands in small, unfortified household groupings containing one- or two-family house structures (Bender and Curtin 1994). Shirley Dunn's research into Mohican land transactions and associated colonial documents supports Bender and Curtin's hypothesis. In her 1994 book, *The Mohicans and Their Land 1609-1730*, Dunn concluded that, "To accommodate their agricultural network, Mohicans lived in scattered small communities spread across their territory. It is not known how many villages existed at any one time, but the pattern of scattered living is clear" (Dunn 1994:231-232).

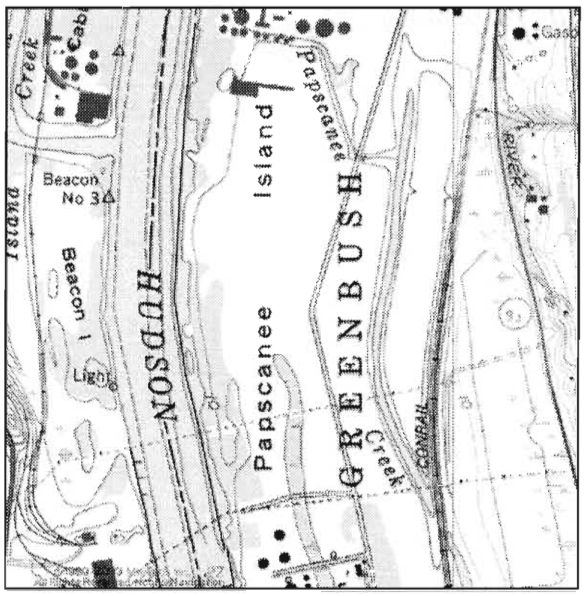
Dunn also has suggested that fortified sites only appeared in Muheakunnuk during times of war, such as during the sporadic seventeenth century wars with the Mohawk over European trade privileges. About the time Dunn was writing these comments, several excavations were being conducted that would produce significant archaeological information to fuel the debate on Algonquian settlement patterns.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE: THE GOLDKREST SITE

One of the most important archaeological sites in the history of the Mohican people is the Goldkrest site (Lavin et al. 1996, 1997; Largy et al. 1999). It is important for three reasons. First, it is the first undisturbed major Late Woodland and early Historic Native American habitation site discovered in the upper Hudson Valley. Second, according to the writings of Shirley Dunn (1994:45-62) and other Mohican historians (e.g., Brasser 1978:198; Huey 1992-1993) it is located in the heart of the Mohican tribal homelands. Third, it contained the remnants of community structures, the first Native American "houses" to be found in the upper Hudson Valley. In essence, archaeology at the Goldkrest site provided a rare opportunity for studying the lifeways of late prehistoric and early historic Mohican people.

The Goldkrest site is located in the upper Hudson drainage in the town of East Greenbush (Figure 2.1). It is a floodplain site on Kuyper Island, which today is no longer an island but a part of the mainland. The site was discovered during a Stage IB archaeological investigation of the Consolidated Natural Gas Transmission Line pipeline project by Archaeological Research Specialists in May of 1993 (Archaeological Research Specialists 1993). I was the principal investigator.

Dr. Robert Kuhn of the New York State Historic Preservation Office and officials at the Federal Energy Commission recognized the importance of the site and authorized its intensive excavation. In cultural resource management jargon, this is known as a Stage III Data Recovery procedure, which was initiated in November of the same year. Archaeo-

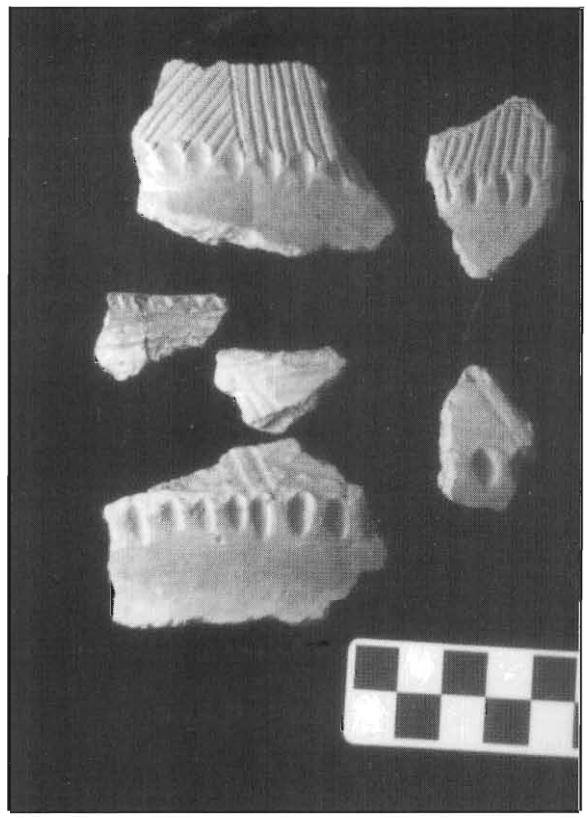


2.1. Papscanee Island, below Albany, New York, was the location of the Goldkrest site.

logical Research Specialists and Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. conducted the excavations under my direction and that of Karen Hartgen in the northern and southern portions of the site, respectively (Lavin et al. 1996, 1997).

The northern excavations uncovered a buried living floor (Stratum III) dating from the terminal Late Woodland to the early Historic period. The living floor contained artifacts, hearths and pit features, numerous post molds, and floral and faunal remains in the form of plant parts, seed and nut fragments, shell, and bone. Characteristic artifacts included collared potsherds with incised and cord-wrapped-stick (or paddle-edge) stamped decoration (Figure 2.2.a.&b.), and Levanna projectile points.

Tonya Largy and Kathleen Furgerson's analyses of the botanical remains demonstrated Mohican exploitation of a range of plant sources locally available from summer to fall (Largy et al. 1999:75-80; Largy 1997). These included fruits such as bramble berries, elderberries, and grapes as well as grains and grasses such as goosefoot, millet, buck-



2.2.a. (Samples of collared pottery from the Goldkrest site. See text.)

2.2.b. (Additional collared pottery from the Goldkrest site. See text.)

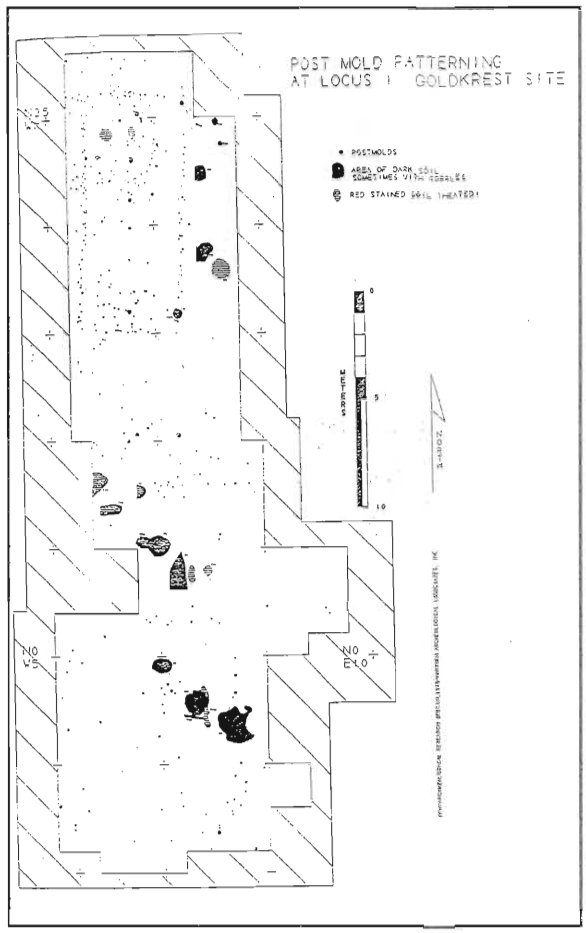
wheat/sedge, and *scirpus* sp. (smartweed/knotweed or bulrush). Nut processing was a major economic activity — significant amounts of butternuts and hickory were harvested. The presence of maize kernels and cupules indicates that Goldkrest residents

were involved in horticultural activities as well. The presence of charred buttercup seeds suggests the collection of flora for medicinal purposes as well as food consumption. As Tonya Largy noted in a recent article, buttercups were utilized by Northeastern Indian groups as a curative for various health problems, including headache, toothache, venereal disease, and protection against witchcraft (Largy et al. 1999:76).

Spreads of charred wood fragments at the top of Stratum IV have been identified by charcoal specialist Dr. Lucinda McWeeney as extensive burned deposits, the result of either naturally or culturally induced fires. These deposits are located just below the terminal Late Woodland buried living floor. Dutch records mention Indian land-clearing activities in the Hudson Valley, specifically their burning of the underbrush. Cleared lands were highly attractive to Dutch settlers. As early as 1609, Henry Hudson noted islands cleared for planting, treeless except along their perimeters. One of them may have been Kuyper Island, since according to Paul Huey, Hudson's ship, the Half Moon, had anchored at the mouth of the Normanskill just north of the island (Huey 1996:131).

These burned deposits were radiocarbon dated to AD 1060 +/70 years (Beta-67938) and AD 990 +/ 60 years (Beta-67689). It is quite possible that they represent early Mohican land-clearing for horticultural purposes. The charcoal fragments were identified as elm wood and herbaceous materials, flora typical of organically rich bottomlands or floodplain environments. They suggest the presence of an open woodland or meadowland environment during the Late Woodland period.

Several hundred post molds were found throughout the site. Post mold profiles ranged from a few centimeters deep to more than 60 cm from top to bottom. Most of them originated in the base of a Late Woodland/Historic living floor. At least four pole-frame structures were represented. The complete outlines of two structures were uncovered in the northern portion of the site (Figure 2.3).



2.3. Post mold figuration at Locus 1 at the Goldkrest site. (From Lavin et al, 1997)

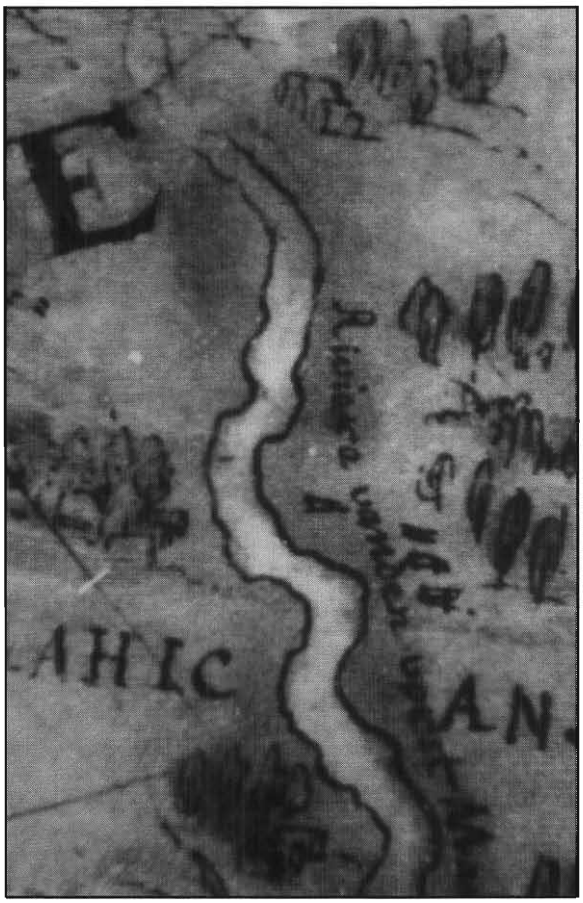
Structure A is ovoid and measures eight by eleven meters. It encompasses an area of 88 square meters and could easily have sheltered two nuclear families or two small extended families. Structure B is a four by eleven meter rectangle, encompassing 44 square meters. It would have housed even fewer persons than structure A. Structure B's size and configuration suggest that it may represent a quonset-shaped hut such as one of those depicted in Mohican territory on a 1614 Dutch map (Figures 2.4. and 2.5.).

Charcoal from within Structure B has generated three radiocarbon dates. Wood char-

2.4. The large territory of the Mohicans on the Mauritius (Hudson) River was indicated on this 1614 map attributed to Adriaen Block. (Map at Algemeen Rijksarchief, the Hague, the Netherlands)

coal from one of the central posts provided an uncalibrated date of 1090 BP +/ 90 yrs. That feature exhibited extensive rodent disturbance, however; the remaining two dates, one on a maize kernel and one on wood charcoal from a feature within the living floor, appear more reliable. They produced radiocarbon dates of 380 and 350 BP, respectively, each +/ 50 years. The calibrated dates for the latter range from AD 1435 to 1648 and AD 1445-1660 (Elizabeth Little in Largy et al. 1999:82). These dates correlate well with six other radiocarbon dates from Stratum III, which fall between AD 1470 and 1680 (uncalibrated; Lavin et al. 1996:119). The dates and chronologically diagnostic artifacts from the site, such as aboriginal pottery and projectile points, as well as European trade goods such as sheet brass (including a brass tinkler) and a glass trade bead, indicate continued or sporadic occupation from the early 15th century into the early Historic period.

The presence of features and community structures at Goldkrest indicates some degree of sedentism. Yet the small number of features (46) and ceramic pots (31) relative to the area excavated (514.0 m2) suggest a sparse population or a semi-sedentary occupation, or both. Semi-sedentary settlement is supported by the fact that the site is often inundated by the Hudson River during late winter and early spring, when snow thaws and spring rains cause flooding. Significantly, the seasonal availability of the floral and faunal remains suggest that the site functioned as a multi-seasonal fishing and foraging camp during the summer and early fall. The Mohicans called Kuyper Island "Nanosech," which Dr. Paul Huey suggests is a variation of the Algonquian word *Namaussuck*, meaning "fishes" (Huey 1994:8). The fish bones, fish scales, sturgeon plates, and freshwater mussel shells recovered from Goldkrest support Huey's interpretation (Dirrigl 1997).



2.5. Detail from the 1614 map shows unfortified quonset-shaped Mohican houses in small groups near the trees.

In summary, the archaeological data indicate that Goldkrest was a small, unfortified hamlet in the Hudson floodplain that had been seasonally occupied by small family groups from summer to early fall over hundreds of years. During this time Mohican families fished, foraged for freshwater shellfish, hunted deer, and collected nuts, wild plants, and fruit for food and medicinal purposes (Lavin et al. 1997). The recovery of kernels, cob fragments, and a possible hoe fragment indicate nearby planting fields where maize was tended and harvested (Largy et al. 1999:80). The community structures indicate a concurrent population of from one to three or four households with a maximum of 50 persons. Although large areas of the site were stripped of topsoil by hand excavation and by heavy machinery, we found no evidence of a palisade or other fortification structures.

The absence of a palisade demonstrates that at least some Mohican settlements were not stockaded villages. The Goldkrest site most closely supports Bender and Curtin's (1990) hypothesis of Mohican settlement as dispersed unfortified hamlets occupied by one or two small households. (See also Chapter 1, this volume.)

I know of no other definite Mohican archaeological sites in the literature, with the possible exception of the Rip Van Winkle site. Rip Van Winkle is located on the west bank of the Hudson north of Catskill. It was excavated by New York State Archaeologist Emeritus Dr. Robert Funk. Dr. Funk identified it as a spring-summer fishing camp and dated it to the mid-seventeenth century (Funk 1976). If the dating is accurate, the site may just as easily represent a Mohawk encampment, since colonial documents report that the Mohawk had driven the Mohicans from this area during their 1620s trade war (Brasser 1978:206; Cassedy 1998:211).

OTHER ALGONQUIAN SITES

Not surprisingly, Goldkrest shares a number of characteristics with Native American settlements to the south and west. Like Muheakunnuk, these areas were occupied by Algonquian-speaking peoples. One example is the Wappinger Creek site (a.k.a. Site 23031). Located in Dutchess County south of traditional Mohican territory, it was discovered during archaeological investigations connected with the Iroquois Gas Pipeline project by Louis Bergers and Associates, Inc. It is the only other archaeological site on the east side of the Hudson drainage to exhibit evidence of Late Woodland house structures. The site contained a small rectangular poleframe house structure 4.5 meters by 9.5 meters, in size virtually the same size as structure B at

the Goldkrest site. Maize, nuts and other vegetal remains from the site suggest an early spring to late fall occupation. Like Goldkrest, the site has been interpreted as a floodplain hamlet seasonally inhabited by "one or two nuclear family groups or perhaps a minimal extended family group" (Cassedy 1998:215).

Also located in the mid-Hudson Valley but on the west side of the drainage is the Grapes site (Diamond 1996). Unlike Goldkrest and Wappinger Creek, Grapes is an upland site. Dr. Joseph Diamond describes it as a historic Esopus settlement containing maize, nuts, and a wide range of animal bones. Diamond reports two longhouses from the site, one of which he estimates to be 32.5 meters long and 9 meters wide, about three times the size of the rectangular houses from Goldkrest and Wappinger Creek. Diamond interprets Grapes as a winter settlement. He hypothesizes that Algonquian societies dispersed into settlements of small households during the warmer seasons but fused into larger communities during the cold months, to make more efficient use of fuel and to engage in group hunts (Diamond 1996:106).

Farther south, in the upper Delaware Valley, small riverine settlements are typical of the Late Woodland period. Dr. Herbert Kraft has described these sites as unfortified hamlets with a few pole frame rectangular houses similar to those at Wappinger Creek and Goldkrest. An acknowledged expert on Delaware Valley archaeology, Dr. Kraft confirmed the similarity in settlement patterning between upper Delaware Valley Munsee society and the Mohicans in his 1986 book *The Lenape*:

> "There is good reason to assume that these people lived in small dispersed unfortified farmsteads, relatively free from the fear of aggression, at least until the coming of European settlers" (Kraft 1986:122).

To the east in southern New England, researchers have suggested a similar model of dispersed unfortified hamlets. Based on his excavation of the Weantinoge site, which was located in the Housatonic drainage in Brookfield, Connecticut, (the next major drainage east of the Hudson), Russell Handsman reported that

> ". . .this project assumes that numerous small hamlets, paired wigwams, and isolated houses were present all over the lands included in the Fort Hill district.... Many of these settlements were small and tended to blend with their immediately surrounding environments" (Handsman 1989:4).

There are no published examples of Native American house remains from the Housatonic drainage to date. In fact, evidence of Native American housing is rare for New England as a whole. The few late prehistoric house structures unearthed are small circular or oval poleframe structures (e.g., Ritchie 1969:101,124), such as the ca. 6.5 meter long oval structure from the Griswold site in Old Lyme, Connecticut (Juli and Lavin 1996). It was one of several structures interpreted as a small Late Woodland hamlet with radiocarbon dates of AD 1170 and AD 1440. The structure is virtually identical in size and shape to ones described by Yale President Ezra Stiles on his 1761 trip to the Niantic Indian reservation in Niantic, Connecticut (Juli and Lavin 1996:94). Stiles clearly noted that such structures slept from seven to twelve people, numbers suggestive of a small extended family or one to two nuclear families (Sturtevant 1975).

It should be noted here that the Griswold Point site was only partially excavated, and of numerous (439) postmolds, some were scattered and some formed patterns throughout the excavation areas in addition to the one complete and two partial structures identified by the researchers. The site suggests a more nucleated pattern than evidenced at the more western Algonquian sites. Griswold Point suggests, tentatively, the beginnings of the larger, more complex historic sociopolitical organizations indicated in colonial docu-

ments for southeastern New England (see Bragdon 1996). Alternatively, the structures may represent consecutive, repeated occupations over time of an area blessed with abundant inland, coastal, and marine food resources nearby.

IROQUOIS SETTLEMENTS

In contrast to the Algonquian sites, contemporaneous Iroquois-speaking peoples lived in large, year-round palisaded villages. Iroquois settlements contained more and larger true longhouses with more cultural remains than are found at Algonquian sites. Iroquois archaeology indicates large, sedentary populations congregated in heavily fortified villages and towns. Virtually all of the houses at these sites were over 30 meters in length; some were over 100 meters long. Each longhouse contained a series of central hearths, one for each matrilineally related household living beneath its roof (Chilton 1996:69; Ritchie 1970:71-72; Tuck 1970:77-78). Population estimates for various Iroquois communities range from 100 to 3,300 people (Funk 1970; Ritchie and Funk 1973; Snow and Starna 1989; Starna 1980).

CONCLUSIONS

The distinctions in settlement probably reflect the diverse economies that supported these societies. The much greater amounts of domesticated plant remains excavated from Iroquois sites indicate greater reliance on horticulture than has been found on Algonquian sites, where a wider range of wild plant and animal remains suggests a broader-spectrum economy. The Iroquois were true farmers; Algonquian peoples were foragers and fishermen as well as horticulturists.

These economic differences between Iroquois and Algonquian are reflected in the Iroquoian emphasis on matrilineal descent, matrilocal residence, and the political power of female elders. Because horticulture was so important to the Iroquois economy and women performed most of the labor associated with it, work groups of related females obviously would promote superior output. Additionally, women's economic importance could have promoted the political prominence still evident among some matriarchal heads of households.

The nucleated, highly structured Iroquois matrilineal matrilocal socio-settlement pattern surely helped to foster the tightly ordered political character of each member nation of the Iroquois League, as well as the League itself. In contrast, Algonquian communities appear more independent. Alliances seem to have been more loosely organized, apparently a function of their dispersed settlement pattern (Salwen 1978). The ramifications of these socio-political differences in regard to eventual Iroquois political dominance need to be more fully explored.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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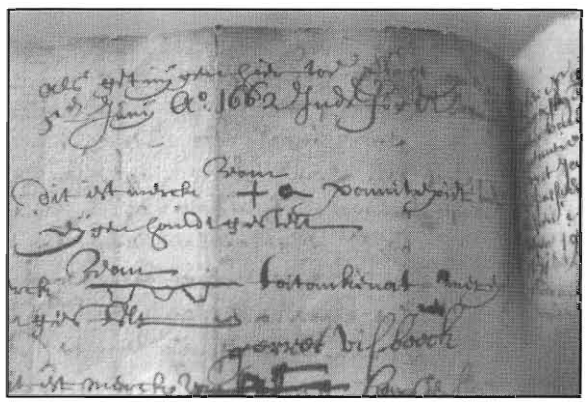
CHAPTER 3

DUTCH SOURCES ON NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORY

Jaap Jacobs

The Dutch colonial presence in the seventeenth century in North America, in New Netherland, has left us a wealth of documents. Besides correspondence, contracts, ordinances regulating colonial life, and other documents yielding information on the colonists, there are many documents pertaining to the Native Americans in the Hudson Valley. However, these documents are, generally speaking, not very easy to access, as they are scattered over various depositories both in the United States and in Holland. A more serious obstacle is that the bulk of the documents is written in seventeenth-century Dutch, and, even for those with a facility in modern Dutch, the handwriting and idiom of the seventeenth century pose problems (Figure 3.1.). Thus, American researchers have to rely on translations. It is my intention in this paper to give an overview of existing sources and to provide a critical analysis of available translations. An extensive list of translations is presented in an appendix.

A preliminary point needs to be made, however. Writing history is a funny business in some ways. As a historian I write about people I never met and events I did not witness. The past really is a foreign country, where they do things differently. In studying the past I mostly deal with material written by participants, which are not necessarily truthful depositions of what was really going on, and which require careful analysis. As a



3.1. Albany County's earliest deed books are in Dutch. This Indian deed for land in present Columbia County was given on June 5, 1662 by *Pamitepiet* and *Tatankenat*, Mohicans. (Albany County Hall of Records, Deeds, Book 2)

Dutch historian using this material, I try to reconstruct the past, which includes trying to understand the mentalities of people we may call Dutch, but who culturally are far removed from me. Their religious and cultural perspective on Native Americans is something that I may try to understand, in the sense that I try to put it in its cultural context, but it is not a perspective that I share. On the contrary, there are many points on which I disagree. It may be easy to condemn the attitudes of people who led their lives three hundred and fifty years ago, but such condemnation does little to further our insight into how and why situations developed as they did.

Mohican Seminar 1, The Continuance–An Algonquian Peoples Seminar, edited by Shirley W. Dunn. New York State Museum Bulletin 501.

The Dutch sources relating to Native Americans can be divided into two categories. The first category is that of texts drawn up primarily as a personal description of the original inhabitants of North America. The products of such authors as Adriaen van der Donck and Johannes Megapolensis fall into this category. The second category consists of the records that were produced by the governmental and ecclesiastical institutions both in America and in the Dutch Republic. The minutes of the meetings of the Director General and his Council fall into this category. Of course, this division is neither watertight nor inclusive, but it is still useful. I will first deal with the descriptive sources.

DESCRIPTIVE SOURCES

Among the descriptive sources are some of what might be called the classical texts of New Netherland. The most important of these both in terms of length and of content are the journal of Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert, the observations of Johannes Megapolensis and the section on Native Americans in Adriaen van der Donck's "Description of New Netherland." Fortunately, there are many more. For a complete overview of these texts and the places where they may be found I refer the reader to the Appendix. When evaluating these texts, we need to pay attention to several points.

First, we can distinguish two types of texts here: eyewitness accounts and second hand accounts. Especially for the beginning of the seventeenth century, for which direct information is scarce, we can glean details from lost reports and journals as they were used by writers who never set foot on American soil. Of course, this information is less reliable than that in eyewitness accounts.

Second, some of these texts had already appeared in print in the seventeenth century and thus exerted an influence on their audiences and, for instance, directed the perspective of future colonists. Some of the information contained in these publications may be geared specifically towards promoting migration. Thus, much care is needed in interpreting the texts, taking into consideration the intentions of the writers and the preconceptions of the audience towards which the writings were geared.

Third, it is remarkable that while in most descriptions the differences between the languages of the various Native American groups were recognized, other cultural features were usually attributed without such distinction. This failure may be interpreted either as an indication that the cultural distance between the colonists and the Native Americans was so large that such distinctions were unobservable to the Dutch eye, or that the cultures of the various groups within the broad New Netherland area were largely similar. The latter conclusion is drawn by some anthropologists, who argue that there was a common Hudson River culture shared by Mohicans, Munsees and Mohawks. But observations also depend on where in New Netherland the describer was based. Minister Johannes Megapolensis wrote his 1644 treatise while serving in the Albany area, and the title of his work referred to the Mohawks. Yet Megapolensis lived on the east side of the Hudson, and he may not have travelled farther west than the Cohoes Falls, so he must have had contact with the Mohicans as well. Company official Isaack de Rasiere, on the other hand, was based on Manhattan Island, and most of what he wrote pertains to the Munsee groups in the lower Hudson Valley.

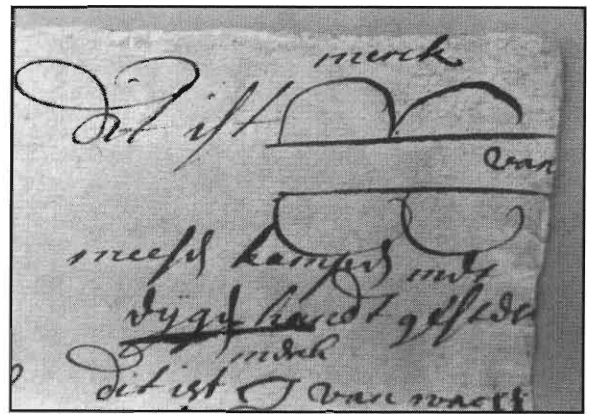
Fourth, we need to take into account the background of the describer, both in particular and in general. Ministers such as Jonas Michaelius and Johannes Megapolensis paid attention to religious features of Native American culture, partly because conversion to Christianity was one of their aims. For Adriaen van der Donck, on the other hand, conversion was not a point of importance. Instead, as he was writing directly for an audience in the Dutch Republic, he largely followed classical

examples such as Pliny, both in the structure and in the choice of topics for his narrative. And for yet another describer, Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert, giving a good account of his journey to his superiors was the main aim. The details he provides are more practical and down-to-earth than those of other writers, which is partly the result of his choice of the journal form. In general, to properly assess the remarks by seventeenth-century describers, we need to interpret them within the framework of seventeenth-century Dutch mentality. If we do not do that, anachronistic judgments are inevitable. All of the above points need to be taken into consideration when assessing the value of information in these texts.

INSTITUTIONAL SOURCES

The second category is that of institutional sources: the papers left by various governmental bodies. This requires a short explanation of the governmental system of New Netherland. In a top-down approach, the first governmental level rested with the Dutch States General, consisting of delegates from the Dutch provinces. Second came the West India Company, which by virtue of its charter from the States General had the power to found colonies and conduct monopolistic trade in the Atlantic. The West India Company was divided into chambers, of which, for our purposes, the Chamber of Amsterdam was the most important. Third, and here we cross the Atlantic Ocean, was the provincial government in New Netherland, headed by a director general and council. Appointed by and subordinate to the West India Company, the director general of New Netherland did not have as powerful a position as governors in New England, but he could be very influential. Last in line were the local governments. The West India Company had the power to grant to villages and towns a Court of Justice, which could play a role in relations with the Native Americans (Figure 3.2).

Information pertaining to Native American affairs can be found on each of these levels, which I will discuss in the listed order. The records of the States General are located in the *Nationaal Archief* (National Archives) in The Hague. The archives contain, as one would suspect, a very large collection of documents of which only a small part pertains to New Netherland. The documents consist of resolutions, reports and correspondence, part of which relate directly to the colony. The States General took action only when there was trouble in New Netherland, and most of the documents thus deal with Kieft's War, the conflict between the West India Company and the colonists, and the surrender of New Netherland to England in 1664. Substantial parts of these documents were transcribed in the mid-nineteenth century and subsequently published in translation in the first two volumes of O'Callaghan's *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, cited in the Appendix.



3.2. Documents continued to be written in Dutch after the English claimed New York. "This is the mark of Meese Kampe made with his own hand," says an Indian deed for the Hoosic Patent, February 11, 1684. Meese Kampe and his wife were described as *Mahikanders*. (Bratt Family Papers, Manuscripts and Special Collections, New York State Library)

Of the records of the West India Company, very little has survived, as most of the documents were sold as scrap paper in 1821. The seventeenth-century documents may have been largely lost much earlier. What we

still have is, for the most part, deposited in the *Nationaal Archief*, though some documents can be found elsewhere. In various publications some snippets have been translated, such as in O'Callaghan's *Documents Relative to New Netherland*, which contains instructions and correspondence of the 1620s.

Like the others, the records of the provincial government at New Amsterdam have not escaped the ravages of time. The 1911 State Capitol fire completely destroyed one volume and other volumes were damaged by fire and water in varying degrees. The minutes and the correspondence of the Director General and Council are especially important for information about Native Americans. Considerable portions of these documents have been translated, but a lot of work still needs to be done. The New Netherland Project, housed in the Cultural Education Center in Albany, has published several new translations over the last twenty-five years. A list of these is presented in the appendix.

Last come the records of local governments. The power of local courts of justice in relations with the Native Americans was limited, but it was on this level that most of the daily interaction took place. The court records of Beverwijck (Albany) are of special importance, as in the Beverwijck court most of the fur trade pronouncements and difficulties were aired.

Parallel to the hierarchical line of governmental institutions, there are two other resource lines of lesser importance. First, the City of Amsterdam had a colony of its own on the Delaware, and documents for that part of New Netherland can be found in the archive of the burgomasters of Amsterdam. Second, the ecclesiastical institutions provide information. The Classis of Amsterdam (the Reformed Church governing body) supervised ministers in New Netherland as well as at home, and the correspondence between the classis and its overseas ministers is of considerable importance in assessing the efforts of proselytization.

Institutional sources on the whole are more difficult to use than descriptive sources, partly because they contain much information other than that pertaining to Native Americans. As indexes are sometimes non-existent or incomplete, extensive work in sifting through the records is required. In addition, knowledge of the nature of the source is required to interpret the information we may find. Another problem is that the aims for which these documents were written are much more difficult to assess than in the case of descriptive sources. Knowledge of specific local circumstances is required. Nevertheless, these sources are extremely valuable as they provide us with data on the daily contacts between the Dutch and the Native Americans, including details of trade and war.

TRANSLATIONS

As I pointed out earlier, all of these documents were written in seventeenth-century Dutch, and over the last two centuries many attempts at translating material have been made. In trying to be brief, I run the risk of being incomplete, but I need to make some general remarks about translations. The quality of translations of Dutch material into English is varied. Older translations, such as those of Edmund O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, who translated large numbers of documents, are to be approached with caution, to say the least. Even so, they are not as bad as, for instance, Jeremiah Johnson's translation of the Van der Donck book, or Dingman Versteeg's of the Wiltwijck records. The work of Arnold van Laer in the first part of the twentieth century is quite satisfactory. The modern translations, and especially those of Dr. Charles Gehring, are very good. Nevertheless, a translation will always give a distorted view, however slight the distortion may be. The following are a few examples of problems with existing translations.

One that is so bad as to be (in parts) misleading is Jeremiah Johnson's translation of Adriaen van der Donck's *A Description of New Netherland*. This version was first published in 1841, but was reissued in 1968 and is still sold today. Johnson left out five complete chapters and frequently omitted phrases or complete sentences. Even worse, he added material of his own. In some cases his translation reversed the original meaning of Van der Donck. In one example, taken from Van Gastel's article, Van der Donck writes: *Het gebeurt oock wel dat een vrye Vrouws-persoon wel een tijdt by yemant sal slapen en de Hoere daer van zijn / soo langh hy haer te vreden steldt / en ghenoegh geeft / daer zy nochtans niet mede zoude willen Trouwen.* Johnson translates this as: "Few females will associate with men in a state of concubinage when they will not marry." A better translation would be: "It also happens that a free woman will for some time sleep with someone and be his lover provided that he keep her satisfied and give her enough although, however, she would not want to marry him."

Such problems are numerous in early translations. One may point, for instance, to the translation of the first letter of Jonas Michaelius by Dingman Versteeg, made in 1904. Michaelius writes about certain ornaments, "namely two small bones, which the savage women here wear around their bodies as tassels and ornaments, and of which they are quite proud." Versteeg continues with "These small bones are taken from beavers," whereas a more complete translation is "These are the small bones of the copulatory organs of the male beavers, one end of which comes above the scrotum and then goes further on along the penis." One can see why Versteeg in 1904 translated it as he did, but for a proper cultural interpretation of these ornaments such references to their sexual origin are obviously crucial.

In the last example, "savage women" is the translation of "wildinnen," the usual feminine form of the plural "wilden." This is the word most commonly used by the Dutch in the seventeenth century to indicate the Native Americans. Other words are less frequently used: "Indiaenen", "barbaren" and "naturellen," which for now I will loosely translate as "Indians," "barbarians" and "natives." Translating these words in a way that both conveys the seventeenth-century cultural meaning and still is acceptable in our times is almost impossible. Translating "wilden" as "Indians" or even "Native Americans" may seem acceptable, but how then do we translate "Indianen"? Johannes Megapolensis especially uses this last word in his description, not just because he agrees with its use in Columbus's letters, but also because for the seventeenth-century readers it would allow easier incorporation in their mental world view. Those nuances are lost in translation. Similarly, translating "wilden" as "savages" may not just offend our modern sensibilities, but it may also appeal to a lingering persistence of the "noble savage" in the modern mind. Even though this concept was not unknown in seventeenth-century European thought, it nevertheless only received widespread popularity in the eighteenth century and therefore the use of "savage" is misleading. This is, of course, a common problem with any translation of historical material, and we need to be aware of it when using the translations.

Having pointed out the problems with existing translations, I wish to make clear that it is not my intention to persuade you all to start learning Dutch straightaway. It would be unrealistic to demand of everyone who uses the Dutch records to have a facility in that language, though I do think it is a requirement for those who wish to make New Netherland the focal point of their study. But even for people who only occasionally use the Dutch records, it is important to be aware of the pitfalls in early translations and of the problems of translations in general, even the modern ones. I hope this chapter contributes to enlarging that awareness.

DUTCH SOURCES ON NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORY: APPENDIX

A. DESCRIPTIVE SOURCES

General

Asher, G.M, *A Bibliographical and Historical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets Relating to New Netherland, and to the Dutch WestIndia Company, and to its Possessions in Brazil, Angola etc. as also on the Maps, Charts etc. of New Netherland by N.U. Visscher and of the Three Existing Views of New-Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1854-1867, repr. Amsterdam 1960). An overview of printed publications of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Old, but still useful.

Jameson, J. F. (ed.), *Narratives of New Netherland 1609-1664* (New York 1909, repr. 1967). This early collection contains translations of the majority of descriptive sources of New Netherland:

Emanuel van Meteren (1610, second hand information on Hudson's voyage)

Robert Juet (1610, journal of the first mate on Hudson's voyage)

Johannes de Laet (1625, second hand information, based on Hudson and early Dutch sailors' accounts)

Nicolaes van Wassenaer (1624-1630, second hand information on the early progress of the colony)

Isaack de Rasiere (1628, report of a West India Company official)

Jonas Michaelius (1628, letter written by the first minister on Manhattan)

Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert (1634-1635, narrative of a journey in Mohawk and Oneida land)

Johannes Megapolensis (1644, treatise on the Mohawks)

"Journal of New Netherland" (1647, anonymous account of Kieft's War)

David Pietersz de Vries (1655, account of Kieft's War)

Adriaen van der Donck (1650, "Representation of New Netherland"; 1655, "Description of New Netherland")

The translations, mostly made by Jameson and checked by Van Laer, can in general be trusted, though there are occasional problems. Of some of the texts in this volume better translations are available, as outlined below.

Snow, Dean, Charles Gehring and William Starna (eds.), *In Mohawk Country. Early Narratives about a Native People* (Syracuse 1996). Contains the texts of Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert, Johannes Megapolensis, Adriaen van der Donck and Jasper Danckaerts, using modern translations except for the treatise by Megapolensis.

Jonas Michaelius

Eekhof, A. *Jonas Michaelius, Founder of the Church in New Netherland* (Leiden 1926). Whereas *Narratives of New Netherland* contains only the translation of Michaelius' letter of August 11, 1628, the edition of Eekhof also contains the letter of August 8, 1628, and provides both the Dutch text in transcription as well as a translation into English.

Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert

Gehring, C. T., and W. A. Starna (trans. and eds.), *A Journey into Mohawk and Oneida Country, 1634-1635. The Journal of Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert* (Syracuse 1988, repr. 1991). An excellent publication of a very important text. Both the translation and the very extensive annotation are of the highest standard. The only complaint could be that a transcription of the Dutch text is not included.

Adriaen van der Donck

Van der Donck, Adriaen, *A description of the New Netherlands* J. Johnson, trans., T. F. O'Donnell, (ed.), (Syracuse, New York 1968). It is unfortunate that the only complete translation of Van der Donck's very important

book is so inadequate. There exists a much improved translation by Diederik Goedhuys, of which the section on native Americans has been published in *In Mohawk Country*.

Van der Donck, Adriaen, *Remonstrance of New Netherland* E. B. O'Callaghan, (trans. and ed.) (Albany 1856). The *Remonstrance* contains some points of interest as far as Native Americans are concerned. O'Callaghan's translation is out of date and in need of replacement.

Van Gastel, A., "Van der Donck's description of the Indians: additions and corrections." In: *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser. 47 (1990), 411-421. Van Gastel's careful comparison of Johnson's translation with the original makes abundantly clear how inaccurate Johnson really is.

Jasper Danckaerts

James, B. B., and J. F. Jameson (eds.), *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts 1679-1680* (New York 1913, repr. 1959). This journal contains several comments on Native Americans. The section dealing exclusively with the Native Americans was not included as the editors did not consider it an original contribution.

Gehring, Charles., and Robert Grumet, "Observations of the Indians from Jasper Danckaerts' journal, 1679-1680." In: *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd series 44 (1987), 104-120. This contains the translation of the section omitted in earlier publications.

Scott, K. (trans. and ed.), *Diary of our second trip from Holland to New Netherland, 1683. Dagh teijkeningh van onse tweede reijse uijt Hollant na Nieuw Nederlant, 1683. By Jasper Danckaerts of Wiewerd in Friesland* (Upper Saddle River 1969).

B. INSTITUTIONAL SOURCES

General

Gehring, Charles. (ed.), *A Guide to Dutch Manuscripts Relating to New Netherland in United States Repositories* (Albany 1978). General: An essential tool for anyone desiring to do archival research on New Netherland. An updated version, which will include the documents in Dutch repositories, is in preparation.

Institutions in the Dutch Republic

O'Callaghan, E. B. and B. Fernow (eds.), *Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York* (15 vols., Albany 1856-1883). Volumes 1 and 2 contain the `Holland Documents', transcriptions of documents from 1. the archive of the Dutch States General in the *Nationaal Archief* in The Hague, and from 2. the *Gemeentearchief Amsterdam* (Municipal Archives of Amsterdam).

Van Laer, A. J. F. (trans and ed.), "Letters of Wouter van Twiller and the director general and council of New Netherland to the Amsterdam chamber of the Dutch West India Company, August 14, 1636." In: *New York History* 50 (1969), supplement. The archive of the Dutch West India Company is mostly lost, but in the records pertaining to Brazil a couple of letters by Wouter van Twiller have been found.

Van Laer, A. J. F. (trans. and ed.), *Documents Relating to New Netherland, 1624-1626*, in the Henry E. Huntington Library (San Marino, California 1924). A translation of documents of the Dutch West India Company, accompanied by a transcription and facsimile. In general a good translation, with some minor errors.

Hart, S., *The Prehistory of the New Netherland Company. Amsterdam Notarial Records of the First Dutch Voyages to the Hudson* Amsterdam 1959). Contains newly discovered records which also contain some information on the trade with Native Americans.

The provincial government of New Netherland

The New York Colonial Documents in the New York State Archives contain all that is

left of the records of the provincial government of New Netherland. They were rearranged and described by Edmund B. O'Callaghan in the mid-nineteenth century.

O'Callaghan, E. B., (ed.), *Calendar of historical manuscripts in the office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N.Y. Part I. Dutch manuscripts, 1630-1664* (Albany 1865, repr. Ridgewood 1968).

The rearrangement by O'Callaghan is as follows: vols. 1-3 register of the provincial secretary; vols. 4-10 minutes of director general and council; vols. 11-15 correspondence; vol. 16 part 1 ordinances; vol. 16 parts 2 and 3 Fort Orange court minutes; vol. 17 Curacao papers; vols. 18-21 Delaware papers; vols. GG, HH and II land papers. Selected parts of these records have been published in vols. 12, 13 and 14 of E. B. O'Callaghan and B. Fernow (eds.), *Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York* (15 vols., Albany 1856-1883), and in

E. B. O'Callaghan (trans.), *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 1636-1674* (Albany 1868). However, the translations of O'Callaghan and especially Fernow are in places erroneous. Since 1974 translations of complete volumes in the archival order have been published by the New Netherland Project. Not all volumes contain information on Native Americans, but most do.

In order of volume number, these newer translations are the following:

Van Laer, A. J. F. (trans. and ed.), *Register of the provincial secretary, 1638-1642* (New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch, vol. 1) (Baltimore 1974).

Van Laer, A. J. F. (trans. and ed.), *Register of the provincial secretary, 1642-1647* (New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch, vol. 2) (Baltimore 1974).

Van Laer, A. J. F. (trans. and ed.), *Register of the provincial secretary, 1648-1660* (New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch, vol. 3) (Baltimore 1974).

Van Laer, A. J. F. (trans and ed.), *Council Minutes, 1638-1649* (New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch, vol. 4) (Baltimore 1974). This volume contains the council minutes pertaining to Kieft's War. In general Van Laer's translations are trustworthy, though he occasionally errs in technical matters.

Gehring, Charles (trans. and ed.), *Council Minutes, 1652-1654* (New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch, vol. 5) (Baltimore 1983).

Gehring, Charles (trans. and ed.), *Council minutes 1655-1656* (New Netherland Documents Series, part 6) (Syracuse 1995). The council minutes on the Peach War are contained in this volume.

Gehring, Charles (trans. and ed.), *Correspondence 1647-1653*. (New Netherland Documents Series, vol. 11). (Syracuse 2000).

Gehring, Charles (trans. and ed.), *Laws & Writs of Appeal 1647-1663* (New Netherland Documents Series, vol. 16, part 1) (Syracuse 1991).

Gehring, Charles (trans. and ed.), *Land papers* (New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch, vols. GG, HH & II) (Baltimore 1980).

Gehring, Charles, and J. A. Schiltkamp (trans. and eds.), *Curacao Papers 1640-1665* (New Netherland Documents, vol. 17) (Interlaken, N.Y. 1987).

Gehring, Charles (trans. and ed.), *Delaware Papers (Dutch period). A Collection of Documents Pertaining to the Regulation of Affairs on the South River of New Netherland, 1648-1664* (New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch, vols. 18-19) (Baltimore 1981).

New Amsterdam (New York City)

Fernow, B. (ed.), *The Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674 Anno Domini* (7 vols, New York 1897, 2nd edition Baltimore 1976). There are some other translations of New Amsterdam material, but these volumes with the minutes and some of the correspondence of the city government are the most impor-

tant. They contain quite a bit of information on Native Americans, but the translation is not reliable.

Beverwijck (Albany)

Gehring, Charles (trans. and ed.), *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660* (New Netherland Documents Series, vol. 16, part 2) (Syracuse 1990). As Beverwijck was the location where most of the interaction between the Dutch and the Native Americans took place, this volume is of prime importance.

Van Laer, A. J. F. (trans. and ed.), *Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange and Beverwijck 1652-1660* (2 vols., Albany 1920-1923).

Van Laer, A. J. F. (trans. and ed.), *Minutes of the Court of Albany, Rensselaerswijck and Schenectady 1668-1685* (3 vols, Albany 1926-1932).

Van Laer, A. J. F. (ed. and trans.), "Documents relating to Arent van Curlers death." In: *Dutch Settlers Society of Albany Yearbook* (1927-1928), 30-34.

Pearson, J. and A. J. F. van Laer (trans. and ed.), *Early records of the city and county of Albany and colony of Rensselaerswijck* (4 vols., Albany 1869-1919). Van Laer translated volumes 2-4 in his usual trustworthy way. Pearson's translation of volume 1 is not of the same standard, but fortunately this volume has been recently translated again and published as:

Gehring, Charles (trans. and ed.), *Fort Orange Records 1656-1678*, New Netherland Document Series (Syracuse 2000).

Rensselaerswijck

Van Laer, A. J. F. (trans. and ed.), *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts, being the Letters of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, 1630-1643, and other Documents Relating to the Colony of Rensselaerswyck* (Albany 1908). Important collection of documents, now in the Nederlands Scheepvaartmuseum (Dutch Maritime Museum) at Amsterdam. A good translation.

Van Laer, A. J. F. (trans. and ed.), *Minutes of the Court of Rensselaerswyck 1648-1652* (Albany 1922).

Van Laer, A. J. F. (trans. and ed.), *Correspondence of Jeremias van Rensselaer 1651-1674* (Albany 1932).

Van Laer, A. J. F. (trans. and ed.), *Correspondence of Maria van Rensselaer 1669-1689* (Albany 1935).

Wiltwijck (Kingston)

Versteeg, D. (trans.), P. R. Christoph, K. Scott, K. Stryker-Rodda (eds.), *Kingston Papers 1661-1675* (New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch) (2 vols, Baltimore 1976). For the relations between the colonists and the Native Americans, these sources from the mid-Hudson Valley are important. The translation is not very good.

Ecclesiastical sources

Corwin, E. T. (trans. and ed.), *Ecclesiastical Records. State of New York* (7 vols., Albany 1901-1916). A compilation of source material from the Archive of the Dutch Reformed Church in America in New Brunswick and the Classis of Amsterdam in the Gemeentearchief Amsterdam. This volume contains the correspondence between the ministers in New Netherland and the classis in Amsterdam. The translation, unfortunately, is untrustworthy.

CHAPTER 4

THE HIGHLAND KING NIMHAMMAW AND THE NATIVE INDIAN PROPRIETORS OF LAND IN DUTCHESS COUNTY, NEW YORK: 1712-1765

J. Michael Smith

Archaeologists and historians studying the native peoples of the Hudson Valley have increasingly recognized that the many tribes, or nations, named by early explorers to the region were in fact aggregates of two distinct Algonquian cultural and linguistic groups: Munsee speakers of the lower courses of the Hudson River, and Mohican-speaking people of the upper Hudson, from around the Kaaterskill watershed to above the City of Albany. Yet little study has been conducted to determine the exact location of this territorial boundary or the relationships that existed between these separate peoples. This discussion examines references pertaining to the "Wappingers of Dutchess County," a Munsee-speaking band living on the east side of the Hudson, and to the first leader of the influential Nimham family known to have been associated with this group in the eighteenth century. Primary source materials are analyzed using ethnohistorical models to delineate the boundary separating them from Mohican bands to the north and to gain an understanding of the social and political interaction across this cultural demarcation line.

Nimhammaw, the first of four Wappinger or Highland leaders to bear similar names, was initially mentioned in Hudson Valley records as an Indian "Sachem" or "King" living in Dutchess County between 1712 and 1744. His wider ranging activities, and those of his successors, have become better known over the past two decades through the biographical indexing of that name with documents pertaining to the Munsee Cultural Region (Grumet 1992, 1979). This research, including references to a "nimham of Mericocke," identified in a 1675 land dispute between Matinecock people and the Town of Hempstead on western Long Island (NYHM, 24: 235-238), suggests that he (or a possible predecessor) was among the many coastal leaders forced to resettle among interior groups in response to colonial encroachment around New York City (Grumet 1996: 131-133). Subsequent records, referring to a Raritan sachem known as Nymhimau, Nyhammow, or Numham alias Squahikkon, indicate he first moved to central New Jersey before eventually establishing relations with "the Indians of Fishkill and Wappingers" north of the Hudson Highlands (Grumet 1992: 84-85; MacCracken 1956: 279-280).

This essay focuses on his activities as a spokesman of native people living along the northeastern border of Munsee territory, in

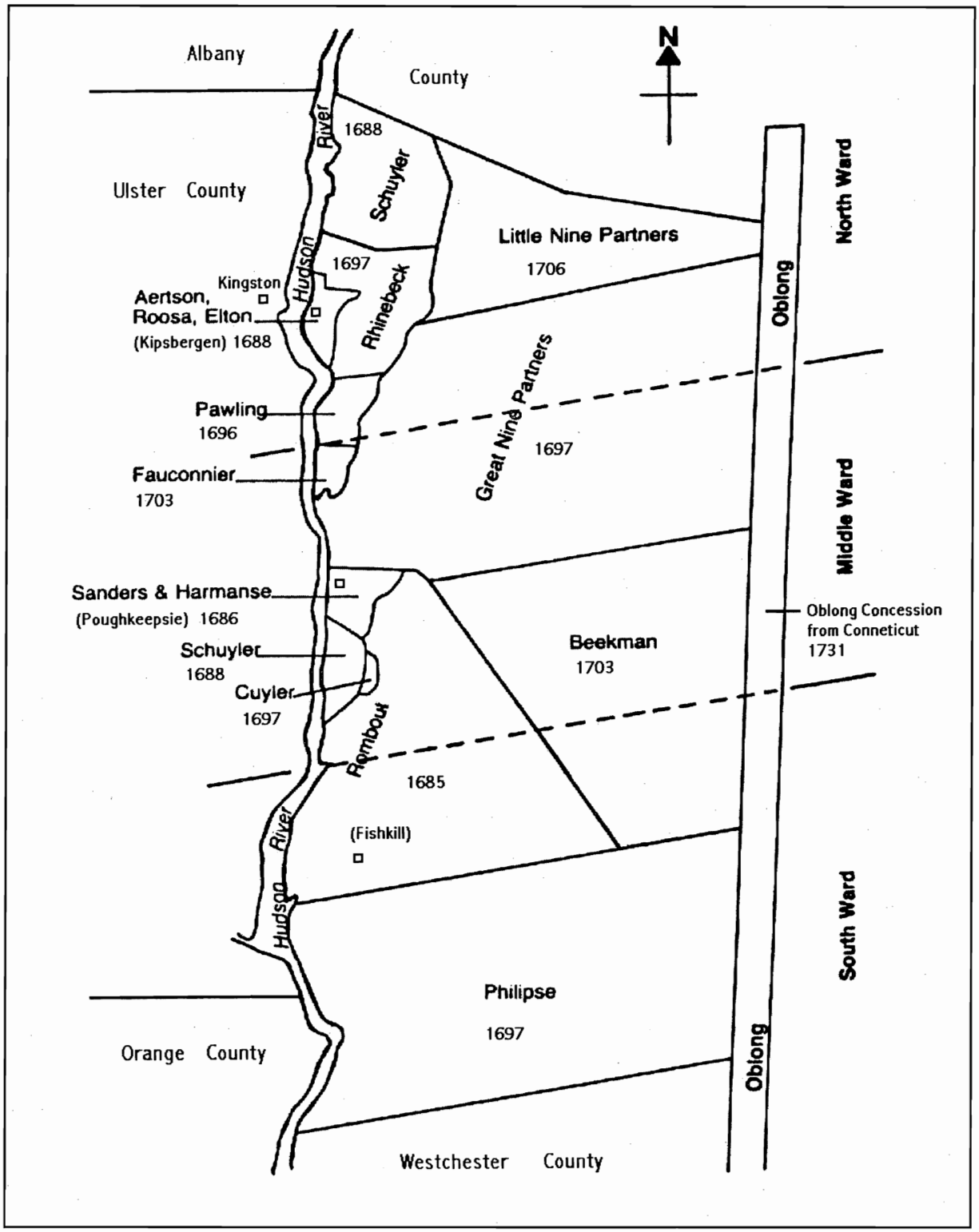
Mohican Seminar 1, The Continuance–An Algonquian Peoples Seminar, edited by Shirley W. Dunn. New York State Museum Bulletin 501.

the region demarcated by the English Crown as colonial Dutchess County, New York. Ethnohistorical material from this time period, found in land deeds, administrative records, and missionary accounts, also reveals the existence of a cohort of individuals with whom Nimhammaw was associated. Identification of these Indian proprietors, in turn, provides direct evidence of the cultural boundary separating Munsee- and Mohican-speaking bands, and enables us to address questions that are both regional and group specific; for instance, who were and were not "Wappingers" as defined ethnically and geographically, and how they related to their neighbors during the final decades of native land tenure in the Hudson Valley.

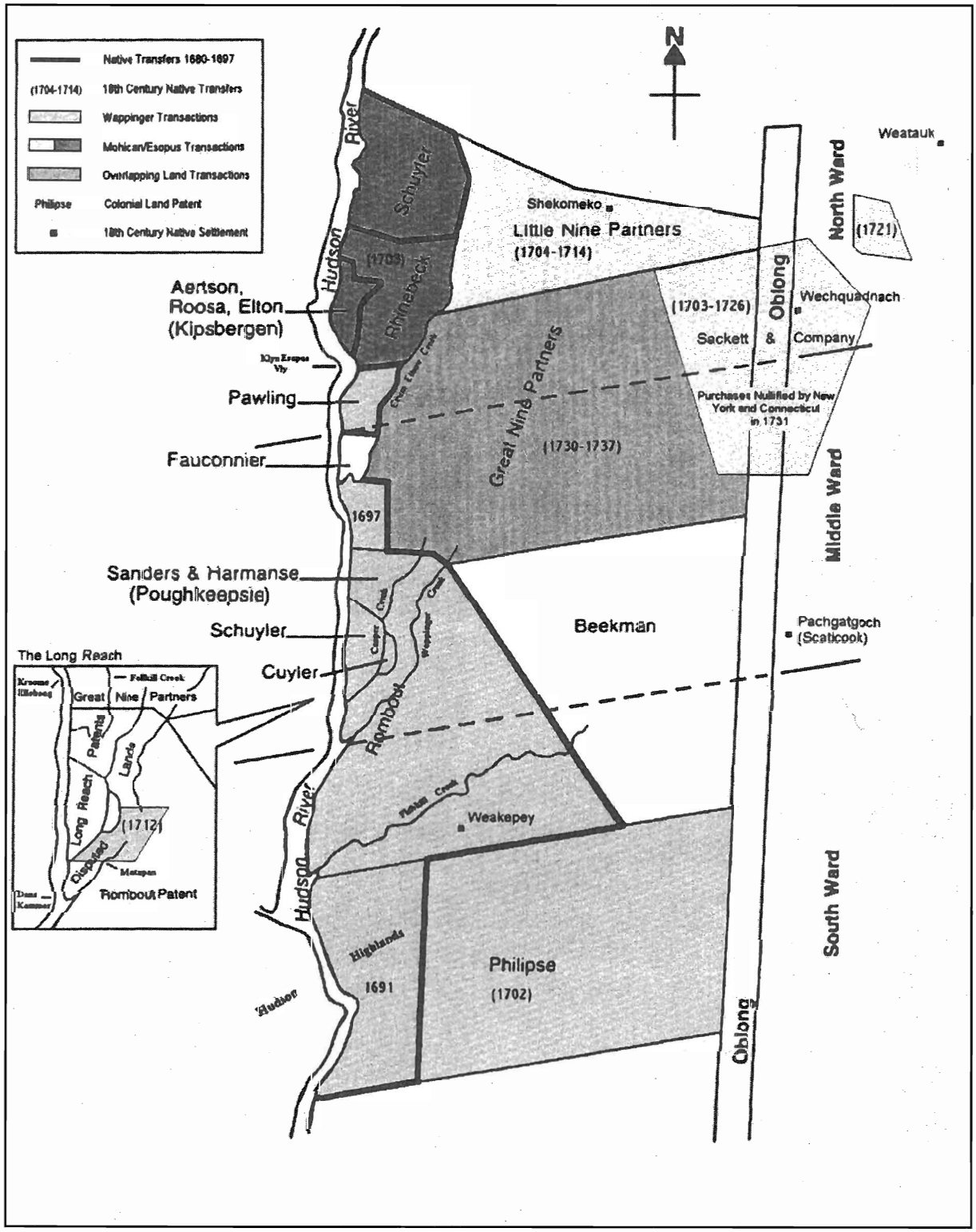
Determining corporate or ethnic group identity among the many native people named in Dutchess County records is not an easy task and is further complicated by several factors. The first is the realization that the ethnic term "Wappinger" was never used during Nimhammaw's residency in the Hudson Valley, either to identify him or any other individual during that time period. Mentioned frequently in seventeenth-century documents, this term (including occasional references to "Hogelanders" or a "Highland Nation") referred to one of some twenty politically autonomous groups or bands living in southern New York and northern New Jersey (Smith 1999a: 5, 9n. 3, 5). Speakers of the Munsee dialect of the Delaware language, these small egalitarian groups were, however, loosely associated through ties of kinship, and common tribal or cultural bonds (Becker 1993a: 17, 20; Goddard 1978: 93-95). During the first half of the eighteenth century, when Wappingers are mentioned at all in a corporate sense, they are identified geographically by the synonym "Highland Indians" (NYCD, 5: 265-267). Protestant missionaries working in the region initially recognized them as "Strangers" visiting with their Mohican neighbors and later as "Brethren ….. From the High-lands" (Sergeant 1739). In land deeds of the period they are simply listed as "proprieters Natives o[w]ners & Indians" (NYCM, 5: 124).

The other factor complicating group identification in this region concerns the location of the boundary separating Munsee-speaking (*i.e.*, Wappingers) and Mohican-speaking people living in Dutchess County. That a linguistic and cultural boundary existed between these major Algonquian groups is not in dispute here. Recent research, examining regional interaction patterns, has recognized that "the cultures of the eastern woodlands occupied large zones [territories] within which their collective activities tended to focus around a core area [or several continuous areas]. On the periphery of each territory was an area which served to provide foraging resources for the members of the culture and also provided a buffer zone between them and adjacent peoples" (Becker 1983:3). Even though these "borders were not sharply demarcated in the modern geopolitical sense, Native American peoples had clear pictures of the general perimeters of their territories. For many Native American cultures the joint use of unclaimed resource areas was common" (Becker 1993a:17). Recognizing the existence of buffer zones between Algonquian groups like the Munsees and Mohicans and viewing each as distinct cultural and geographic entities with their own independent social histories, allows us to determine the actual boundaries of those people who are believed to be Wappingers. Delineating the extent of their territory in relation to that of Mohicans and identifying where native people appear geographically in Dutchess County land sales and other records also helps address the question of individual ethnicity in the region.

"The Dutchess's County," established in November of 1683, was one of the twelve original counties making up the Royal Colony of New York. In the resolution as passed by the provincial legislature, its dimensions were "to be from the bounds of the County of Westchester, on the south side



4.1. Crown Patent Grants Awarded in Colonial Dutchess County, 1685-1706 (Based on map in McDermott 1986:2)



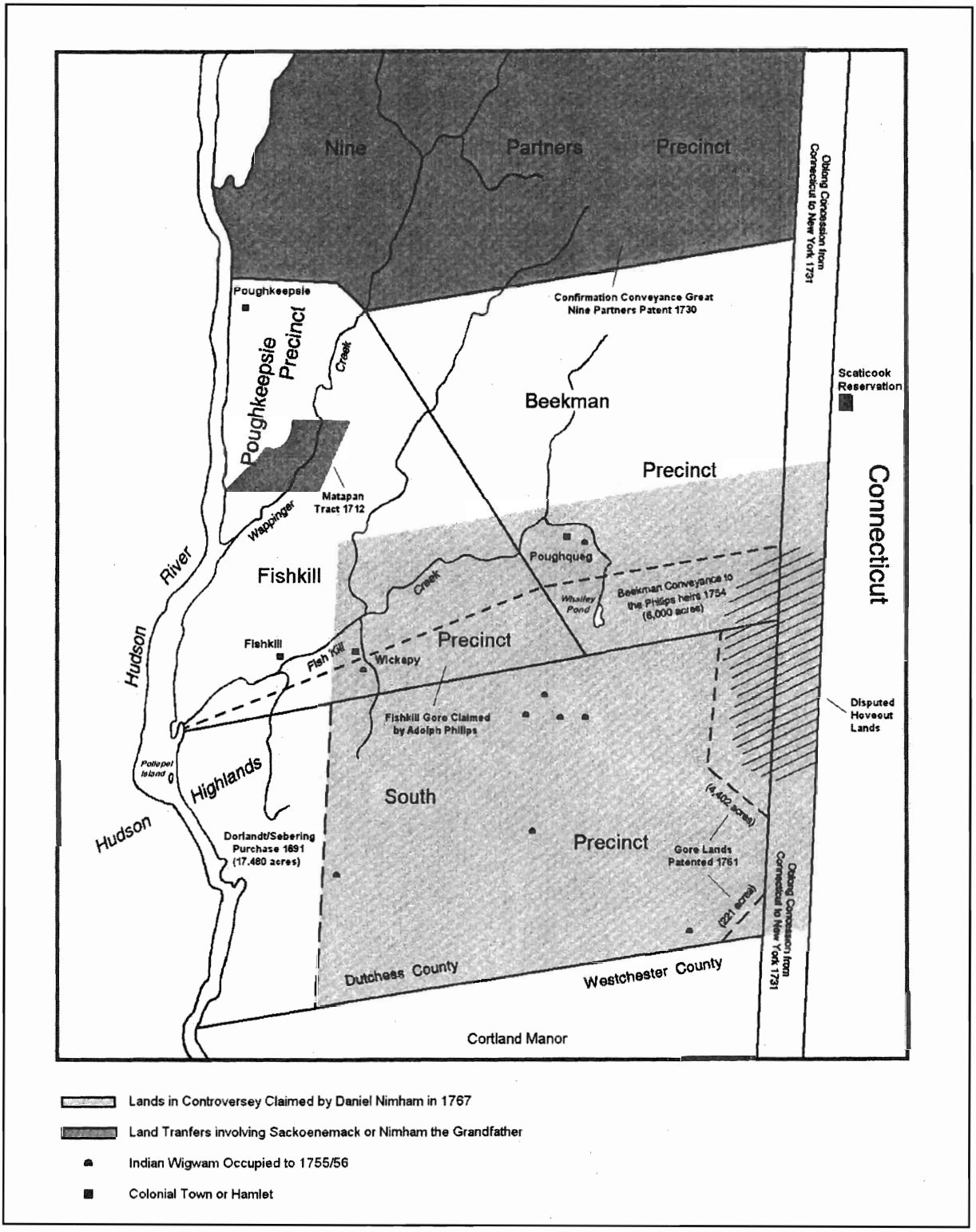
4.2. Native Land Transfers and Associated Patent Grants in Colonial Dutchess County, 1680-1737

of the high lands, along the east side of Hudson's River as far [north] as Roelof Jansen's creeke [or Kill] and eastward into the woods twenty miles" (BSDC, Introduction). Due to a slow rate of settlement, and the fact that much of the land had yet to be purchased from its native residents, the region was initially governed as one civil unit under the jurisdiction of Ulster County on the west side of the Hudson. Land ownership was acquired by speculators from 1685 to 1706 through a series of patents granted by the English Crown to both individual proprietors and partnerships and then divided for settlement through lease or sale (Figure 4.1). Following a substantial increase in the population, Dutchess County was granted its own government in 1714 and was subdivided three years later by two east-west lines into administrative units called the North, Middle and South Wards. Settlement in these respective wards was concentrated along the Hudson River near the colonial hamlets of Kipsbergen (now Rhinecliff), Poughkeepsie, and Fishkill (McDermott, 1986:1-7, 10-11).

Native land transfers of the 650,000 acres comprising this region, and on which most of the patent grants in Dutchess County were based, began during the last decades of the seventeenth century. Analysis of those deeds made between 1680 and 1691 where Wappinger ethnicity is more clearly defined, shows that the core of Wappinger territory lay within areas later encompassed by the Middle and South Wards (Figure 4.2). Most of the transactions of 1680-1688 associated with this core zone occurred in a relatively small area known as the "Long Reach" (or *Lange Rak*), a term identifying the lands bordering a narrow channel of the Hudson River in the present Town of Poughkeepsie (ERA 2: 84-85, 182-183; NYCD 13: 571; NYBP 5: 575-580; 7: 143-145). European purchases of much larger areas below the Wappinger Creek, embracing the Fishkill Plains (1683) and portions of the Hudson Highlands (1691), mark the southern limits of this zone (NYBP, 5: 72-75; PGP, P14: #59). Less informative data from other native transfers concerning the Pawling Patent (1686) and Great Nine Partners Patent (1697) may represent evidence defining the uppermost reaches of their homeland along the boundary separating the Middle and North Wards (NYBP, 7: 80-82, 258-260). Further material delineating the extent of Wappinger territory in the region is found in mid-eighteenth-century litigation (Figure 4.3) directed by Daniel Nimham, Stephen Cowenham, and other tribal leaders against the proprietary heirs of the Rombout, Beekman, and Philipse Patents (NYCM-LP 18: 127; PGP, P14: #56; PWJ, 10: 493-495).

By contrast, native land sales occurring in the North Ward before the Pawling purchase, associated with the Schuyler and Kipsbergen Patents in 1683 and 1686, were made by Esopus Indians independent of Wappinger participation (NYCD 13: 566; Smith, 1894: 2-3). These areas, however, were not traditionally Esopus lands, and the appearance in deeds of Esopus Indians east of the Hudson River was part of a wider dispersal of Indian people from the Ulster County region, an after-effect of the last Dutch-Munsee Wars fought some twenty years earlier in the first decade of English settlement there. Many of these dispossessed individuals, leaders of extended kin-groups, also appear with increasing frequency as participants to clearly defined Mohican land sales along the Roeliff Jansen Kill and Catskill Creek in neighboring colonial Albany County (Dunn 1994, 206-207, 232; Smith 1999b: 7-8, 11-12). Esopus expatriates remained in these areas well into the eighteenth century, where groups of their descendents were eventually identified as small Esopus components of the Moravian mission stations established at Shekomeko and Wechquadnach in the 1740s (MA, Box 3191, #1; Wheeler 1999: 320-321).

In fact, evidence suggesting that much of the North Ward of Dutchess County was itself part of the Mohican cultural realm comes from land sales made around the settlement of



4.3. Wappinger Land Controversy in Southern Dutchess County

Shekomeko in the Little Nine Partners Patent. Information regarding these transactions is contained in a 1743 document compiled by Moravian missionaries from Germany in support of native claims in the area. Entitled: "Indianer Land-sache [Affairs] betreffendes um [concerning] Chekomeko," this document contains the names of signers (grantors) conveying land in the area from 1704 to 1714, before the founding of the mission (MA, Box 113, 5 #1). Unfortunately, the deeds themselves are not included, nor do these name lists specifically identify individuals by ethnicity. However, several of the grantors to these sales have proprietary and social ties with kin-groups living on the Roeliff Jansen Kill and along the Housatonic River in northwestern Connecticut where Mohican ethnicity is well defined (Dunn 2000). Moravians, who were quick to point out group ethnicity in their records, also identified the majority of their converts living in the North Ward and nearby areas as "Mohicanders." Munsee converts living at Shekomeko and Wechquadnach, including Esopus, Minnisink, and "Hoogland Indians," were minorities in these communities; most of the men identified were married to Mohican women or to "Wompanosch" (Easterners/New England Indian) women and may have been following matrilineal residence patterns (MA, Box 3191, #1).

Further information determining that Wappingers ("Hooglanders") and Mohicans were separate peoples is revealed by comparing the name lists of signatories (both grantors and witnesses) with land transfers made in the region as a whole from 1680 to 1712. Native proprietors, "Mohicaners," conveying lands in the North Ward and neighboring areas of Albany County – those individuals selling their rights as members of socially related granting kin-groups – do not appear as grantors to Wappinger land sales occurring in the Middle and South Wards. Nor do Wappinger proprietors, for that matter, appear as grantors to land conveyances made by Mohican Indians. This evidence, indicating a lack of marital relations before the founding of the Moravian missions, strongly suggests that both peoples were socially distinct corporate entities throughout much of the colonial period. Data from native land transfers in Dutchess County records clearly conform with other models of interregional social dynamics (Becker 1992, 1983), which imply "that such relationships occur at a high level within a culture but are infrequent between distinct cultural groups" (Becker 1993a: 17).

Although there is little evidence of extensive social interaction (kinship) between Wappingers and their northern Algonquian neighbors, they did have close political ties and there are numerous seventeenth-century accounts chronicling these associations, from Gov. Kieft's War to the turbulent years of the Second Mohawk-Mohican War (Smith 1999a: 5, 9n. 5). In proprietary matters these relationships involved the exchanging of witnesses ("attesters") to one another's land sales. Cross cultural exchanges of these kinds were initiated when "the Chief who sells calls the Chiefs of the Neighbouring Tribes who are his friends but have no right, in order to be Witnesses of the Sale & to make them remember it he gives them a Share of the Goods. So that no Land can be sold without all the Indians round being made acquainted with the Matter" (Weslager 1972: (162-163). These relationships, largely reciprocal political affairs in nature, are rarely noted in Dutchess County land records, and in Wappinger territory are recorded only in the Long Reach. Mohican sachems from Schodack (M'skatak), the nation's council fire near the City of Albany, and at least one individual from the "Westenhoek" (or "Housatonack") district straddling the New York-Massachusetts border, appear here as witnesses to several transactions in 1683 (ERA, 2:183-185; NYCD, 13:571). The activities of these spokesmen in the Long Reach generated reciprocal obligations in kind and were subsequently followed by the appearance of Wappinger leaders as "attesters" to a sale made by "Mahikan Indi-

ans, owners of the land lying on the Roeloff Jansen kill" (ERA 2: 189-182; Smith 1999a: 7).

These proprietary associations, especially those between the Long Reach and Westenhoek districts, may have had wider social implications, and in the latter areas they represent the few examples found to date in which Wappinger and Mohican grantors are listed on one another's deeds (ERA 2: 63-64, 84-85). These relationships also appear to have been maintained by Nimhammaw and his successors, who appear in later eighteenth-century documents as grantors to several conveyances in southwestern Massachusetts (Grumet 1992:85-86, 89, 91; Wright 1905: 116-119). However, despite these limited examples of interactive relations, an examination of land transactions made in Dutchess County between 1712 and 1737 (see Appendix) shows that, by and large, both peoples continued to sell their territories independently. One of two documented cases in the region during the eighteenth century in which Wappinger and Mohican grantors appear on the same deed occurs in the area of the Great Nine Partners Patent and provides information defining where Mohican and Wappinger proprietary interests overlap.

Incorporated in 1697 by the Nine Partners Company, this tract encompassed nearly 145,000 acres of land in northern Dutchess County, extending from the Hudson River to the then-disputed Connecticut border. Initial settlement of the area began two years later with the division of about 12,500 acres into nine "Water Lotts," bounded by the Hudson and the Casper Creek in the present Town of Hyde Park (McDermott and Buck 1979: see Introduction). Extant documentation found in company records, however, suggests that title to the lands east of these lots along the headwaters of the Wappinger Creek had not been obtained from the Indians, a violation of New York law requiring that patents be issued only after native rights had been relinquished. These records indicate that the original patentees had enlarged a 1697 deed stretching "from the river to the fall kill [Creek] at 2 mils" into a tract almost 20 miles wide. Learning of the true dimensions of the patent in 1730 after company officials attempted to divide and settle the remaining lands, Nimhammaw, Acgans, and other Highland leaders demanded and received compensation in a "new deed" for the approximately 130,000 plus acres not yet granted (McDermott and Buck 1979:5, 110-113; Grumet 1992:86).

Largely a Wappinger transaction successfully redressing provincial land fraud in the region, this deed nonetheless included provisions "excepting still the Whrits [rights] of some North Indians" represented by the Mohican "Elder" Schawash and other signers from Shekomeko. These same grantors were also noted seven years later in a deed amendment to the 1730 purchase. In this document they relinquished their remaining "right and title of, in, and to the within Tract of Land" (McDermott and Buck 1979:113). Unfortunately, neither of these conveyances delineates the limits of Shekomekan claims to the Great Nine Partners tract. Other transactions around Wechquadnach along the Connecticut border, made with the competing land interests of the Sackett Patent owner, do, however, provide evidence of Mohican claims in the area. Lands contained in this reputed Sackett Patent (later nullified by provincial authorities) were acquired through a series of purchases between 1703 and 1726 from the sachem Metoxon and other grantors identified in neighboring sales as "Indians of the Nation of the Mohokanders [sic]" (Binzen 1997:110). The boundaries mentioned in these transactions show that Mohican rights here included "all ye western part of Sharon [Connecticut] within about two Mile of Qusatunnuck [Housatonic] River," and extended to New York lands claimed by the Nine Partners Company running "southerly through the Wassaic valley" (Binzen 1997: 110, 114-116).

Other material delineating the westernmost point of this boundary at its juncture

with the Hudson River comes from native testimony contained in colonial litigation. In a border dispute between the holders of Pawling and Rhinebeck Patents, individuals identified as the chief Indians of these respective tracts told county officials in a 1723 deposition that:

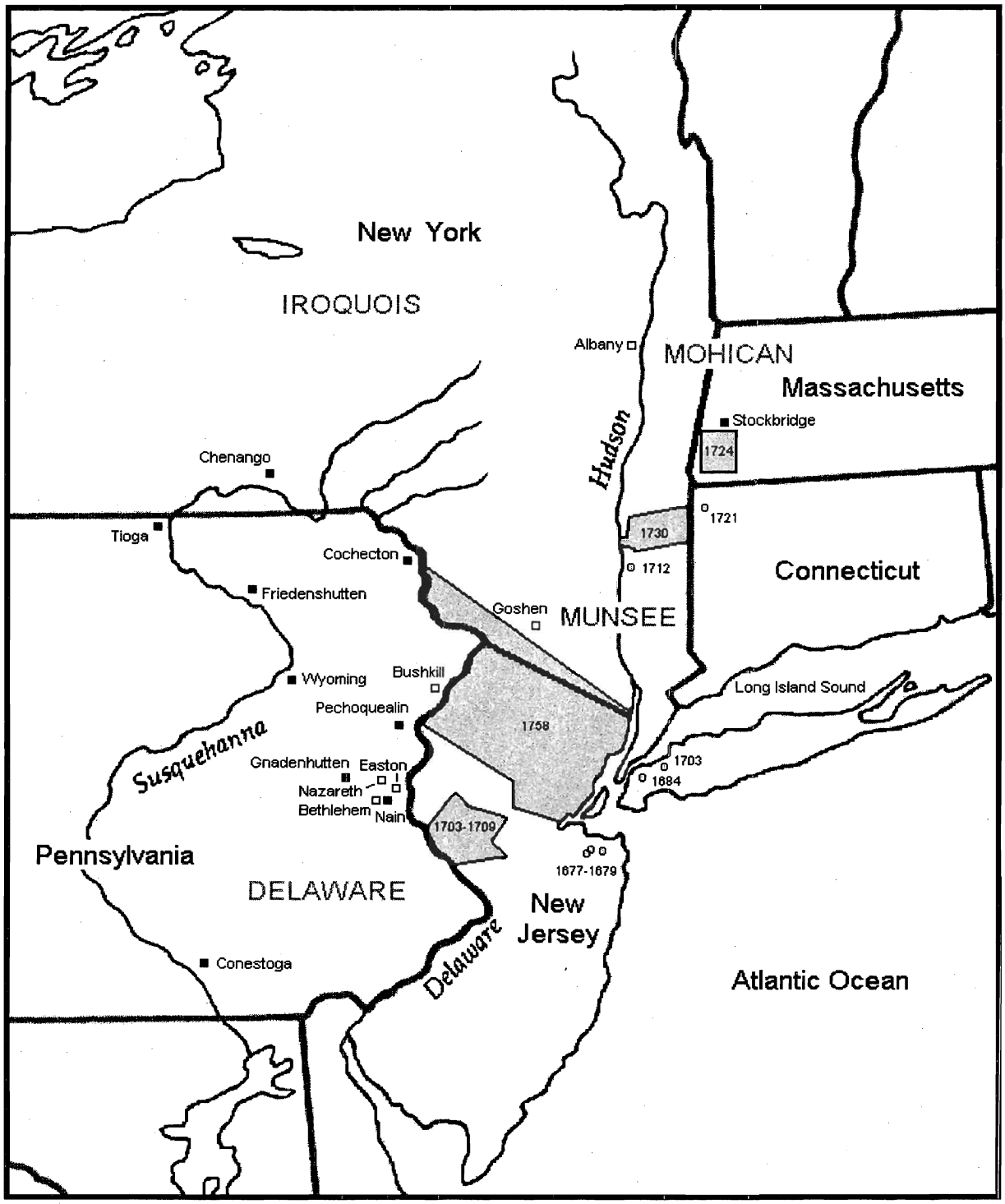
> "the Division Lyn Bettween their fourfathers was by a Small Run of water Called Nanotanapenen. The Land to the Southerd Should belong to proprietors [owed?] to the Pawlings, & to ye north to ye Beekman. Butt the Indians on the Pawlings Syd Coming to a plain confession, they aknowledge they had land from a stooney Point, Called Korenagkoyosink Sum 8 or [10] Chains to ye North ward of sd Kill, which Bears East from the Point of the Klyn Esopus fly [Little Esopus marsh]" (LP, MF: reel 28, NYSL).

The geographic features depicted in this deposition correspond with locales along the river and clearly refer to a dispute involving the Rhinebeck holdings of the Beekman family, one of two patents incorporated in the region by Henry Beekman, Sr., originally of Ulster County. Unfortunately, the native informants quoted in this document were not identified ethnically. One of the individuals cited, "ye Chieef of ye Land of Beekmans [called] S:jawanegkie," was probably the same man later identified by Moravian missionaries as the "Sopus" Indian Shawwonock (MA, Box 113, #10; Box 3191, #1). A likely successor to the Esopus sachems Caelcop and Anckerop, he and other "Sepasco" expatriates had moved to the region following the sale of their natal homeland in Ulster County in the late seventeenth century. The other individual mentioned, Sekomeck (not to be confused with the place name, Shekomeko), a signatory to the 1730 Nine Partners conveyance and an associate of Nimhammaw in a controversial 1712 transaction in the Long Reach (NYCM-LP, 5: 124; Reynolds 1924: 20-21 50n.49), might have been a Highland sachem. His appearance here as the "Chieef Indian of Pawlings" helps support the earlier assertion that the uppermost reaches of Wappinger territory lay along the border straddling the Middle and North Wards.

Final evidence defining a cultural boundary in the general areas embracing the Pawling, Rhinebeck, and Great Nine Partners Patents is contained in later testimony made in 1762 by the then Wappinger sachem, Daniel Nimham. In a deposition "laying Claim to Lands near the Fish Kill in Dutchess County" (NYECM, 25: 454), Daniel informed New York's Attorney General that he was "a River Indian of the Tribe of the Wappingers, which tribe were the ancient inhabitants of the east shore of Hudson's River, from the city of New York to about the middle of Beekman's Patent; that another [Tribe] of River Indians, called Mahiccondas, were the ancient inhabitants of the remaining east shore of said river ..." (Dunn 1994:52).

The above ethnohistorical data compiled from Dutchess County sources, especially land-sale records, provide crucial information about the territorial boundary separating Munsee and Mohican bands living in colonial New York. Identifying the grantors and witnesses associated with specific transactions enables comparisons with other names lists, and produces a framework for studying the sociopolitical relationships that existed between differing cultures. These data show that while some limited social merging (i.e. intermarriage) occurred between Wappingers and their Mohican neighbors, both peoples continued to sell their territories as distinct corporate entities and acted independently under their own leaders in political dealings with colonists and other native groups. Reconstructing Nimhammaw's activities and those of his associates in the region, as depicted in land records and other miscellaneous documents, reveals evidence demonstrating the persistence of cultural continuity through time.

The land transfers and biographical profiles that follow in Table 1 and Table 2 pro-



4.4. Land Transactions Involving Nimhams: 1677-1758, and Known Eighteenth-Century Relocations of Munsee and Mohican Individuals from the Dutchess County Region

vide a historical record, however imperfect, documenting the activities of Munsee and Mohican individuals in the Hudson Valley. Although the compilation is primarily concerned with events occurring in Dutchess County, an account is included of Nimhammaw's earlier activities and those of his immediate successor, in order to show the wide range of proprietary activities in which the leaders of this extended family group engaged. Mapping of deed events in conjunction with known relocations of native peoples from the Dutchess County Region (Figure 4. 4) chronicles the dispossession of their homeland and their dispersal to the New York-Pennsylvania frontier in the mid-eighteenth century.

Individuals identified here as proprietors are classified according to their participation in a given land sale. Signers (individuals placing their marks at the end of a deed document) represent those who were selling their rights based on familial and band associations. Attesting witnesses, as already briefly described, represent signatories fulfilling largely political roles who may or may not have any rights to the tract being sold. These individuals can also appear as "attesters" within their territorial boundaries as the leading sachems or chiefs presiding over the land affairs of their own constituencies. Nimhammaw and Acgans fulfilled these responsibilities for Highland grantors in the 1730 Nine Partners purchase, when they were recognized as the "Principal Sachemache and Proprietors, in behalf of all the rest." The Mohican leader Metoxon also assumes a similar role in land sales around Wechquadnach where he "is allowed by all to be ye Chiefe Sachem of the Indians in these parts" (Dunn 2000:138).

Participating witnesses identified here are individuals mentioned in the document body of the deed but are absent from the list of signers. As non-signatories to deed events their role in native land transfers is not entirely understood. They may represent individuals visiting or socializing with the grantors, or even married to members of the band, although neither their marriage nor residence with members of the granting kin-group, in the short term, appears to have entitled them to any rights to the parcel being sold. Regardless of their exact proprietary roles, these individuals were nonetheless witnesses by their participation.

References are also included here regarding bounties collected on the Red Wolf, (a smaller cousin of the Grey Wolf, now largely extinct in the east; both were once common in the eastern woodlands) by Nimhammaw and others in Dutchess County. Evidence of these activities, the results of provincial acts "to encourage the destroying of Woulfs and Panthers" which threatened livestock, are found in the assessment lists recording the yearly expenditures of "Mony Desbursed for the County." Analysis of these records shows that most bounties paid to Indians occurred in the Middle and South Wards and may represent individuals living in those areas who were Wappingers. Although there is no way to be sure of ethnic identity in all of these records, comparisons with other county assessment lists could help confirm these identities, as well as provide demographic data about the general locations of native occupation.

Table 1. Native Land Transfers in Dutchess County, 1712-1737

8 October 1712
Sale to George Clark and Leonard Lewis of New York City (NYCM-LP, 5: 124).

Location: "All that a Certaine Track or persell of Land Seticated Lieng and beieng in Dutches County afore sd to the Noort of the Land of Franses Rombout, Stavanes Van Cortland &c [Rombout Patent], att a place Coled Matapan, to the South Side thereof, and Soo with a West Line to John Casperses Creeck on the bounds of Coll Pieter Schuyler [Schuyler's Lower Patent] And Soo along Noorderly sd Creeck tell it comes with an East Line oposeit the East Sid of Cuyler Vlakte [flat or plain; Cuyler Patent], and Soo East Runneng tell it Comes About a Mile to the Easterd of the Matapan [Wappinger] Creeck and then Suderly along the Sd Matapan Creeck, keeping a Mile to the East Side tell it Comes with a westerly Line Opossiet the fore Mentioned Matapan [falls], from where it first begins."

(Not patented by purchasers. Incorporated earlier as part of the Rombout Patent in 1685, in the present Towns of Poughkeepsie and Wappinger).

Native Proprietors: Granting Signatories
-Nemham -Acgand -Agtapyhout -Sekomeck -Alotam

1714
Unidentified purchasers (MA, Box, 113, 5: #1).

Location: Unsold lands within the bounds of the Little [or Second] Nine Partners Patent, incorporated earlier in 1706 in the present Towns of Milan, Pine Plains and part of the Town of Northeast.

Native Proprietors:	Granting Signatories		Attesting Witnesses
	-Mamsknok (W)	-Penywantomink	-Mangeghisrt
	-Mangeghisrt (W)	-Praymingim	-Praymingin
	-Namerokoren	-Hahangement	
	-Mangwaesogh	-Pomeherant	
	-Qwaktownor		

1726
Confirmation conveyance to Richard Sackett and Company (Binzen, 1997: 110) validating the boundaries of earlier purchases made in 1703 and 1704 (Huntting 1897: 17-18; Dunn 1994: 304-305).

Location: "The east line commenced at a place [apparently near present South Amenia, New York] which the Indians called Wimpeting, at the western base of a range of mountains, [and from there to a place] about seven miles south of Sharon Village [Connecticut], and from that point it followed the western base of the mountain range, north[east]erly, to a point in Salisbury [Conn.], a little east of Town Hill, so called. From that point the line ran northwesterly to the base of the

mountain north of the Ore Hill, which in the Indian deed is called Ponsumpsie [Bird Peak], thence south southwesterly to the foot of the mountain west of Spencer's Corner [in New York], then following that range south[east]erly through the Wassaic valley, to Sackett's other possessions."

(This conveyance straddled the present New York and Connecticut border in Dutchess and Litchfield Counties: the western portions of this tract were incorporated earlier as part of the Great Nine Partners Patent in 1697).

Native Proprietors: Particpants
-Metoxon*

* A Mohican sachem (fl.1704-1743) listed under the variants Metoksin / Metoxson / Mataksin / Matauckson or under the alias Corler / Corlear in land sales around Wechquadnach and Weatuak, and along the Catskill Creek (Dunn, 1994; Binzen, 1997). His expansive career is presently under consideration (Dunn 2000).

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13 October 1730
Sale to David Jamison, and "the heirs, Exec's, & assignee or assignees" of the Great Nine Partners Company (McDermott and Buck 1979: 5, 110-112).

Location: "a certain tract of vacant land, situate and being on Hudson's river, between the creek called by the natives Aquasing, and by the Christians by Fish Creek [Crum Elbow Creek], at the markt trees of Pawling [including the said Creek] and the land of Meyndert Harmense and Company; then bounded southerly by said Land of Harmense & Company [Poughkeepsie Patent] so farr as their bounds runns; then westerly by said land of Harmense and Company until a southerly line run so farr south until it comes to the southside of a certain meadow wherein there is a white oak tree marked with the letters HT; then bounded southerly by an east and west line to the division line between this province of Newyork and Colony of Connecticuts, and so bounded easterly by the said division line & northerly by said Fish creek as farr as it goes & from the head thereof by a paralell line to the south bounds, running east and west to the said division line, with ith hereditaments & appurtenances."

(Incorporated earlier as the Great Nine Partners Patent in 1697, in the present Towns of Hyde Park [east of Crum Elbow Creek], Clinton, Pleasant Valley, Stanford, Washington, Northeast and Amenia).

Native Proprietors:

Granting Signatories		Attesting Witnesses
-Perpuwas	-Taguahams	-Acgans
-Sasaragua (W)	-Seeck	-Nimham
-Makerin	-Cocewyn	
-Memram	-Mamany	Participating Witnesses
-Shawanachko	-A rye	-Wasanamonrg
-Shawasquo	-Wappenas	-Arichapeckt
-Tounis	-Tintgeme (W)	-Narcarindt
-Acgans	-Ayawatask	-Sacayawa
-Nimham	-Nonnaparee	-Cekounamow
-Ouracgacguis	-Kindtquaw	-Naghcharent

4 November 1737
Deed amendment to the 1730 Great Nine Partners purchase (McDermott and Buck 1979: 15, 112-113).

Location: Unsold lands within the bounds of the Great Nine Partners Patent associated with "the Whrits of some North [Shekomekan] Indians" excluded from the 1730 purchase.

Native Proprietors:	Particpants	
-Shawanachko	-Shawasquo	-young Shawash (Tounis?)

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort

Nimham I ? (fl.1667-1703)

22 March 1667	Nimhan/ Nimhai	Identified in a boundary dispute between the Towns of Hempstead and Oyster Bay in colonial Queens County, NY. His mark appears on a document along side of Pomwaukon (fl.1643-1681) sachem of Merrick, and Waumetompack (fl.1655-1684) sachem of Canarsee and Rockaway, validating the Massapequa sachem Tackpousha's (fl.1643-1697) statement that Hempstead settlers had unjustly claimed lands in Oyster Bay township, and the Indian lands near Hempstead Harbor on Long Island Sound, established by deeds in 1643 and 1658 (Grumet, 1992: 83; 1996: 125-126).
21 October 1675	nimham of Mericocke	"Tackepawis off Marcepeake" (Massapequa) and "nimham of Mericocke" (Matinecock), presently "plant[ing] upon rockaway," appear before the NY Colonial Council claiming not to have been paid for 3 necks of land (Cow Neck, Great Madnans Neck and Little Madnans Neck) adjoining the Town of Hempstead and "A Small Island Called Hoggs island at the Sou[th side] of Long Island" Sound (NYHM, 24: 235-238).
14 April 1684	Numhum	One of seven "chiefs, styling themselves the true owners and proprietors" (including the Matinecock sachem Suscaneman fl.1653-1703), endorsing a deed in which Tackapousha relinquishes all Indian claims to lands in the Queens County township of Flushing on the East River. The chiefs reserve "to themselves and their heirs for ever, the right of cutting bulrushes in any part of the said territory" (Thompson 1918, 3: 27-28).
25 March 1703	Wamhan	The principal grantor and "Sachim" conveying 3 of 4 necks of land in Queens County along the south shore of Long Island Sound to satisfy debts owed to Stephanus van Cortlandt's widow and their son Oloff (NYCM-LP, 3: 117).

Nimhammaw (fl.1677-1744/64)

10 June 1677	Quahiccon	and Shenotope (fl.1674-1689), "Sachems of Changaroras," sell land in Monmouth County for an unspecified amount of trade goods to Jonathan Holmes of Middletown, East Jersey (Grumet, 1979: 217; 1992: 85).

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

12 August 1677	Quahick	One of five "Chief Sachems of Wramanung" (Peropay fl.1648-1684, Shenotope, Waymutton, and Sehoppy) selling land to Jonathan Holmes between the branches of the Hop River in Monmouth County, East Jersey, for the "Consideration of Sundry trading goods" (Grumet, 1979: 217).
8 October 1679	Quahicke	The principal grantor, one of five "cheife Sachems of Wickatong," (Jonathan, Peropay, Shenotope, and Pandam) selling land at "Wickatunk" near the Changaroras River to John Brown of Middletown, East Jersey (Grumet, 1992: 85, 94n.13).
5 June 1703	Nimhammaw/ Numham alias Squahikkon	The principal grantor, one of five Indian proprietors and sachems (Noammishanaman, Pokohawas, Taulman fl.1699-1744, and Wawaluasoo), selling land to West Jersey Proprietors along the Raritan River's South Branch. The sachems reserve hunting and fishing rights to any unimproved alienated lands. The deed also states that Nimhammaw lived at "Noshaning" on the Neshanic River near the Somerset/Hunterdon county border (Grumet, 1979: 237-238; 1992: 85, 94n.14).
25 June 1703	Numhammau	The 5 June 1703 land sale is registered with West Jersey Proprietary authorities (Grumet, 1992: 85, 94n.14).
11 November 1703	Nymhimau alias Squahikkona	One of four Indian sachems (Caponokonickon fl.1687-1703, Taulman, and another) selling land to West Jersey Proprietors, except for hunting and fishing rights, west of the 5 June 1703 purchase, between the South Branch of the Raritan River and the Delaware River (Grumet, 1979: 164, 238; 1992: 85, 94n.15).
14 February 1704	Nyhammow/ Nymhamnow	Identified as "Ye Raritan Indian Sachima" meeting with John Reading to discuss the efforts of West Jersey Proprietors at securing land sales along the Delaware River (Grumet, 1979: 164, 239; 1992: 85, 94n.16).
October 1704	Nemaheyhon	Listed in trader James le Tort's account book as an Indian trading with him at the Shawnee town of Pachoqualmah (Pechoquealin) near the Delaware Water Gap, or at the refugee Indian town of Canishtoga (Conestoga) on the Lower Susquehanna River in southeastern Pennsylvania (Grumet, 1991: 215).
7 October 1709	Squahikkon	The principal grantor conveying 300 acres of land (excluded from the 5 June 1703 sale) on the west side of the Raritan River's south branch to proprietary agent John Reading for goods and currency totaling: "one Gunn, three white Blankets, 4 matchcoats, 6 lb. of Gunpowder, 20 lb. of Lead, 20 quarts of rum, 6 Tomahikons, 10 knives, & 5 pound in silver money." The sale also included the lands containing his home at or near the place occupied Sekoppies Plantation (Grumet, 1979: 176-177, 240; 1992: 85, 94n.17).
8 October 1712	Nemham/ Nimham	The principal grantor, one of five "proprieters Natives oners & Indians," conveying land from "a place Coled Matapan [Falls] ..... to John Casperses Creeck" near the colonial township of Poughkeepsie in Dutchess County New York, "for the Consederation of twelve guns - fourtien blanketts - fourtien fadem [fathom] of

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

		Duffels [cloth] - twelve fadem Strouts [cloth] - tenn kettels - one set pouder - thirty pp. of Eight in [silver] money - sexty fadem wampen half black - one Anker Rum - two Rolls of tobacko - twenty Axes - one hunderid pyps - one barell Sider - three made koots [coats] - twenty kneifs - one hundered flints - sexty baers Lad [lead] - twenty hoos [hose; stockings] and twelve Sherts [shirts]" (NYCM-LP 5: 124).
27 January 1721	Shuhekan/ Shukokan	One of four attesting witnesses to a sale conveying "Land Lying on the west side of Qussatunuck or Stratford [Housatonic] River ….. southwards of Weatauk" in present Salisbury, Connecticut, made by "Indians of the [sic] Nation of Mohokanders" to Johannes Dickemann of Livingston Manor, Albany County, and Laurence Knickerbacker (North Ward Assessor 1720-1721) of Dutchess County, NY (Binzen, 1997: 109-110).
9 August 1722	Nemham	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 1 pound, 15 shillings, made to Fishkill Justice of the Peace and former South Ward Supervisor (1720) "Major Johannes Terboss for four Wouleves heads That he has Payed [as per dated certificates] one to Johannes Schut [on 2 Feb.], [two to Jurian Springsteen and John Montros on 19 April] & a nother [on 18 March] to Nemham the Indian" (BSDC, Book 1: 52).
25 April 1724	Naunhamiss	A granting signatory selling land to Massachusetts authorities "lying upon Housatonack River, allias Westonook" along the disputed borders with New York and Connecticut for "Four Hundred and Sixty Pounds [currency] Three Barrels of Sider & thirty quarts of Rum" (Wright, 1905: 116-119; "Naun-ha-miss" in later Ashley deposition, Mandell, 1982: 57n.13).
13 October 1730	Nimham	One of two attesting witnesses, the "Principal Sachemache and Proprietors, in behalf of all the rest," receiving 150 pounds in NY currency including "certain goods and merchandize" for endorsing a new "Indian Deed" relinquishing their rights ("only excepting still the Whrits of some North Indians") to "all the land in full formerly granted by Patent" in 1697 to the Great Nine Partners of Dutchess County. Land agent, Henry Filkin, previously reported on 1 Sept. 1730 to the Nine Partners Company (1697-1754) "that the Indians [claimed they] was paid for no more land than from the [Hudson] river to the fall [or Val] kill [Creek] at 2 mils [in the present Town of Hyde Park]: and that they insisted to be paid for the bulck of the land according to the [1697] Pattent" (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 5, 109-113).
1 February 1743	Nimham	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 5 shillings, 9 pence, for "rum Expended to Nimham a Sachem & other Indians" (BSDC, Book 3: 257).
21 May 1744	King Nimham	Gottlob Buttner, a Moravian missionary working at the Mohican settlement of Shekomeko in northern Dutchess county, wrote in his diary that: "There came 6 Indians from ye Highlands here, & stayed all night, they went to ye Maahacks [Mohawks], who [had] sent for them to treat about some Matters, we heard that they ridiculed our Brothers much, also that their King Nimham, who is a sorceror [shaman] speaks much against us, & forbids all his People to come into our Meetings" (MA, Box 112, 2: #3).

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

Post Mortem

25 August 1762	Old Nimham	Identified in Catharyna (Rombout) Brett's written complaint to British Indian agent (Northern Dept.) Sir William Johnson about claims to her lands made the previous year by a "Capt. Nimham" (Daniel Nimham fl.1745-1778). Brett alleged that "Old Nimham" had died about 12 years ago. He was permitted to live on land set aside for him near the Town of Fishkill. He had two sons, the eldest known by the nickname "One Shake" (Nimham II ?). Brett also claimed that the reserved lands of Old Nimham (at Wickapee / Weekepe / Weakepey / Wiccopee / Wickapy) were sold after he died to Capt. Swartwout for 20 pounds by One Shake and "Seven or Eight more Indians," after they received her permission "to Sell ye Emprovement" (PWJ, 10: 493-495).
20 September 1763	old Capt. Nimham	Mentioned in a personal complaint made by Hendrick Wamash and some of his people to Sir William Johnson, that "Mrs. Brett ..... Coll. Beekman, Verplank, Cortland, & Phillips ..... had not paid his Ancestors vizt. old Capt. Nimham &ca. For a Tract of Land near to ye Fish Kills." Hendrick receives a pass to travel to New York City and address their complaints to Lt. Governor Cadwallader Colden (1760-1765) "who they hoped & expected would do them Justice in the Affair, as they imagined that He must, [from his Surveying the Same] be well acquainted with the State of the Case" (PWJ, 10: 853-854).
8 October 1763	Nimham the Grandfather	Hendrick Wamash appears before Lt. Governor Colden claiming "that several people at Fishkill and Poughkepsey owe him for some pieces of Land in several places," and is told "that near 40 years since the Indians of Fishkill and Wappingers were heard by Governor Burnet on a like complaint at the House of Mr. Haskol near the place since called New Windsor [in Orange County, NY], that then everything was settled to the content of Nimham the Grandfather of this Man [Hendrick] & of the other Indians" (Colden Papers, in MacCracken, 1956: 279-280).
17 November 1764	Sackoenemack	Identified as the father of Nimham II and grandfather of Daniel Nimham in a document granting Samuel Monroe guardianship over the Wappingers' land interest in Dutchess County (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).

Nimham II (fl.1745-1762/67)

21 December 1745	Unnamed	NY agents, Colonel de Kay and Major Swartwout, visit with Indians from Orange County who had fled to their "Hunting Houses" at Cochecton on the upper Delaware River, after the murders of kinfolk near Wilemtown (Walden) during King George's War (1744-1748). The agents reported to the NY Council that "the Cashigtonk Indians [said] They had [also] lost their Sachem, and as they Consist of two Tribes [Lineages] Vizt the Wolves and Turkeys, they were then debating of which Tribe a Sachim should be chosen to govern the Whole" (Grumet, 1991: 22; 1992: 86-87, 95n.26-27).

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

17 January 1746	Unnamed	12 chief men with their new Sachem come to the Orange County seat of Goshen "with a Belt of Wampum to settle and renew their Friendship and Brotherhood" with the English. Teedyuscung (fl.1734-1763), the Delaware diplomat, later reported at the Easton Treaty of 1758 that "Nimham the Eldest principall Chief of the Wappingers or Opings" had received a wampum belt at Goshen from the government of New York with two reddish hearts and the date 1745 that "represented their union, which was to last as long as the sun should continue in the firmament" (Grumet, 1992: 86-87, 95n.28).
9 May 1751	Nuntian	Moravian missionaries identify Nuntian as the head of an Indian family wishing to move to the Gnadenhutten mission in Pennsylvania (Grumet, 1992: 96n.29).
8-26 October 1758	Nimhoan/ Nimhan/ Nimham	"…. the principal Warriors of Four Tribes [or bands] of the Minisink [or Munsee] Indians …." arrive for the treaty conference at Easton, Pennsylvania, on 12 October 1758 to sue for peace with the English during the Seven Years War (1755-1762), and to claim unsold territory in northern New Jersey and the disputed borderlands with NY. Egohohowen (fl.1758-1762; alias Neccochoon the Munsey Chief) Chief of the Minisinks, Nimham Chief of the Wapings (or Goshen Indians), Auquawaton (Qualaghquainyou fl.1729-1768) Chief of the Opings or Pomptons, and Cockalalaman (Hendrick Hekan fl.1699-1758 an Esopus Chief noted as a Munsie) endorse a deed relinquishing all their land interests to NJ, except for hunting and fishing rights, "from the Raritan [River] to Lamington Falls to the [Delaware] Water Gap to Cushytunk [Cochecton] to the Hudson River" for 1000 Spanish pieces of eight. Nimham, reported to be "living near Aesopus" on the Ulster/Orange county border in New York, was noted as being too sick to attend the deed signing on 23 October, but signed and sealed the document later on the 25th as "the Chief of the Wappingors." Teedyuscung reported to treaty commissioners on 21 October that the Wappinger chief was old and infirm and on the 26th "requested the favour of a horse to carry him home; which was readily granted" (Grumet, 1979: 83, 1991: 235-236, 1992: 87, 96n.31; Becker, 1993b: 63; Philhower, 1936: 251-254).
11 October 1761	Nimeham/ Nuntian	"Nimeham, Chief of the Opies," announces his people's plans to move with some Mohikons to Wyomink on the Upper Susquehanna River during a treaty conference held at Bush-hill (Bushkill) Pennsylvania from October 1-11, 1761. Nimeham shows his authority as chief by displaying the 1745 Goshen wampum belt. Two since-lost certificates attesting to Wappinger loyalty and their covenant alliance with NY, signed by provincial governors George Clinton (1743-1753) in 1745 and Charles Hardy (1755-1757) in 1756, were also displayed at this meeting and the earlier Easton conference on 21 October 1758 (Grumet, 1992: 87, 95-96n.29).
22 June 1762	Nemeham	An Indian leader endorsing Teedyuscung's complaint to Sir William Johnson about his refusal to appoint a clerk to record discussions regarding the Walking Purchase dispute with the sachems and warriors of the "Delawares, Mohiccons, and Opings," during a treaty conference at Easton, PA., from June 18-28, 1762 (PWJ, 3: 762-771).

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

Post Mortem

25 August 1762	One Shake	The eldest of Old Nimham's two sons. Allegedly sold the reserved lands near Fishkill to Captain Swartwout sometime after his father's death (PWJ, 10: 493-495).
17 November 1764	Nimham	Identified as "the Son of Sackoenemack of Dutchess County" in a document granting Samuel Monroe guardianship over the Wappingers' land interest (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
5 March 1767	Unnamed	Jacobus Terboss, Judge of the Court of Commom Pleas, Poughkeepsie, testifies before the New York Colonial Council "that he understands their [Wappinger] language, that he has always from his youth, been well acquainted with the bigger part of said tribe, and conversant in most of their affairs, as he has always lived near them, (even as it were among them) and that, about thirty-eight years ago, Mr. Adolph Philipse, came up into that country, and that he then heard the then Sachem, viz. The father of the present Sachem [Daniel Nimham], tell the said Mr. Philipse, that he understood he had got a patent of that tract of land, (meaning the land now in controversy) but that he never had bought the Same; and at the same time heard him ask Mr. Philipse whether he was then come to make them restitution? He says also, that said Mr. Philipse thereupon asked the then Sachem, whether all said land belonged to him? To which he replied, that it belonged also to the rest of that tribe; whereupon said Mr. Philipse told him, that he and his tribe must all come together, and then he would agree with them for said land, and pay them for the same; but the said Judge Terbos, further adds, that he never knew, nor heard of any meeting for that purpose, nor that they, or any of them ever made, or executed any deed of said land to said Mr. Adolph Philipse, nor to any other person; but ever knew, and understood that said tribe of Indians always claimed and do still claim the sole right to said lands" (Anonymous, 1768, Geographic-Historical Narrative, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire).

Acgans (fl.1712-1744)

8 October 1712	Agand	One of five granting signatories, "proprieters Natives oners & Indians," conveying land along the Wappinger Creek from "a place Coled Matapan ….. to John Casperses Creeck," in the present Towns of Poughkeepsie and Wappinger (NYCM-LP 5: 124).
13 October 1730	Acgans	One of two attesting witnesses, the "Principal Sachemache and Proprietors," endorsing a new Indian deed confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
7 February 1744	Adiaan	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 1 pound made to John Tappen for the bounty paid on one wolf's head "Killed by an Indian Adiaan" in the "New Act" of 1742 "to encourage the destroying of [Red] Wolves and Panthers [Mountain Lions] in the Counties of Ulster Dutches and Orange: the inhabitants of these counties finding the former [provincial] Acts insufficient" (BSDC, Book 3: 281; NYCD, 6: 221).

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

Anckerop (fl.1669-1721)

27 September 1669	Ankrup	Kingston Commissaries in Ulster County report the appearance of "Ankrup, an Indyan, [who] peticond again Capt. Chambers p^{r}tending hee was not paid for certain Lotts of Lands. It was referred to y^{e} next morning" (NYCD, 13: 436).
28 September 1669	Ankrup	Kingston Commissaries report that "Ankrup the Indyan [then] appearing, Capt. Chambers produced the Bill of Sale & y^{e} Indyan then owned his marke & full satisfaction for the Land; the Com^{ners} then caused that Acknowledgment to be Endors'd on the Bill of Sale; And they took care that unjust Complaints from y^{e} Indyans in that nature should be punisht" (NYCD, 13: 436).
27 April 1677	Ankerop/ Ankrop	One of four "Esopus Sachems" renewing peace with NY Governor Edmond Andros (1674-1682) at Kingston, and confirming several land sales north of the Rondout Creek extending "to the boundary of the land belonging to the Katskil Indians." Ankerop endorsed the agreement "for Kettsypowy" and accepted the proposition that "Kaelcop and some other Indians to go along and point out the landmarks, for which they should receive extra pay" (NYCD, 13: 504-505).
8 June 1686	Aran Kee	One of three "young Indians" conveying to Arie Rosa and others "a certain parcell of land lying upon the east shore [of Hudson's River] right over against the mouth of the Redout creek, bounded between a small creek [Landsman's Kill] and the river" in Dutchess County (Smith, 1894: 3).
28 July 1686	Ankony	One of three "Esopus Indians" conveying to Henry Kip of Kingston "a parcell of land over against Redout kill, on the north side of Arie Rosa, on the river" in Dutchess County (Smith, 1894: 2-3).
27 March 1703	Anckerop	The principal grantor conveying to Col. Henry Beekman Sr. for 60 pounds "all that tract or parcell of Land Seituate Lying and being in Dutchess County Betwist the Land of Coll. Peter Schuyler and ye Land of Henry pawling" (LP, Firestone Library, Princeton University).
16 December 1721	Anckeroop	One of five Indians testifying before Poughkeepsie Justice Barent Van Kleeck that "Such Indians In thare Life time Named Viz Aracogh and Guttecgtenonck and Rackawoounck did a bout one or two and Twenty Years agoo Sell unto Late Mr Robert Sanders, for himself and others a Certain tract of Land in Ulster county beginning at a fall in the river called the wall kill or Palls Creek" (BSDC, Bk 1: 47-48).

Arichapeckt (fl.1730-1758)

13 October 1730	Arichapeckt	A participating witness to the land sale confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110).
3 July 1758	Arie Sauck	A Wappinger Indian granting Daniel Nimham power of attorney over their land interests in Dutchess County (NYECM, 26: 82).

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

Hendrich Wamash (fl.1758-1763)

3 July 1758	Hendrick Waumaue	Wappinger Indians Hendrick Waumaue, Arie Sauck, Out Quamos, and John Backto, grant a "letter of Attorney to Daniel Nimham respecting their lands at Wickapee &e." (NYECM, 26: 82).
20 September 1763	Hendrick Wamash	"Hendrick Wamash with abt. A Dozen of his people" appears before Sir William Johnson "with a Complaint against M^{rs}. Brett of the Fish Kills, Co^{ll}. Beekman, Verplank, Cortland, & Phillips for that they had not paid his Ancestors viz^{t}. old Cap^{t}. Nimham &^{ca}. for a Tract of Land near to y^{e}. Fish Kills, and desired that Sir W^{m}. would grant them a Pass to go to New York [City] to the [Lt.] Gov^{r}. who they hoped & expected would do them Justice in the Affair, as they imagined that He must, (from his Surveying the Same) be well acquainted with the State of the Case ..... Agreable to the Ind^{s}. Desire, Sir W^{m}. gave them a pass & Letter to L^{t}. Gov^{r}. Colden, concerning their Complaints, on which they took leave" (P WJ, 10: 853-54).
20 September 1763	Hendrick Wamash	Sir William Johnson addresses a letter to Lt. Governor Colden regarding conferences with "The Indians of the six Nations, ... and those of Caghnawaga in Canada" and also writes that "The Bearer [of his message] Hendrick Wamash a Wappinger with three other Indians now wait upon you concerning a land affair at the Fish-Kills, with which they tell me you are somewhat acquainted, and for part of which Lands they were never paid: The partners are several, but for your farther information I enclose you a Letter from Mrs. Brett who is one of them [which was sent] to me last Year when at Easton, [Pennsylvania, while conferring with the Delaware Indians] and I [now] submit the affair to your consideration" (Colden 1923, 6: 236-237).
8 October 1763	Hendrick Wamash	Lt. Governor Colden writes to Sir William Johnson informing him he received his letter "of the 20th of last Month by the Indian Hendrick Wamash who says that several people at Fishkill and Poughkepsey owe him for some pieces of Land in several places. I told him that near 40 years since the Indians of Fishkill and Wappingers were heard by Governor Burnet on a like complaint at the House of Mr. Haskol near the place since called New Windsor [in present Orange County New York], that then everything was settled to the content of Nimham the Grandfather of this Man & of the other Indians to which this man had nothing to reply, but owned that he was then a boy and present at the meeting. I told him that I could do nothing without hearing the Parties concerned for the doing of which he said he could not stay, and therefore I advised them to lay before you what they have to say upon that Land & on your writing to me I would call the parties concerned before me if there appear any just reason to you for believing there is anything still due to these People, & shall if the Council agree to it summon the persons indebted to the Indians to appear before the Council. But I must desire you not to send the Indians to me without necessity, because it occasions an expense to me, for which I have no allowance" (Colden, in MacCracken, 1956: 279-280).
4 November 1763	Hendrick Wamash	Sir William Johnson writes to Lt. Governor Colden informing him he received his "Letters of the 8th and 24th Ult^{o} and shall on any farther application from Hendrick

		Wamash give you notice thereof in writeing, nor would I by any means chuse that you should incurr any expense with Indians. I recollect that one Marjery West was formerly given up to me by some Delawares & probably some of these [Wappinger] Indians might have been concerned in making her Prisoner, but I apprehend that is immaterial, as the Delawares [and Munsees] had been concerned agst Us, and since made Peace, w^{h} some few of them strictly adhere to" (Colden 1923, 6: 245).

Kounhum (fl.1669-1702/65)

1669	Kouhamwen	A granting signatory conveying Montagne's Point (Rechewas Point) in northern Manhattan at 105th street on the East River (Bolton, 1920: 123).
6 March 1684	Kowen	A granting signatory conveying the land called Sachus (the Dekay or Ryck's Patent) in "Kitchtawank" territory (between Verplanck's Point and Magregere's Creek) in the City of Peekskill, Westchester County (Lent, 1999, 62-63).
13 August 1702	Couwenhahum (Cowenhahum 1765)	One of eight granting signatories, "native Indians and Proprietors of sundry Tracts of land in Dutchess County," confirming Adolph Philipse's Highland extension to the Connecticut border (Deed facsimile in Pelletreau, 1886:15-18, 1765 trial, 75).
Post-Mortem		
17 November 1764	Kounhum	"Kounhum of the High Lands in Dutchess County and Province of New York Deceased" is identified as the father of Stephen Cowenham in a document granting guardianship to Samuel Monroe over the Wappingers' land interest (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).

Krickes (fl.1686-1724)

8 June 1686	Kora Kee	One of three "young Indians" conveying to Arie Rosa and others "a certain parcell of land lying upon the east shore [of Hudson's River] right over against the mouth of the Redout creek, bounded between a small creek [Landsman's Kill] and the river" in Dutchess County (Smith, 1894: 3).
27 March 1703	Krickes	One of seven granting signatories conveying to Henry Beekman of Kingston the "parcell of Land Seituate Lying and being in Dutchess County Betwixt the Land of Coll. Peter Schuyler and ye Land of Henry pawling" (LP, Firestone Library, Princeton University).
16 January 1724	Krickes	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 5 shillings made "To Krickes the Indian for a wollf head" (BSDC, Book 2: 7).

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

Mangwaesogh (fl.1714-1720)

1714	Mangwaesogh	Identified in a 1743 Moravian names list as one of nine granting signatories conveying land around the settlement of Shekomeko in the Little (or second) Nine Partners Patent (MA, Box 113, 5: #1).
3 June 1720	Minguasag	Dutchess County assessment lists (20 January 1724) record the expenditure of 15 shillings made to South Ward Supervisor Major Johannes Terboss for the bounties paid (under the old provincial acts) on "a Woulfs head from Frans De Lange 10 Shillings [on 9 May 1720] - Dito To a Nother Wolfshead [on 3 June 1720] from an Indian Minguasag 5 Shillings" (BSDC, Book 1: 33).

Mekeran (fl.1705-1730)

1705	Mekeran	A Siwanoy or Stamford Indian claiming ownership of land sold in the Westchester county township of Rye (Bolton, 1920: 101).
13 October 1730	Makerin	One of 20 granting signatories, "native Indian proprietors of land in Dutche County," confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).

Nackerin (fl.1729-1732)

10 August 1729	Nackerin	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 10 shillings made to Poughkeepsie Justice "Peter Van Kleeck Esqr for a Woulfs head paid to Nackerin an Indian" (BSDC, Book 3: 21).
13 October 1730	Narcarindt	A participating witness to the land sale confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
2 February 1731	Nakarint	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 1 pound made to Tryntie Van Cleeck for the bounty "paid to an Indian Nakarint [for] Tow Wolfes heads" (BSDC, Book 3: 24).
28 March 1732	Nockkerin	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 1 pound, 10 shillings, made "To the Hears of the Widdow Trynty Van Kleeck Deceased for Three Woulf heads paid to Indians-Two to Nockkerin & one to nennquin" (BSDC, Book 3: 38).

Naunauquin (fl.1724-1732)

25 April 1724	Naunauquin/ Naurnauquin/ (or squan)	A granting signatory selling land to Massachusetts authorities "lying upon Housatonack River, allias Westonook" along the disputed borders with New York and Connecticut for "Four Hundred and Sixty Pounds [currency] Three Barrels of Sider & thirty quarts of Rum." Also Identified as "Nau-nau-quin [or squan]" in a

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

		later deposition by Capt. John Ashley, a member of the settlement committee overseeing the purchase (Wright, 1905: 116-119; Mandell, 1982: 57n.13).
10 August 1729	Nannequeen	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 10 shillings made to Poughkeepsie Justice "Peter Van Kleeck Esqr for a Woulfs head paid to an Indian Named Nannequeen" (BSDC, Book 3: 21).
13 October 1730	Nonnaparee	One of 20 granting signatories, "native Indian proprietors of land in Dutche County," confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
2 February 1731	Nanniquit	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 10 shillings made to Tryntie Van Cleeck "for a Woulfs head paid to an Indian Nanniquit" (BSDC, Book 3: 24).
28 March 1732	nennquin	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 1 pound, 10 shillings, made "To the Hears of the Widdow Trynty Van Kleeck Deceased for Three Woulf heads paid to Indians-Two to Nockkerin & one to nennquin" (BSDC, Book 3: 38).
One Pound Pocktone (fl.1729-1765)		
24 April 1729	Won pound	An attesting witness to a conveyance made by the sachem Gideon Mauwehu (fl.1716-1756) and other Scaticook tribesmen for "all the unpurchased lands within the sd grant of New Fairfeild [County, Connecticut]: it being eight miles in length [encompassing present Sherman and northern New Fairfield] and is bounded east on the township of New Milford and Ousetonack River, west on land under the Gouernement of Newyork [in Dutchess County], South on Mitchells purchase [of 1705] so called it being a part of sd Newfairfield and north on ungranted lands of this government" (Wojciechowski, 1992: 247-248).
21 July 1764	one pound poktone	Indorses a document granting power of attorney to Daniel Nimham "to Dispose of all or part of" his land rights in Dutchess County (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
23 July 1764	one Pound poktone	Daniel Nimham leases land on his behalf to Stephen Willcox in the Beekman Precinct of Dutchess County (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
24 July 1764	one pound. Poktone	Daniel Nimham leases land on his behalf to Nathaniel Cordwainer in the Beekman Precinct of Dutchess County (MacCracken, 1956: 275-276).
24 July 1764	one pound pocktone	Daniel Nimham leases land on his behalf to Daniel Monroe in the South Precinct of Dutchess County (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
24 July 1764	one pound Pocktone	Daniel Nimham leases land on his behalf to Joesph Craw Jr. in the South Precinct of Dutchess County (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

24 September 1764	one Pound Pocktone	noted in an affidavit made by landlord informant Peter Pratt before Squire James Dickinson of the South Precinct (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
17 November 1764	one Pound Pocktone	"one Pound Pocktone of the County aforesaid Son and Heir of Ahtaupeanhond Deceased [represented] by Daniel Nimham aforesaid his Attorney ..... being Sick in New = England & unable to travel over here did desire and Chuse the within named Samuel Monrow his guardian as far as he could without Personal Appearance" (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
21 November 1764	one pound pockton	Daniel Nimham leases land on his behalf to John Rider in Dutchess County (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
19 December 1764	one Pound Pocktone	Daniel Nimham leases land on his behalf to Benjamin Palmer in the Beekman Precinct of Dutchess County (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
22 December 1764	one Pound Pocktone	Daniel Nimham leases land on his behalf to Jonathan Hobby in Dutchess County (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
1 March 1765	One Pound Pocktone	One of four "Native Indians of the Tribe of Wappinger," presenting a petition to Lt. Governor Colden, claiming lands in the South Precinct of Dutchess County (New York Colonial Manuscripts-Indorsed Land Papers, 18: 127).
6 March 1765	One Pound Poctone	Appears with Daniel Nimham, Jacobus Nimham, and Stephen Cowenham before the New York Colonial Council, challenging the claims of Roger Morris and Beverly Robinson as defendants of the Philipse land titles in southern Dutchess County (PGP, Pocket 13: No. 45, Columbia University, New York City, in Pelletreau, 1886: 75-76).
6 March 1765	one Pound	Identified in a deposition by Timothy Shaw as one of the Indians encouraging Daniel Nimham to challenge landlord leases in the Upper Patent (Pelletreau, 1886: 77-79).
6 March 1765	One-pound Packtoun	Identified by a Committee of the Colonial Council as one of five Indians involved in affairs during 1764 leading up to the present controversy (NYCM-LP, 18: 142).
11 March 1765	one Pound Packtone	Mentioned in a list of papers delivered to New York Attorney General John Kempe to be used in prosecution against Samuel Monroe (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
Papecunnow (fl.1705-1747)		
1705	Papecunnow alias Thomas	Identified in a 1743 Moravian names list as one of nine granting signatories conveying land within the bounds of the Little Nine Partners Patent (MA, Box 113, 5: #1).

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

1706	Tom Papecanoo	Identified in a 1743 Moravian names list as one of seven granting signatories conveying land within the bounds of the Little Nine Partners Patent (MA, Box 113, 5: #1).
1743-1747	Thomas	Appears in Moravian records under his given baptismal name Thomas, a "Sopus Ind" baptized at Shekomeko on 31 July 1743. Son of Jeptha (alias Shawwonock) and named as "official worker among the heathen." Married to Esther, a "Wompanosch" (Easterner/New England Indian) woman, from Potatik in Connecticut. Died 1747 at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (MA, Box 3191, #1; Wheeler, 1999: 321).
Perapouwes (fl.1680-1730)		
15 June 1680	Pillipuwas/ Pillippuwas	One of three granting signatories, "Highland Indians," conveying land along the Casper Creek in the Town of Poughkeepsie (ERA, 2: 84-85).
16 May 1683	Tapuas	A Highland Indian and principal signatory granting a mortgage "against the land of Haverstroe, named Kightamonk" to Laurence van Alen and Gerrit Lansing in the Town of Poughkeepsie (ERA, 2: 182-183).
2 September 1697	Tapuas	Johannes Cuyler of Albany patents the tract of "Vacant Land" east of the Casper Creek in the Town of Poughkeepsie "Purchased from Kaghqueront (fl.1680-1702) and other the Natives ..... as also the Vacant Land and meadow which Tapuas, the Indian, conveyed to Lawrence Van Ale and Gerret Lansing, Lying and being on Hudson's River, on the East side, Slenting to the Dancing Kamer, being a flatt or meadow to the West of a Creek, called Wynagkee [Wappinger Creek], beginning from the second [or little] fall [Matapan], where the bounds of Arnout Cornelise ends (NYBP, 7: 143-145).
13 August 1702	Perapouwes	A participating witness to the land sale confirming Adolph Philipse's Highland extension to the Connecticut border (Deed facsimile in Pelletreau, 1886: 15-18).
13 October 1730	Perpuwas	The principal grantor among the "native Indian proprietors of land in Dutche County," confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110).
Pesewein (fl.1720-1730)		
3 June 1720	Pesewein	Dutchess County assessment lists (20 January 1724) record the expenditure of 15 shillings made "To Coll Leonard Lewis [Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Poughkeepsie] for Mony Desbursed for the County - To a Woulfs head Payd to an Indian Named Pesewein 5 Shill - To a Woulfs head Payd to John Schoute 10 Shillings" (BSDC, Book 1: 33).
16 January 1724	pesiewein	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 5 shillings made to Poughkeepsie Justice and former Middle Ward Supervisor (1722-1723) "Capt Barent Van Kleeck for a Wolf Killed by pesiewein" (BSDC, Book 2: 7).

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

13 October 1730	Cocewyn/ Pecewyn	One of 20 granting signatories, "native Indian proprietors of land in Dutche County," confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
Schawash (fl.1702-1762/65)		
13 August 1702	Shawiss/ Souwess/ (Shawess 1765)	One of eight granting signatories, "native Indians and Proprietors of sundry Tracts of land in Dutchess County," confirming Adolph Philipse's Highland extension to the Connecticut border (PGP, Pocket 14: No. 6, Columbia University, New York City, deed facsimile in Pelletreau, 1886: 15-18, "Shawess" in 1765 trial, 75).
13 October 1730	Shawasquo/ Shawasco/ Shawask	One of 20 granting signatories confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent in a new Indian deed presented to the Nine Partners Company, "Sealed and Delivered by Shawanachko and Shawasco, and Tounis his Son." Also identified in the document body as "Tounis son of the said Shawask" (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
4 November 1737	Shawash	At a meeting of the Nine Partners Company in New York City, treasurer Jacob Goelet reports the arrival of "two Indians being come to town Shawash & Shawenah with letters from the Partners on the premises [of the Great Nine Partners Patent] showing they were real owners. Shawash owning the greatest part of ye [unsold] land & not yett paid. We met them at Cap A. Rutgers agreed & gave them for their right and to execute ye Indian deed which was executed accordingly upon delivery of ye following goods [to] Shawash, his son and Shawenah; the goods were delivered to ye Indians 7 hatchets, 2 guns, 10 streched & 10 duffel blankets, 2 strouds streched, 9th led 24 lb Powder, linnen, knives, paper & Cash and provisions 32/ per mile [totaling] L 24:15:4 ..... & to J. Marschalk [for] a gun [given] to young Shawash [Tounis] 3:00." (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 15).
4 November 1737	Shawasquo	One of two Indians appearing before Phillip Cortlandt of the Colonial Council attesting to ownership of lands in the Great Nine Partners Patent (excluded from the 1730 sale), and that he had respectively received as his share the payment of "seven striped Blanketts, seven Duffills Blankets, eight Dozen of pipes, twenty knives, five hatchets, one Strouds Blankett, eighteen pounds of powder, eighteen pounds of Lead, and one good gun, four white shirts, and one half barrel of strong beer, in full satisfaction of and for consideration of their Respective shares, right and title of, in, and to the within Tract of Land" (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 112-113).
1740-1762/63	Schawash	Appears in Moravian records under the variants Schawash / Shawas / Shaweous / Shabash / Shebosh, or under his given baptismal name Abraham, a "Mohican" sachem, "Elder of the congregation at Shekomeko," and a claimant to lands in the Little (or Second) Nine Partners Patent. Husband of Sarah, a "Mahikan" woman. Moved to Wechquadnach in northwestern Connecticut in 1747. Relocated to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in 1749, and then to the nearby Gnadenhutten mission on the Mahoning River. Died sometime in 1762 at Wyomink (Wyoming) on the

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

		upper Susquehanna River. Identified after his death as "Old Abraham a Mohicander," in a 1763 complaint to Sir William Johnson regarding the Nine Partner lands (MA, Box 3191, #1; Wheeler, 1999: 313; Westmeier, 1994; PWJ, 10: 853-854).
Sekomeck (fl.1712-1730)		
8 October 1712	Sekomeck	One of five granting signatories, "proprieters Natives oners & Indians," conveying land along the Wappinger Creek from "a place Coled Matapan ..... to John Casperses Creeck," in the present Towns of Poughkeepsie and Wappinger (NYCM-LP 5: 124).
5 May 1723	Seekoremaw	The "Chieef Indian of Pawlings" (Patent) "& ye Chieef of ye Land of Beekmans [Rhinebeck Patent] S:jawanegkie," are noted in a deposition which reports that "Both parties of Indians [have] mett in Dutchess County, to Shew the Land [purchased] by Pawlings, And what purchased by Beekman[s,] ..... & They agreed the Division Lyn bettween their fourfathers was by a Small Run of water Called nanotanapenen. The Land to the Southerd Should belong to proprietors [ceded?] to the Pawlings, & to ye north to ye Beekman. Butt the Indians on the Pawlings Syd Coming to a plain confession, they aknowledge they had land from a stooney Point, Called Korenagkoyosink Sum 8: or : [10] Chains to ye North ward of sd Kill, which Bears East from the Point of the Klyn [little] Esopus fly [or vly, present Esopus Meadows Point on the west-side of the Hudson] which we Took to be the place Intended which if ever ther has been a marked tree must have been there about and to Run from that place of Hudsons River East onye Strik near to ye midle of the meadow Called Pawlings fly" (LP, NYSL: MF, reel #28).
13 October 1730	Seeck	One of 20 granting signatories, "native Indian proprietors of land in Dutche County," confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
Shawwonock (fl.1703-1754)		
27 March 1703	Shawanagkies	One of seven granting signatories conveying to Henry Beekman of Kingston the "parcell of Land Seituate Lying and being in Dutchess County Betwist the Land of Coll. Peter Schuyler and ye Land of Henry pawling" (LP, Firestone Library, Princeton University).
5 May 1723	S:jawanegkie	"ye Chieef of ye Land of Beekmans" confirming the boundary between the Rhinebeck and Pawling patents in northwestern Dutchess County (LP, NYSL: MF, reel #28).
13 October 1730	Shawanachko	One of 20 granting signatories confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent in a new Indian deed presented to the Nine Partners Company, "Sealed and Delivered by Shawanachko and Shawasco" (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

4 November 1737	Shawenah	One of two Indians negotiating with the Nine Partners Company "for their right and to execute ye Indian deed" for unsold lands in the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 15).
4 November 1737	Shawanachko	One of two Indians appearing before Phillip Cortlandt of the Colonial Council attesting to ownership of lands in the Great Nine Partners Patent and that he "had respectively received [for his rights] the goods following, to witt ..... three striped Blanketts, three Dufills Blankets, four Dozen of pipes, ten knives, two Hatchets, one Strouds Blankett, six pounds of powder, ten pounds of lead, two white shirts, and One Gunn" (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 112-113).
17 October 1743	Shawwonock now Jeptha	One of six signatories to a petition claiming that the sachem Shawas had not been paid for his rights to the "Second [or Little] Nine partners land" (MA, Box 113, #10).
1743-1754	Jephthah "Sopus Ind"	Appears in Moravian records under his given baptismal name Jephthah / Jeptha, a baptized at Shekomeko on 31 July 1743. A widower, wife (unnamed) died of alcoholism in April 1744. Relocated to Bethlehem in 1745 to be with his son Thomas (alias Papecunnow). Moved to Nazareth, Pennsylvania in 1747, and traveled to Wechquadnach several times in 1749. Died April 1754 at Gnadenhutten (MA, Box 3191, #1; Wheeler, 1999: 320-321).
Stephen Cowenham (fl.1727-1765)		
10 August 1727	Couenham	Dutchess County assessment lists (23 January 1728) record the expenditure of 6 shillings made to Fishkill Justice "Jacobus Terbos Esq for a Woulfs head paid to Couenham ye Indian" (BSDC, book 2: 77).
31 January 1735	Counham	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 10 shillings made "To [South Ward Supervisor] Mathewes De Booys to one Woulfs had [head] paid to Counham the Indian" (BSDC, book 3: 90).
March 1756	Stephen of the Fishkill	Identified in Margery West's deposition before Lt. Governor Colden on 25 September 1756, regarding her captivity earlier that year among pro-French, Munsee and Delaware Indians during the Seven Years War. Margery testified that on 26 February, while at "Philip Swarthouts House at Minnissink" on the Upper Delaware River, she "was taken prisoner by the Indians who were eleven in number, one of whom was called Henry Nimham, a Fishkill Indian, that she had been acquainted with; another of the Gang calld himself John Smith, he was a Delaware Indian, had lost an Eye & was of a bad countenance: the Captan of this Gang was a Hackinsack Indian. That they traveled about $2^{1/2}$ Miles the day she was taken & Killd a Deer that Day, which they roasted at night: in $7^{1/2}$ Days they got to Quawaamac; no Indians lived there, they had removed to a place near by, on the other side of the [Susquehanna] River which they told her was in the New England [Connecticut] right. In 4 Days they got from hence to Diaoga [Tioga, (a Munsee town) now Athens, Pa.] here was a Number of Indians, among whom were many that Talked English and Dutch; in perticular she saw one Stephen of the Fishkill [Indians] who first knew her & then made himself known to her by

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

		mentioning a certain time that he had been at Captn Hartles; She likewise saw one Cornelius [Coleus Nimham?] who said he was brought up on Staten Island, that he had been at Braddocks defeat & shewd her some Linnen which he said was part of the booty." Margery also testified that after her release on 5 September "She saw at S^{r} W^{m} Johnson[s] house some of the same Indians who took her prisoner & when they saw her went out of the way" (Colden Papers, 5: 95).
21 July 1764	Stephen Kounhum	Indorses a document granting power of attorney to Daniel Nimham "to Dispose of all or part of" his land rights in Dutchess County (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
23 July 1764	Stephen Kounhum	Daniel Nimham leases land on his behalf to Stephen Willcox in the Beekman Precinct of Dutchess County (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
24 July 1764	Stephen Kounham	Daniel Nimham leases land on his behalf to Nathaniel Cordwainer in the Beekman Precinct of Dutchess County (MacCracken, 1956: 275-276).
24 July 1764	Stephen Kounhum	Daniel Nimham leases land on his behalf to Daniel Monroe in the South Precinct of Dutchess County (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
24 July 1764	Stephen Kounhum	Daniel Nimham leases land on his behalf to Joseph Craw Jr. in the South Precinct of Dutchess County (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
24 September 1764	Stephen Kounhum	noted in an affidavit made by landlord informant Peter Pratt before Squire James Dickinson of the South Precinct (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
17 November 1764	Stephen Kounhum	Endorses a document before Dutchess County justice John Akins approving and confirming Daniel Nimham's substitution of attorney-ship granted to Samuel Monroe on 10 November 1764 (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
17 November 1764	Stephen Kounhum	"Stephen Kounhum Son and Heir of Kounhum of the High Lands in Dutchess County and Province of New = York," endorses a document granting guardianship over his person and estates to Samuel Monroe (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
21 November 1764	Stephen Kownhum	Daniel Nimham leases land on his behalf to John Rider in Dutchess County (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
19 December 1764	Stephen Kownhum	Daniel Nimham leases land on his behalf to Benjamin Palmer in the Beekman Precinct of Dutchess County (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
22 December 1764	Stephen Kownhum	Daniel Nimham leases land on his behalf to Jonathan Hobby in Dutchess County (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

1 March 1765	Stephen Kounham/ Stephen Cowenham	One of four "Native Indians of the Tribe of Wappinger," presenting a petition to Lt. Governor Colden, claiming lands in the South Precinct of Dutchess County. Colden orders the Indian petitioners to appear before the Colonial Council on 6 March to present their claims against the proprietary heirs of Philipse's Upper Patent (NYCM-LP, 18: 127).
6 March 1765	Stephen Cowenham	Appears with Daniel Nimham, Jacobus Nimham, and One Pound Poctone, as plaintiffs before the New York Colonial Council, challenging the claims of Roger Morris and Beverly Robinson as defendants of the Philipse land titles in southern Dutchess County (PGP, Pocket 13: No. 45, Columbia University, New York City, in Pelletreau, 1886: 75-76).
6 March 1765	Stephen Kounhum 77-79).	Identified in a deposition by Timothy Shaw as one of the Indians encouraging Daniel Nimham to challenge landlord leases in the Upper Patent (Pelletreau, 1886:
6 March 1765	Stephen Cowenham	Identified by a Committee of the Colonial Council as one of five Indians involved in affairs during 1764 leading up to the present controversy (NYCM-LP, 18: 142).
11 March 1765	Stephen Kumhams	Mentioned in a list of papers delivered to New York Attorney General John Kempe to be used in prosecution against Samuel Monroe (Kempe Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York City).
Taguahams (fl.1729-1730)		
3-4 January 1729	tacquahamaes	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure made to former South Ward Supervisor (1722-1724, 1727) "Jacobus Swartwout for a Woulfs head Which he has received of an Indian tacquahamaes which note is without date when ye Woulf was Shott So allow Six Shilling" (BSDC, Book 2: 122).
13 October 1730	Taguahams/ Taquahamas	One of 20 granting signatories, "native Indian proprietors of land in Dutche County," confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
Other Named Individuals		
Abel 1743	1743-1760	A "Hoogl. Ind." Baptized at "Shecomeco under the open sky" on 2 November . A widower, "now has Elizabeth's sister [a "Mahikan" woman] as his wife." Died ca. 1760 at "Anohochjnugo" (Otsiningo/Chenango) a Mohican town on a branch of the Susquehanna River (MA, Box 3191, #1).
Agtapyhout	8 Oct. 1712	A granting signatory conveying land from "Matapan ..... to John Casperses Creeck" in the Towns of Poughkeepsie and Wappinger (NYCM-LP, 5:124).

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

Alotam	8 Oct. 1712	A granting signatory conveying land from "Matapan ….. to John Casperses Creeck" in the Towns of Poughkeepsie and Wappinger (NYCM-LP, 5:124).
Amekoonet	28 Mar. 1732	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 10 shillings made to Poughkeepsie Justice Peter van Kleeck "for a Woulf head paid to an Indian Named Amekoonet" (BSDC, Book 3: 38).
Anna Rosina (W)	1749-1754	A "hoogl." Indian baptized on 3 December 1749 at Gnadenhutten, Pennsylvania. Child of Adolph and Tabea, died sometime in 1754 (MA, Box 3191, #1).
A rye/ Arye	13 Oct. 1730	"Seeck's Son" and a granting signatory confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
Ayawatask/ Ayawatack	13 Oct. 1730	A granting signatory confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
Benjamin	9 April 1747	A "Mennisunk Ind." son of Michael, baptized at Gnadenhutten, Pennsylvania (MA, Box 3191, #1).
Cekounamow	13 Oct. 1730	A participating witness confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
Cochanis	31 Jan. 1734	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 10 shillings made to former South Ward Supervisor (1730-1731) Jacobus Depiester for "one wholfs had [head] paid to the Indian Called Cochanis" (BSDC, Book 3: 90).
Cooper	7 Feb. 1740	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 1 pound 3 pence made "To James Wilson for Apprehending an Indian Man Named Cooper" (BSDC, Book 3: 211).
Christiana (W)	24 July 1746	A "Sopus Ind." baptized at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. "Peter's widow. [Second?] wife of Bro.[ther] Shebosh" (MA, Box 3191, #1).
David	1746-1747	A "Sopus Ind." 6 year old son of Thomas, baptized 28 August 1746 at the mission station of "Friedrichstown" (Friedenshutten), Pennsylvania. Died 20 January 1747 at Friedenshutten (MA, Box 3191, #1).
Daniel	1748	A "Sopus Ind." 11 year old son of Thomas, baptized 18 Feb. 1748 at Friedenshutten, Pennsylvania. Died 11 May 1748 at Friedenshutten (MA, Box 3191, #1).
Eva (W)	7 Oct. 1743	A "Hoogl. Ind." Baptized at Shekomeko, "widow of Nicodemus" a Wompanosch (Easterner/New England) Indian (MA, Box 3191, #1).
Gabriel	1749-1768	A "Hoogl. Ind." baptized on 15 March 1749, at the Mohican town of Wechquadnach in northwestern Connecticut. "Child of Caritas," a Delaware or Shawnee woman. Died 18 April 1768 at the Paugusset town of Scaticook, Connecticut (MA, Box 3191, #1).

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

Hahangement	1714	A granting signatory conveying land within the bounds of the Little Nine Partners Patent (MA, Box 113, 5: #1).
Isaac	4 Feb. 1746	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 1 pound 10 shillings made to Johannis Wiltsie "for 3 young Wolves killed - 2 by Isaac An Indian" (BSDC, Book 3: 336).
Kindtquaw	13 Oct. 1730	A granting signatory confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
Lazara (W)	1749	A "Sopus Ind." Baptized on 16 March 1749 at Wechquadnach, "daughter of Jephtha" died 19 November 1749 at Wechquadnach (MA, Box 3191, #1).
Lydia (W)	12 Dec. 1742	A "Sopus Ind." baptized at Shekomeko. "wife of Philip, of Shecomeco" (MA, Box 3191, #1).
Mamany	13 Oct. 1730	A granting signatory confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
Mamsknok (W)	1714	The principal grantor and one of two women conveying land within the bounds of the Little Nine Partners Patent (MA, Box 113, 5: #1).
Mangeghisrt (W)	1714	An attesting witness and one of two women conveying land within the bounds of the Little Nine Partners Patent (MA, Box 113, 5: #1).
Maria Spangenberg (W)	1746-1748	A "Hoogl. Ind." baptized at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania on 13 May 1746. 9 year old daughter of Ruth. Died 7 April 1748 at Nazareth, Pennsylvania (MA, Box 3191, #1).
Martha (W)	13 May 1746	A "Sopus Ind." 9 year old daughter of Thomas and Esther, baptized at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (MA, Box 113, 5: #1).
Mawareno	10 Aug. 1727	Dutchess County assessment lists (23 Jan. 1728) record the expenditure of 6 shillings made to South Ward Supervisor Jacobus Swartwout "for a Woulfs head payd to an Indian Named Mawareno" (BSDC, Book 3: 77).
Memram	13 Oct. 1730	A granting signatory confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
Michael	12 Dec. 1742	A "Mennisung Ind." baptized at Shekomeko. A "widower of Shecomeco" (MA, Box 3191, #1).
Naghcharent	13 Oct. 1730	A participating witness confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
Namerokoren	1714	A granting signatory conveying land within the bounds of the Little Nine Partners Patent (MA, Box 113, 5: #1).

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

Ouracgacguis	13 Oct. 1730	A granting signatory confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
Peet	27 Jan. 1721	"the Son of Shukokan" and participating witness to a Mohican land sale "southwards of Weatauk" (Binzen, 1997: 109-110).
Penywantomink	1714	A granting signatory conveying land within the bounds of the Little Nine Partners Patent (MA, Box 113, 5: #1).
Peter	4 Feb. 1746	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 1 pound 10 shillings made to Johannis Wiltsie "for 3 young Wolves killed ..... 1 by Peter the Indian" (BSDC, Book 3: 336).
Philippuia (W)	1749-1752	A "Hoogland" Indian baptized at Gnadenhutten, Pennsylvania on 16 August 1749. 10 year old daughter of Adolph and Tabea. (Second?) "Wife of Abel," married 23 September 1752 at Gnadenhutten (MA, Box 3191, #1).
Pomeherant	1714	A granting signatory conveying land within the bounds of the Little Nine Partners Patent (MA, Box 113, 5: #1).
Praymingim/ Praymingin	1714	One of two attesting witnesses conveying land within the Little Nine Partners Patent, who "Acknowled that they had rec.[ieved] the pay for the Land" (MA, Box 113, 5: #1).
Qwaktownor	1714	A granting signatory conveying land within the bounds of the Little Nine Partners Patent (MA, Box 113, 5).
Ruth Spangenberg (W)	26 Mar. 1747	A "Hoogland Ind." baptized at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. 14 year old daughter of Ruth (MA, Box 3191, #1).
Salome (W)	1747-1748	A "Mennisink Ind." baptized on 9 April 1747 at Gnadenhutten, Pennsylvania. A "little daughter" of Salome. Died 18 May 1748 at Bethlehem (MA, Box 3191, #1).
Salome (W)	14 Mar. 1748	A "Hogl. Ind." baptized at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. An "adopted daughter of Nicodemus." Died at Bethlehem, date unknown (MA, Box 3191, #1).
Salome (W)	6 Jan. 1761	A "Hogland" Indian, "an old woman" baptized at the Delaware town of Nain, on the Lehigh River in Pennsylvania (MA, Box 3191, #1).
Sacayawa	13 Oct. 1730	A participating witness confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
Sasaragua/ Sasaaacgua	(W) 13 Oct. 1730	A granting signatory and one of two women confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
Tintgeme (W)	13 Oct. 1730	A granting signatory and one of two women confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).

Table 2. Proprietary Cohort *(continued)*

Thomas	1746-1748	A "Sopus Ind." baptized at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania on 6 November 1746, "son of Thomas and Esther," died 7 July 1748 at Bethlehem (MA, Box 3191, #1).
Tounis	13 Oct. 1730	The "Son of Shawasquo" and a granting signatory confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
Ukejachlakaweu/ Adolph alias Adrian Quackenbusch	16 Aug. 1749	A "Hoogland" Indian baptized at Gnadenhutten, Pennsylvania. Husband of Tabea a "Mahikand" woman (MA, Box 3191, #1).
Wappenas	13 Oct. 1730	A granting signatory confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
Wasanamonrg	13 Oct. 1730	A participating witness confirming the boundaries of the Great Nine Partners Patent (McDermott and Buck, 1979: 110-112).
werichape	8 Nov. 1722	Identified in a provincial survey measuring the "Co[u]rse Run on ye River of [the] Rombout patent" from the north side of the Wappinger Creek to the land "Standing upon the Fishkill [Creek] on the South side thereof opposite ye house of werichape ye Indian there" (LP, NYSL: MF, reel #28).
Young Nimham	5 Feb. 1745	Dutchess County assessment lists record the expenditure of 2 pounds made "To John Ten Brook for 2 Wolves heads killed by Young [Daniel] Nimham an Indian" (BSDC, Book 3: 308).
Zippora (W)	1743-1746	A "Hoogl. Ind." Baptized at Shekomeko on 7 October 1743. "wife of Nathanall of Wehtak" (Weatauk), a Mohican town in northwestern Connecticut. Died at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania on 23 August 1746 (MA, Box 3191, #1).

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LP: Robert R. Livingston Papers, Microfilm series, New York State Library. Also at Firestone Library, Princeton University, New Jersey

MA: Moravian Archives, Microfilm Series, New York State Library, Albany, New York

NYBP: New York Book of Patents and Deeds. Unpublished manuscripts on file at New York State Archives, Albany, New York

NYCM-LP: New York Colonial Manuscripts, Indorsed Land Papers. Unpublished manuscripts on file at New York State Archives

NYECM: New York Executive Council Minutes 1668-1783. Unpublished manuscripts on file at New York State Archives

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CHAPTER 5

WEATAUG AND WECHQUADNACH: NATIVE AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS OF THE UPPER HOUSATONIC

Timothy L. Binzen

By the end of the seventeenth century, the Native American societies of the northeast had experienced radical transformations due to disease, warfare, and trade that followed contact with Europeans. Descendants worked to sustain community life and tradition, often accepting refugees from other tribes. As the seventeenth century moved forward, the pressures from encroaching European settlement affected native groups in areas that previously had been considered remote. In the face of pervasive land loss and the challenges to tradition posed by European ways, native communities were forced to consider alternate strategies. These included migration, consolidation with mission communities or "praying towns," and accommodation with colonial settlements that subdivided traditional tribal lands.

Communities of the Mohican nation faced such choices. Prior to 1600, a network of Mohican settlements held sway over the Upper Hudson River Valley and eastern New York State, western Connecticut, western Massachusetts, and southern Vermont (Dunn 1994). By 1700, the reduced Mohican population occupied settlements east of the Upper Hudson and in the central and western Housatonic River drainage. As colonial settlement advanced from the south and east, the vicinity of present Stockbridge, Massachusetts, emerged as the main Mohican political center (Frazier 1992).

Located near the Housatonic River south of Stockbridge were the native villages of Wechquadnach and Weataug. These two communities, closely affiliated with each other, had maintained relations with a small contingent of Dutch settlers who arrived from the Hudson Valley in the early eighteenth century. In the decades to follow, Wechquadnach and Weataug residents confronted colonial land speculators from Connecticut and Massachusetts and pioneers of the iron industry who were eager to obtain the communities' lands (Binzen 1997). Like other native groups of New England, these communities would see most of their land outside of a small core area removed from their control by purchase and expropriation. While their participation in the Mohican political system continued, the practice of traditional subsistence strategies became problematic. Further tension resulted in the 1740s from competition between Calvinist and Moravian missions for control over the communities.

This paper considers a land strategy employed by the Native American communities of Wechquadnach and Weataug in response to colonial settlement of the upper

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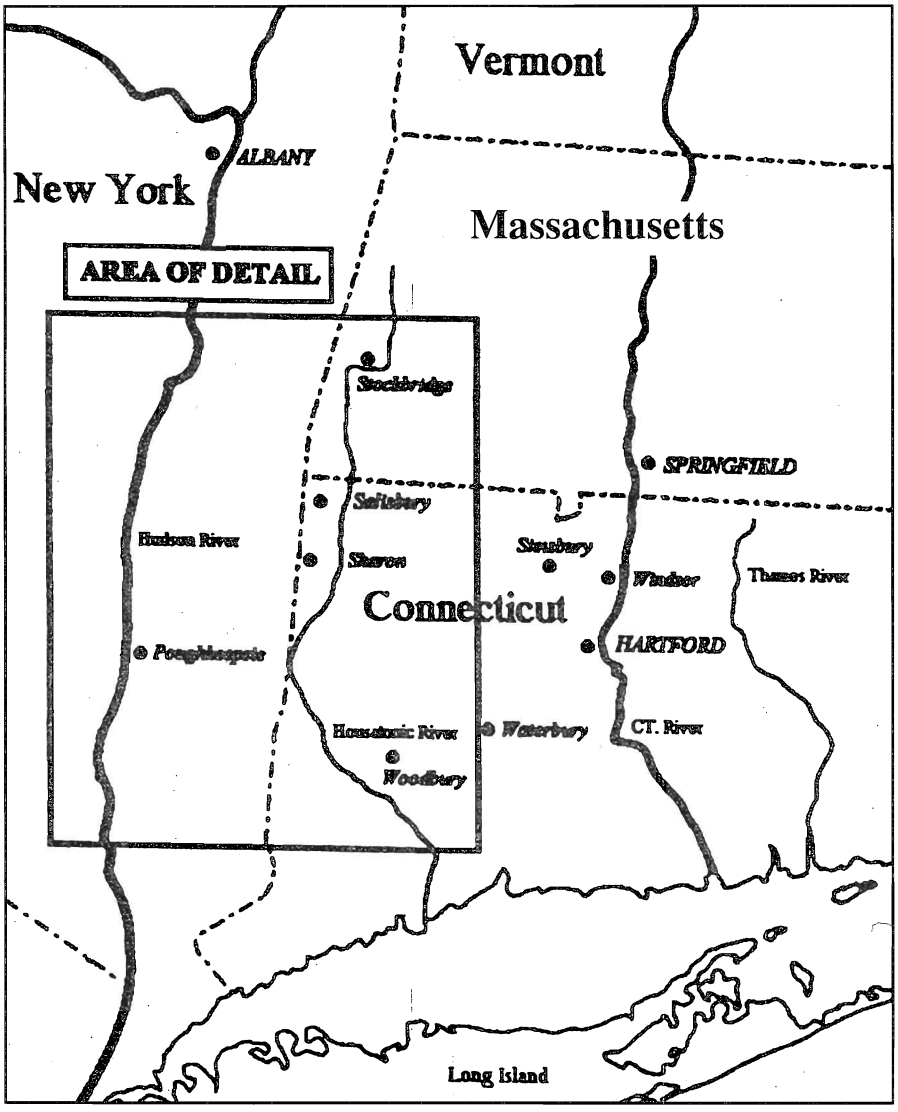
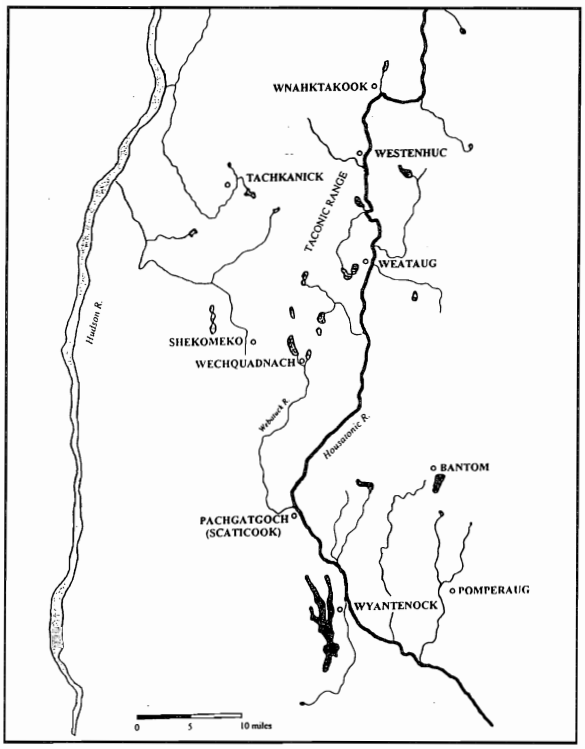


5.1. Area of detail, showing the New York-Connecticut border and the Housatonic River.

Housatonic between 1675 and 1750. Aspects of this strategy, it is suggested, were suggested by the communities' locations close to the borders of three colonies. (Figure 5.1)

For the native people of the upper Housatonic, the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were a period of equilibrium between native and colonial control over the land, between the ancient and the colonial systems of proprietary rights. Probably the greatest issue was the transfer of ownership of tribal lands to the colonies of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York. As interpreted from documents and deeds from that time, the native land strategies embodied elements of both persistence and transformation of traditional ways.

The land strategy employed by the native people evidently was directed at the reinforcement of a social and economic network of native communities which were distributed along the Housatonic River drainage

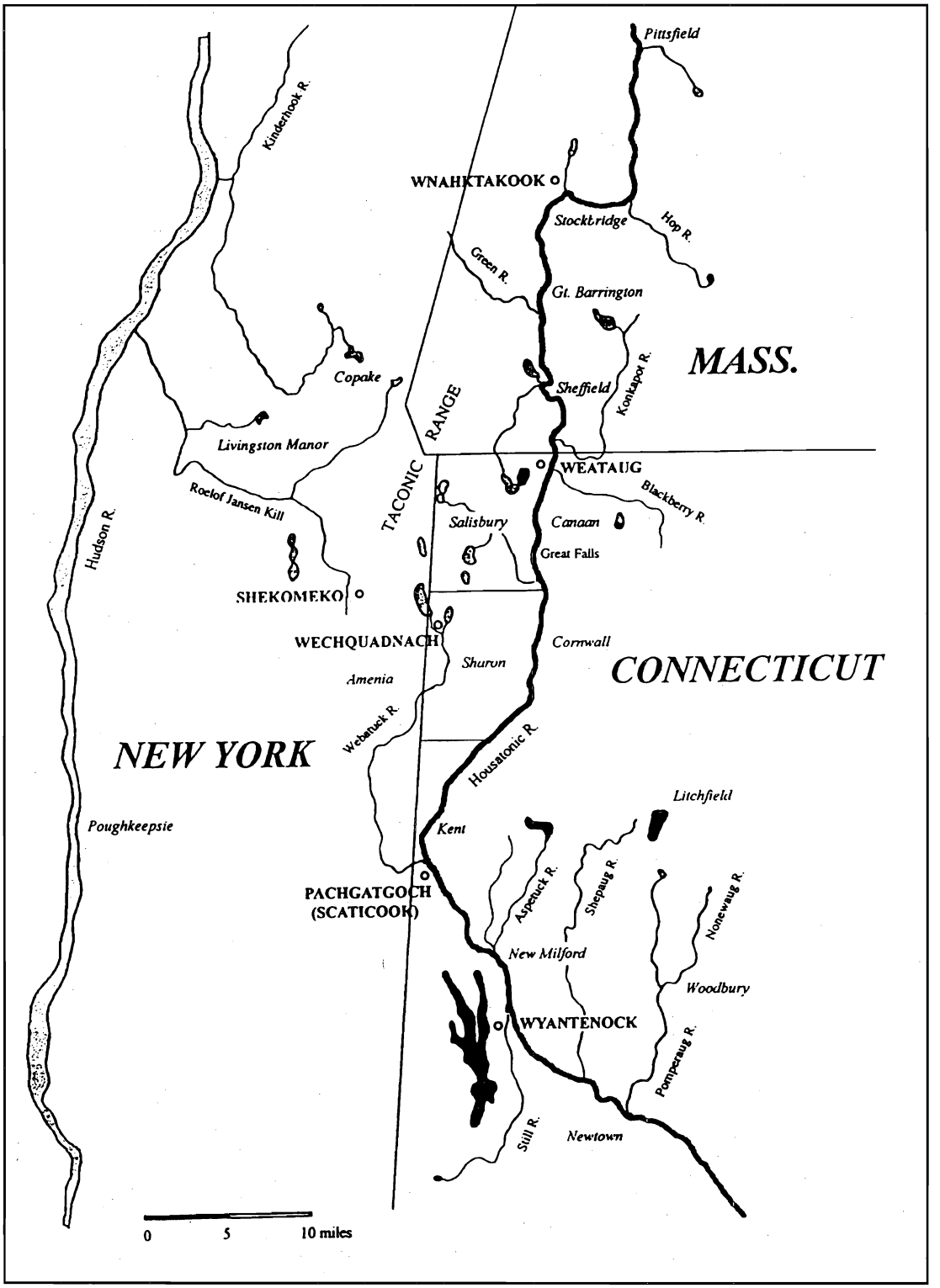


5.2. Native American settlements of the upper Housatonic River area, c. 1685-1740 (Binzen 1997).

extending from the headwaters in western Massachusetts, through western Connecticut to Long Island Sound. This ancient native settlement system, with a deep history and jurisdictional spheres of its own, was overlain during the colonial period by a veneer of inter-colonial borders, yet it remained a vital network into the mid-eighteenth century. In addition to Wechquadnach and Weataug, it included the Housatonic Valley communities of Wnahktakook, Scaticook, Pomperaug, and Wyantenock (Binzen 1997). In the early eighteenth century, native people from the Connecticut River valley and elsewhere joined the villages of the Mohican diaspora in the upper Housatonic. (Figure 5.2)

The typical native community of this period occupied a main village with seasonal satellite camps, and was associated with a particular watercourse and resource area defined by topographic features. A sachem headed each community, resolved local disputes, and represented the community to other groups. In Mohican tradition, sachems included women, who administered land control and inheritance. As the local communities were generally matrilineal and, as lineages were associated with specific tracts of agricultural land, women had great influence over the use, and eventually the sale, of land (Dunn 1994:247). Agriculture, fishing and hunting were integral to the Mohican economy, and access to rivers and floodplains was critical in the selection of habitation sites. The typical Mohican main village of the late seventeenth century consisted of an arrangement of wigwam longhouses in combination with smaller structures. Small longhouses contained multiple hearths and were likely shared by matrilineal family units (Snow 1980). Lineages made intermittent use of tracts of arable land, which were cleared of foliage through controlled burning, later cultivated, and left to grow over again in a system of rotation. The Mohicans practiced extensive agriculture, which contrasted with the generally intensive methods of the European settlers. Mohican methods required frequent movement between cultivated plots, as large-scale cultivation and occupation of permanent, bounded farmsteads was not feasible (Dunn 1994). Periodic translocation of main-village sites within a local area was another Mohican practice.

Located near the Housatonic in the area that had become northwestern Connecticut, southwestern Massachusetts, and eastern New York, Wechquadnach and Weataug in 1740 were situated directly upon inter-colony boundaries — in the case of Wechquadnach, on the Connecticut-New York boundary, and in the case of Weataug, on the Connecticut-Massachusetts boundary. What is more, both communities were located in the extreme corners of the respective colonial townships that had just recently been incorporated upon their traditional lands. Is it possible that these circumstances were not merely a geographical coincidence?



5.3. Colonial borders and towns and Native American settlements of the upper Housatonic River area, c. 1740 (Binzen 1997).

The conventional view of the native people of the upper Housatonic in this period, as presented in nineteenth century town histories and secondary sources, would assert that colonial settlement of the upper Housatonic was quite rapid, and that as new townships were laid out, native people living there were displaced from the colonial town centers into the outer margins of the newly formed towns — that the native people were in effect compelled to occupy the edges of the towns, from which they subsequently moved to Canada, or New York, or simply became extinct. And perhaps the native settlement locations on the borders can be viewed as a metaphor for the social and economic displacement that apparently took place. While this conventional view is partially correct — native people were displaced from their lands, demographic imbalance was a factor, and many native people did emigrate during this period — it underestimates the tenacity of the native communities that worked to prevail within the colonial milieu, the native people's understanding of the effects of colonial township formation, and the potential for strategic advantages in living on the borders between the colonies.

The conventional understanding of rapid colonial settlement and the displacement of native communities like Wechquadnach and Weataug is based on several assumptions that are worthy of critical examination. The first is that when the townships were incorporated, the native people established themselves on corners or outskirts, after the boundaries of the new towns were laid out. However, in the cases of Wechquadnach and Weataug, the specific locales of the native villages had been occupied for some time prior to the laying out of the colonial townships by Connecticut authorities in about 1740. Note that Weataug happened to be situated directly on the Connecticut-Massachusetts border established in 1717, and Wechquadnach was located on the Connecticut-New York border finalized in 1731 (Binzen 1997). This suggests the possibility that the locations of the main native villages in the 1730s affected the subsequent layout of the colonial townships, and that the townships may have been placed around the native villages rather than that the native communities were pushed to the edges. (Figure 5.3)

Deeds and other documents from Connecticut show that the native people of these two communities sold tracts farther away from their main villages first. Consequently, the first tracts sold frequently witnessed the earliest colonial settlement of a given area. The deeds also show the evolving nature of the colonial land jurisdictions and their effects on native society. The Weataug deeds prior to 1720 were signed by extended lineages of many members, male and female, identified as Mohicans (Dunn 1994). These transactions were conducted within the jurisdiction of New York and reflect Dutch traditions, wherein payment consisted of goods and money, and the role of women in land rights was acknowledged. Subsequent deeds transacted when Weataug had become part of Connecticut reflect the standards of that English colony, typically being signed by one or two men acting as representatives of their community (Binzen 1997).

Secondly, the conventional view portrays the native people as helpless in the face of colonial settlement. It is assumed that the native communities were compelled to move outward to marginal areas where they would not otherwise have lived. Evidence suggests, though, that the people of Wechquadnach and Weataug were well aware of the impending inter-colony boundaries and their implications for native people, prior to the incorporation of the colonial townships. A deed from 1729, signed by Weataug inhabitants, refers to a "place on the west where the line shall be setted between the governments of New York and Connecticut" (Connecticut Colonial Land Records, Vols. 4-5). Connecticut documents from 1742 refer to Wechquadnach as "the place at the northwest corner of Sharon, where the

said Indians live and improve, and always designed to reserve for themselves a settlement" and to Weataug as "a two mile square at ye northeast corner [of Salisbury] ...declared both by English and Indians that they have always understood was never intended to be sold" (Connecticut State Archives, Indian Papers, Series 1, Vol. 1). Foreseeing the arrival of colonial settlement, the people of Wechquadnach and Weataug apparently had quite deliberately planned to sell outlying lands and retain their main village tracts in perpetuity. Presumably they wanted to continue occupying those main villages, and they may have identified specific advantages to living on the inter-colony borders.

What were the factors at work in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century that resulted in these main villages being located on inter-colony borders? And what advantages might the native people have seen in maintaining main village tracts at these locations?

Several of the factors involved the priorities of the colonial English governments in Hartford, Boston, and Albany. These included the objective of establishing and maintaining military control over Native American groups in the region. During Queen Anne's War and the French and Indian War in the early and mid-eighteenth century, it was the frontier areas of New England, such as the upper Housatonic, that were seen as the conduits for sudden Indian attack on colonial New England settlements. In a pattern dating back to King Philip's War, the respective colonies periodically imposed travel restrictions and other confinements on native people. Native Americans traveling for purposes of trade or hunting were often considered guilty until proven innocent.

A second factor, spurred by colonial population growth and proliferation of new townships, was the colonists' desire for lands traditionally held or controlled by native people. This led to the acquisition or wholesale expropriation of lands, in which the subdivision of land was presented to native inhabitants as a *fait accomplis*. This was not accepted quietly by the native people of the Housatonic, however. In 1736, Dutch settlers at Weataug (later Salisbury) complained to the General Court of Connecticut that "to [our] sudden surprise, the Indian Natives of that place threatened that they would dispossess your memorialists, whereby we were greatly terrified, the Indians averring that the [Connecticut] government had never gave them any consideration for said land, and in our ignorance though contrary to law we made purchases of said Indians to the value of 183 pound New York money, for we were afraid that unless we did we should not only lose our estates but our lives also" (Connecticut State Archives, Towns and Lands, First Series, Vol. 7). A decade later, the Wechquadnach community hired an attorney and submitted a memorandum to the Connecticut Assembly, reiterating their claim to their lakeside tract in the northwest corner of the colonial township of Sharon, where they had "made improvements" following incorporation of the town (Connecticut State Archives, Indian Papers, Series 2, Vol. 2).

Further, it has been suggested that the American colonial society's need for self-definition required contrast with a foil, or *Other*, to define its own social and religious values by way of contrast (Lepore 1998). Native people were frequently used, or misused, for this purpose, and held at arm's length by authorities at the colonial and township levels. In combination, these factors contributed to an atmosphere in which the social, economic, and ideological displacement of native people was almost inevitable. This outcome was hardly mitigated by begrudging directives in Massachusetts and Connecticut to Christianize or assimilate the native people of the colonies.

A differing set of factors contributing to this outcome of native villages being situated on the colonial borders stemmed from the priorities of the Native Americans them-

selves. It is clear that the colonial border areas were dynamic places, where the jurisdiction of colonial administrations in Hartford, Boston, and Albany, and restrictions placed on native people, were not easily enforced. Another consideration was the need to travel freely. The native main villages were focal areas used by people who were accustomed to seasonal travel and reconvention. Social interaction and economic cooperation between the native communities of the upper Housatonic were hallmarks of their way of life. By the early eighteenth century, travel by native people between the upper Housatonic communities required movement between three colonies, which had differing laws and policies. Wechquadnach and Weataug were approximately equidistant between Wnahktakook, the Mohican center upriver on the Housatonic, and Wyantenock and Schagticoke (of Connecticut), located downriver. They were also equidistant between Albany and Hartford.

In addition, trade activities conducted at colonial population centers had long been a means of obtaining subsistence goods and supplies. Native people actively participated in this commerce, manufacturing wooden implements and wares, brooms, baskets, and canoes that were transported on the river or on foot, and traded (Binzen 1997). The native people had long been accustomed to playing off various trading spheres — the English vs. the Dutch, and Connecticut vs. Massachusetts — against each other. It would have been advantageous to be able to step from one colonial sphere to another with ease, if circumstances required it. The ability to travel freely was therefore essential, and these were people who did a remarkable amount of traveling, with seasonal journeys of several hundred miles on foot not uncommon.

The people of Wechquadnach and Weataug apparently were not inclined to allow their villages to be surrounded entirely by the lands of any one colony, if this could be prevented. The effects of the borders influenced non-native people as well. In one instance in the early 1740s, Moravian missionaries whose activities had been banned in Connecticut established a mission building on the western, or New York, shore of Lake Wechquadnach. The missionaries crossed the lake by canoe to minister to the native community located on the Connecticut side of the lake (Binzen 1997).

Maintaining access to a sufficient local subsistence base was obviously very important to the native communities, particularly in a time when hunting or harvesting wild foodstuffs on colonial land was punished as trespassing. Fishing required seasonal access to various locations on the river. Hunting for bear and deer was common, but required trips of increasing length as the mid-eighteenth century approached. Because border areas were often in dispute between colonies, they were the longest to remain forested, unoccupied, and undivided by colonists whose attentions were focused on nucleated town centers. Finally, it is probable that the native main village tracts retained by Wechquadnach and Weataug were places of ancestral and lineage significance, identified with some of the same landmarks that were used by the colonies in establishing the inter-colony borders. Understandably, these traditional places of habitation would be the last areas the native people would want to relinquish.

In summary, the period between 1675 and 1750 marked a time of uneasy equilibrium between Native American and colonial jurisdiction in the upper Housatonic. Facing the inevitability of the colonial division of the landscape, two native communities used a land strategy that involved the preservation of main village tracts, and the sale of outlying lands. These main village tracts were located directly on inter-colony borders and in the corners of nucleated English townships that were incorporated around them. This strategy was intended to provide an adequate land base to allow traditional means of subsis-

tence, while at the same time diversifying economic options for the native economy in response to colonial settlement. It was intended to perpetuate the social and economic bonds among the native communities of the upper Housatonic, connections that were rarely more essential, or more threatened, than during this period. Ultimately, the native land strategy seems to have been directed at maintaining the greatest possible degree of autonomy for the native communities within the context of colonial settlement. And it was in the border areas between colonies that the potential for such autonomy could best be explored.

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CHAPTER 6

ADAPTING A CULTURE: THE MOHICAN EXPERIENCE AT SHEKOMEKO

Shirley W. Dunn

The United Brethren or Moravians were a Protestant religious sect based in Germany, with a long history of persecution in Europe. In the eighteenth century, Moravian representatives came to America hoping to preach to natives far from white settlements. After starting in Georgia, the Moravians settled in and around Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; some spent the following years among the Delawares. Beginning in the 1740s, however, Moravians established missions among Mohicans in Dutchess County, New York, and in Connecticut's Housatonic Valley.

The missionaries tried to be self-sufficient as craftsmen and gardeners, but were supported as needed by workers at Bethlehem and, initially, by funds from Europe. At Bethlehem, two groups were planned, "one to go into the forests as teachers and evangelists, the other to stay in the settlements to earn support for those who went out" (Gray 1956:26). Moravians at a mission aimed to lead a life without blame, as an example to their converts. Moreover, they tried to treat the Indians as they would wish to be treated themselves. Adult Indian converts were expected to continue learning. Children of baptized parents could be baptized and thereafter were of special concern. Schools were begun in which children were taught to read and write, either in German or English, according to the needs of the area.

The Moravians led an active communal life working along with their congregations. Rather than teaching Indians to improve their behavior, the Moravians started by urging the natives to achieve salvation by identifying with the sufferings of Christ, whose blood would wash away sin. Faith gave the necessary prompting for an individual to put his life in order. The missionaries considered Native American souls equal in importance to their own. Despite this equality, the missionaries recognized themselves as the initial teachers: "the Baptized must be trained to regular Labour, vizt: to plant, hunt, fish and do every thing on the right Season - to keep good House with everything they have, to tend their Corn well and to make provision for their Families and also their Cattle in the right Season" (MOA Box 315, F3, #7). If achieved, a successful mission would bring not only religious changes but improved order to a village.

A Moravian mission was initiated in summer 1740 at Shekomeko, a Mohican village in Dutchess County south of present Pine Plains, by a newly arrived German, Christian Henry Rauch. Rauch's arrival was well-timed to meet Indian needs. Most Hudson Valley

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natives of the period, overwhelmed after a century of colonial settlement, were discouraged and poor. Reduction of the spatial environment to which they were so finely tuned and which they had so effectively managed in the past meant they now had to devise new management and social systems. As old ceremonies had ceased to serve them, they needed to find new, satisfying ways to relate to the world. Native Americans found various bridges to their changing world; converting to the Christian religion was a way for many Mohicans.

The story of the beginnings of the Moravian mission at Shekomeko is well-known. Rauch observed drunken Mohicans in New York City when he first arrived from overseas in early summer 1740. When two Mohican leaders, Maumauntissekun, also known as Shabash, and Wassamapah, became sober, he was able to converse with them in Dutch. Wassamapah was lame from a drunken accident; Maumauntissekun was known by a snake tattooed on each cheek (Frazier 1992:60-62). They had some familiarity with Christian beliefs through contacts made at the existing Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Indian mission.

Maumauntissekun had visited Stockbridge in 1739 to receive some instruction in religion. While there, he had related a frightening vision which he had during a drinking bout. In his waking dream, Indians lay cold and distressed in the woods, unable to escape water being pumped over them, and a voice advised him to take notice and avoid such wickedness. A strong light shone about him, until a blast of wind dispersed the Indians into the air (Sergeant 1739:1,2). The Mohican considered the event a spiritual warning and began to consider the new religion. Since then, he had nearly given up drinking, with the notable exception of binges on his visit to New York City.

After recovering from another bout of drunkenness in New York, for which they expressed regret, the two chiefs agreed to take Rauch back to Shekomeko, their village, and named him their new religious teacher. They were ready to hear about the gospel. Rauch followed the men from New York to Shekomeko, where, despite their previous invitation, the missionary found himself unwelcome. Self-respect in this Indian village was low. The Shekomeko Mohicans were accorded "the worst in all this part of the Country" (MOA Box 11, F3, #4). A deceitful property transaction had embittered them, and they knew proprietors all around them were anxiously waiting to obtain their land. They were literally afraid to leave their village unattended for fear it would be confiscated in their absence.

The Shekomeko residents, moreover, had declined previous opportunities to become Christians through the Stockbridge mission. By reopening the question of accepting Christianity, Rauch's presence now posed a threat to the village social order. To make matters worse, traders told the Mohicans that Rauch would take away their children and make them slaves. Consequently, the Mohicans' response to him fluctuated wildly. One drunken Indian nearly killed Rauch with a hatchet. The lame Indian, Wassamapah, threatened to shoot him and wanted him to leave. Yet it was Wassamapah who, according to an account of the Shekomeko mission, on observing an exhausted Rauch asleep in the wigwam, said, "This man cannot be a bad man, for he fears no evil, not even from us. . .but sleeps comfortably, and places his life in our hands" (Loskiel 1788, Part 2:13).

Palatine immigrant Johannes Rau, farming near the Shekomeko village, considered the Indians beyond help. Nevertheless, he was friendly to missionary Rauch and offered him a place to stay. Rauch retreated to the home of this farmer, where he earned board by teaching Rau's children. Rauch visited the Indian village often. He also walked to the Mohican village of Wequadnach, near present Sharon, Connecticut, and made the acquaintance of additional Mohicans. Some of them began to come to hear his sermons.

Rauch's presence at Shekomeko attracted the attention of a displaced eastern Indian sachem, Mauwehu, also known as Ammawassamon, (and later known as Gideon) who had gathered his followers at Pachgatgoch (Skaticoke) near the Housatonic River west of present Kent, Connecticut. Some of his people began to come to Shekomeko to hear Rauch's teachings. Over time, the promise in these sermons at Shekomeko won listeners, even as Rauch's concern and frugality convinced the Mohicans that he would never covet their land nor enslave their children. The Mohicans appreciated the additional contributions of Rauch, who, besides preaching, offered to teach interested Indians to read and tried to heal them when they were sick.

As his audiences became more thoughtful, Christian names were adopted. Shabash, formerly Maumauntissekun, as well as Tschoop (or Job), formerly Wassamapah, and others found a new spiritual view and new self-esteem through Rauch's teachings. A transformed and repentant Tschoop, also known as Johannes or John, described himself in a letter as formerly a great drunkard and a wild savage. When he began to accept Moravian teachings, he noted that it was his nearest friends and his family members, including his wife and children, who were the greatest enemies to his reformation.

John's account detailing this family conflict gives a rare glimpse into a Mohican family in transition. Although he was a respected sachem, John was challenged by his wife's mother for having allowed the Moravian missionary into the village. She was the keeper of a leather talisman, stitched with wampum, in the shape of a man. This doll-like figure had been passed down from her grandmother. As the oldest person, her role was to ensure that the family would venerate the figure. No doubt, in her mind, the family's future depended on the intervention of spirits reached through the talisman. Tschoop or John now refused to pray to any idols; he was anxious to cast them all into the fire (MOA Box 319, F1, #1). His wife's mother resisted the sachem's frightening disrespect to the spirit world. Meanwhile, he was full of excitement at his opportunity to embrace a new spiritual view which brought worth to his life and promised more power than the old pantheon of spirits.

A second missionary, Gotlob Buettner, with his wife, came in January 1742 to help Rauch in his effort. In February 1742 Martin Mack was appointed as Rauch's assistant and also came to Shekomeko. The missionaries patiently encouraged those who showed interest in learning about the faith. By spring 1742 they had won their first converts, but none of the missionaries was authorized to perform baptism. Early in the year, therefore, Shabash and two New England Indians, Seim and Kiop, husbands of women belonging to the village of Shekomeko, set out with Rauch for Pennsylvania, where Rauch was to be ordained a deacon. The three Indians from Shekomeko were baptized on February 11, 1742, in John de Turk's barn at Oley, Pennsylvania, not far from Bethlehem, along with a large party of Delawares (Reichel 1870:55; MOA Box 3191, F1; Hasbrouck 1909:26).

Thus Shabash and John were the first Mohicans at Shekomeko to adopt the Christian religion and, as chiefs with important family connections, by example they opened the door for others. Shabash's Christian name became Abraham, the name by which he was thereafter known. Seim and Kiop, the two residents by marriage at Shekomeko, were named respectively Isaac and Jacob. The Moravians were aware that converting influential chiefs was a way to break into a family-oriented village. If a man made a change, his wife and younger children usually soon followed. Older children and grandparents were harder to persuade. Mohicans subsequently had difficulty in sustaining any marriage in which one partner was Christian and one refused to make the change (Wheeler 1998:222-23, 229).

Abraham's wife, Sarah, was baptized at Shekomeko on August 11, 1742, by Rauch. Although he had stated that the new Christian faith "had deliver'd me & many of my Friends" (Wheeler 1998:129; MOA Box 112, F19, #5), Abraham's faith occasionally wavered and he also had family troubles. Nevertheless, he was respected. Shekomeko, within the southern edge of Mohican territory, was a thoroughly Mohican village in the 1740s, despite the presence of several outsiders. A Moravian list of the Shekomeko natives baptized in 1742 and 1743 identified twenty-one people as Mohicans (MOA Box 3191, F1). Mortality was high in the village; several widows and widowers were listed and many children had died. As a result, Shekomeko baptisms after 1744 were frequently for children of the couples baptized in the first few years; often children died shortly after baptism. The loving Indians feared that if their endangered children were not baptized, the parents would not meet them again in the afterlife.

Some parents sent their children to the Moravians at Bethlehem to be adopted and raised, fearful that the children might not survive if kept at home. In 1747, John Sergeant, minister at Stockbridge, wrote of the Mohicans in Massachusetts: "The Families indeed are but small, as is common among the Natives. Near half that are born die in Infancy or Childhood. . ." (Hopkins 1753:127). Conditions at Shekomeko probably paralleled those of Stockbridge. High mortality had plagued Mohican populations in the past. The story of Abraham's forebears gives an example of the toll of disease and war on family life.

Abraham dictated a unique Mohican family history to a Moravian missionary in the 1740s. The Mohican sachem's story of untimely death was typical of both Indians' and settlers' families late in the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century. His grandmother, Mannanockqua, who had control of the land around Shekomeko, died in an epidemic, "about Sixty Years ago," probably about 1684 (MOA Box 113, F 5, #5). She may be the woman named Mamanequanaskqua who signed a deed of 1684 for land on the Kinderhook Creek east of present Stuyvesant Landing. This Mamanequanaskqua was among the heirs of Sauwachquanent, the son of Aepjen, noted Mohican chief sachem in the mid-seventeenth century (Dunn 1994:298). It appears Abraham was from this family.

Abraham's grandmother left two children, a boy and a girl, but her son died shortly after she did. She had nominated two men, Tathemshon (Tataemshatt) and Wompapawockom, to take care of her children and act for them with regard to the land until they were of age. Mannanockqua's daughter, Manhaet (Manhagh), soon to be Shabash's mother, married Argoche (Agotach), also called Nawonnaequageck. From this couple issued "Shaveous [Shabash] now Aberham [Abraham] and Annimapaw and a Daughter." Argoche, Abraham's father, died of sickness, and "in the War between the French & English Indians Manhaet was taken prisoner and killed at the Same time[;] Aberham was 11 years Old being the eldest son" (MOA Box 113, F5, #5). It is likely the parents' deaths occurred near the end of the French War, about 1698. According to this hypothesis, Abraham was born about 1687.

A deed for a tract of land in the Livingston Patent near the south line was given to Robert Livingston by two Mohican women, My Lady and Manhagh, in July 1697 (Dunn 2000:242, 318-319). Each signed the deed with a box-like human figure, a sign usually reserved for sachems or persons with special standing. Manhagh was Manhaet, Abraham's mother, mentioned in his story. The deed indicates she was still alive in 1697, but she apparently died soon after. In the transaction with Livingston, a payment of two fathoms of duffels, some powder, shot, and rum was included for her two sons, Tsioas and Winnigh Po. Winnigh Po was clearly Annimapaw, and Abraham or

Shaveous was Tsioas ("ts" being pronounced as "sh"). Abraham may have been about ten years old in 1697. This information fits with his known maturity; he was functioning as a sachem by 1720. Gifts for male children in deeds were not unique; they were intended to include men who might have future claims. English law saw the mother merely as a guardian for her son.

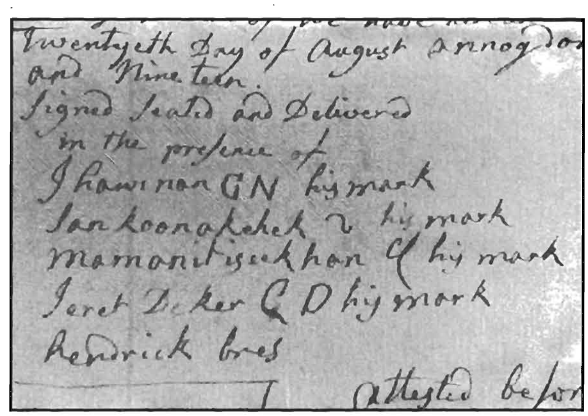
Appended to the deed was an attestation that Goose, the Indian, was present at the sale, and that the land extended as far as the high hills (the Taconic Mountains). Goose, employed by the two women to dispose of the land, was Tataemshatt, one of the two men who had been designated by Abraham's grandmother to act for her children until they were of age. Probably a family sachem, Tataemshatt was involved in other deeds in Columbia County in the 1680s.

About two decades later, Abraham learned that Livingston intended to rent the land to a farmer. In 1725, a memorandum written by Robert Livingston noted that Tsioas (Shabash), Indian son of Manhagh, one of two women who sold the land on the south side of Livingston Manor to him in July 1697, "complains that he nor his brother never had a farthings worth of anything that his brother received for the said land, being then infants. . ." (BHS, Livingston Family Papers, 18.F.15). They requested a gift from Livingston and promised that if they received it, they would never make a claim to any part of the land in the Manor of Livingston. Livingston gave Tsioas and Winnigh Po two fathoms of duffels, some powder, shot, and rum, with which, Livingston said, they were well contented. Abraham thereafter never claimed any land in Livingston Manor. His request for payment illustrates the native feeling that the land was theirs and that from time to time, they should receive gifts for it from succeeding owners. Livingston understood this.

Abraham's sister died at the age of sixteen, and his brother died, as well. Annimapaw, his brother, however, left two children, both still living in the 1740s. Moravian records mention two "brothers" who came to visit Abraham in his later years. As Indian kinship terminology was often more inclusive than English, it is likely these were his two nephews, named White Walnut and Blackfish (Fliegel 1970:8).

Abraham married a woman baptized as Sarah. Sarah died in June 1764 at the Philadelphia Barracks, where Indians were being protected. While at Shekomeko, the couple had a large family by Indian standards. Five sons are mentioned in Moravian records: Friederich (Tschekanai) eighteen years old in August 1749; Joachim, an infant who died; Jonathan; David; and Tobias (Kajosch), fifteen years of age when baptized in September 1749. Tobias died in an accident near Gnadenhutten, Pennsylvania and was buried at Gnadenhutten February 7, 1750. There also was a daughter named Sarah (MOA Box 3191, F1; Wheeler 1998:313).

It seems likely, based on his family's land holdings, that Abraham had lived as a child along the Roelof Jansen Kill not far from Shekomeko, and that the family had shifted south to the Shekomeko area, perhaps after the 1697 deed was given to Livingston by his mother and certainly before the 1725 payment was requested.


Twentyeth day of August Annoq Do
and Nineteen.
Signed Sealed and Delivered
in the presence of
Jhawinan GN his mark
Sankoonakehek his mark
Mamanitiseckhon his mark
Jeret Deker CD his mark
Hendrick bres
attested befor

6.1. A Mohican chief, Mamanitiseckhan, later known as Abraham of Shekomeko, witnessed a deed granting land to William White near Weatauk (Salisbury, Connecticut) in 1719. (Salisbury Deeds 3:504)

Troubles with land sales afflicted Abraham's life for many years. Shabash or Abraham, also formerly known as Maumauntissekun, appears to be the same person as Mamanitiseekhan, who in 1720 approved and witnessed the Mohican sale to William White of land called Weatauk, near present Salisbury, Connecticut, about twenty miles east from Shekomeko. (Figure 6.1) Land also had been sold in the past by Mohicans for the Little Nine Partners Patent but the patent was not promptly occupied by settlers. (This patent was variously called the Second Nine Partners patent and the Upper Nine Partners patent.) When the patentees became active and began to divide the property, Abraham protested that payment was due to him, as owner of the tract. Thereafter, until the 1740s Indian land around Shekomeko was not disturbed by many settlers.

Abraham's troubles with the Little Nine Partners began again. As an undated memorandum by Abraham dictated about 1743 pointed out, "Shaveos otherwise Aberham remained without Interruption owner of the Land which is well know[n] here for 20 Miles around that they never heard of any other possessor of the Land than now Aberham which is well known by writings now in the hands of Mr. Sackett Appraiser as also [by] the Inhabitants settled thereon by the Leave of Mr Van Dam & Mr. Lurting who was first ordered to have his [Abraham's] consent thereto" (MOA Box 113, F5, #5).

In the 1740s Abraham was willing to sell some land, but wanted to control where settlement would be allowed and expected to be paid for the land. The affair impacted the Moravian mission. The missionaries did not wish to become involved in the land troubles, as it was their goal never to become embroiled in political or legal affairs. Out of compassion for their new Indian brothers, nevertheless, they could not forebear writing out some appeals for them. They also discussed the affair in letters among themselves and tried to offer advice to Abraham.

One account of these troubles was recorded in a memorandum written to the Governor for Abraham by an unnamed Moravian in September 1743. In the memorandum, Abraham related that the Indians had gone to New York in 1724 and made an agreement with the Governor to sell him their lands. The Indians arranged with the Governor that they would keep one square mile for their own village and fields "which is Shecomakes" (MOA Box 113, F 5, #2,6). The Governor promised to send payment in goods for the land to Red Hook for them within four weeks. Some Indians went to Red Hook and waited, but, having received no goods, they finally went home, thinking that the bargain made with the Governor had fallen through. Richard Sackett, an honest man and a friend to the Mohicans, who had earlier bought and paid for Mohican land near present Amenia for his own patent, was appointed to receive the payment on the Indians' behalf. He, too, was at Red Hook. He spent the value of about five pounds on the Indians during the long wait for a payment that did not arrive.

South of the Little Nine Partners lay an earlier patent of 1697 titled the Great Nine Partners Purchase. (LP LVII, 25) In 1730 and again in 1737, Abraham was able to share with the Highland (Wappinger) Indians payments resulting from negotiations with the owners of the Great Nine Partners. The payments related to unpurchased Indian land within the expanded bounds of the Great Nine Partners patent; the Great Nine Partners tract included some Mohican territory as well as Wappinger territory (J. M. Smith 1998; McDermott 1979:5, 15, 110-113). Such payments encouraged Abraham to pursue his claims on the Shekomeko lands.

About 1738, on a visit to New York, the Mohicans spoke again with the Governor concerning their land near Shekomeko. He promised they would be paid as soon as the lands were surveyed and suggested that for their own security they should mark off the square mile of land they wished to reserve as

their own possession. He then presented them with ten shillings for the expense and trouble of coming to New York, promised they would not be wronged, and said he would try to help them (MOA Box 113, F5, #2). They believed his empty promises. The Shekomeko natives would have been wise to take his advice, however, and stake out the land they wished to retain, but apparently they did not do this.

On the Little Nine Partners' land nothing was paid to the Mohicans until spring 1743, when Martinus Hoffman gave them five pounds in money and thirty five pounds in store credit for Hoffman's ninth part of the patent. Hoffman, one of the partners, occupied a site on the Hudson River west of the Little Nine Partners patent. Despite the payment by Hoffman, Capt. Isaiah Ross, another partner, several times came to Shekomeko and told the Indians that they had sold all their land without exception and that they had been paid for it all, but they protested to him that was not true.

In September 1743, the land finally was surveyed and divided into lots. One of the proprietor's lots ran through the parcell which the Indians reserved for themselves. The disturbed Indians decided they would not interrupt the surveyors measuring their land, but that instead they would acquaint the Governor with the proceedings so that they might retain their rights. It was then, with Moravian help, that Abraham sent his memorandum to the Governor. In closing he wrote, "Now they first Desire for the Future that they might not be interrupted in the said possession [of their parcel] and Secondly that they might be paid for the remainder of the Land Which they hope the Gov'r and the Partners will satisfye them for as it is not otherways than Reasonable (MOA Box 113, F5, #2).

Abraham and his cohorts heard nothing from the Governor. The Indians soon learned that the plot of land which laid across their reserved square mile had been sold. On October 17, 1743, with a missionary's help, Abraham wrote directly to the Little Nine Partners. He produced Indian witnesses to prove he was the rightful owner of the land. John (Tschoop) was among the attestors who signed the petition.

Abraham addressed his complaint to the "Honorable Committee of the Second Nine Partners or to any of the Partners therein Concerned" reminding them that he, Abraham or Shabash, was always allowed by them to be the true and lawful owner of lands now patented and called the Second Nine Partners, and that they had promised to pay him for the lands. He had learned the partners now were not inclined to pay Abraham because they had "formerly Bought the Same from an Indian who called himself the owner thereof." That no other Indian was the owner, the five witnesses could attest. Abraham reminded the patentees that when the land first began to be settled, Mr. Van Dam and Mr. Lurting and others told a certain man who still lived there that the Little Nine partners might take a farm at any place within the patent provided that they "should pay and agree With mee Shawas [Shabash] for the same and as for the Liberty to Settle the Same but not without my Consent. . ." (MOA Box 113, F 5, #8, 9).

Richard Sackett was the certain man who lived there. Sackett, a farmer, and a Livingston Patent official in 1711, occupied a large tract which lay across the Connecticut border. In addition, Sackett was a proprietor in the Little Nine Partners patent. Sackett agreed that he had never heard of any owner of the land other than Abraham. Since Abraham at several different times with other Indians had obtained goods from Sackett totaling the value of sixteen pounds, it had been agreed that the sum owed to Sackett was to be deducted when Sackett paid Abraham for his one-ninth part of the land. Both Richard Sackett and his son acknowledged that they took Abraham for the right owner; they promised to help him as much as possible when Sackett next went to New York. In

fact, Sackett was told by the Governor that he had promised Abraham a mile square for himself out of the land.

Armed with this information, Abraham circulated his petition and tried to get his white neighbors to sign it, but without success. Each had a reason. According to a letter from a Moravian at Shekomeko to Brother Noble, dated October 16, 1743, the Indians first went to Johannes Rau, an old friend of the mission. His daughter Janette, who spoke Mohican, married one of the missionaries, Martin Mack. Rau reluctantly refused to sign the petition, through fear of displeasing Rip Van Dam, a principal in the Nine Partners. Rau had not paid Van Dam for his land and feared that Van Dam "would Directly thro him in prison for the said Dept [debt]" (MOA Box 113, F5, #6, 11).

Next the Indians went to Martinus Hoffman, who also acknowledged Abraham to be the owner of the land. Hoffman had never heard of any other owner and seemed astonished that the partners would wrong Abraham. Hoffman was the only partner except Sackett who paid the Indians for his one-ninth section of land. Being a partner, however, Hoffman did not care to "appear publick" on the petition which Abraham was trying to get his white neighbors to sign, although Hoffman wrote a letter to Bethlehem about the issue.

The Indians went back to Sackett, who agreed the petition contained the truth. Sackett remembered receiving a letter nineteen years earlier in which he was ordered to call the Indians together at Fulling Brook, apparently Red Hook, where he was to receive their payment for the land. As noted above, the Indian entourage waited in company with Sackett before dispersing, while Sackett sustained them. Nevertheless, Sackett would not sign the petition because of his connection to the Nine Partners.

The missionaries were also unwilling to sign the petition, as they had been advised "not to appear in it," and wished not to cause any controversy for their mission. In the end, on October 17, 1743, the petition was signed by six of the Indians, including Tschoop. Four had been baptized, so both Indian and baptismal names were given. The Indians who signed were: Katonocksack (Catharickseet) now Cornelis; Shawwonock now Jeptha; Naakottow; Kockanont; Job, now Johannes (Tschoop); and Ammawasamon now Gideon (MOA Box 113, F 5, #2).

Brother Buettner wrote that the Nine Partners were "one against the other. . . ." He also noted that Hoffman, Sackett, and Van Dam "is of one Partie but each seems afraid of the other." Buettner believed the matter would be fairly resolved, as its merits were so clear. When Abraham's right was proved, as the missionaries were confident it would be, they advised that he make a "fresh assignment" of the deed. Then followed a note about a different tract of land sold by the Indians. "The Deed signed 1714 they say is a tract of land which is by [near] Mr. Sackett: but not the Second Nine Partners" (MOA Box 113, F5, #6).

Meanwhile, the missionaries had forbidden Abraham from signing anything new without Brother Noble's advice or that of someone Noble delegated. Thomas Noble, a merchant in New York, had joined the Moravian Society there. A postscript on Buettner's letter reminds Noble to keep Mr. Hoffman's name private, because he had acted responsibly in the affair with Abraham.

Despite Abraham's appeals and the Moravians' help, the matter was never resolved in Abraham's favor. Successive governors, who obviously knew little of the real facts in the case, merely tried to appease the Indians. Moreover, despite Abraham's anguish and the genuine astonishment of Richard Sackett and Martin Hoffman that Abraham's ownership should be questioned, earlier Indian deeds had been given for the Little Nine Partner's area, and Abraham knew about them. Richard Sackett also knew that the Little Nine Partners' land had been purchased from other Mohicans in 1704

(Dunn 2000:319) when they applied for their patent. The deeds reflect the complexity of purchases in the area.

Richard Sackett tried to protect the Indian settlement. When he and his sons sold 300 acres of Little Nine Partners' land in October 1741 to Johan Tise Smith in Lot 12, the Sacketts and Smith inserted a clause in the lease reserving the right of "some Native Indians . . .there residing [who] lay claim to some part of the above demised and granted premises." The Indians were to retain for themselves and their heirs any land which they could lawfully hold by "their title which they now have and their present claim" (Huntting 1897:22, 23). Unfortunately, Smith took other lands, as there was an earlier, less sympathetic, claimant for Lot 12.

The Little Nine Partners Patent dated to April 10, 1706. Earlier, the Great Nine Partners purchase had been made to the south. A document titled "Indian Land Sales with Marks near Shekomeko" included with the Moravian archives' copies of Abraham's memorandum and his petition provides a census of Mohicans who signed deeds for lands around Shekomeko early in the century. The deeds themselves are not included in the list. The years given are 1704, 1705, 1706, 1706 and 1714 (MOA Box 113, F5, #1). The list includes Crays, a Mohican whose wigwam was drawn on Sackett's 1704 survey (Dunn 2000:13-14, 142).

Later, after Abraham had moved to Pennsylvania, Stockbridge Mohicans petitioned the New York Governor in 1754 about various lands which had never been purchased from them. The list included "A considerable tract. . .at a place called Wohnockkaumechkuk lying east of Mr. Hoffmans and running south some miles." This described the Little Nine Partners land, lying east and south of Martin Hoffman's location on the Hudson River. The signers of the appeal were Stockbridge chiefs John Pophnehonnohcook (Konkapot), Solomon Waunumpaugus, and six others (LP XV:283).

After Abraham died in December 1762 in Pennsylvania (Fliegel 1970:6-10), his sons took up the cause. On September 20, 1763, they appeared before Sir William Johnson with an old friend, Mohican Abraham, known as Keeperdo, to plead their case. Sir William wrote an account of the interview: "Abraham alias Assergo [Keeperdo] with two sons of Old Abraham came & made Complaint, that the Pattentees of the Nine Partners near to the Highlands in Dutchess County, never paid for Said Tract, & when demanded by their late Father [he] was always trifled with, & told that as ye Partners were liveing in different parts of the Countrey, they could not make up the Money before they were all together, on being asked what consideration would satisfy them, they [the Indians] Sayed they would be content with *L*100, altho they were sensible that many Farms therein had been Sold for five times that sum" (JP 10:853-54).

Sir William told the sons that he had, on an application formerly made to him by their deceased father, written to John Sackett (a son of Richard Sackett) concerning this land, and that John Sackett and Capt. Isaiah Ross, representing the patent, denied the charge that they had not paid. When further pressed by Abraham's sons, Sir William promised them he would write again to Mr. Sackett and that he would let them know Sackett's answer. "He then with 2 Black Strowds [pieces of blanket cloth] covered ye Grave of Old Abraham their late Father—for wh. they returned Sir Wm many thanks" (JP 10:853-854). The term "covered the grave" was a euphemism for giving a gift to ease their sorrow.

The claims of Abraham in the 1720s arose because the land was not used or occupied by any colonial proprietors after they had patented it. For over two decades the natives were able to use the fields and woods as usual. The Mohicans continued to assume these isolated lands were their own. It was more than a matter of deeds. Unoccupied land, in Indian eyes, returned to Mohican use. They expected to be paid when the land was

taken again after such a hiatus. The incident shows that as late as the 1740s, even for these relatively acculturated Mohicans, the chasm between white and native land customs still opened wide in some respects.

The incident also illustrates that sometimes Indian assurances that tracts of land had never been sold led unsuspecting settlers into purchasing Indian deeds for land patented by others at an earlier date. Sir William Johnson had occasion to remind the Mohicans of earlier deeds on more than one occasion.

Shekomeko was a village of Mohican families related to Abraham or to Tschoop. Tschoop, after baptism known as Johannes, was the second sachem at Shekomeko. In 1733, as Wassamapah, he signed a deed for Mohican land east of Kinderhook in conjunction with Ampamit, the Mohican chief sachem, and others (Dunn 1994:132, 308).

Count Ludwig Zinzendorf, the Moravian leader, had heard about his mother-in-law's opposition which caused Tschoop's wife and daughter to vacillate about converting. Zinzendorf exulted, "This brand snatched from the fire is no longer Tschoop, but *John*, and is an esteemed teacher among his people" (Reichel 1870:55). Since he had been unable to travel to Olney with Abraham in February, Tschoop was baptized at Shekomeko on April 16, 1742. Despite her initial opposition to the new religion, Tschoop's wife, Martha, followed Tschoop's lead and was baptized on December 12, 1742. Tschoop and Martha's children were sons Ampowachnant, who was friendly to the mission but resisted baptism, Papenoha, and a daughter, Techtonoah. Martha had a son, Simon, from a previous marriage. Tschoop also had a brother, Wompecom (Wheeler 1998:314).

Tschoop or Johannes, usually referred to as John, became an enthusiastic advocate for his new faith, frequently visiting neighboring villages to explain that he now understood that Jesus had given his blood so that even the Indians could be saved. He was valuable at the Shekomeko mission as an interpreter; in 1744 a missionary wrote "John is grown better. He gave us hopes the next day if possible to come to our House, which we were glad of because we can't translate without him" (MOA Box 3191, F1). He became a skilled craftsman in the workshop used by the Moravians and the Indians at Shekomeko. Soon after moving to Pennsylvania, Tschoop died at Bethlehem on August 27, 1746, at about forty-nine years of age during a smallpox epidemic (MOA Box 3191, F1).

The Indians listed by the Moravians in the Mohican village of Shekomeko who were not Mohicans can easily be accounted for. One man, Thomas, was an Esopus Indian (the son of Shawwonnock, baptized as Jeptha) whose wife, Esther, was baptized at Shekomeko in 1742; Esther's mother was from Potatik, an Indian village on the Housatonic, below Mohican territory. She was a daughter of Jacob (Kiop). Isaac, Jacob, and Zacheus were New England Indians; they were husbands of Mohican women Rebecca, Rachel, and Magdelena. Isaac and Jacob were among the first converts. Isaac died of smallpox in Bethlehem in 1746 (MOA Box 3191, F1).

One Highland (Wappinger) Indian, Abel, a widower, was listed; he had married a second Mohican woman of Shekomeko, Elizabeth, the sister of his deceased wife. Michel, a Minnisink Indian identified as a widower, also may have been the husband of a deceased Shekomeko Mohican woman. Outsiders had to be married in order to stay, as the Moravians did not encourage the presence of unattached men or women. The seven outsiders also demonstrate the older tradition that an Indian man often lived in his wife's village, and these examples of marriage indicate the range of marriage choices for Mohican women in the 1740s (Wheeler 1998:315).

The mission was formalized in summer 1742. On August 16, Count Ludwig Zinzendorf, a leader and financial supporter of the Moravians, arrived at Shekomeko after a difficult journey from Bethlehem with his

6.2. A drawing of the mission village of Shekomeko was made by Brother Hagen in 1745. The church, number 24, with its attached mission house, 1, is at left center; Abraham's house is number 6 (at far right), while item 29 is his "cellar." John's workshop is at 8. The graveyard at number 14 locates the burial place of missionary Gotlob Buettner. Number 13, Joseph's house, is a wigwam, while 20, Jeptha's house, is a log house. (Moravian Archives, Reel 2, Box 112, Folder 17, New York State Library)

daughter, Benigna, and an entourage. Brother Rauch lodged the visitors the first night in his hut. After that, they happily occupied a bark house which had been built for them. There was delight among the Moravian visitors at Rauch's success with the Indian villagers. A ceremony was arranged at which six Indians, Kaubus, Kermelok, Harris, and the wives of Abraham, Isaac, and Harris were baptized. Their new names became: Timothy, Jonas, Thomas, Sarah, Rebecca and Esther. After internal conflicts among the Moravians, it was decided by Zinzendorf and the missionaries to organize the baptized Mohicans into a congregation, the earliest Moravian church of converted Indians in North America (Reichel 1870:54-55; Dyer 1903:46-47).

As affairs of the mission were settled, Rauch was to be sent on a new assignment. No doubt he was considered a superb first-contact person. Perhaps one of the internal conflicts was that he did not want to leave. Gotlob Buettner was to return to serve the Mohicans at Shekomeko; he left Bethlehem for Shekomeko October 4, 1742. In addition, the marriage between missionary Martin Mack, who had been in the area for six months, and Janette Rau, daughter of farmer Johannes Rau, was arranged. Known for her ability to speak Mohican, she was an ideal wife and well-loved for her warm personality, as well. Zinzendorf and his entourage also were to take one of Abraham's sons back to Bethlehem. A young woman, Techtonoah, the daughter of Johannes (Tschoop), decided not to leave, as she was considering a marriage proposal. The departing group also took converts Gabriel, alias Wanab, and Nanhan, alias Tassawachamen. These men were baptized at Bethlehem on September 15, 1742, in the first baptism of Indians at Bethlehem proper (Reichel 1870:56, 57, 77).

At Shekomeko, a small dwelling with a German-style stove and a cellar was built for the missionaries. The dwelling was gradually improved between 1742 and 1744. Indian winter dwellings were built in fall 1742, arranged according to the Moravian recommendations for the layout of missions. By July 1743 the bark-covered church was nearly finished (Fliegel 1970:1342). The Moravians tried to use materials familiar to the Indians. The reconstituted village of eighteen Indian residences is shown on a birds-eye view of

the village and surroundings drawn in 1745 by Brother Hagen. (Figure 6.2) Only one house, the house of Joseph, is recognizable as a small Indian wigwam. The other structures have European-style gabled roofs, but they are elongated, in imitation of the familiar longhouse of the Mohicans. Abraham's house was somewhat apart on the east, and Isaac's was outside the fence on the west. In the distance was *K'takanatschan*, "the big mountain " (MOA Box 112, F 17).

Brief descriptions of Shekomeko exist. In July 1744 the Dutchess County Sheriff reported that Shekomeko was a place "in the remotest part of the County inhabited Chiefly by Indians where also live Gudlop Bynder [Buettner], Hendrick Joachim Senseman and Joseph Shaw three Moravian priests with their Familyes in a Block House [*i.e.*, a cabin made of logs] and Sixteen Indian Wigwams round about it." (O'Callaghan 1850, 3:1014) The drawing by Hagen done in 1745 corroborates this information, with the addition of two houses.

Further, Brother Senseman, a baker earlier in his life, reported that he preached to the Indians through an interpreter named Johannes (Tschoop) and "that he and his Brethren work for their Livelihood and plant Indian Corn and Wheat (which they Enjoy in Common) on some Land whereon the Indians remain & that they built themselves a House wherein they all three live." Senseman had a wife who had come with him from Germany (O'Callaghan 1850, 3:1016).

When the Moravian missionaries from Dutchess County appeared before the Governor and his Council on August 1, 1744, Joseph Shaw, after giving his life story, explained that he was the schoolmaster. He reported that although the missionaries had no settled salary from the Moravian Church, they "work as much as they Can and the Church supports them in what Else they want." At Shekomeko, he said, "they are Settled on a Small Tract of Land which they plant with Corn and that he has taught some of the Indians to read English." He mentioned that he understood little of the Indian language but an Indian whose name was John (Tschoop) and another called Isaac interpreted for him. Isaac was the Indian from Pachgatgoch named Seim; Seim and his wife were baptized members of the Shekomeko community. Gotlob Buettner added to the interview the information that besides the sixteen Indian families "there are others that come 12 or 20 miles to hear them [the Moravians] and there are about 30 Indian men at Schacomico" (O'Callaghan 1850, 3:1015-19).

A European-style hay barrack, a stable, and "John's workshop" where Tschoop worked had been erected. The mission did have a horse to keep in the stable, but it was stolen. Other livestock occasionally were noted; in her will of 1745, a woman named Ruth left, besides mats, wooden dishes, spoons, kettles and hatchets, a mare and a yearling calf (Wheeler 1998:315) Fields around the village held large and small gardens. The creek on the mission land was straightened out. As Moravians and village Indians worked together, the natives learned to raise turnips and eat sauerkraut, sang hymns, attended "love feasts," communal dinners held after a religious service, and, at least once, some were baptized by moonlight. In 1744, the Indians were advised to pursue home industry instead of going away from home to hunt or work; they had begun to learn broom and basket-making, as well as other crafts (Westmeir 1994:98-99).

At the onset of the mission, hunger was common in the village; malnutrition was one reason so many children died. As usual, the Mohicans owed money to the traders. The Indian villagers were urged by the Moravians to remain aloof from the traders, who were excluded from the village. In early 1743, the residents were advised by Buettner to get rid of debt and support themselves. On occasion, as a result of many visitors, the group was short of corn. In winter, Sarah, Abraham's wife, went to the Hudson River to find work

in order to obtain corn (MOA, Box 11, F4; Fliegel 1970, 1342). On occasion, the missionaries gave from their own supplies to feed the Indians. Many natives dispersed to hunt or to find work in the Hudson Valley (MOA Box 112, F19 #1; Wheeler 1998:250).

As the love feasts had grown to include many people, larger gatherings were held on a potluck basis; guests brought food. At one, the meat of five deer was served. December 1743 a feast was held on Christmas Day for ninety-one guests. The next day, one hundred guests were present. Despite contributions, the tide of visitors strained the Indians' resources. Finally, in 1744, there was a good corn crop, but by winter, the corn was gone.

Villagers of Shekomeko, like their relatives at Stockbridge, tapped maple trees in March. The missionaries built a hut among the trees during the sugaring operation in the spring, so they could stay in touch with converts and help them avoid drunken frolics. In time, several missionaries and their wives, in turn, had been resident at Shekomekco village. With the missionaries' influential presence and strict rules of abstinence, sobriety was the norm. It was reported that drunken Indians were occasionally tied up by their fellow Indians and the missionaries until they were sober, to keep them from causing trouble (Wheeler 1998:127). This was surely a new experience for the residents of Shekomeko.

The official organization of the mission and erection of buildings aroused curiosity. In October 1742 about twenty Indians traveled to Shekomeko from Stockbridge. They were accompanied by John Sergeant, as well as by the minister from Sharon, who had been charged by the Connecticut Assembly with teaching the Sharon Mohicans (Binzen 1997:64-65). After these ministers left, the Stockbridge Mohicans stayed to hear and evaluate a sermon from the Moravians. A subtle rivalry for the allegiance of unattached Mohicans developed between the two missions.

By 1743 Shekomeko served as a base for Moravian excursions into western Connecticut and other parts of New York. Moravians Mack, Rauch, and Buettner traveled from Shekomeko to wherever unconverted natives were living, including Wequadnach and a satellite village which were located at the foot of Indian Mountain near present Sharon, Connecticut. Moravian missionaries also visited Stockbridge, as well as Weatauk near Salisbury, Pachgatgoch in Kent, and Potatik, a Paugusset village in present Newtown, Connecticut (Dyer 1903:51).

Exceptions were the nearest neighbors of the Mohicans, the Highland Indians, or Wappingers. Gotlob Buettner wrote in spring 1744 that the Highland chief, Nimham, was a sorcerer. Very few Highland Indians responded to Moravian advances. Later in the year, Buettner reported that Nimham had tried to entice residents away from Shekomeko and had forbidden his people from attending Moravian meetings (MOA Box 112, F3, #3; Smith 1998: unpaged).

Soon more serious trouble arose for the villagers. Some anxious traders tried to turn the Indians against the missionaries; Indian self-sufficiency preached by the Moravians threatened the traders' sales of alcohol and goods as well as their supply of furs from the Indians, however reduced. Moreover, a proprietor who had title to the Indians' land was waiting for them to leave. Nearby farmers and residents of hamlets springing up on the Hudson were suspicious of the Moravian attachment to the Indians. It was hinted that the Moravians had Papist connections, as they lived with the Indians as the Jesuits did. This was ironic, since the sect's troubles in Europe had been largely due to Catholic persecution.

The Shekomeko mission had attracted Indians from nearby Wequadnach and Pachgatgoch, who attended their services. For example, in February 1743, twenty-seven eastern Indians from Pachgatgoch and Potatik visited Shekomeko. Wequadnach Indian residents were baptized at Shekomeko

in 1742 (Dyer 1903:52). Once additional missionaries arrived to help at Shekomeko, Moravians considered missions at Wequadnach and at Weatauk (later Salisbury, Connecticut). While their visits did not result in a mission at Weatauk, by October 1743, a Moravian mission for the Wequadnach Mohicans had been established on the New York shore at the west end of Indian Pond, in Dutchess County in the present Town of Northeast, opposite Wequadnach, which lay near later Sharon, Connecticut. The Moravian missionaries erected a small wooden chapel combined with a room for living quarters and changed the name of the pond to Gnadensee (Lake of Grace). The exact location of the Wequadnach mission chapel and house was described in 1875, as "on the farm of Col. Hiram Clark, in the present town of Northeast, not far east of his [Clark's] house and on the west side of Indian Pond" (Reed 1875:13).

The first baptism held at Wequadnach was that of the second wife of Gideon Mauwehu, sachem at the village of Pachgatgoch, which lay south of Mohican territory. Mauwehu had been given his Christian name and baptized by the Moravian missionary, Martin Mack, in 1743. Not a Mohican, Mauwehu earlier settled with a few followers at a small Paugusset or Weantinock village in the Housatonic Valley west of Kent, Connecticut, which was known as Pachgatgoch. Mauwehu's village, under pressure from English settlers, had moved west of the Housatonic River to land which was supposed to be reserved for them (Ruttenber 1872:195; Westmeier 1994:93; Smith 1998:20). In listing their converts from Pachgatgoch, the Moravians identified individuals as *Wompanosch*, meaning "from the east," an Algonquian word.

With Mauwehu's encouragement, a formal mission was established by the Moravians at his village by October 1742. Martin Mack was sent there. Although each of the three locations, Shekomeko, Wequadnach, and Pachgatgoch, had its assigned Moravian missionary, Moravian visits to each location were frequent. The Mohicans of the Shekomeko-Wequadnach area adopted a form of Christianity that was thoroughly Moravian and somewhat outside the pale of settled church practices in New England. This set the Moravians and their converts apart. The Congregational church at Stockbridge, in contrast, was conducted in the traditional New England mode, although it included special instruction geared to the Indians.

Opposition to Moravian activities gained momentum. The missionaries and Indians were suspected of ties to Canada as the impending war with Canada posed the threat of Indian incursions from the north. Settlers retained vivid memories of atrocities and captivities of only a few decades previous. Through no fault of their own, the Moravians soon became the center of a storm of attention which would end their missions to the Mohicans of Dutchess County and Connecticut and cause the missionaries to retreat to their Pennsylvania home base, drawing with them as many converts as they could persuade to go.

Raids by Indians from the St. Lawrence Valley began as early as 1743, and rumors flew suggesting Canadian connections with Shekomeko. A story circulated that the Moravians were going to lead an Indian uprising (Frazier 1992:65). Isolated settlers formed a night watch for protection.

The deterioration in relations between the colonies and Canada was followed by King George's War, which lasted from 1744 to 1748. When Mohicans of Wequadnach and Weatauk were believed to be planning attacks on settlers, Sharon settlers prepared for a preemptive attack on Shekomeko. Area colonial communities, including Stockbridge in 1741, put up palisades or built blockhouses for defense against all outside Indians. It was true that the scattered Mohican villages were in as much danger from the French as were the settlers on outlying farms in New York and Massachusetts.

The Moravians' refusal in 1744 to serve in the militia was regarded as proof of their potential disloyalty. In June 1744, on receiving the Governor's orders to do so, a sheriff's posse led by Col. Henry Beekman searched Shekomeko for stored weapons and ammunition, but found nothing out of the ordinary. A local posse previously had interviewed four Moravians and many Indians at Shekomeko. They found "All the Indians at work on their plantations Who seemed in a Consternation at the approach of the Sherif and his Company but received them Civilly" (O'Callaghan 1850:1013). The interrogators accused the Moravians of being disaffected from the Crown, but the innocent Moravians denied this, saying they, too, were afraid of the French and their Indians.

The Moravians explained that their "business is meerly to Gain Souls among the Heathens and that they had a Commission from the Archbishop of Canterbury and were ready to Shew their Credentials." The Moravian refusal on "Scruple of Conscience against Swearing" to take an oath of loyalty to the King was regarded as another example of disloyalty, although the principal missionary at Shekomeko at the time, Gotlob Buettner, expressed his allegiance to the English king. Although Buettner assured the posse that the Mohicans intended no evil, the Moravian ministers were subsequently ordered to face the Governor and Council. In July the Moravians, on the charge that they "Endeavoured to seduce the Indians from their Allegiance which in this Time of Warr would be of most dangerous Consequence. . ." were ordered to New York to be examined (O'Callaghan 1850:1012-1013).

In response to being told they might be ordered to leave the Indians, Joseph Shaw warned that if the Moravians removed to their headquarters in Pennsylvania, the Indians would follow and the Mohawks would be unhappy if this happened. Interestingly, the Mohawks had made a pact of friendship with Count Zinzendorf when he visited them (Reichel 1870:32). Pressure continued on the Mohicans to fight on the side of the Mohawks, who were still undecided as to which side they would support in the war. Thus the potential support of the Mohawks for the French, and the possible alliance of the Mohicans with the Mohawks, were additional considerations underlying the settlers' distrust of the Mohicans.

Although in August the Moravians were allowed to return home to Shekomeko, in September 1744, missionary activities were ordered to be discontinued. By the end of November an act had been passed in New York requiring "Moravian and vagrant Teachers among the Indians" to desist from further teaching or preaching and to leave the province. Count Ludwig Zinzendorf, leader of the sect, who had been so impressed when he visited Shekomeko, angrily petitioned the London Board of Trade requesting freedom from petty restrictions and asking for the right of Indians to join the Protestant Church in the colonies (Fliegel 1970:1343; O'Callaghan 1850:1021-1030).

The devoted Moravians were unwilling to leave the Indians. When they were ordered to depart, two who did not leave were imprisoned in February and March 1745. Other Moravians came to Shekomeko in defiance of the ban, although they did not preach. On February 23, 1745 missionary Buettner died and was buried by the unhappy Indians in the Mohican cemetery at Shekomeko (Loskiel 1788, Part 2:13; Frazier 1992:72-73).

Frightened, some Shekomeko Indians moved over the colony line to Wequadnach in 1745 (Orcutt 1882:181). However, Connecticut was evicting the Moravians, as well. The missionaries finally reluctantly withdrew to their headquarters in Bethlehem. Some Shekomeko converts immediately followed the Moravians in 1745. Tschoop (John) and Isaac, for example, were already at Bethlehem in 1746. As there was little room there, a new village for the Mohicans was already planned not far from Bethlehem.

As more Mohicans moved to Bethlehem, the settlement for them called Gnadenhutten, near the mouth of the Mahoning Creek in the Lehigh Valley, was begun in the spring of 1746. Intended to be temporary, it grew in size and was not abandoned until November 1755, when missionaries and some of the Mohicans there were massacred by the Shawnees (Reichel 1870:72).

Although some resident Indians already had departed from Shekomeko to join the Moravians at the new Pennsylvania mission, Abraham (Shabash) was reluctant to leave until his land claim was resolved. To leave would be to abandon not only his payment but the mile square tract on which the mission village was situated. Abraham, moreover, did not wish his family to be exposed to the temptations of life in the Wyoming Valley; he also correctly feared that any Indians who went to Bethlehem might be attacked by the English there. English and Indian tensions were high in Pennsylvania at the time.

Meanwhile, King George's War brought changes in Indian relations. The Stockbridge Indians had built a fort and their chief invited neighboring groups to assemble there for safety and to repulse the Mohawks, should they actually side with the French. Some Shekomeko Mohicans wanted to move to Stockbridge. An April 1745 council with chiefs from Stockbridge, Wequadnach, and Pachgatgoch was held at Shekomeko (Frazier 1992:77).

With the advent of war, the Massachusetts government was anxious to retain Mohican good will. In June, when Stockbridge chiefs visited Boston to pay respects to Governor William Shirley, they promised, as always, to remain friends of the English. Later, representatives from Shekomeko, Stockbridge, Wequadnach and Pachgatgoch, totaling some forty or fifty Indians, were ignored at a conference held with the New York governor and Six Nations in Albany in October 1745, although the Housatonic groups had been invited to attend. At the conference, the Six Nations were scolded by the New York governor; he had heard rumors circulating the previous winter that the Iroquois were going over to the French. Their response was that the English were "to think no more of it" (O'Callaghan 1855, 6:298).

As the war escalated, the Stockbridge Mohicans declared war on the French. The Moravians were pacifists and taught their converts to avoid war. In contrast, John Sergeant and Ephraim Williams at Stockbridge endorsed the use of Indian fighters, with the result that sixteen Stockbridge Indians agreed to fight. Abraham and Johannes (Shabash and Tschoop), who did not wish to kill anyone, decided to wait as long as possible, planning to retreat to Stockbridge only if war actually came to the area. Fighting was against their new principles. Although a few men from Shekomeko agreed to enlist, they soon returned home, but some unbaptized Shekomeko residents did volunteer (Frazier 1992:73-74). Thus there was an idealogical separation of the Moravian Indian converts from the Indians at Stockbridge as well as from unbaptized Indians.

When visiting Indians and a Moravian minister came to the community for a church service, settlers in Rhinebeck thought the Indians were assembling for an outbreak. Colonials made ready to strike. Frightened by threats by local settlers, about half of the Indian residents left for Pennsylvania and, in summer 1746, all missionaries left as well. Abraham and his family, however, moved temporarily to Wequadnach. Some Mohicans from Shekomeko went to Stockbridge and some to Pachgatgoch. When the Mohicans visiting Stockbridge, in turn, set out for the new mission of Gnadenhutten, they took some of the Stockbridge Mohicans with them to Pennsylvania; these may have been Shekomeko relatives who had gone to Stockbridge.

Without the Moravian presence, the small remaining Wequadnach community was adrift. By 1748, remaining Mohicans began to

consider selling everything and following the other to Gnadenhutten, Pennsylvania, but "not yet this year" they said (DeForest 1851:402-403). They were tenacious in retaining their hold on the small Connecticut tract left to them.

Some Shekomeko Mohican families, probably those who had rejected close ties with the Moravians, remained in the vicinity of Shekomeko and the Connecticut villages for the next century. Small Indian enclaves survived into the mid-nineteenth century. Other Mohicans, usually women, intermarried with local colonial families (Huntting 1897:336.

Once Abraham and the others left Shekomeko, the land was taken over by a waiting proprietor and the mission village was torn down. In December 1748, Moravian visitors from Bethlehem found everything at Shekomeko destroyed except the burying ground (Dunn 2000: 239).

In 1749, with the war over, the English Parliament established the right of missionaries to work with the Indians. The Moravians prepared to return to the Mohicans. However, war and land loss had done the work of disrupting the villages. Shekomeko was obliterated; Pachgatgoch village was intact but lacking in spiritual leadership; the Wequadnach community had lost its land and its members were demoralized. Mohican Christians, including Abraham and his family, drifted back and forth between the Pennsylvania locations and Wequadnach.

Wequadnach, however, experienced a brief reawakening. On February 10, 1749, Abraham, Moses Nequitimaug, and Jacob, at Wequadnach, greeted a new missionary, David Bruce. The group rejoiced, for they had believed that they would never again have the Moravians among them (Dyer 1903:65-66).

Late in April 1749 some Wequadnach residents left for Pennsylvania, including, again, Abraham of Shekomeko. Those left behind were angry because so many went away. David Bruce described the pain brought by the decision to leave. Unwilling to part, Indians who would remain at Wequadnach walked beside the departees for a distance: "We left at 9 o'clock and all of Wechquatenach accompanied us a stretch and when taking leave many tears were shed on both sides. . ." (Binzen 1997:82). Unexpectedly, David Bruce died at Wequadnach in July. The remaining Indian land at Wequadnach was finally relinquished in 1752. By then, although a few Mohicans, including Jonathan, son of Abraham, lingered in the area, most of the remaining Shekomeko families had moved to Pennsylvania.

The Mohican loss of land was widely known. In 1757 Abraham was described at an Indian conference with Sir William Johnson as "one of the Chief of the Mohikanders (who destitute of Land or Habitation) went to live at Wyoming on Susquahannah [River]" (JP 1957, 9:846).

Although Brother David Bruce may have put the words on paper for them, the Christian Mohicans spoke from their hearts about their sadness at leaving families and homeland. In the few years the Moravian missions existed, they had effected profound changes among some Mohicans of Dutchess County, New York and northern Connecticut. The teachers helped these Mohicans to new, positive beliefs; finding new spiritual connections brought the Mohican world view closer to that of their English neighbors, although at the cost of an ancient lifestyle. They had made many adaptations and had moved far from the Indian outlook of the previous century. Some Mohicans learned skills that allowed them to stay at home rather than to travel in search of game or furs. They learned to produce items which could be exchanged for goods, as furs once were. Some developed new attitudes toward war. A number learned to read and write. As many moved away from the rivers and hills of their homeland, they took new abilities and Christian beliefs with them, while retaining their Mohican identity.

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CHAPTER 7

PATRIOT'S BLOOD: WASHINGTON'S INDIAN COMPANY OF 1778

Richard S. Walling

INTRODUCTION

In the dark hours at Valley Forge, General George Washington was facing the desperate possibility that his army was going to fail in its quest for national independence. Searching for ways to bolster his forces, Washington realized that the Patriot cause must utilize all of its resources in order to win the war of revolution. In addition to agreeing to maximize efforts to recruit African Americans into the army, Washington expanded his view of military resources to include a special combat unit of Native American warriors. Efforts to secure southern Cherokees and New York Iroquois for this special force failed, but Washington already had the nucleus of an Indian corps within his forces. Shortly after the Battle of Monmouth, Washington reorganized the army while it was stationed at White Plains, New York. In addition to establishing a unit of light infantry, under the command of Charles Scott, Washington ordered all Native American men within the Continental Army to remove into the new Indian company. Commanded by Captain Abraham Nimham of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, this force included men from virtually every New England tribe except for far-off Maine.

On a hot day in August, 1778, a fierce contest was fought between Patriot and British forces in the woods, fields and rock ledges of the Bronx, along the Westchester County border. Among the men who fought that day was the group of Native Americans who were formed into that special military unit; a unit that represented both the unique role of Native American warriors who fought in the Continental Army and the special bonds of shared kinship and culture among Native Americans. This is their story.

KINSHIP AND CULTURE IN THE NORTHEAST

Prior to the outbreak of the American Revolution, well-established patterns of kinship and shared ties existed among the Native American tribes in the northeast. For example, as early as the seventeenth century, some New England Algonquian peoples took refuge in the Hudson River Valley as a result of colonial warfare and Euro-American colonial expansion and mingled with the Mohicans in residence there. Similarly, some Mohicans moved east to the Housatonic Valley to escape Hudson Valley land pressures.

In the eighteenth century, as this mingling process was accelerated, it was influenced by the presence of Christian missionaries such as the Moravians and others. Families and individuals moved across distances with a freedom hard to imagine in the late twentieth century by people accustomed to superhigh-

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ways and airline travel. In practically every village from Rhode Island to western Massachusetts, from Iroquoia to the Ohio, Native Americans had family members and friendships along the way.

Their network included the Moravian missions of New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and the Ohio country: Delawares, Mohicans, Narragansetts and Mohegans mingled in mission communities such as those at Brotherton in New Jersey, Shekomeko in New York, Bethlehem in Pennsylvania and Gnadenhutten in Ohio. Their shared societies were also carried to other communities in Indian country, ranging from Schaghticoke near Albany to Coshocton west of Fort Pitt. Thus Indians, traders, officials, soldiers, and missionaries carried on an extensive exchange of ideas which played a significant role in molding early American history.

George Washington had become acquainted with many native men in the 1750s as a surveyor. The familiarity of Washington with a few Indian leaders was a key factor in the creation of the Indian Corps of 1778.

VALLEY FORGE TO WHITE PLAINS 1778

While a number of Native American men living in New England and in New York communities already served in local, state, and continental forces, the new initiative with regard to an Indian force was proposed by Washington early in 1778. It was at this same time, during the depressing months of the Valley Forge encampment, that John Laurens and General Varnum had suggested to Washington the formation of a special corps of black American soldiers (Walling 1994) It is not coincidental that the Commander-in-Chief began to voice his ideas of utilizing native warriors at this same time for special duties as part of the American Army, as the following correspondence attests:

Washington to the Committee of
Congress with the Army
Headquarters, January 29, 1778
. . .I shall now in the last place beg leave to subjoin a few
Matters unconnected with the general subject of these
remarks. . . .The enemy have set every engine at work,
against us, and have actually called savages and even our
own slaves to their assistance; would it not be well, to
employ two or three hundred Indians against General
Howe's army the ensuing campaign? . . .Such a body of
indians, joined by some of our Woodsmen, would
probably strike no small terror into the British and
foreign troops. . . . *(George Washington Papers)*

Committee at Camp to Henry Laurens
Camp near the Valley Forge, Feb. 20th 1778
. . .We now. Sir, beg Leave to submit to your
Consideration, a Proposition of employing a Number of
Indians in the American Army. We have fully discussed
it with the General, & upon the maturest Deliberation are
induced to recommend it to Congress. . . .
. . .As it is in Contemplation to form a Flying Army
composed of light Infantry & rifle Men under the
Direction of Officers distinguished for their Activity &
Spirit of Enterprise, it is proposed to mix about 400
Indians with them; being thus incorporated with our own
Troops, who are designed to skirmish, act in
Detachments & light Parties, as well as lead the Attack. . .
If it should meet with your Approbation, Col. Gist a
gentleman of much Acquaintance & Experience with the

Southern Indians will most cheerfully receive your
Commands & is recommended to us by General
Washington as a Man of approved Spirit and Conduct
. . .The Situation of the Oneidas to the Northward is such,
that perhaps it will be found our truest Interest to take
them into Service. . . *(Papers of the Continental Congress)*

Congress
March 4, 1778
Extract from the Minutes,
Charles Thomson, Sec.y
Resolved, That General Washington be impowered, if he
thinks it prudent, to employ in the Service of the United
States a body of Indians not exceeding four Hundred, &
that it be left to him to pursue such measures as he
judges best for procuring them, and to employ them,
when procured, in such ways as will annoy the Enemy,
without suffering them to injure those who are friends to
the cause of America. *(Papers of the Continental Congress)*

The plan to engage four hundred native warriors did not come to fruition. Troubles both in the deep south with the Cherokee who were predominantly pro-British, and with the fractured Iroquois League of west-central New York, precluded the raising of a significant number of Native American soldiers for service with the main Continental Army.

In the winter of 1778, the Marquis de Lafayette had met with the Oneida in their territory and agreed to have a fort constructed for their protection, in exchange for the service of their men in the Continental Army. In May, about fifty Oneida warriors arrived at Valley Forge and they were assigned to Lafayette's location before Barren Hill, just outside Philadelphia. These men were under the direct command of the noted cavalry commander, Allen McLane. After one skirmish at Barren Hill, the Oneida received word from their community that a major British offensive was threatening their homes, and by June 18th, they were escorted back to upstate New York by a young officer of the 1st New York. It was obvious the Oneida were not in a position to provide two hundred warriors for a special Indian regiment.

Nevertheless, the seed was sown in Washington's mind. With the approval of Congress, he could engage a specific corps of Indian warriors to act in cooperation with the light infantry of the army. It was natural for Washington to draw upon men already in the army for this special mission, and, as a number of Mohicans from the Indian mission village at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, already were in his army, it was natural for him to augment that force with additional warriors from Stockbridge. Men from Stockbridge had fought as a contingent on several occasions during the first years of the war, from the siege of Boston to Burgoyne's invasion of 1777.

Although he received Congressional approval for the plan, Washington did not immediately have the time to compose the corps of light infantry proposed earlier in the year at Valley Forge. In June, 1778, during the Monmouth Campaign he did send a corps of picked men ahead with General Scott to act as light infantry. After the Battle of Monmouth, once the Continental Army was settled at White Plains, Washington finally was able to implement the plan to establish the American Light Infantry.

NATIVE SOLDIERS IN THE ARMY, 1778

During the first half of 1778, over one hundred Native American men were serving in the various regiments in the Continental

Army and in other units. In addition to individuals scattered in the different regiments, on the frontier borders of the new country, various native men fought in special units composed mostly of warriors from a particular tribe. Instances of these include the Oneida and Tuscarora of upstate New York who had fought at Oriskany and in the Saratoga Campaign of 1777, various Maine tribes, a Delaware group under Captain White Eyes in the Fort Pitt area, and the Catawbas of South Carolina. Additonally, there were also border ranger units with a large percentage of Indian men - as in Bedel's Rangers of northern New Hampshire and Vermont (not yet a state). Among the many New England regiments were dozens of individuals serving from their home communities, Wampanoags from Mashpee, Pequots from Stoningham, Mohegans from Norwich, Narragansetts of Rhode Island, and the largest of all contingents, the Stockbridge Mohicans, drawn from western New England and New York. (Frazier 1992:212-218.)

The Stockbridge men had fought as a contingent on several occasions during the first years of the war, from the siege of Boston to Burgoyne's Invasion of 1777. In October of that year, Captain Abraham Nimham, with his company of Indians, made application to Congress to be employed in the service of the United States. Congress, in its proceedings of October 25, 1777, requested "that they report themselves to Major General Gates for duty. . ." (DeVoe 1880:89). Although the majority of Indians at Stockbridge were Mohicans, Capt. Abraham Nimham was the son of Daniel Nimham, a respected Wappinger chief. Daniel Nimham had removed with some of his followers about 1755 from Wappinger territory on the lower Hudson River to Stockbridge.

After the winter season of 1777-78, Abraham Nimham wrote to General Gates requesting that all of the Stockbridge men be allowed to serve together:

1778
Brothers I come ask you a question hope you will help
us. Now I mention that with which I have been
concerned. I had some brothers enlisted into the
Continental service in several Regiments. Now Brothers
I should be very glad if you will discharge them from
their Regiments. We always want to be in one
body. .when we are in service. .do not think that I want get
these Indians away from their soldierings... but we want
be together always & we will be always ready to go any
where you want us to go long as this war stands &tc.
Abraham Nimham
Captn
To the Most Honorable
Major Genl Gates *(Horatio Gates Papers 1778, Reel 6)*

Although no further records directing the Stockbridges to serve together under General Gates have been found, native men from Col. Jackson's 8th Massachusetts Regiment were with Gates as of June, 1778. While the regiment was preparing for the summer campaign, the following Stockbridge men from Capt. Cleaveland's Company were "on command with Gen. Gates at White Plains" (National Archives, Revolutionary War Film Series 4):

Joseph Chenequn
Benjamin mehaueamen (Metacaman)
David Nauneehnauwalt
Jacob Pauhauwaupat
John Sepaubwank
John Nimham
Ebenezer Manawsett
Benjamin Wauohnauweet

Other Stockbridge men may have served with Captain Abraham Nimham under Gates in the early summer but the records are too incomplete to make any definite conclusion. Various native men were with their respective regiments both in Washington's main army and in the Hudson Highlands at this time, June, 1778.

By late July, Washington's army was posted at White Plains in Westchester County, northeast of present Yonkers and well north of the Kingsbridge area of the Bronx. As the army settled into its new post, Washington began to reorganize his forces. Orders for the Third and Sixth, Connecticut, to transfer from the Highlands Department to the Main Army were issued on July 21 and on July 22 several regiments of the main army were transferred to the Eastern Department with its focus on Rhode Island. It was at this point of reorganization that Washington's plan for establishing an effective light infantry corps was ordered into effect, as follows:

> General Orders
> Headquarters, W. Plains,
> Saturday, August 8,1778
> After Orders
> For the Safety and Ease of the army and to be in greater
> readiness to attack or repel the Enemy, the Commander
> in Chief for these and many other Reasons orders and
> directs that a Corps of Light Infantry composed of the
> best, most hardy and active Marksmen and commanded
> by good Partizan Officers be draughted from the several
> Brigades to be commanded by Brigadier General Scott. . . *(George Washington Papers)*

While no documentation has been found ordering the establishment of the Indian Corps to act in conjunction with the light infantry, such a special group was formed. Existing regimental muster roles are exact in this matter. In virtually all cases, native men in the New England regiments were pulled out of their companies and served "on command with the Indian Company." (National Archives, Revolutionary War Film Series, 4) Men such as Jabez Pottage and Joseph Read of the 7th, Connecticut, who had fought at Monmouth, were ordered to the Indian Company. Amos Babcock, 5th, Massachusetts, of Mashpee, David Hatch of Mashpee, Benjamin Jones of Sandwich and Abel Supposon of the 12th, Massachusetts, were in the unit, as were the men of Jackson's 8th, Massachusetts. To date, many of the names of other men in the unit await further research as the muster rolls have not survived in the historical record.

The phrases used in the National Archives' muster rolls include, "in the Indian Company," "on command with Endan Comp," "with the Indians on the Lines," "on command with Nimham Indian Capt." Abimeleck Unkas of the 1st, Connecticut, has an interesting notation on his National Archives general index card; it refers to an additional record collection as that of the "Indian Corps." (National Archives, Revolutionary Film Series 4) Unfortunately, no one has been able to locate this additional record collection at the National Archives, nor have historians contacted ever seen this material.

An additional historical source is found in the Allen McLane Papers in the NewYork Historical Society. McLane, of Wilmington, Delaware, was a well-known and much respected partisan officer who operated in various commands including Malcolm's Additional Regiment and later with Lee's Partisan Corps (cavalry). McLane had commanded the Oneida warriors at the Barren Hill skirmish in May, 1778, and was the first American officer to enter Philadelphia as the British were evacuating the city one month later. McLane operated with Dickinson's New Jersey militia during the Monmouth Campaign of late June and was on duty with the main army later that summer. Given his

skills, daring and experience with Native American warriors, he was selected by General Scott, commander of the American Light Infantry, to coordinate command with Nimham's Company:

> Sir
> You will take charge of the party of Indians annex'd to
> the Light Corps & You will endeavor to render them as favorable as possible. . .
> You will proceed with them to such place as you may
> think most opportune for the purpose in annoying the
> enemy and preventing their Landing or making incursion
> into the Country. . .
> You will send all intelligence to me in the most full and
> perspicuous manner. . .
> In all other matters you will conduct yourself in such a
> manner as your prudence & discretion may point out. . .
> Given under my hand at Philips Borough Aug. 29th 78
> Chs Scott B Genl
> Capt Allen McLane *(McLane Papers)*

NUMBERS AND COMPOSITION OF THE INDIAN COMPANY

As planned, native American men from the various New England regiments were withdrawn from their units and brigaded together under the command of Captain Abraham Nimham. During July, Stockbridge Indians accompanied by Daniel Nimham joined the American Army at White Plains. In addition, it is possible that other Indians in the New England regiments at White Plains were allowed to form up with the Mohicans for their patrolling activities outside New York City. However, they were regarded as a corps of Stockbridge Indians. As to the total number of men involved, we may never be certain. A watercolor painting of an Indian soldier in Nimham's company at White Plains - dressed in linen, wearing moccasins and a hat, and carrying not only a gun but a bow and quiver of arrows, as well as a "short battle axe" - was made by a Hessian officer in the British forces, Johann von Ewald. (Tustin 1979:145). (Figure 7:1).

The company did well for its first several weeks in action, even, on one occasion, nearly ambushing the officers in charge of a British troop near Van Cortlandt Manor, a large estate situated in the Bronx (Walling 1999:4). All of that changed on August 31, 1778. In a surprise action on the DeVoe Farm, in present-day Van Cortlandt Park in the Bronx, the Indian Company was approached from the rear by a large force of British troops who had been on the lookout for them. The terrible and bloody fight of that August morning is the subject of a number of works. In short, on that day Col. Simcoe of the Queens Rangers led a combined force of more than five hundred loyalists and Hessians in an ambush targeted at the Indian Company of about sixty in number (Simcoe 1844:80) When the skirmish was over, many of the Indian warriors were dead and the British had dealt the Americans a hard blow:

> . . .they [the Indian company] found themselves attacked in the rear by a body
> of infantry, and in front by the retreating light horse who had returned to the charge: nineteen of the Indians are missing, six who have been found dead on the field of
> action, the others are supposed to be taken Prisoners; we have likewise lost a Capt. and six soldiers in that affair. . .
> Col. Udny Hay to George Clinton
> White Plains, Sept. 2, 1778 *(Clinton 1900, 3:727)*

From the various accounts, the number of the Indian Company engaged appears to have been between forty and sixty. In addition to the Stockbridge men whose names survive in the historical record, we also have a list of Pequot men who died in military

7.1. A watercolor sketch identified as "Mohican Indian in Stockbridge Militia at White Plains" shows one of the warriors who fought in the American Revolution about 1788. He may be one of the Mohicans listed at White Plains in the text. (Captain Johann von Ewald Diary, Volume II, Joseph P. Tustin Papers, Special Collections, Harvey A. Andruss Library, Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania)

service in 1778. *The History of the Town of Ledyard* (Avery 1901) gives the following names of men who died during 1778 while in the military. Possibly some of these men were killed during the Stockbridge Massacre. They were Charles Janner, J. Comwass, Joshua George, Moses George, and John Tobey.

CASUALTIES OF THE STOCKBRIDGE INDIAN MASSACRE

All the reports associated with this bloody skirmish share the same key elements: Simcoe's ambush, the desperate fight put up by the Indians, and the large number of Indians killed. Col. Simcoe put the number of Indian dead at "near forty" (Simcoe 1844:86) and a contemporaneous account in a Tory newspaper, Joseph Rivington's *Royal Gazette* (Rivington, 1777-1780) stated thirty-seven killed. Another note in the same paper stated nineteen Indian dead. Charles Scott reported that as of the evening of the battle, fourteen of the forty Indians had returned, leaving some twenty-three unaccounted for.

One unusual source which may nevertheless be accurate is Thomas F. DeVoe, the nineteenth-century historian who wrote the first critical account of the affair. A descendant of the DeVoe family upon whose farm the battle raged, DeVoe had walked the battlefield with his grandmother in the early nineteenth century. She had been eighteen at the time of the battle and was an eyewitness to the fight and its aftermath. In his 1880 article, DeVoe wrote:

> The greatest struggle, was on the second field north of
> Daniel DeVoe's house, where the bodies of some
> seventeen Indians lay, cut and hacked to death; besides
> many others, who were killed and wounded in their
> attempt to escape in several directions. It was a terrible
> conflict, or rather a slaughter of about thirty
> Indians. . .Many years afterwards, this fight was a
> frequent subject of conversation by those of the families
> who had visited the fields immediately after the
> conflict. . . *(DeVoe 1880:194)*

How many men were killed? Although no one can be certain, given the fact that Nimham's Indian Company had approximately forty to fifty men, and most were killed in the struggle, a number approaching thirty dead is not unrealistic. DeVoe wrote that the bodies of men found in the woods after the battle, including Daniel Nimham's, were taken to a portion of the field, and interred. Stones were placed on top, "not as a monument, but to protect the bodies from further desecration " (DeVoe 1880:195).

As for men captured in the battle, Stockbridge historian Lion Miles (Miles 1999) has determined that the American officer captured was Nathan Goodale of Massachusetts. Unfortunately for Goodale, due to problems in exchanging officers, he was to remain in the Sugar House Prison in lower Manhattan for many months. As for the two Stockbridge men reported captured, research has identified these men. What participants at that time did not know was that both men were not of the Stockbridge tribe, but were native men of Connecticut.

The first was Jabez Pottage. The following is from his National Archives Pension Account:

> 7th Connecticut, Res. Windham
> In the Spring of the Year 1777 he again inlisted a
> private Soldier for three years into the Continental Army
> in a Company commanded by Capt. Vine Elderkin in
> Col. Herman Swift's Regiment in the Connct. Line of the
> American Army, the sd. Company was afterwards
> commanded by Captain Convers and in said Company

& Regiment he faithfully served against the common
Enemy, till the Spring of the year 1780 when he was
discharged from service and during the sd three years he
was in several skirmishes & in the battle of Monmouth,
and afterwards while in a scouting party & near
Kingsbridge he was taken prisoner by the enemy & carryd
into New York and there kept in the sugar house four
months & two days and was then exchanged, and again
joined said Company & served the whole term of the
three years aforesaid.
his + mark
sworn in 1818 when Jabez was 68 years old
(National Archives, Revolutionary War Film Series 4)

The second Indian man taken at the Massacre appears to be Joseph Read of Fairfield, Connecticut. Read was also in the 7th, Connecticut, and the company returns stated the following:

Bradley's Regt/Lacy's Co. August 1778
Joseph Read on Comd with Indian Corps September 1778
Joseph Read Captivated, Septemr 1778
(National Archives, Revolutionary War Film Series 4)

With this research, we have been able to identify the officer and two Native Americans captured as mentioned in accounts of the time.

AFTERMATH

In September, 1778, Washington wrote to Jedidiah Huntington of the Connecticut Brigade requesting that he release the four remaining Stockbridge Indians from their regiments due to the severe loss suffered by the tribe at Kingsbridge (George Washington Papers). This later shifting of men, as well as the initial process of detaching various soldiers from their home regiments to serve in the Indian Company, caused confusion in the military records. In the aftermath of the massacre several men were reported as deserted from their regiments, when in fact, they had been allowed to go home.

Of the other surviving men in the Indian Company, most returned to their regiments. Upon his return from captivity, according to National Archives records, Jabez Pottage served out the war with the 7th, Connecticut, as did friend Joseph Read. When discharged after three years of service, Pottage joined Sheldon's Dragoons in 1781. In fact, the entire corps of Light Infantry was disbanded in the early fall, and the men went back to their regiments in preparation for going into winter quarters.

And so came an end to what Washington had planned as the creation of a "Flying Army composed of light Infantry & rifle Men mix[ed with] about 400 Indians with them; being thus incorporated with our own Troops, who are designed to skirmish, act in Detachments & light Parties, as well as lead the Attack. . ." (George Washington Papers) The plan made by Washington in the desperate days of Valley Forge was altered by the events of that year. The Oneida warriors were allowed to go home, to defend their families and property from their pro-British brethren. Prospects for success in the war changed as the arrival of the French army and navy in July 1778 lessened the necessity of employing special forces such as the Indian regiment. Finally, with winter approaching and after the decimation of the Indian Corps at Kingsbridge on August 31, there was no practical method of rebuilding and sustaining this unique strike force.

To be sure, the Stockbridge Indians and their fellow Algonquian and Iroquois neighbors and relations continued to play crucial roles in the remaining years of the war. The

Oneida and Tuscarora bore the burden of internecine warfare on the border when their villages were burned out in retribution by Sullivan's Expedition in 1779. Later in the war, many of these refugees found comfort with the Stockbridge in Massachusetts. The Delaware Indians tried to remain neutral on the frontier - until Captain White Eyes was murdered, the Americans could not sustain them as allies, and Moravian converts were exterminated at Gnadenhutten, Ohio, in 1782. After these events, many swung over to the British side.

The story of the Stockbridge Mohicans continued well past the war and extends into the present. The kinship and connections between Indian groups were evident in the years just after the Revolution when New England and New York Indians shared in the effort to adapt to the colonial culture bent on land acquisition. The establishment of New Stockbridge and Brothertown after the Revolutionary War, both on land offered by the Oneidas, is a clear demonstration of Indian communal bonds that, while predating the American Revolution, were fastened forever by the blood shed by the Indian men who had fought and died together on a hot summer's day in 1778.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES:

Horatio Gates Papers, New-York Historical Society.

Allen McLane Papers, New-York Historical Society

National Archives Records, Revolutionary War Film Series

Papers of the Continental Congress, Library of Congress

The Royal Gazette Newspaper 1777-1780, New York, NY. (See microfilm, New York State Library.)

George Washington Papers, Library of Congress

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CHAPTER 8

"BEN PIE:" A NATIVE AMERICAN TALE OF PAPSCANEE ISLAND

Warren F. Broderick

Quite a few tales were written about New York State Indians in the nineteenth century. Their authors rarely had any first-hand knowledge of Native Americans themselves, and their writings were often tainted by popular ethnic biases of the age. Native American characters depicted in these works could be classified as either brutish, evil ignoble savages or their honorable, sagacious "noble savage" counterparts. These "wooden Indians" of literature provided American readers no factual information on the lives of any real Indians. A notable exception was "Ben Pie, or the Indian Murderer," which appeared in two literary magazines known as the *Minerva* and the *Rural Repository* in 1825, and may have actually been "a tale founded on facts," as its anonymous author claimed. It is filled with the literary conventions of the day, but the historical information in the story is accurate, likewise the detailed description of the locality where the story is set, Papscanee Island in Rensselaer County, a place of great antiquity. The story contains information on both the Mohicans and Iroquois and probably has substantial factual basis. "Ben Pie" is significant because the fascinating story of a returned favor recalls interesting interrelationships between Native Americans and white settlers in the late eighteenth century in New York State, as well as the stereotypes commonly presented in nineteenth century literature (Annonymous 1825).

The story is set in the autumn of 1782 in the neighborhood of Papscanee Island (Figure 8.1), located on the east side of the Hudson River in the present towns of East Greenbush and Schodack in Rensselaer County. Papscanee Island is a low, flat alluvial island about four miles long and one-half mile wide, west of the present State Route 9J and south of the City of Rensselaer. It was originally completely separated from the Hudson River by Papscanee Creek, but since the northern part of the creek was filled in during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to accommodate railroad construction and commercial development, it now more closely resembles a peninsula (Huey 1996:131-147). The middle portion of Papscanee Island was saved from development by the efforts of the Open Space Institute and other organizations, and now constitutes a county nature preserve managed by the Rensselaer County Environmental Management Council.

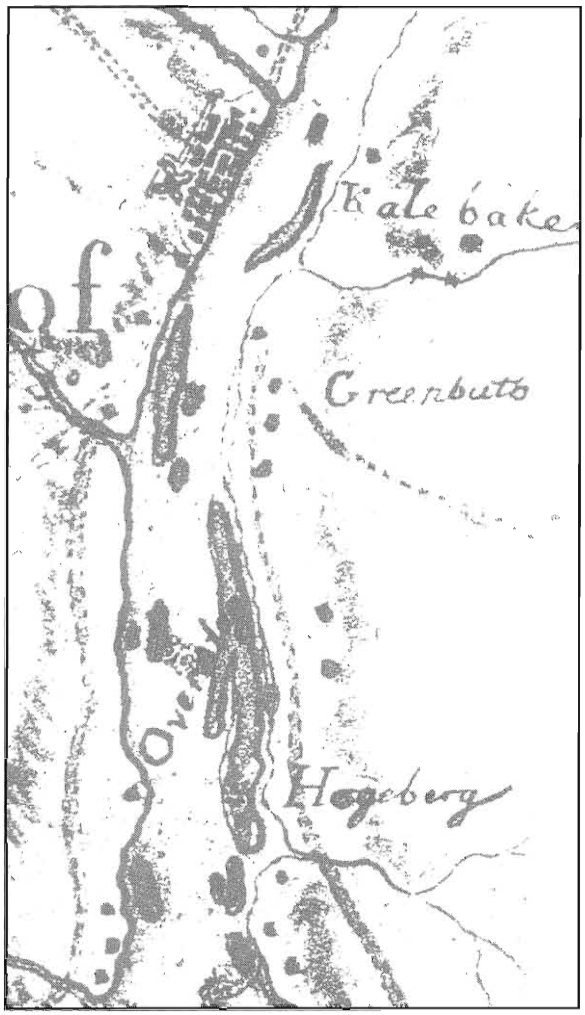
The island, which appears on a number of early maps, was named after the Mohican sachem, Papsickene, whose heirs deeded the island to the Dutch in 1637 (Indian Deed # 15, 1637). Almost immediately the island, which had been previously farmed by the Mohicans, was settled by Dutch farmers. One of the first, Cornelis Maesen Van Buren, settled on the north end of the island in 1638 (Dunn 1994: 62-74). In the following years ownership of

Mohican Seminar 1, The Continuance–An Algonquian Peoples Seminar, edited by Shirley W. Dunn. New York State Museum Bulletin 501.

8.1. Aerial photograph showing Papscanee and Campbell Islands in 1963. (Courtesy Paul Huey)

the entire island was divided among a small group of Dutch farmers (Cherry Hill Papers, c.1792 Map of Papscanee Island). In 1696, title of the farm on the south end of the island was granted to an attorney, Joachim Staats (1654-1712), whose descendants own the land even today. About this time Joachim Staats constructed a substantial stone and brick house today inhabited by his descendants. This house constitutes the oldest structure in Rensselaer County. A family burying ground adjacent to the house was established as early as 1707, when Anna Barentse, Joachim's wife, was interred there.

The house stands part way up the north side of a small eminence of land known by



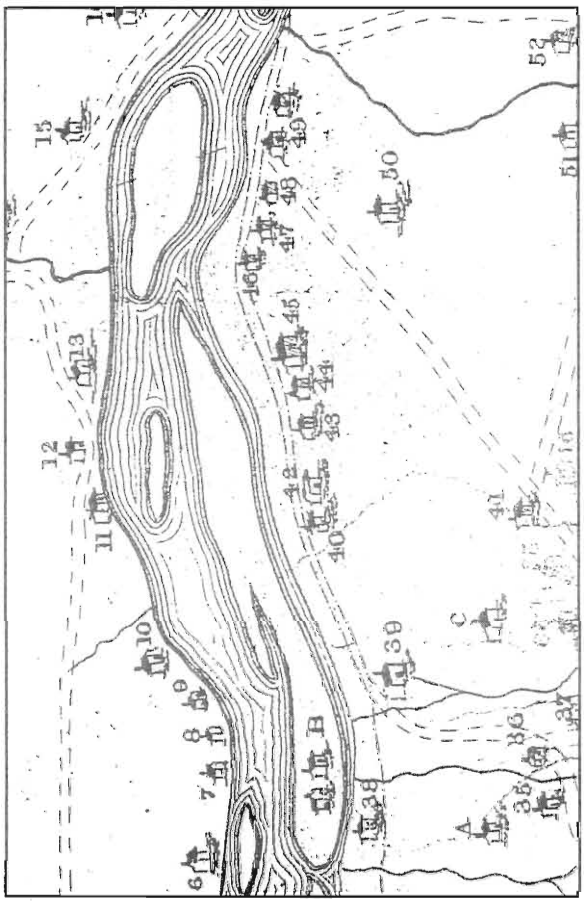
8.2 "Map of the County Albany" identifies the *Hogeberg* (high hill) at the south end of Papscanee Island. (Anonymous, 1756, British Museum)

the Dutch as the "hooge berg" or "hogheberg" (the "high hill") (Figure 8.2). This small elevation, rising only about fifty feet above the surrounding floodplain, nonetheless represented the highest point of land along the Hudson River, and had previously been called "Patquatheck" or the "big turnip" by the Mohicans. Joachim Staats died in 1712 and the land passed to his son, Barent Staats (1680-1752). Barent married Nellie Gerritse Vandenbergh, who died in 1749. The southern half of the farm, including the homestead and family cemetery, were bequeathed to

8.3 A 1930s photograph of the Joachim Staats house on the Hogeberg or hill on the south end of Papscanee Island. Built c. 1696, it was later the home of Col. Philip Staats. (Photo by Waldron Polgreen, courtesy Shirley Dunn)

Joachim Staats (1717-1804), their son, who married Elizabeth Schuyler (1715-1795). The north half of the farm was bequeathed to another son, Gerrit Staats (1722-1807) who erected in 1758 a gambrel-roofed brick house which burned in 1973. The south half of the original homestead farm was subsequently inherited by Philip Staats, a Lieutenant in the American Revolution and later a Colonel in the New York State Militia, who was born July 26, 1754 and died August 22, 1821. Philip Staats married Anna Van Alstyne, born January 11, 1767 and died February 18, 1850. Despite some alterations of the 1720s and 1750s, the Joachim Staats house (Figure 8.3) stands today much as it did at the time of the "Ben Pie" story, and remains the best surviving reminder of the area's rich Native American and Dutch/English colonial history (Dunn and Bennett 1996:30-37) (Figure 8.4).

Philip Staats served in the American Revolution as a Second Lieutenant of the Fifth Company of the Fourth Regiment (later the Third Company of the Third Regiment) of Albany County Militia, organized on October 20, 1775. Colonel Killian Van Rensselaer commanded this Regiment and Philip's brother, Captain Nicholas Staats (1743-1816), com-



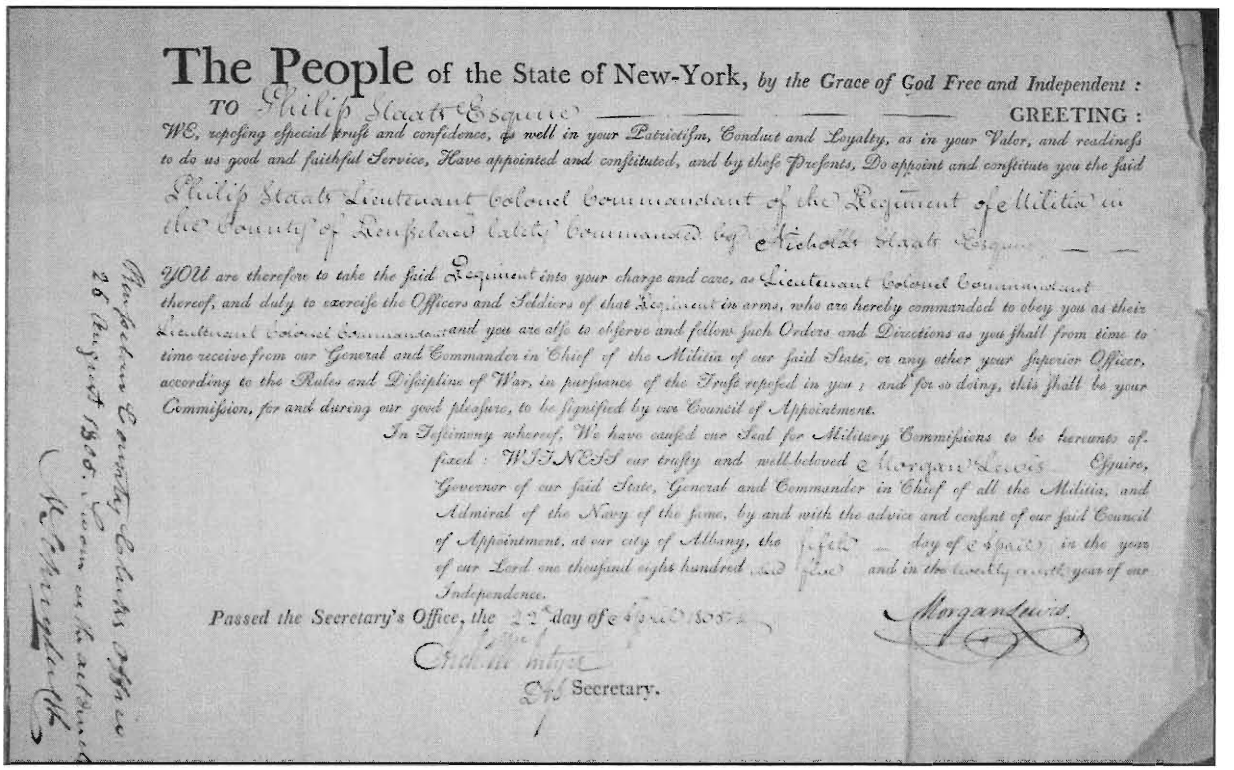
8.4. "Map of the Manor Renselaerwick" by John R. Bleeker (1767) shows the two Staats houses (marked "B") on the south end of Papscanee Island.

manded this Militia Company. Philip Staats was later commissioned Colonel in the New York State Militia on April 22, 1805 (Fernow 1887:265; Staats Family Papers).

According to the short story, Philip Staats "served his country with the greatest distinction" during the American Revolution. His widow's pension records reveal that Lieutenant Staats first served at Fort Constitution in the Hudson Highlands between July and December in 1776. The company was then transferred to the northern frontier, and he was stationed at both Fort Anne and Fort Edward in 1777. One of the principal duties at that time was to conduct reconnaissance missions relative to the advance of General Burgoyne's forces from Canada; this is doubtless when Lieutenant Staats was rescued by Ben Pie and his Mohawks from a party of Burgoyne's Canadian Indian mercenaries. It is noteworthy that Canadian Indian mercenaries of Burgoyne were responsible for the infamous killing and scalping of Jane McCrea, which occurred near Fort Edward on July 26th.

Philip Staats was shot in the calf by a musket ball and received a severe leg wound while General Philip Schuyler's army was retreating southward to Van Schaick's Island (in the present City of Cohoes) in late July of 1777, during a skirmish "at a place called Moses Creek" (Moses Kill, about four miles south of Fort Edward, in present Washington County.) Schuyler had ordered the abandonment of Fort George, Fort Anne and Fort Edward because of the proximity of Burgoyne's forces (Gerlach 1987:258-285). He and his army remained at the fortifications at Moses Creek until July 31st, when they finally retreated southward. Philip remained hospitalized in Albany, at the house of Philip Van Rensselaer on Pearl Street (an earlier structure replaced in 1786 by the building known as "Cherry Hill"), from July to October. He was then "carried to his father's house, a few miles from Albany," which was the Staats home on Papscanee Island, to continue his recuperation (Revolutionary War Pension Records, M804, Reel 2265) (Figure 8.5).

In 1825 a short story, entitled "Ben Pie, or the Indian Murderer: a Tale Founded on Facts," appeared in two popular literary periodicals of the era, the *Minerva*, published in New York City, and the *Rural Repository*, published in Hudson, New York (Annonymous 1825). In the process of conducting graduate work at Union College some years ago on images of the American Indian in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American fiction, I identified and studied literally hundreds of now obscure short stories. Few of these possessed much literary merit and equally few seemed stories based on factual events. In the



The People of the State of New-York, by the Grace of God Free and Independent :

TO Philip Staats Esquire GREETING :

WE, reposing especial trust and confidence, as well in your Patriotism, Conduct and Loyalty, as in your Valor, and readiness to do us good and faithful Service, Have appointed and constituted, and by these Presents, Do appoint and constitute you the said Philip Staats Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the Regiment of Militia in the County of Rensselaer lately Commanded by Nicholas Staats Esqr.

YOU are therefore to take the said Regiment into your charge and care, as Lieutenant Colonel Commandant thereof, and duly to exercise the Officers and Soldiers of that Regiment in arms, who are hereby commanded to obey you as their Lieutenant Colonel Commandant and you are also to observe and follow such Orders and Directions as you shall from time to time receive from our General and Commander in Chief of the Militia of our said State, or any other your Superior Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, in pursuance of the Trust reposed in you ; and for so doing, this shall be your Commission, for and during our good pleasure, to be signified by our Council of Appointment.

In Testimony whereof, We have caused our Seal for Military Commissions to be hereunto affixed : WITNESS our trusty and well beloved Morgan Lewis Esquire, Governor of our said State, General and Commander in Chief of all the Militia, and Admiral of the Navy of the same, by and with the advice and consent of our said Council of Appointment, at our city of Albany, the fifth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five and in the twenty ninth year of our Independence.

Passed the Secretary's Office, the 22nd day of April 1805

Morgan Lewis

Secretary.

8.5. Philip Staats' commission as Lieutenant Colonel, New York State Militia, is dated April 22, 1805. (Staats Papers, Manuscripts and Special Collections, New York State Library)

latter regard, the story of Ben Pie is a notable exception.

As suggested earlier, the authors of tales written about New York State Indians in the nineteenth century rarely had any first-hand knowledge of Native Americans themselves, and their writings were often tainted by popular ethnic biases of the age. Native American characters depicted in these works could be classified as either brutish, evil, ignoble savages or their honorable, sagacious "noble savage" counterparts. This dichotomy between the "noble" and "ignoble" savage pervades American literature and popular culture from its beginnings well into the twentieth century. The "noble savage," contrary to popular belief, was not a character invented by James Fenimore Cooper, but rather a stereotype that was found in the first American novels dealing with Native Americans (Broderick 1987; Pearce 1965). These "wooden Indians" of literature provided American readers no factual information on the lives of any real Indians. Stories such as "Ben Pie", where Native Americans seem realistically depicted, stand out as the exception to the rule of stereotypical representations.

Another "Indian tale" set in Rensselaer County fits the stereotype well and contrasts markedly with the "Ben Pie" story. "The Legend of the Poestenkill" was written by Abba A. Goddard and published in Troy in 1846 (Goddard: 87-96) A beautiful young white woman named Elsie Vaughn, purportedly living at the site of Troy in the late seventeenth century, became the object of the passionate affections of a young Mohawk warrior named Dekanisora. One day the young Mohawk rescued Elsie from an "enormous serpent" in the Poestenkill gorge. While she felt grateful to Dekanisora for saving her life, Elsie nonetheless could not conceal her "feel-

ings of repugnance" for the savage who loved her. Elsie plunged to her death over the falls, for while it was "fearful to die by her own act, [it was] but a thousand times more fearful to live the bride of a haughty Mohawk." The "once fierce Mohawk, now as helpless as a child, breathed out his last gasp" and joined the spirits of his fathers. Typical of numerous Native American "tales" of the era, "The Legend of the Poestenkill" presents a rather ridiculous portrait of the "noble savage," who, while possessing many redeeming traits, still remains a savage and is doomed to extinction along with the rest of his race. Goddard's tale possesses little originality and in fact she seems to have plagiarized a story published five years earlier and set in Connecticut (Goodrich 1841:78-85).

The protagonist in "Ben Pie, or the Indian Murderer," however, is possibly the same person as Benjamin Pye, a Native American of Mohican ancestry who is recorded as having enlisted as a private in a military company organized at Sheffield, Massachusetts, in 1780, serving sixteen days in the Bennington, Vermont region (*Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors* 1904, 12:883) Sheffield is fairly close to Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where a number of Mohicans resided at this time. The anonymous author of this short story, who seems to have the historical information reasonably accurate, refers to Ben as a Chief of the Mohawk Nation. While many authors have admittedly confused the identity of Mohican, Mohawk and Mohegan individuals, I believe that this author would have recognized such tribal distinctions. Ben Pie may very well have been of mixed Mohawk and Mohican ancestry, and thus could have been recognized by the Mohawks as a Chief of their Nation. Ben's partial Mohican (and even possibly Mohegan) ancestry would help explain two details found in the story. First of all, when Ben meets the Mohicans during their ceremony on Papscanee Island, he is able to speak their language. In addition, at the conclusion of the story, Ben is permitted to take up residence with a tribe on "the coast" (probably southeastern New England or Long Island); such tribe would have been of Mohegan or other Algonquian ancestry. Also, it would have been highly unlikely to find any true Mohawks fighting alongside patriots in the American Revolution.

Lion Miles has identified a Benjamin Pye, probably born in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, about 1764, who later removed to Wisconsin, where his name appears as a signatory on tribal petitions in 1838, 1845, 1846 and 1848. He died in the 1850s and is interred in the Indian Cemetery on Lake Winnebago at Stockbridge, Wisconsin. If all these persons bearing the name of "Ben Pie/Pye" are identical, then he may have lived on the New England coast after escaping his would-be captors and before emigrating to Wisconsin. In any case, an association between the Benjamin Pye of Stockbridge and the "Ben Pie" of the short story is not conclusively proven.

"Ben Pie" tells the story, set a few years after the American Revolution (probably in 1782), of a young Mohawk chieftain, fleeing two avenging Oneidas after having killed a young Oneida chieftain in a drunken fight. An intriguing entry is found in the journal of François, Marquis de Barbé-Marbois, who served as Secretary of the French legation in America between 1779 and 1785. He mentions a murder that took place at the Oneida Castle in October of 1784, where negotiations were taking place.

> *I saw, amongst the Oneidas, a tomb on which the earth and stones seemed new. They told me it was that of an Indian murdered a few days before. They showed me the murderer, who did not mingle with the most distinguished; but no one thought of punishing the crime. They suspected him of wishing to flee to the Onondagas, to shelter himself from pursuit by relatives of the murdered man* (1929:214)

If this is a reference to the killing of an Oneida by Ben Pie, then it would coincide with the time when Mohicans were moving

8.6. High waterfalls on a tributary feeding Papscanee Creek, east of the current State Route 9J in the Town of Schodack, Rensselaer County, mark the site where Ben Pie buried his would-be captors under a landslide, according to the story. (Photo by Warren Broderick)

from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, to their new home in New Stockbridge, Madison County, New York. It does seem unusual that, if indeed an Oneida had been killed at their own castle, justice was not sought on the spot.

Arriving at Papscanee Island from the west, Ben sought the assistance of Colonel Philip Staats, who fought alongside him in the Revolution. It seems that Ben, along with ten of his tribe, had saved Colonel Staats "from the tomahawk and scalping knife of a party of Canadian Indians," who had surrounded him during a reconnaissance mission. Once Ben had told Colonel and Mrs. Staats of his plight, at once they determined to help the Mohawk chieftain avoid his avengers, who were now close at hand. After they sent Ben out a back door of the Staats home, the Colonel engaged the pursuers in some conversation, and suggested that Ben Pie may have been hiding at the bottom of his well. The "stratagem of the Colonel" had succeeded, and had given Ben "a considerable start of his pursuers." (For all quotes from the story, see *Chapter 8, continued*, which follows.)

Ben sped eastwardly "across a miry piece of meadow land" and crossed the Papscanee Creek, entering a steep-sided ravine nearly opposite the Staats residence, on the east side of the current State Route 9J. He moved southeastwardly following a stream known as the Vierda Kill. After killing a large dog belonging to his pursuers, he followed the course of the "dark and protracted ravine" and "reached the foot of a precipice, over which the water formed an elegant cascade." The steep ravine, bordered by oak and hemlock forest, retains this wild, rugged appearance today.

Climbing out of this ravine, Ben proceeded northward along the ridge and arrived "at another precipice more awful then the first." This was probably a high waterfall on a small stream which flows into Papscanee Creek, opposite the east end of the present Staats Island Road (Figure 8.6). Ben was familiar with this ravine, through which passed an Indian trail well known to the Mohicans. He descended the ravine in confidence, "having no idea that he could ever be discovered in so dark and damp a recess."

> *. . . the rays of the sun are excluded by the thick foliage of innumerable hemlocks, extending their branches from the two embankments and forming a perfect canopy over its whole extent. The cavity formed a narrow pass about fifty rods long, and terminated by a perpendicular precipice about two hundred [actually about one hundred] feet, from which a number of calcarious rocks, integrated with beds of slate, frequently detach themselves.*

But his pursuers followed still, and Ben climbed to the top of the precipice, in a steep ravine that has changed little over time, and dislodged a large rock, which carried with it "an immense quantity of loose shale and hardened clay," and buried his would-be captors under this enormous mass. Having outsmarted his pursuers, Ben Pie "gained the top of the hill" and followed the Indian trail southeastward to the coast, to live the remainder of his life in peace with related tribesmen.

The "Ben Pie" story contains a far more detailed and accurate description of the local scenery than is typically encountered in fiction of the era with local settings. The story, in fact, led me to discover a spectacular waterfall well hidden from public view. Another remarkable feature of the story is the fascinating information it contains on colonial and Native American history and lore. The anonymous author relates how Papscanee Island had been the site of a Mohican castle, and later a colonial fort. In addition, we gain important insights into the career and character of Philip Staats from the story:

> *. . . at the close of the revolutionary war, after having served his county with the greatest distinction, [he] had the pleasure to receive General Washington and Governor George Clinton, who continued nearly a whole day under his hospitable roof; until the Mayor and corporation of Albany had arrived, after the greatest exertions against winds and tide to escort them to their city, in a big Dutch scow, formerly used at the ferry between Albany and Greenbush, and considered until lately a wonderful production of naval architecture.*
>
> *Colonel Philip S. occupied the house situated on the south side of the mound. In his youth, and during the war, he had considerable intercourse with the Indians, and had acquired a perfect knowledge of their dialects and manners; having always treated them with kindness and justice, they had for him the greatest veneration. Indeed, encouraged by his humanity, the few scattered remnants of the Mohicandes who loitered on the east bank of the Hudson, called him their father, and continued by his indulgence to hold now and then meetings and dances on top of their favorite Patquatheck . . .*

George Washington's stay at the Staats house occurred on June 25, 1782, and Ben Pie is said to have arrived at Papscanee Island "not long after the visit" of Washington and Clinton (Baker 1892:265-266) This story reveals, for the first time, that descendants of the Mohicans returned to Papscanee to conduct important ceremonies as late as the period following the American Revolution. The particular ceremony which took place at the night of Ben Pie's arrival is described in some detail:

> *[They] set fire to a pile composed of pine knots and dry brush, intended to serve as a bon-fire in honour of one of their young warriors, who on that day had attained the age of manhood. An old Indian, sitting on a stone, had between his legs a small keg covered with deer-skin; he used it as a drum, and beating time on that rustic instrument, he hummed with his voice the wild melody of the war-dance, in which every man and woman joined; repeating with accuracy the articulated sounds, turning round the fire with frantic gestures, accompanied with the rattling of dried deer's hoofs suspended in bunches to their arms and legs, and concluded each dance with a whooping or yelling . . .*

This constitutes possibly the earliest of the few documented accounts of Mohican Indians returning to their ancestral homeland, although, according to Shirley Dunn, a number of similar stories are found in oral history. Dunn suggests that these particular Mohicans mentioned in the short story may have come from a number of places at this time, including Stockbridge, Massachusetts and New Stockbridge, Oneida County, New York. Even though the Mohicans and

Mohawks had been mortal enemies over a century before, the Mohicans greeted Ben Pie in friendship, and welcomed him to drink with them and smoke the "calumet of peace." The story also speaks of an Indian trail running along the north side of one of the deep ravines, and leading southeastwardly towards the coast. The Mohawks were said to have used this trail in order to "collect the tribute of dried clams and wampum annually sold to those fierce warriors by the poor fishing tribes, the principal of which were the Manhattans and the Montauks; the first being the proprietors of the island of New York, and the other of Long Island."

While "Ben Pie" clearly represents historical fiction, it provides a good deal of apparently factual information on both the local scenery and early colonial and Native American history of the immediate area, information available from few other sources. This is one of the few fictional works dealing with the Mohicans. While the story is filled with the literary conventions of the day and reflects some of the biases with which White authors viewed Indians, the Native Americans the anonymous author describes seem believable. One needs only to read the majority of eighteenth and nineteenth century American "Indian tales" to notice the startling differences between the stereotypes these works contain and the Native American character portrayals in the "Ben Pie" story. Although we may never learn exactly how factual is the story's theme, one would be safe in assuming that the story of the favor returned in kind is as accurately recalled as the local landscape and early history the story documents.

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BEN PIE, OR THE INDIAN MURDERER: A TALE FOUNDED ON FACTS

[From the *Rural Repository* II, 1825, pp. 33-35, 41-43; first published in *The Minerva* III, 1825, pp. 113-117]

"Why, son of the Mohawk, dost thou start?
Why clings this sudden terror to thy heart?
Alas! How do thy eye-balls roll!
How wildly frantic is thy soul!
Dreadful despair seems low'ring on thy brow
While thousand hideous forms in thy dark fancy grow."

At the south end of a long and fertile island of alluvial formation, called Popskena by the Mohicondes Indians, a powerful tribe who once occupied the eastern shore of the Hudson River, is situated an elevation, or mound, contrasting with the level adjoining land, and denominated on that account by the same Indians, Patquatheck, or the big turnip, and out of derision by the Dutch settlers, the Hogheberg, or the high hill. On this mound the Mohicondes Indians, previous to the usurpation of their country by Europeans, had a castle considered by them as one of their most powerful fortresses against the irruptions of the Mohawks. The mound having a good command of the river, was converted by the Dutch settlers into a fort, where considerable trade was carried on with the natives from both sides of the river, and was even used for that purpose, as tradition reports, long before the settlement of Fort Oranien [Orange], now Albany.

Under the English government, the spot being of an easy defence against Indian aggressions, was used as a place of refuge for the inhabitants, and was frequently resorted to during the war of 1756, called to this day by the Americans the French war. At an early period, under the Dutch Colonies, the Hogheberg became the property of the family of J—, and having fallen by inheritance to the two brothers of that name previous to the American revolution, they divided the land and built on each side of the hill two comfortable dwelling houses, where the son of one of them, Colonel Philip S— at the close of the revolutionary war, after having served his country with the greatest distinction, had the pleasure to receive General Washington and Governor George Clinton, who continued nearly a whole day under his hospitable roof; until the Mayor and corporation of Albany had arrived, after the greatest exertions against winds and tide to escort them to their city, in a big Dutch scow, formerly used at the ferry between Albany and Greenbush, and considered until lately as a wonderful production of naval architecture.

Colonel Philip S. occupied the house situated on the south side of the mound. In his youth, and during the war, he had considerable intercourse with the Indians, and had acquired a perfect knowledge of their dialects and manners; having always treated them

with kindness and justice, they had for him the greatest veneration. Indeed, encouraged by his humanity, the few scattered remnants of the Mohicondes who loitered on the east shore of the Hudson, called him their father, and continued by his indulgence to hold now and then meetings and dances on the top of their favourite Patquatheck; where, under the influence of patriotism and certain physical stimulants of imagination, they indulged the fanciful idea that they were yet a nation.

On a fine autumnal evening, not long after the visit of the two heroes above mentioned, a party of these Indians had met on the top of the mound: the sun was disappearing behind the Catskill mountains, and tinged with blue their distant tops, while the last dispensation of his rays silvered the surface of the waters, and were reverberated by the solitary steeple of the Albany church. The famous bell of that antique building, had warned matrons and maids that the time was come to help the mush, or supaun around; when our natives, at that signal, set fire to a pile composed of pine knots and dry brush, intended to serve as a bon-fire in honour of one of their young warriors, who on that day had attained the age of manhood. An old Indian, sitting on a stone, had between his legs a small keg covered with deer-skin; he used it as a drum, and beating time on that rustic instrument, he hummed with his voice the wild melody of the war-dance, in which every man and woman joined; repeating with accuracy the articulated sounds, turning around the fire with frantic gestures, accompanied with the rattling of dried deer's hoofs suspended in bunches to their arms and legs, and concluding each dance with a whooping or yelling; the shrill and frightful sounds of which followed the Hudson in its various windings, and was re-echoed from the adjoining hills. But that scene of native joviality was soon interrupted by an unexpected event.

An unknown Indian all at once made his appearance among them; his looks were ghastly and ferocious, and his attitude menacing. Every hand involuntarily grasped its knife; every Indian placed himself in a posture of defense. The stranger was about six feet high, and stoutly built; he had a blanket thrown carelessly over his right shoulder, and fastened round the waist with a deer-skin belt, ornamented with porcupine quills, to which hung a tomahawk. His jet black hair covered his athletic shoulders; his complexion was rather red than copper; he had a flat forehead, an aquiline nose, and wild sparkling eyes. He appeared to be about four-and-twenty, and a man of no ordinary kind. He leaned on his bow, and though he repeated the word *sago*, as a salutation of friendship—he looked at every one present as if he was searching for an enemy. The old Indian who beat the drum, thinking that the intruder was actuated by other motives than hostility, addressed him in these words; "Brother, who are you, and why do you appear so fierce among us who wish no harm?" "I am," answered the stranger, "a Chief of the Mohawks. I have enemies, but I see none among you. I want friends, food, and drink." "Then," replied the old Indian, "you are welcome here—we will drink and smoke with you the calmut [calumet] of peace."

He was accordingly invited to partake of the dance and of the liquor provided for the feast: but his mind seemed to be continually agitated; the least noise beyond the mound, alarmed him. A small craft bound for Albany, happened at that moment to come very close to the shore, then tacked short; and the shifting of the sails having produced some noise, he bounded on his feet, drew his knife from his belt, and brandished it in the air, gave a yell that again put the Indians in a position of defense, and threw himself down, placing his ear close to the ground.

He remained in that position two or three minutes, then suddenly started and exclaimed, "Oh! Red Fox and Crow, are you coming?" he then put his hand over his mouth in token of silence, and darted down

the hill. His sudden appearance and disappearance plainly convinced the Indians that his soul was as dark as a cloud loaded with thunder and lightning.

"Behold his crimson streaming hand
Erect!—his dark, fixed, murderous eye!"

"I am afraid," said the Colonel as he stirred the fire and deliberately took down his pipe to fill it with tobacco, "that some foul deed will be committed on the hill to-night." "Why," said his wife, without raising her eyes from the book she was reading; "because, as I was just now returning from the store-house, two Indians, which I have never seen before, stopped me and inquired if I knew whether there was a strange Indian on the hill; I told them that I did not know, but if they wanted to find one, it would be better for them to go up and see. They then spoke to each other of revenge, and in the manner in which they should kill the person whom they sought. They finally agreed that one should go alone, pretending that he had been sent by his tribe to Albany to settle some dispute about land, and that on hearing that there were Indians on the Papskena Island, they had come down to pay them a visit; that he should appear astonished and glad to meet the person whom they sought, and offer to drink with him for old acquaintance sake, and that when he should get the bottle to his mouth, the other Indian should stab him in the back."

"Good, good [God]," exclaimed Mrs. S. "my dear Colonel, why did you not go and acquaint the Indian of the danger?" "Because," replied the Colonel, "an Indian when pursued is like the fox, always on the look out, and like the weazel [weasel], never to be found asleep." He then lit his pipe, crossed his legs, and reclined against his high backed chair, and recapitulated the many dangers he had encountered, and the hardships he had endured among the Indians in the struggle for independence. But his narration was soon interrupted; he distinctly heard a groan behind him; his wife let her large clasped bible fall, and raising up her hands, exclaimed, "heaven protect us!" The Colonel with his usual coolness took the pipe from his mouth and wheeled himself and the chair about to see what was the matter, when to his astonishment he discovered the dark red form of the pursued Indian, who stood like a statue with his knife still in his hand; he looked at the Colonel with a wild fixed gaze, moving not even a limb, or even a muscle of his face.

"Friend," said the Colonel, "what brings you here?" "Are you not," said the Indian, "Colonel S.?" "Yes," replied the Colonel, "that is my name:" "and do you not know me, Colonel;" "why" answered the Colonel, looking at him attentively, "I believe that I have seen you before, but yet, it cannot be; the man I think of was younger than you." "What," said the Indian in an angry tone, "do you not recollect Ben Pie, the young Mohawk, who once saved you from the tomahawk and scalping knife of a party of Canadian Indians, who had surrounded you when you had gone out on a scouting party to make observations on the position and strength of the enemy? Have you forgot, that, with ten of our tribe, I destroyed them all and rescued you?" "Oh yes, yes," said the good Colonel, rising suddenly from his chair and shaking him warmly by the hand, "I do perfectly well remember all you say, and can never forget it. But Ben," said he, drawing him nearer the fire and giving him a glass of cider, "what has made such a great alteration in your appearance; a few years ago I thought you were one of the mildest and finest looking Indians I ever saw; now your cheeks are sunk—your eyes are wild and fiery, and your eye-brows are lowering and contracted. In fact Ben, you are so much altered, that I am not astonished at the fright you gave my wife; come sit down and tell me what is the matter with you." Ben looked around and asked the Colonel to fasten the door; which being done, he seated himself in the chimney corner and related the following story:—

Two or three weeks ago I left the Mohawks with four or five of my tribe to pay

a visit to the Oneidas; they had among them a young Indian Chief by the name of Norack, famous for his courage and the great deeds he had done; he had just married a pretty squaw called Sombruna, and as it is usually the case on such an occasion, rejoicings of various kinds took place in the evening. The rum was flowing in abundance: I drank freely; talked, argued, and finally disputed with the groom; when Norack, who began also to feel too much for his own good the power of that perfidious liquor, with which you white men destroy the poor Indians: Norack, the unfortunate Norack, without any provocation on my part, gave me a slap on the face; an insult that we Indians never forgive. After having committed this rude act, the young Mohawk laughed at me for putting up with the insult. But he was wrong; the slap burnt deeply on my cheek; I thought it, however, best not to interrupt the festival with my anger; but some time after, seeing Norack seated on a log with his bride, I stept behind them; threw my left arm around his neck, and placing my breast against his right arm, pinioned him fast. I then drew my knife, and placing my mouth to the ear of that ill-fated man, I whispered Ben Pie sends back to your heart that slap you gave me on the face; and with a powerful blow buried the whole knife in his breast. I then drew it out streaming with blood, gave a whoop, and disappeared with the swiftness of the deer; though before my retreat I saw Sombruna fall a lifeless cor[p]se on the body of her husband.

The Oneidas, as I was informed by one of my friends, sat in counsel immediately, and selected Red Fox, a brother of Norack, and Crow, an Indian, bold, daring, intrepid, and famous for his knowledge of the country and his speed, to avenge the death of Norack. Before they departed on their mission, an old chief, who was one of their prophets, addressed them in the following words: "Young children of the forest, this night our right eye has been taken from us; a chief of the Oneidas has been basely murdered; you know our law—an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth; it is a good law—a just law. Children, you are the instruments the Great Spirit has directed us to select to fulfill this law; go, the Great Spirit will protect you; seek the murderer from the rising till the setting of the sun, for many moons, until you return with his scalp."

Red Fox and Crow departed immediately through the desert with such rapidity and zeal, that the moment Ben had finished his narrative, they knocked at the door of the room in which the Colonel, his frightened lady, and Ben were sitting. They asked for admission, and, at the same time, they were heard in a low voice to command their dogs, who smelt the murderer, to be still. Ben drew his knife, and putting his back against the door, seemed determined to defend it to the last extremity; but the colonel, more prudent than the man of the forest, answered to the call of the two Indians that he was coming, and losing no time to save if possible the life of one who once had saved his own, he took the candle and placed it in the trembling hand of his wife, and pointing to a door on the east side of the room, he told her to light Ben through the entry to the eastern parlour and to let him out by the back window. His request being complied with, he made a sign to Ben to follow his wife, and as Ben passed by him he grasped his hand and shook it with the warmest gratitude. Ben being safe, the Colonel opened the front door, where he found the two Indians whom he had previously met in the yard: they had with them two dogs, one resembling a wolf, and the other a terrier. The Colonel asked them in their own language what they wanted, They said their dogs had chased Ben Pie to his door, and they wanted to know if he could tell them where he was. To which the Colonel replied that an Indian came to his house a little while before, and had asked for food, and after having obtained it, left the house and had been seen by a black man to hide himself in the well. They immediately went to the

well and began to throw down monstrous stones, but to no purpose; they fell in the water without meeting any obstruction, and being finally convinced that no one was there, they made for the barn. On their way thither, their big dog, whose name was Yacano, caught again the scent of Ben's track.

The chase commenced, but the stratagem of the Colonel had given Ben a considerable start of his pursuers: Ben, after having jumped out of the back window, crawled around the barn, and laid his course in a south-easterly direction, across a miry piece of meadow land; and clearing all the obstacles in his way, he soon reached the margin of the Papskina creek; an arm of the Hudson, which branches off about two miles below Albany, and continues in a south-easterly direction until within about a hundred yards below the place where our Indian stood. He instantly threw himself head foremost into the water, and would soon have reached the opposite shore if his progress had not been checked by something that seemed to pull his blanket; he turned his head round and plainly distinguished the sparkling eyes of Yacano, who was endeavoring to draw him back to the place of his departure. "Poor old dog," said Ben, "I am sorry for you, but you must die," and with one blow of his tomahawk he fractured his skull. Yacano howled once and sunk to rise no more, carrying Ben's hatchet with him, and leaving a pure crimson stream behind him. Ben having landed, listened a moment and heard distinctly his pursuers urging on the terrier to pursue his track, but thinking himself safe, he could not help giving a whoop, after which he precipitately left the shore.

Our unfortunate Indian, having crossed a meadow, met a small stream issuing from a ridge of rocks almost opposite the Patquatheck; and, following its course through a dark and contracted ravine, he reached the foot of a precipice, over which the water formed an elegant cascade. The beauty of the place would have excited in a peaceful mind, very different sensations from those that pressed incessantly on the troubled conscience of Ben. He only looked for safety and defence; a rock projecting over the fall of water offered him, he thought a well adapted retreat, and in an instant he ascended to it. On this lonely rock stood an oak, quite hollow, covered with moss, and entirely bereft by time of its head, formerly covered with verdant foliage. Ben leaned against it to rest his exhausted frame. It was then midnight; the wind sighed mournfully through the surrounding evergreens, and the torrent which running over the rock was foaming with fury, when arrived on the flat below, expressed only a warbling murmur among the stones covering its surface; all was quiet and silent in this lonely refuge; but it was not so with Ben. He could plainly distinguish the Indians on the top of the Patquatheck extinguishing their bon-fire, and throwing the burning pine knots into the Hudson with repeated exclamations of hilarity; the distant sounds of which he heard in the silent pauses of the north-west gale. He could not help comparing their innocent amusements to the torments of his soul, and condemn the false honour which had excited him to spill the blood of a fellow human being. Ben, though a savage, was not destitute of honest feelings; he was violent, and in the first effect of his wrath, almost similar to the wildest beast of the forest, but when his passion was over, he could reason and acknowledge his wrong: had education tempered his native manners, he would have been a good man.

"Here I am," said he to himself, "like a roebuck when pursued by hunters, or a night owl perched on a tree, while on the other side of that creek, over which I have been swimming like a dog, all is pleasure and contentment. Oh wicked rum, you have done it—yes, it is that poison of the white men that has lit the flame of vengeance in my breast; had it not been for it, my fists alone should have challenged Norack. I should not have brought upon me the punishment of our law,

and Ben Pie would still be a respected chief among his people. Oh white men! your powder and your fire arms have never inflicted more woes upon us than your liquor!" He then thought he heard his pursuers in the ravine and ascending the other side, he bent his course to the north along the summit of a rocky ridge. But his perturbed mind saw every where his enemies, and more than once the screeching of the owl, or the howling of some wild animal was mistaken by him for the terrible yell of Red Fox and Crow. He soon, however, arrived at another precipice more awful than the first, and having descended into it, he recollected that he was in the well-known hollow on the north side of which was the Indian path leading to the southward, through which the Mohawks were formerly in the habit of going to the seaboard to collect the tribute of dried clams and wampum annually sold to those fierce warriors by the poor fishing tribes, the principal of which were the Manhattans and the Montawks; the first being the proprietors of the island of New York, and the other of Long Island.

Ben had visited this place more than once, either as a warrior, or as a hunter, and had not forgotten that once in pursuing a deer from a salt lick on the top of the hill, the poor creature taking a leap into the cavity, fell dead at the bottom. He entered that place with confidence, having no idea that he could ever be discovered in so dark and damp a recess, from which the rays of the sun are excluded by the thick foliage of innumerable hemlocks, extending their branches from the two embankments and forming a perfect canopy over its whole extent. This cavity formed a narrow pass about fifty rods long, and terminated by a perpendicular precipice about two hundred feet, from which a number of calcarious rocks, integrated with beds of slate, frequently detached themselves. With his usual daring, Ben climbed to the middle of this precipice, and seated himself on a large rock, the upper part of which by its looseness convinced him that with a little exertion it could be hurled from its resting place. He thought if his enemies came from below, he could ascend to the top, and by the Indian path go to the southward; or if they came from above, he could descend into the hollow, re-cross the Papskina, and seek safety on the other side of the Hudson.

"The Indians," says Robertson, "are accustomed to disingenuous subtility in all their transactions. The force of this is increased by habits which they acquire in carrying on the two most interesting operations wherein they are engaged: with them, war is a system of craft, in which they trust for success to stratagem more than to open force, and have their invention continually on the stretch to circumvent and surprise their enemies. As hunters, it is their constant object to ensnare, in order that they may destroy. Accordingly, art and cunning have been universally observed as distinguishing characteristics of all savages. Impenetrably secret in forming their measures, they pursue them with a patient undeviating attention, and there is no refinement of dissimulation which they cannot employ in order to ensure success." The place which Ben had selected for his retreat, confirms what this author has observed of the peculiar cunning and ingenuity of the native Americans. Our unhappy Indian, worn down by fatigue, had, as it has already been mentioned, seated himself on a rock projecting from one of the sides of the precipice, having calculated that from that position he could either ascend, or descend, or defend himself as it would best answer his views; his measures were well taken, and he could have indulged a moment's rest had not a guilty heart and a reproaching conscience harassed his mind. The horrid deed which deprived him of the society of his friends, of his family, and of the innocent pleasures he enjoyed in his nation was continually preying on his mind. The murdered Norack was for ever before his eyes; he imagined he heard him groaning in the agony of death; the last

cries of Sombruna continually vibrated in his ear; he saw her expiring at the side of her husband; and so horrid were his sensations, so poignant his remorse, that he did not notice a dreadful storm which was gathering over his head. Vivid flashes of lightning shot through the hollow, and one of them entirely illumined that awful abyss — he discovered that his vigilant pursuers, guided by their faithful dog were directly below him. Crow immediately attempted to climb the steep: Ben felt for his knife, but he had lost it in crossing the creek; he than looked for his tomahawk; but he recollected that it had sunk in the water with Yacano, and collecting at that perilous crisis all the strength of his nervous arm, he raised from its base the upper part of the rock on which he had been sitting, and pitching it over, it carried along with its fall an immense quantity of loose slate and hardened clay:— Crow, Red Fox, and their dog were all buried under the enormous mass; their faint and smothered groans, mingled with the howling storm, reached the ears of Ben, who could not help rejoicing at the success of his stratagem.

Having gained the top of the hill, he gave a terrible fiend-like yell, and, flew to the southward, by the old Indian path, which he had trodden under more joyful circumstances. He expected to enjoy more tranquility among the fishing tribes on the sea board, but no where could he find that peace and happiness which innocence and virtue can alone procure even to a *Savage*.

CHAPTER 9

THE MOHICANS: ALCOHOL AND THE FUR TRADE

Denis Foley

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to note alcohol's effects on Mohican life from the arrival of Henry Hudson in Mohican territory in 1609 until Revolutionary War times. Alcohol's role in the Mohican diaspora is part of the Mohican oral tradition. Dorothy Davids, a Mohican elder, notes:

> We learned, too late, that those who wanted to acquire furs or land could enhance their business deals by first sharing their rum with us. After we had acquired the taste for and a dependency on alcohol, rum became an important commodity for trade, and we were willing to share our land with greater generosity. We had to learn that the sale of land meant giving up all use of the land (Davids 1998:1).

Alcohol can cause a compulsive self-destructive behavior associated with dependency. A wide family and community circle is impacted by the addiction of any one person. Previous to the arrival of Europeans, the Mohicans had no alcoholic drinks. Unlike other trade items such as copper pots, guns, ammunition, or cloth, liquor wreaked havoc on Mohican social tranquility.

MOHICAN CULTURE

One oral tradition of the Mohicans notes they originated from the west, crossed the Mississippi and were grandchildren to the Delawares (Parker 1924:22). Linguistically, their language was related to Wappinger and Munsee tongues. Thus, the Mohicans spoke a language similar to that of the Lenape of New Jersey and Long Island as well as to that of the coastal Algonquians of southern New England (Brasser 1978:198). Possibly as their Delaware ancestors moved up the Susquehanna River or Atlantic coast, proto-Mohicans moved northward up the Hudson or east from the Susquehanna Valley. Once at the Hudson River, they extended their habitat to the Hudson's northern tributaries, locating their seasonal fishing settlements as far north as the east side of modern-day Lake Champlain. Although the nucleus seems to have been the Hudson Valley, Mohican territory extended from northern Dutchess County to the south end of Lake Champlain, and from the east side of the Housatonic River to a point west of Schenectady (Dunn 1994:50).

EARLY GLOBALIZATION

The first era of world globalization by Europeans encompassed the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century. Advances in maritime technology made possible the era of travel. In the sixteenth century, the magnetic compass, the astrolabe, and the quadrant, as well as the application of dead reckoning on long voyages, fostered

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ocean navigation. Navigators used the North Star and other celestial navigational markers to correct compass calculations; they differentiated between magnetic north and true north. The carrack, and later the caravel and galleon, having fore, main, and mizzen masts rigged with square and lateen sails, had greater ability to sail windward than the earlier square riggers. Large vessels with increased storage allowed for a profitable transoceanic trade. Advances in maritime technology had created the era of world globalization.

Within this era, financed by the spice, fur, slave, and silk trades, and by plunder, European material and political culture spread to the far reaches of Africa, North America, South America, Asia, and Polynesia. As part of this culture dispersion, alcohol — whether rum, wine, brandy, or beer — became a trade item in the North American fur trade.

A merchant in London of the time could conduct business trading manufactured goods or distilled products for native furs and hides by having agents in New Netherland. Through letters and couriers transported by ship, a landed Dutch patroon like Kiliaen Van Rensselaer could establish a colony and manage lands in the upper Hudson Valley from a comfortable townhouse in the Netherlands.

Confronted by an influx of people from Europe, tribal societies around the world faced new threats of disease, proselytization, colonial wars, and diaspora. Change was inevitable. In New Netherland, for what native people considered a mere trifle — a beaver skin — they could obtain fine iron hatchets, daggers, and (by about 1640) even guns to defeat their enemies and expand their political hegemony.

At an early date, Mohicans attempted to use Dutch firepower against their Mohawk enemies. In 1626, the Mohicans persuaded the commander of Fort Orange, Daniel Van Kriekebeeck, to aid them in an ambush against the Mohawks. Neutrality was the policy of the Dutch West India Company, but the brash commander disobeyed company policy. The Mohawks repulsed the attack, however, killing many Mohicans as well as Commander Van Kriekebeeck and three of the company's soldiers (Jameson 1909:84).

ALCOHOL AND THE FUR TRADE

As part of the global trade developed by the Dutch, Captain Henry Hudson sought the elusive northwest passage to China for the East India Company headquartered in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. In his 1609 journey to America on the ship, *Half Moon*, Hudson traded for furs with Indians in New York Harbor and then went upriver many miles to Mohican territory (Figure 9.1). Robert Juet, a sailor on the ship, documented the beginnings of the fur trade among the Mohicans at a site near present Albany in his journal. On the hot, clear autumn day of September 19, 1609, he wrote, "...the people of the Countrie came flocking aboord, and brought us Grapes and Pompions, which wee bought for trifles. And many brought us Bevers skinnes, and Otter skinnes, which wee bought for Beades, Knives, and Hatchets" (Jameson 1909:22).

This encounter set the scene for another far-reaching event. Captain Hudson was responsible for introducing alcohol among the Mohicans. From a site a few miles below later Albany, Juet recorded the first case of Mohican intoxication:

> The twentieth, in the morning was faire weather. Our Masters Mate with foure men more went up with our Boat to sound the River, and found two leagues above us but two fathomes water, and the channel very narrow; and above that place seven or eight fathomes. Toward night they returned: and we rode still all night. The one and twentieth, was faire weather, and the wind all Southerly: we determined yet once more to goe farther up into the River, to trie what depth and breadth it did beare; but much people

9.1. Half Moon replica on a sailing run, 2001.

> resorted aboord, so wee went not this day. Our Carpenter went on land, and made a fore-yard. And our Master and his Mate determined to trie some of the chiefe men of the Countrey, whether they had any treacherie in them. So they tooke them downe into the Cabbin, and gave them so much Wine and Aqua vitae, that they were all merrie: and one of them had his wife with him, which sate so modestly, as any of our Country women would doe in a strange place. In the end one of them was drunke, which had been aboord of our ship all the time that we had beene there: and that was strange to them; for they could not tell how to take it (Jameson 1909:22).

Within two hundred years after Hudson's voyage, the Mohicans lost agricultural, spiritual, and political sovereignty, as well as a large percentage of their population. Conversion to Christianity led to a loss of traditional belief systems, as well (see Chapter 6 of this volume). Alcohol obtained from the fur trade, infectious diseases contracted from fur traders, and repeated wars with the Mohawks all had a significant part in this monumental loss.

To the Mohicans' disadvantage, alcohol altered the physiological status of some natives so as to distort judgment. Disreputable Euro-Americans used alcohol to perpetuate fraud on unsuspecting hospitable or alcohol-dependent Mohicans and Mohawks. Allen Trelease, in his classic book, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York, The Seventeenth Century*, explains how much the River Indians (the name the British gave to the Mohicans and their Hudson River allies) depended on new trade goods including distilled spirits:

> Some of the material evidences of this culture – guns, liquor, and clothing – they came to want so badly that no price seemed too high to pay for them. From this desire, it was but another step to partial and then complete dependence on Europe and its works. Finally, but long after it was too late, the Indian realized that the material effects he had welcomed with open arms were inevitably accompanied by the dissolution of his own civilization, even the parts of it which he treasured most (1997:28-29).

ALCOHOL AND LAND TRANSFER

Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, who headed the Capital District's first large estate as patroon, never left Holland, but his agents Gillis Hos-

set and Bastien Janse Crol negotiated with Mohican bands for land on both sides of the Hudson River in what would become Albany County. (Rensselaer County did not come into existence until 1791.)

On August 13, 1630, the patron's agent, Hosset, obtained the first European-style title to land near Fort Orange, a Dutch outpost on the site of present Albany. The patent, as executed in Manhattan, read:

> . . .on this day, the date under written, before us appeared and presented themselves in their proper persons: Kottomack, Nawanemit Albantzeene, Sagiskwa and Kanaomack, owners and proprietors of their respective parcels of land, extending up the River, South, and North, from said Fort unto a little south of Moeneminnes Castle, to the aforesaid proprietors, belonging jointly and in common, and the aforesaid Nawanemit's particular land called Semesseerse, lying on the East Bank opposite Castle Island off unto the abovementioned Fort: Item, from Petanock, the Millstream, away North to Negagonse, in extent about three miles, and declared freely and advisedly for and on account of certain parcels of Cargoes, which they acknowledge to have received in their hands and power before the execution hereof, and, by virtue and bill of sale, to hereby transport convey and make over to the Mr. Kiliaen van Rensselaer, absent . . . . (NYCD 1856,1: 44)

Moeneminnes Castle was near the Cohoes Falls. This deed encompassed land on the west side of the North or Hudson River from below the Normanskill Creek to a point south of the Cohoes Falls. The tract included Castle Island, in the Hudson near present Albany. On the east side of the Hudson a tract was included along the east shore from opposite Castle Island to opposite Fort Orange. The Patroon added to his holdings on the west side of the Hudson early in the following year. No direct mention of alcohol appears in these early land transfers.

From the spring of 1637 until the spring of 1648, when the sale of a stream in present Schodack called Paponikuck was made, the Mohicans did not cede more land to the Dutch. By 1648, however, alcohol played a key part in the rituals of land sale which developed, in addition to being a payment item. Brant Aertz van Slichtenhorst, Director of Rensselaerwyck, in 1648 and 1649 was able to use Aepien, the principal Mohican sachem, as his land agent. Aepien's fee was in part paid to him in brandy and beer. Van Slichtenhorst documented the cost of entertaining Aepien and his entourage as part of a claim against the Patroon. When land transfers were renewed, it appears the sachem, Aepien, took on the role of land "broker," as well as broker between the two cultures, Dutch and Mohican. Alcohol was prominent in Slichtenhorst's dealings with Aepien. In his case against the patron, Slichtenhorst reported his encounters with sachem Aepien and an accompanying group:

> Jacob Jansen Flodder and Aepien were brokers of the aforesaid purchase, and Aepien stayed at the house of Mr. Slichtenhorst 7 to 8 times before and after, and during the purchase 7 to 8 others were with him 5 to 6 days; and always running errands concerning the purchase and the arrival of the sellers, and the price, and providing the same with food and good beer, together with 2 to 3 roemers of brandy each day, which he himself demanded, and if I gave him white or middle beer, he demanded black beer. And at the purchase they were 10 persons strong, besides the wives and children who stayed 3 to 4 days and were well entertained, as well as the messrs. and domine and people of the court who were looking more for entertainment than justice, and consumed well over 40 guilders worth of beer and 40 guilders worth of food and 10 guilders worth of brandy;

and Aepien would not leave until they saw the barrels and bottles with brandy were empty; and I also had to have more barrels of beer fetched from Gysbert deWeerd. (Van Slichtenhorst 1648-1649)

Aepian demanded brandy each day he worked. Moreover, Aepian wanted to finish all the liquor, and he constantly badgered Slichtenhorst for more alcohol. What was Aepien's reason for his excessive drinking? Was he trying to reach a spiritual state similar to a dream quest or a vision? Or was he accustomed to the eat-all feasting pattern of the northeast woodlands? Was he just consuming all that was available? Or was he already ill from alcohol addiction? As Aepien appears to have had a compulsion to drink, he may have been the first documented Hudson Valley Native American alcoholic.

For the past quarter century, most alcohol researchers have used the disease model as a point of reference:

> *Alcoholism* – a chronic, progressive, and potentially fatal disease. It is characterized by tolerance and physical dependency or organ changes or both – all the direct or indirect consequences of the alcohol ingested (NCA/AMS 1979: 764).

If one applies the disease model to Aepian's behavior, one may conclude that he showed a key sign of alcohol dependence, the craving for more.

In Mohican land transfers of April 27, 1660, February 8, 1661, February 28, 1663, and September 12, 1665, brandy or beer were included as payment along with traditional trade goods (Dunn 1994:282-289). Although by those years Slichtenhorst was gone, and Aepien was mentioned in only one of the deeds, one could assume, based on the Slichtenhorst precedent, that alcohol also played a part in the feasting preceding a sale and subsequent to the purchase.

Thus, alcohol evolved from a trade good in the fur trade to a transfer commodity given for land by the end of the century. Dunn , who listed over one hundred Mohican deeds, found that alcohol was the second most common trade good involved with Mohican land cessions (Dunn 1994:254). Stephen van Cortlandt's land deeds starting in 1683 in the Hudson Valley Highlands region also document alcohol as a trade item in native land cession. The Highlands were Wappinger Indian territory. Van Cortlandt's two deeds contain specific references to rum in payment for land (1683-1694:2).

The promise of alcohol was only one aspect of Mohican land transfers. Some attempts by Europeans to obtain Indian land involved outright fraud. In 1722, at an Indian conference in Albany, the Mohican chief Ampamit complained to the governor about deliberate cheating:

> Father We have no more Land the Christians when they buy a small spot of Land of us, ask us if we have no more Land & when we say yes they enquire the name of the Land & take in a greater Bounds than was intended to be sold them & the Indians not understanding what is writ in the Deed or Bill of Sale sign it and so are deprived of Part of their Lands – Give 3 Beavers (NYCD 1855, 5:663)

The European trading goods: brandy, wine, rum, linen and woolen cloth, glass beads, iron kettles, knives, hatchets, metal arrowheads, and, finally, guns and ammunition, revolutionized Native American material culture and patterns of warfare. The beaver trade, which involved alcohol, also helped create the symbiotic relationship between the Euro-Americans and Native Americans which existed for over two centuries.

THE ALBANY TRADING SEASON

Fort Orange and the hamlet of Beverwyck (which evolved into Albany) became the center of the Dutch and English fur trade. The Mohawks quickly succeeded the Mohicans as the native middlemen in this trade. The middlemen pressured the Dutch to trade only

with them and prevented trade from the north. Kiliaen Van Rensselaer explained the restrictions in 1640:

> Are not the contrary minded well aware that their course will never increase the trade because the savages, who are not stronger than ourselves, will not allow others who...live farther away and have many furs to pass through their territory...Yes, that the Maquaas, who will not allow the French savages who do not trade on the river of Canada and who live nearer to us than to them to pass through to come to us, might through persuasion or fear sooner to be moved to do so and that from these savages more furs could be obtained than are now bartered in all New Netherland. (Hunt 1972:34)

The Mohicans obtained European trade goods by trading in furs which they hunted in winter. The Dutch called the "frenzied" trading period from June to October *handelstijd* (Merwick 1999:98-99). In July, August, and early September both Mohicans and Mohawks trekked to Fort Orange. Here some stayed in poorly constructed houses or shacks on the north and west edge of the Beverwyck wall. At first the native people traded inside the Fort, yet illegal trades were conducted in huts outside the fort walls, on islands on the Hudson, or in the Pine Bush.

Minister Jasper Dankaerts, during a nine month reconnaissance mission of the area between Delaware and Boston in 1679 and 1680, took a one hundred and forty mile voyage from New York to Albany. He provided a description of the geography and abandoned fortifications around Albany. He identified Albany as the main trading post with the Indians in the English colonies:

> As this is the principal trading post with the Indians, and as also they alone have the privilege of trading, which is only granted to certain merchants there, as a special benefit, who know what each one must pay therefor, there are houses or lodges erected on both sides of the town, where the Indians, who come from the far interior to trade, live during the time they are there. This time of trading with the Indians is at its height in the months of June and July, and also in August, when [after which] it falls off; because it is then the best time for them to make their journeys there and back, as well as because the Hollanders then have more time outside their farm duties. (Dankaerts 1998: 29)

The villagers at Albany constantly argued whether the natives should be allowed in the village. After the English takeover from the Dutch of New Netherland, Governor Andros on September 5, 1675, prohibited Albanians from entertaining natives within the village walls. The Andros edict stated:

> You shall not admit any traders, nor have an Indian trading in your place, nor serve any strong liquor to the Indians or entertain them, but only furnish them food and beer for their refreshment, on pain of forfeiture of all such goods and liquor in the houses and such further fines as you (or the court at Albany, if it is above 40 gl.) shall determine and the case may merit. (Van Laer 1928, 2:24)

Dutch tradesmen had made Albany the principal distribution center for trade goods and alcohol for natives in the Hudson Valley and the interior. The Albany Dutch merchant class, allied with their New York City shipping partners and European agents, controlled the fur trade from 1624 until the 1720's. Then Oswego became the center of both the fur and rum trade, and Scotsmen soon predominated (Norton 1974:2,5). Yet Albany families such as the Schuylers, Bleekers, and Wendells would still send one son or close relation west to continue in the family tradition of the Indian trade.

Although not acknowledging their nefarious support of the banned trade in alcohol, the merchants' wholehearted participation appears well documented in colonial account

books, court records, and travelers' accounts. The rum trade became a specialization of New York's fur traders, whether they were Dutch, Scottish, Palatine Germans or English.

The Mohicans knew the duplicity of the fur trade merchants. In 1722, Ampamit, the Mohican sachem whose village was on Moesimus Island in the Hudson, addressed a conference, following a lecture from the Governor on Mohican "intemperance":

> Father, We are sensible that you are much in the right, that Rum does a good deal of harm, we approve of all that you said on that Point, but the matter is this, When our people come from Hunting to the Town or Plantations [farms] and acquaint the traders and people that we want Powder and Shot and Clothing, they first give us a large cup of Rum, and after we get the Taste of it we crave for more, so that in fine all the Beaver & Peltry we have hunted goes for drink, and we are left destitute either of Clothing or Ammunition, Therefore, we desire our father to order the Tap or Crane to be shut, & to prohibit ye selling of Rum, for as long as the Christians will sell Rum, our People will drink it, do give 3 Beavers
>
> Father, We acknowledge that our Father is very much in the right to tell us that we squander away our Indian corn, but one great cause of it is yt many of our People are obliged to hire land of the Christians at a very dear Rate, to give half the Corn for Rent, & the other half they are tempted by Rum to sell, and so the Corn goes, yt ye Poor women & children are left to shift as well as they can, do give 3 beavers (NYCD 1855, 5:663).

Ampamit noted four patterns associated with alcohol and the fur trade:

1. The colonists on many occasions used alcohol as the preferred trade offering over muskets, ammunition or cloth. But more important, the Mohican leader documents a social pathology. What had started as a forced experiment one hundred and thirteen years earlier had produced a social implosion.
2. By the eighteenth century, alcohol remained a preferred trade good among natives even over food in times of famine.
3. Some Mohicans had become tenant farmers within their own territory.
4. Some native males had become chronic alcohol abusers if not alcohol dependent.

Alcohol became a New World currency, along with wampum, for obtaining furs of the beaver, otter, lynx, martin and other mammals. Many natives had accounts with the merchants of Albany, to whom they promised furs at a future date. For example, before 1700 Mohicans, as well as Mohawks from as far away as Canada, Tuscaroras from North Carolina, and other native groups, developed trading relations with Albany trader Evert Wendell, Jr. (1681-1750). His relationship with both the Mohawks and Mohicans centered around his business in rum and as a supplier of furs to New York exporter Stephen De Lancey. An analysis of Mohican entries in Wendell's Indian account book shows that thirty-two percent of sales involved alcohol, primarily "rom" (Wendell 1695-1707; Dunn 2000:122). Alcohol, guns, and ammunition were among Wendell's primary trade items.

Mohican women figured prominently in the fur trade. The Albany merchants considered women more reliable than their male counterparts, in part due to their ability to abstain from alcohol. Dutch women also became active in the fur trade. One occupied a tavern in Schenectady after being exiled from New Amsterdam for selling rum to the Indians. At Beverwyck in 1654, Maria Jans sold brandy to an Indian "squaw." The magistrates fined her and warned her not to engage in any illegal sales (Van Laer 1920: 179).

Almost everyone in Albany sought out the Indians for their ability to procure furs. Why? A seventeenth century Beverwyck day laborer worked a day for a guilder. One good

9.2. Quackenbush Square, Albany, distillery excavation.

beaver skin held a value of eight guilders. Thus, an individual would have to work more than one week for the equivalent of one beaver skin. As a result, in reduced amounts, the fur trade continued into the eighteenth century. In addition, Albany had suitable riverside docking, a central location, and a sophisticated merchant class adept at dealing, for their own gain, with native people.

Peter Kalm (1716-1775), the Swedish naturalist and a somewhat neutral party, arrived in Albany from New York by sloop in June of 1749. He noted Albany's historic role as the North American center of the fur trade, even after the rise of Oswego drew some trade inland. Kalm detailed the duplicity of both the Albany and Oswego fur traders:

> "Many people have assured me that the Indians are frequently cheated in disposing of their goods, especially when they are drunk, and that sometimes they do not get one half or even one tenth of the value of their goods. I have been a witness to several transactions of this kind" (Kalm 1998:53)

The number of drunken Native Americans shocked the Swede. He noted that "[the Indians are] practically blind and leave it to the Albany merchants to fix the price of furs." (Kalm 1998:53). Kalm noted the importance of rum in the Albany fur trade stations: "[Indians] come home almost empty handed and only bring a few kinds of merchandise home with them. The chief of which is rum" (Kalm 1998:47) (Figure 9.2.).

Kalm also revealed that the Albany fur merchants carried on extensive illegal trade with Montreal. Albany carried on an extensive fur trade with the French in Montreal and the Mohawks of French Canada despite prohibitions from English royal administrators. The Albanians traded desirable English manufactured goods there and provided credit and rum in exchange. .

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as well as in the twenty-first century Mohicans have considered themselves a sovereign nation separate from the colonial powers, whether French, Dutch, British, Canadian, or American. The Mohicans held conferences with the colonial powers according to native customs, especially when their leaders felt it necessary to complain to colonial leaders about an array of offenses, including homicide, illegal land sales, paucity of gifts, vandalism, assault, improper political actions, allowing or banning alcohol sales, and absence of needed ammunition and guns.

At political gatherings, Mohicans would produce various wampum belts that marked previous treaties. They would renew and polish the so-called covenant chain with the English, a chain which they said had grown rusty. The covenant chain was the metaphor for the original agreement between the colonial powers and the Mohican ancestors. Until these rituals were completed, no business could occur. The Mohicans followed this agenda until the mid-seventeenth century. With the passage of time, colonial officials began to discount native customs and to deal with the native people as they would their own subjects.

The pattern of using brokers susceptible to alcohol's influences, which became common in Dutch and English land transfers in the seventeenth century, continued through the infamous Iroquois land cessions after the American Revolution. Governor George Clinton expended as host 500 gallons of rum and 250 small kegs of liquor during the 1784 treaty of Fort Schuyler (Hough 1861:16). N. H. Parker has documented the treaty made in a tavern as late as 1838. In clear language he describes the sixteen Seneca Chiefs who signed the document "made drunk and induced to sign" (Parker 1842). The pattern of including alcohol feasting as part of land transfer negotiation remained intact for over two centuries.

The Mohicans of Stockbridge joined their brothers, the colonists, and fought against the King during the American Revolution. Prior to their bravery in the Battle of DeVoe's Heights, however, their service in the Revolutionary War had been marred by alcohol related problems. General Philip Schuyler's orderly book from 1777 contains numerous instances of "drunkenness, insubordination, stealing, shooting guns in camp, sleeping on guard, and desertion" (Frazier 1994: 210). It is clear that Mohican soldiers were aware early in the campaign that they had a problem with a compulsion to drink - despite knowing it would do injury to themselves and damage their warrior reputation. On behalf of those serving in the army, eighteen Stockbridge Mohicans petitioned Joseph Warren, president of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress on June 21, 1775. The document read, in part: "We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being soldiers, enlisted to serve in the Provincial Army during the summer, beg leave to lay this our request before you. - We, in our more serious hours reflect with shame upon our aptness to drink spirituous Liquor to excess, when we are under temptation; by which foolish conduct, when we are guilty of it, we render ourselves unfit for usefulness and service to our fellow men; and also disagreeable to those that have anything [to] do with us. We are senseable that we injure ourselves more than anyone else; when we get a tast[e], we must some of us with shame say that sometimes no intrest of our own, will prevent us from procuring more, till we get too much – We therefore desire you would in your wisdom do something, (during ours residence there) that we may get so much as will be good for us and no more —-

"We further desire you to order the Pay Master General to pay all of our Wages that is now or may be due to us when we are dismissed from the Campaign, to Tim[othy] Edwards or Jahleel Woodbridge, Esqrs, Deligates from the Town of Stockbridge, and to them only, or their order that they may be

enabled to provide for us while we are [there], what we may necessarily want and bring all the rest home. . . ." (Mtohksin, Jehoiakim and others 1775). (See also Note 1) As a result of their appeal, steps were taken to ensure the Mohican soldiers' request was followed.

CONCLUSION

The native people initially played off Europe's competing powers to maintain their autonomy, engender political expansion, and maintain economic advantages. However, alcohol was a magnet that drew native people such as the Mohicans into unwise fur dealings, debt, and land sales. Over time, the drug alcohol became a key factor in poor decision making by native individuals, who increasingly placed individual, family, or factional interest over village or tribal gain. The Mohican experience serves as an example. Significantly, what befell the Mohicans beginning in the seventeenth century would also soon occur in Iroquoia and in time spread to most other Native American nations. Alcohol so subtle, so deadly, played a part in the Mohican diaspora along with disease and land cessions to Euro-Americans.

Note 1: The eighteen Mohican soldiers of the Provincial Army who signed this appeal in June 1775 were the following:

Jehoiakim Mtohksin,
Abraham Konkpoot,
Jehoiakim Naunuhptonk,
Moses Auhkheckhaunouwhoot,
Samuel Squwisetret,
Joseph Aumpaumchehnuh,
Hendrick Sheahkheakauwoh,
Cornelious Paupaumham,
Jacob Tusnuk,
William Notaunksen,
Tho' Thiekkimmun,
John Oqauwaupumnuet,
David Naunauneeknauck,
Abraham Naunaunputaunky,
Bill Notauksen,
Benjamin Waunnehnauwet,
John Shepaunnuwaunkun, [and]
Daniel Wauwaumpequunaunt
(Transcription by Shirley Dunn).

According to Frazier (1992:200), two of these men, Abraham Naunaunputaunky and William Notaunksen, died in August 1775 as a result of wounds from friendly fire during a sortie around Boston.

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