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Native American Landholding in the Colonial Hudson Valley

Tom Arne Midtrød

In the 1760s, Daniel Nimham, sachem of the Munsee-speaking Wappinger Indians—the historical inhabitants of lands in Dutchess County, New York, on the east side of the lower Hudson River—was engaged in a losing struggle to defend his people’s remaining territory against the claims of the heirs of manor lord Adolph Philipse. Nimham and his followers had formed an alliance with discontented English squatters and tenants who sought to challenge the supremacy of the great landlords, and at a hearing in March 1767 before the provincial executive council an English attorney spoke out in defense of the Wappinger case.¹ At the heart of this struggle was the validity of a deed to about 200,000 acres of land, which was reputedly sold to Philipse by more than a dozen Indian men in 1702. According to the attorney, the deed was highly suspect, and even if the actual document was genuine, the transaction itself remained invalid, for “in order to the effectual Execution of an Indian Deed, it must be done by Great Numbers of the principal Men of the Tribe which own the Land; and in the presence, and by, and with the Consent and approbation of the whole Tribe, or at least as many of them as can well attend thereupon.” Since there was no evidence that such a grand meeting took place in 1702, Philipse’s alleged purchase was null and void.²

This statement may reasonably be interpreted as asserting the collective nature of Indian territoriality and property rights. According to the idea of collective landholding, the Indians possessed lands communally, not individually, and a few men could not alienate territory to a European buyer, for the

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lands belonged to the people as a whole. While there are certainly good reasons to doubt the legitimacy of the land claims of Philipse and his heirs, a closer examination of the past conduct of Daniel Nimham and his followers reveals patterns of land claims that were more complicated than a straightforward notion of collective landholding suggests. In 1762 Daniel himself had provided an account of how he and a number of his relatives had inherited or otherwise received particular pieces of land from family members, and two years later he had taken care in July 1764 to acquire written authorization from his associates Stephen Kounham and One Pound Poktone to dispose of the lands they owned as he saw fit.³ Moreover, in a document drawn up in November that year, these men were described as heirs of their fathers, suggesting that they were the permanent owners of family lands.⁴ Yet the notion of a collective Wappinger territory was strongly implied in a petition submitted in Daniel Nimham's behalf in January 1767. This document spoke of "Lands so Claimed and Reserved by said Tribe" and declared that Daniel represented "himself and the Whole Tribe of Wappinger," but nonetheless, at the hearing in March Daniel and his attorneys presented in evidence letters from several Wappinger individuals empowering Daniel to handle their land affairs, some of which he had procured almost a decade earlier.⁵

While these problematic accounts clearly cannot be taken as representative of historic Native patterns of landholding in general—they were produced at the end of the colonial period when the Wappingers and their neighbors had been in sustained contact with Europeans for generations, and furthermore were drawn up in a partisan context with the active involvement of literate Europeans with their own interests and agendas—they still may serve to symbolize the complex nature of Indian territoriality in the colonial Hudson Valley. From the commencement of Dutch colonization in the Hudson Valley in 1624 to the late colonial period, interaction between Indian land claimants and prospective European land purchasers generated a multitude of deeds and other records that (for all their limitations) may be used to shed light upon how Indian people in this area possessed land, but far from revealing a single pattern of landholding—or an obvious evolution of land tenure over time—these documents hint at a bewildering set of practices that varied from case to case and may have been entirely contingent on the particular circumstances in play at any given time.

Previous scholars who have examined patterns of landholding both among the Indians in the Hudson Valley and their neighbors living on the Delaware River to the west have proposed a pattern of landholding whereby the individual territories of chiefs and the communities they led were divided into smaller parcels in the possession of particular individuals or families.⁶ While this proposed description of a combination of communal and individual

landholding is not an inaccurate depiction of land tenure in the Hudson Valley, it leaves much historical terrain unexplored, and it remains far from clear how these Indians organized land tenure in practice. The relationship between landholding and Native political authority remains largely unknown, as does the extent to which Native individuals and their families conceived of land as a permanent possession. In other words, while it seems reasonable to say that Hudson Valley Indians did practice a combination of collective and particular landholding, it is still not clear what this actually entailed.

Indian ideas of landholding in the southern New England region have attracted far more scholarly attention than the Hudson Valley. William Cronon's classic study, together with more recent work by Kathleen Bragdon and others, has exerted a great deal of influence on how historians think of Native notions of landholding and ownership in general, far beyond New England. Indeed, Cronon's work has been cited by scholars working on regions as far away as Creek country and the Arkansas River Valley.⁷ Cronon especially distinguishes between communal and individual (or family) landholding: whereas communal landholding was essentially the same as territorial sovereignty—primarily symbolized in the persons of the sachems—individual or family landholding amounted to a kind of usufruct right, where individual members of a community held rights to a piece of their people's collective territory as long as they made use of it.⁸ More permanent family hunting territories, Cronon and other scholars have suggested, emerged only as a consequence of the fur trade with Europeans.⁹ Bragdon's more recent work on southern New England similarly highlights that sachems were central to concepts of communal territoriality or sovereignty, but Bragdon holds that Indian patterns of landholding were diverse and complex, and that individuals could hold rights to land for their lifetimes and even in perpetuity as a hereditary right, although they might continue to owe their sachems tribute for the use of these parcels. In particular, Bragdon emphasizes the strong authority of sachems over communal territories, linking this phenomenon to the relatively stratified social and political arrangements of Indians in southern New England.¹⁰

Patterns of landholding and territoriality among Indian people in the colonial Hudson Valley, the focus of this study, involves groups that differed substantially in some ways from their neighbors in southern New England to the east. In political organization, Hudson Valley Indians were quite egalitarian, and unlike southern New England chiefs, the sachems in this area possessed only noncoercive authority, exercising control only in cooperation with their people. While New England chiefs might have punitive authority—to the point of putting offenders to death—Hudson Valley sachems could only admonish miscreants.¹¹ Homicide typically was resolved either by vengeance from the victim's kin or by an exchange of gifts between the families concerned.

Patterns of landholding must be understood in light of this noncoercive and egalitarian political culture where power was widely dispersed.¹² While sachems were not without control over land, they shared land rights with other members of their people just as they shared important political decisions such as matters of war and peace.¹³ In general, political structures in the Hudson Valley were fluid and contingent on a variety of circumstances, and so were conceptions of territoriality and landholding. At times, the Indians operated with an essentially communal pattern of landholding, while on other occasions they treated parcels of land as the permanent property of individuals and their families. Which concept predominated at any given time might depend entirely on each historical moment.

In 1624, when the Dutch established their colony of New Netherland in this region, the Hudson Valley was home to multiple Native political groups or peoples who were politically independent but shared close ties. The area was divided between the speakers of two related languages, Munsee and Mahican. Munsee speakers inhabited the lower valley north to the present town of Saugerties in Ulster County on the west bank of the Hudson, and on the east bank to the northern part of Dutchess County. (The Minisinks of the northern Delaware Valley were also Munsee speakers, as were the Indians living on the western part of Long Island, but this article is primarily concerned with those peoples living along the Hudson.) The Mahicans inhabited the Hudson Valley from the Munsee-speaking areas north to Lake Champlain, and also had an eastern population concentration in the northern Housatonic Valley in Massachusetts and Connecticut. In the mid-1700s, the mission community of Stockbridge, Massachusetts became the center of Mahican politics. The most important groups discussed over the following pages are: the Mahicans; their neighbors the Esopus Indians, whose historic territory was centered on parts of Ulster County west of the mid-to-lower Hudson; the Haverstraws directly south of Esopus country; the Hackensacks and Tappans south of the Haverstraws; the Nevesinks inhabiting parts of present-day New Jersey south of Staten Island; the Wiechquaesgecks of present Westchester County east of the Hudson; and the Wappingers of Dutchess County to the north of the Wiechquaesgecks.¹⁴

In the seventeenth century the Indians in the Hudson Valley experienced great upheavals as a result of European colonization. From 1643 to 1645 Indians of the lower Hudson fought a devastating war against the Dutch, and other conflicts followed. In 1655, Dutch colonists and members of several Hudson Valley groups clashed in a series of skirmishes known as the Peach War. In 1659 to 1660 and again in 1663 to 1664 the Esopus Indians waged war against the Dutch.¹⁵ Since these various conflicts made it clear to the Indians that they could not defeat the colonizers, land sales should in part be

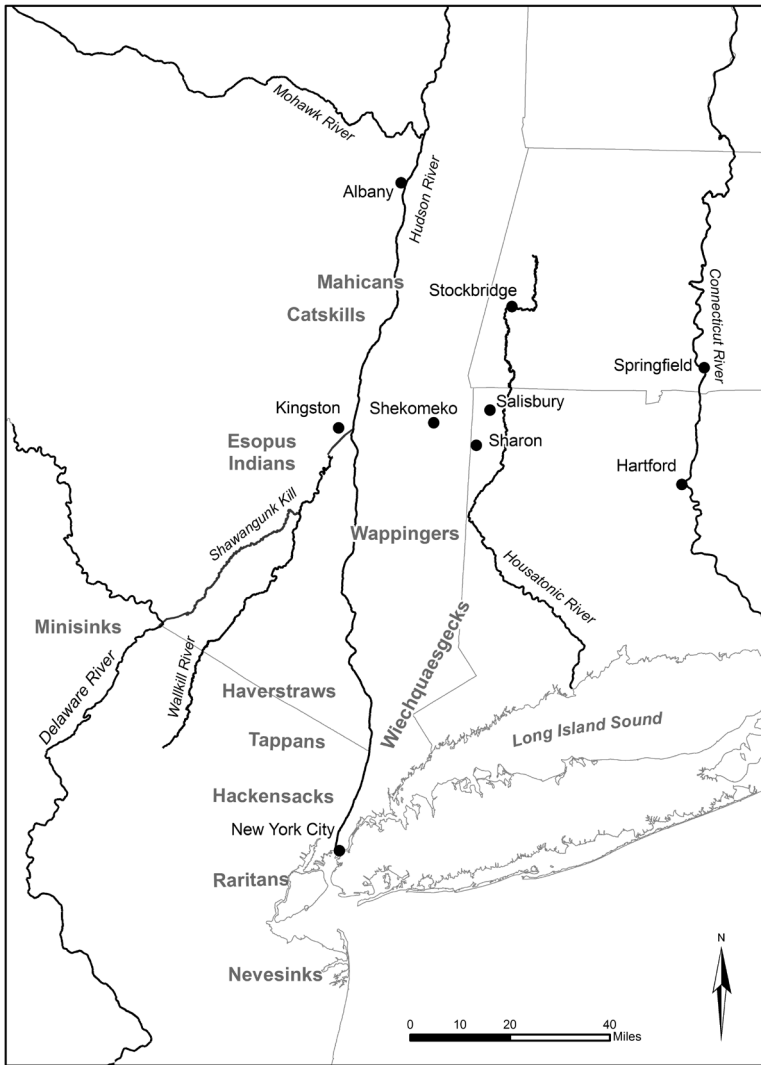


FIGURE 1. *The Native Hudson Valley in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.*

understood as an effort to buy peace with the intruders, and scholars must therefore consider the extent to which colonization upset Native concepts of landholding. On the other hand, neither the Dutch nor the English (who captured the Dutch colony in 1664 and renamed it New York) ever made a real effort to regulate the internal social and political lives of Indians living along the Hudson. These people continued to manage their own affairs with a high degree of autonomy. There is no evidence, for instance, that colonial leaders

cultivated pliant client chiefs to facilitate cessions of land. A surprising level of social and political independence characterized Native life in the Hudson Valley well into the eighteenth century, and not until the 1730s and 1740s did Christian missionaries (New England Congregationalists and German Moravians) begin to win converts, mainly among the Mahicans.¹⁶

TERRITORIALITY

In the Hudson Valley, the question of *collective* territoriality is both quite simple and complex. Both Indians and Europeans in this area took the existence of political territories and borders for granted. Native spokesmen could account for their people's borders, and deeds and other land records sometimes used such territorial limits as reference points.¹⁷ Even in precontact times petroglyphs and other rock carvings may have served to mark territories. Much of the surviving documentation, however, stems from disputes over land.¹⁸ In some cases rival European land claimants sought to show which Indian people had been the true owners of particular tracts of land, but Indian borders could be porous, as different groups made simultaneous use of peripheral hunting and foraging grounds between their core territories.¹⁹ Some shared areas were fairly large. In the second half of the seventeenth century, several lower Valley groups had overlapping claims to Staten Island, while the islanders claimed land on the adjacent New Jersey shore.²⁰

What is clear is that boundaries existed and that Native peoples had ways of regulating the use of these areas, at least during the contact period. In 1765, two New York colonists testified that a boundary point between the Minisinks and the Esopus Indians had been at a pond called Maratangie, evidently located near the head of Shawangunk Kill. The Esopus Indians and the Minisinks shared this beaver-rich pond and had agreed that the hunters of the group that arrived first in the hunting season would have use of the pond that year. If they came simultaneously, neither would hunt at the location, possibly to conserve the local beaver stock. This information appeared in a partisan context, but both these witnesses did have intimate knowledge of these Indian groups.²¹ Hendricus Dubois claimed to have his information from Monhaw, a known Esopus leader, and Evert Terwilliger cited a conversation with "old Maringaman" held sometime in the 1720s or 1730s. Maringaman is known from deeds to land in southern Ulster and northern Orange Counties in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.²² While this practice presumably postdated the fur trade, before which beavers were not a particularly valuable resource, this agreement on shared use was nonetheless a Native invention.

Shared use was also agreed upon in neighboring areas and other parts of the Northeast. On eastern Long Island, the Peconic River formed the boundary between the Shinnecocks and their northern neighbors the Southold or Yeanocock Indians, and in this boundary zone hunters were free to kill animals for food, but “ye young eagles that were taken in the nests, and the deere that were drowned or killed in the water, It was ye Indians customs to carry ye said eagles & the skins of the Deere to those Sachems of Indians that were the true owners of ye land.” In particular, the skin and fat of drowned bears belonged to the Shinnecocks.²³ In southern New England, hunters donated the hides of deer killed in water to their chiefs.²⁴ While this form of tribute to particular sachems differed from the presumably friendly competition between Esopus and Minisink hunters, these practices represent a comparable custom of resource sharing in boundary areas. In other regions, such as the Great Lakes, allied peoples might receive access to each other’s hunting grounds, sometimes on the condition that they surrendered commercially valuable furs.²⁵

Fragmentary evidence hints at the use of boundary areas for ceremonial and political purposes. The location of the southern limits of Esopus territory suggests that border locations might be sites of social or religious celebrations. New York Governor Thomas Dongan’s 1684 land purchase from several Esopus Indians extended as far south as the lands of the Indians living at Murderers Creek (the Moodna), and a sale made by these Indians the following year shows that the border lay near the cove called the Danskamer or Dancing Chamber near modern Newburgh. The location of this border explains why, during their second war with the Esopus Indians in 1663, Dutch authorities authorized skippers to seize Indians who boarded their vessels between the Danskamer and Catskill, at the northern limit of Esopus country.²⁶ Although New York colonists in the 1670s held that the cove derived its name from an early Dutch celebration interrupted by the Indians, the place seems to have been the site of Native rather than European festivities. Dutchman David de Vries encountered a “riotous” party of Indians at the Danskamer in April 1640, and in August 1663 the woods near the place reportedly rang from the celebrations of the Indians.²⁷ This evidence is far from conclusive, but it is tempting to suggest that such boundary locations served as places where members of different groups met to hold celebrations on shared ground.

Beyond the permeability of boundary areas, it is clear that neither Natives nor colonists always treated territorial limits as if they were set in stone. Some colonists acquired land from people without valid land rights, which means either that some Indians were not above selling other people’s land or that people simply had different understandings of where boundaries lay. A sale made by the sachem Memshe of Tappan and other Indians to land in New Jersey in 1679 reveals that this tract had previously been sold by Hackensack

leader Tantaqua, “who had noe right to sell the same.”²⁸ Some Europeans obtained land from people with quite dubious ownership. In 1702, several Esopus Indians testified that a man who had been involved in a contested land grant at Shawangunk in Ulster County was not one of their people and therefore had no right to dispose of this land.²⁹

Additional complications may stem from kinship and inherited land rights running across political boundaries. A man called Speck or Waspacheek, who appears in several documents from the 1670s and 1680s, was identified as a Highland Indian or Wappinger in a land sale from 1680 and had an interest in parcels of land in Wappinger country near Poughkeepsie.³⁰ But in 1679 Speck participated in a sale of Mahican land, with the explicit consent of Mahican witnesses. At this time he and his relatives were identified as Westenhook Indians or Housatonic Valley Mahicans, and through kinship connections it was probably possible for a person to belong to both the Mahican and the Wappinger peoples.³¹ In 1686, although Esopus country lay west of the river, three Esopus men sold land in Mahican country east of the Hudson, at the future site of Rhinebeck. It is possible that this was a case of purchasers acquiring deeds from people without a right to sell, but if this were the case then it is odd that they made sure to record the Esopus backgrounds of these men, which left this transaction open to challenges from anyone familiar with Native territorial limits. At any rate the Mahicans raised no objections.³² Other Esopus Indians had claims to land among the Mahicans at Catskill, their neighbors to the immediate north. It is documented that there was at least some degree of intermarriage between these groups.³³

More puzzling is evidence in later decades that the Mahicans of Stockbridge in the Housatonic Valley recognized the right of the Shawnees to part of their lands. Around 1736, the Stockbridge Mahicans reportedly told Massachusetts agents that a particular tract of land in that area “belonged to the Shawanose Indians.”³⁴ The original Shawnee homeland lay in the Ohio Valley, and in the 1730s many of the widely dispersed Shawnees lived along the Susquehanna River, but this people had a history of cooperative relations with the Mahicans, whom they recognized as their metaphorical older brothers.³⁵ Stockbridge records show examples of interaction between Shawnees and Stockbridge Mahicans in the 1730s.³⁶ There may also have been some Shawnees living among these Mahicans; Ephraim Williams, who reported the evident Shawnee land claim, claimed that he and another Englishman had purchased the tract in question from “the Indians which were Owners there of,” but this episode is further complicated by the fact that before 1736 this land had been in the possession of Dutchman Joachim Valkenbergh, who acted as an interpreter for the Housatonic Mahicans.³⁷

Hudson Valley Native leaders also found ways to deal with some of the challenges created by sales of land to Europeans. The possibility that members of one people might sell territory claimed by another carried with it the potential for conflict, and in part to minimize the potential for such problems, Hudson Valley sachems were sometimes present as witnesses to the land conveyances of their neighbors. In May 1671, the sachems of Tappan, Haverstraw, and Minisink witnessed a sale by Hackensack leaders of land in Bergen County, New Jersey.³⁸ Likewise, when Dongan bought land from the Esopus Indians in 1684, the sachems of Haverstraw and Murderers Creek were among the witnesses.³⁹ Of course it was in the interest of these sachems to know who owned what territory, and particularly to ensure that a neighbor's sales did not encroach upon their own land, but this was not the only motivation. Such witnesses might receive a share of the goods given by the purchasers, and these gifts helped ensure that people remembered the transaction.⁴⁰ There was little reason why Memshe of Tappan should fear that a sale made by a brother of Wiechquaesgeck sachem Wessecanoe in 1681 should threaten his territory on the other side of the Hudson, but he still witnessed this transaction.⁴¹ Making sure that neighboring sachems knew the exact extent of the sale could be a way of countering future attempts to enlarge the bounds of the purchase, and the gifts distributed to the witnesses meant that land sales could also serve as a way of renewing ties with allies and friends.

Beyond the existence of territories, very little can be said about how Hudson Valley Indians conceived of their homelands. The extent to which the Indians imbued their lands with spiritual significance is particularly poorly documented. If to literate colonials this issue was of little concern, to the Indians their country was filled with sacred and historical sites, such as the monument described in 1762 by a New York official: "Two heaps of stones called *Wawanaquiasack*—Erected by the Indians in Memory of two of their Sachems buried at that place."⁴² Some Indians continued to show concern for spiritual landmarks located on parcels of land they had sold to Europeans. In 1650, a Dutch lease to a parcel of land at Catskill included a provision that the tenant not only live at peace with the local Catskill Mahicans, but also that he would fence in the Indian burial ground at his expense, presumably to keep livestock from desecrating a Native sacred site.⁴³ A Netherlander visiting the Hudson Valley in 1679–80 characterized grave sites as prominent features of the cultural landscape and noted that some graves were fenced to keep animals away.⁴⁴

The institution of sachemship worked to reinforce a sense of territorial unity. In southern New England, sachems exercised a great deal of control over land.⁴⁵ According to New Englander Edward Winslow, "every *Sachim* knoweth how farre the bounds and limits of his owne Country extendeth,

and that is his owne proper inheritance, out of that if any of his men desire land to set their corne, hee giveth them as much as they can use.”⁴⁶ Hudson Valley sachems often spoke for their people in land affairs, and fragmentary evidence from the late colonial period suggests that they customarily received some contribution from their followers. Late eighteenth-century Mahican leader Hendrick Aupaumut noted that a returning hunter customarily gave his sachem a skin, while women brought food to the sachem’s house to feed visiting strangers. Sachems also received occasional donations of wampum. Such contributions meant that sachems had some claim to the fruits of all of their people’s land, not merely what they might procure themselves.⁴⁷ As in southern New England, sachems in coastal areas may have had a special claim to stranded whales.⁴⁸ When Neversink sachem Popamora in 1664 executed a deed to his and his brother’s lands in coastal New Jersey south of Staten Island, he withheld “to my own propper us and benefitt the one halfe of all Such Whale fish that shall by Windes and Stormes be cast upon the Coaste of their Said Land.”⁴⁹

LAND AND AUTHORITY

In spite of the influence of chiefs, evidence indicates that Hudson Valley sachems shared territorial sovereignty with their people. Among these relatively egalitarian Indian groups, sachems did not necessarily have authority to cede land without approval of their people. In July 1663, Hackensack sachem Oratam told the Dutch colonial authorities that he could not immediately agree to a proposed land purchase, as he had not had a chance to consult his young men, who were out hunting, and at any rate the older warriors were against this transaction.⁵⁰ When New York governor Sir Edmund Andros negotiated a quitclaim of land near Rondout Creek from the Esopus Indians in April 1677, he noted the presence not only of four sachems but also of representatives of the adult men, women, and younger males, and sought assurances that all these people agreed to relinquish their rights to this land.⁵¹ In some cases, individuals protested land sales undertaken by quite influential chiefs. In 1684, a man named Korough objected to a sale made by Memshe of Tappan of land on the Hackensack River. A contemporary observer described Memshe as the “greatest *Sachim*” in the Hudson Valley, but even though Korough was evidently one of Memshe’s associates, having previously participated with this sachem in land transactions, Korough denied Memshe’s right to dispose of this land.⁵²

Hence land allocations do not seem to have been a particular prerogative of Hudson Valley sachemships. In some cases, sachems and their kin received land

from the people as a whole, at least in the eighteenth century. In 1762, Daniel Nimham claimed that “the Indian Nation the Wappingers” had previously granted his father Nimham a 1,200-acre tract of land in Dutchess County.⁵³ The elder Nimham was an influential sachem who led diplomatic missions to colonial governors, took part in cessions of land, and spoke out against Moravian missionaries, but his son suggested that he had relied on the will of his people for allocation of land. The elder Nimham later divided this land between two of his cousins and his son Jack, but this was a division of family land rather than an exercise of chiefly power.⁵⁴ In 1744, a Moravian missionary in the Mahican village of Shekomeko reported that Nimham had offered land to any people who would forsake that community and settle with him, but the missionary had no direct knowledge of Nimham’s activities, and it is not a given that the decision to extend this invitation was Nimham’s alone.⁵⁵ Daniel also indicated that when his maternal grandfather Awansous died, he left his lands to his sons Tawanout (or John van Gelder) and Sancoolakheekhing, “to whom the Body of the Nation solemnly confirmed their Fathers Lands according to the Custom of their Nation at a publick Feast, & sacrifice.” When Sancoolakheekhing died without issue, “the Nation confirmed the whole of the Lands to John Van Gilder.”⁵⁶

Nevertheless, sachems were influential when it came to decisions about land, as is evident in a number of large cessions of land where the chiefs spoke on behalf of their people. Some of these transactions served political and diplomatic purposes, and dealing with Europeans and other outsiders was among the foremost tasks of the sachems. As Robert Grumet has suggested, Indian people came to realize that they had little choice but to sell land to the European intruders. Gradually, alienation of territory served as a way of avoiding conflict and delaying the worst effects of colonization. By selling land at low prices, Natives could also hope to buy friendship and put Europeans in a position of gratitude.⁵⁷ This may have been the case at the Esopus land cession to Edmund Andros in April 1677. While the governor seemed surprised that the Indians requested only a blanket, a shirt, a loaf of bread, and a piece of cloth in compensation, this transaction occurred during local unrest in the wake of Meatcom’s War to the east.⁵⁸ The powerful Iroquois peoples north of the Hudson Valley used this conflict to increase their power vis-à-vis other Indians in the region, and under these circumstances Hudson Valley peoples saw the importance of good relations with the colonial authorities.⁵⁹ In the same month, April, Mahican leaders alluded to their dependence on English protection in a reference to Andros as their father at a meeting with agents from New England.⁶⁰ In May or early June, Mohawk warriors abducted at least two Mahicans, and in July the Oneidas were reportedly planning to attack the Mahicans of Catskill. Even if the Esopus Indians were not directly

threatened themselves, they must have seen the need for making a statement of their good will at this time.⁶¹

Sachems also appeared as witnesses to land sales undertaken by members of their people. In such cases, deeds commonly make a distinction between the sellers or proprietors of a parcel of land and the witnesses, who gave their consent to the transaction. In 1636, just twelve years after the beginning of colonization, an influential sachem on western Long Island named Penhewis and another leader named Cakapeteyno witnessed three land sales, not as owners, but as chiefs of the district.⁶² In 1661, Mahican sachems Aepjen and Nietamozit appeared as witnesses when four other Mahicans sold an island in the Hudson to Dutch colonists.⁶³ When three Indian men sold a tract of land in northern New Jersey near Woodbridge and Piscataway to Governor Philip Carteret in 1677, Nevesink sachem Emerus was listed among the witnesses.⁶⁴ Chiefs may have participated in these and other sales because they wanted some supervision or control over sales of territory to Europeans, and purchasers may have sought their presence to give transactions an air of greater legitimacy if their ownership were ever contested, whether by Indians, rival European claimants, or the colonial government.

INDIVIDUAL AND FAMILY LANDHOLDING

The impression produced by these sources is that Native territories in the Hudson Valley were divided into smaller areas of land that were in the possession of individuals who held this land on behalf of their families. If chiefs and their kin sometimes sold land without any evident participation of the rest of their people, so too did members of families without claims to positions of leadership.⁶⁵ Indeed, the first land transactions in present-day New Jersey and Mahican country (dating from 1630 and 1631) make no mention of chiefs, as also was true of many later land sales throughout the Hudson Valley.⁶⁶ Most records do not explain the relationship between the various Indian grantors, but it is likely that people who claimed joint land rights were somehow related. In 1678, a Mahican named Paantachtnatt executed a deed on behalf of himself and his aunt, and in another sale in 1685 the Mahican grantors included three brothers and a woman who was the mother of at least one of these men.⁶⁷ When Mamskonok, a woman described as “Chief owner” of sundry tracts of land in Dutchess and Albany Counties, parted with some of her landholdings, selling to a group of Englishmen in 1714, her two grandsons were among several of her associates who participated in the sale.⁶⁸ A few years later, in the mid-1730s, a Mahican widow named Naunusquah claimed a particular

parcel of land in the Housatonic Valley together with her son. Konkapot and Umpachenee, two prominent chiefs in that area, recognized their claim.⁶⁹

Some land records use the borders of tracts held by Native individuals as convenient reference points. In 1678, three Esopus Indians sold Lewis Dubois a parcel of land lying adjacent to lands already in the possession of Dubois and “ye Lands of Sewakanamie.”⁷⁰ Sewakanamie (or Sewakenamo) was a prominent Esopus sachem, but he was not the only person known to have possessed particular tracts of land.⁷¹ The land of a man named Korand was used as a boundary to a sale of land on the Hackensack River 1684.⁷² Korand was probably the same person as Korough, who, as previously referenced, protested a sale made by Memshe of Tappan later that year. In 1687, Henry Cuyler received permission from New York authorities to purchase a tract of land in the area called the Long Reach in Dutchess County, lying near the land of the Wappinger named Speck and that of two English patentees.⁷³ It is not clear how far individual landowners (or landholding families) claimed exclusive rights to exploit the land they claimed. Their ownership may have been limited by communal sanctions that are now obscure, and it is likely that some resources (such as wild plants and firewood) were free to anyone that might make use of them, but this does not preclude some form of individual landownership. As with modern capitalist societies, ownership of land does not carry unrestricted control.

Notably, in the absence of particular individual claimants a land sale might not go forward or remain incomplete. When in 1679 Dirck Wesselse bought land at Kinderhook from Speck and his relatives, he could not acquire all the land he desired, for a man named Machaneek was out hunting when this transaction took place. Wesselse had to wait until 1685 before he could acquire Machaneek’s part of the land, which consisted of two flats of about ten and thirty acres.⁷⁴ In this case, too, particular tracts of land belonged to an individual Native person. Half a century later, in 1736, even though the Mahicans he represented desired to exchange some of their land in return for a land grant elsewhere in order to create a centralized settlement for the future mission community of Stockbridge, the Mahican chief Konkapot indicated that he could not cede a particular tract of land in the Housatonic Valley to the government of Massachusetts, as that land belonged to two men named Naunehokaunut, and Kohkanupeet, “and they are gone and wont be at home till next Summer, and we cant say any thing to that.”⁷⁵

This evidence reveals little beyond the fact that individuals and their families possessed particular parcels of land for the present. It is harder to ascertain whether these persons had permanent right to these parcels and could pass these on to their heirs. Yet there is evidence that the families of sachems and other headmen did describe and treat land as their inheritance. In 1743,

Shabash or Abraham, headman of the Mahican community of Shekomeko in northern Dutchess County, explained how his lands had passed to him from his grandmother Mannonckqua, who died sometime in the early 1680s. Following the death of his brother and sister, Abraham was the only owner of this land, but since this territory was that of the entire Shekomeko community—or at least all the land that settlement still possessed in 1743—his ownership is hard to separate from his position as a local headman. Arguably, what Abraham inherited was political leadership rather than landownership as such, although in 1763, when Abraham was dead and his followers had abandoned Shekomeko, his sons demanded monetary compensation for their father's lost lands at a meeting with Sir William Johnson, the northern superintendent of Indian affairs.⁷⁶

Furthermore, it is possible that under the pressure of colonization eventually some Hudson Valley Indians altered their patterns of property rights, so that eighteenth-century signs of permanent individual landholding are not necessarily evidence of past Native practice. While Daniel Nimham and some of his relatives and associates were described in the mid-1700s as inheritors of the lands of their fathers or other relatives, this may have been a fairly new development. By the 1760s, Daniel and many of his followers had converted to Christianity and taken refuge among the Mahican at Stockbridge in the Housatonic Valley, where by the early 1750s the locals had begun to adapt to English landholding practices. In 1749, the government of Massachusetts ordered that Stockbridge be organized as a record-keeping proprietorship.⁷⁷

By then Daniel's uncle John van Gelder had been living among these Mahicans at least since 1724, and he came to hold considerable tracts of land under English title.⁷⁸ In 1737, he acquired a deed from Konkapot and other Mahicans for a parcel of land west of the township of Sheffield, and he received other deeds over the following years.⁷⁹ Further, as early as 1718 Van Gelder and a man named Sasckamuk had received a written land grant from other Wappingers.⁸⁰ Van Gelder was an unusual case: in 1719 he had married German immigrant Mary Karner and lived much like a colonial husbandman, but his career shows that some Indians were willing to adapt to English landholding practices.⁸¹ He and his family also continued to maintain relations with his Wappinger kin. Noch Namos, a Mahican woman from the Housatonic Valley, was living at Fishkill in Wappinger territory when she granted her land to Van Gelder in 1756, and in 1762 Daniel Nimham claimed that Van Gelder had given him the land he had inherited from his father Awansous in 1758, the year of Van Gelder's death. Daniel left no estimate of the overall size of this tract of land, but he described an area stretching south along the Hudson from the Fishkill and inland toward the boundary between New York and Connecticut, suggesting that he meant it to include most of Adolph Philipse's

controversial land patent.⁸² At the final hearing on the claims of Daniel and his followers in March 1767, the Wappingers' attorneys presented a written authorization from several members of Van Gelder's family "investing Daniel Nimham with the Powers of a Sachem of the Wappinger Tribe, and to act for them as to their Claims to Lands whereon Encroachments had been made."⁸³

In spite of the possibility of the influence of European landholding practices, when it came to alienation of land, Hudson Valley Indians had by the mid-eighteenth century long behaved as if particular pieces of land were the permanent property of individuals and their families. During the early years of colonization, the Natives did not realize that Europeans assumed that a land sale granted them exclusive and permanent property rights. In other words, the Europeans thought they had bought something the Indians had not meant to sell. Initially the Indians seem to have understood land grants as a form of temporary usufruct right, and at times demanded new payments to confirm old transactions.⁸⁴ William Cronon's research on Indians in southern New England has found that individuals and families only possessed land as long as they used it. When they moved elsewhere within the territory of their people, others might freely appropriate and use this land without any consideration of prior rights.⁸⁵ Whether this was the case in the Hudson Valley is not clear, but it did not take Hudson Valley Indians very long to realize that they and the newcomers had quite different understandings of what sales meant. From the mid-to-late decades of the seventeenth century some Hudson Valley Indians began to insist on protective clauses ensuring them continued access to wild animal and plant resources on lands sold to Europeans.⁸⁶ These people knew that without such reservations, they risked losing all use of this land, and it must have been quite obvious to the Indians that when individuals sold land, territorial control passed permanently out of the hands of their people. Yet Hudson Valley Indians still described their homelands as communal territories, regardless of the ability of individuals to alter its borders by acting on their own.

Many Indians in the Hudson Valley at least acted as if they had the right to alienate land in perpetuity, and some individuals made claims to lands they no longer occupied. In August 1664, two Indian men living on Staten Island sold land near Hell Gate on western Long Island.⁸⁷ Indians from western Long Island are known to have resettled on Staten Island in the mid-seventeenth century, but they evidently felt that they had not relinquished the right to their old lands just because they now resided elsewhere.⁸⁸ More than seventy years later, in 1738, an Indian man living at Schodack in Mahican country below Albany raised a claim to ancestral lands in central Massachusetts. This man was an expatriate from Quabaug or Brookfield in historic Nipmuck country, and he held that he still had a right to lands in that area.⁸⁹ In 1771, Mohekin

Abraham, a Mahican living in the Ohio Valley, protested a land sale planned by the Mahicans at Stockbridge. Mohekin Abraham asserted his right to this land, but warned Sir William Johnson that “it may be reported that I am Dead as it is Forty Years since I left that Country.”⁹⁰

LANDHOLDING AND INDIAN POLITICAL STRUCTURES

The seemingly contradictory features of Native concepts of land rights as revealed by written sources may lead one to conclude that land tenure in the Hudson Valley was drastically altered by colonization, or that patterns of land alienation simply did not reflect Native concepts of landholding. After all, when individuals sold land to Europeans, the sum of their people’s collective territory would in practice shrink. But because power was dispersed among Hudson Valley Indians, so were land rights, and therefore how people disposed of land reflected local and personal autonomy. The apparent contradiction between communal land rights and land held and sold by individuals springs from the general fluidity of Native political structures. Hudson Valley Indians belonged to cohesive peoples or political groups, but these polities were not permanently constituted states. Instead, the Indians only mobilized their highest level of organization when strictly necessary, such as for collective negotiations with Europeans. For most purposes, lower levels of integration (down to individual families) sufficed, and such collectives as the Esopus Indians and Wappingers then enjoyed a latent existence, important, perhaps, to people’s sense of identity, but not of immediate practical consequence.⁹¹ This pattern of flexible politics was reflected in land rights.

Evidence pertaining to the Mahicans in the Housatonic Valley in the early eighteenth century shows how land might at once belong to individual families, to an entire people, and to local communities. As a collective the Mahicans were headed by a single chief sachem, who in the early decades of the eighteenth-century was a chief named Corlair or Metoxon.⁹² In 1743, Metoxon lived near Freehold west of the upper Hudson, but in 1726 and 1738 he and other members of his people sold land in the Housatonic Valley in the townships of Sharon and Salisbury in northwestern Connecticut, and in 1742 Connecticut officials found that he was still “allowed by all to be y^e Chiefe Sachem of the Indians in those parts.”⁹³ The participation of the chief sachem in such transactions may underscore the unity of Mahican territory. Connecticut’s agents reported that Metoxon “and his tribe or Nation are the Claimers of those Lands not sold and also Claimed and sold all y^e have been sold thereabout.” This comment implies Mahican territorial cohesion, but in 1739 a Mahican named Nauness made a sale in this area independently of

Metoxon, and in February 1736 the chief sachem played no visible part when other Housatonic communities negotiated land transactions with agents from Massachusetts, although at the request of Governor Belcher Metoxon accompanied Housatonic chiefs to Boston in August.⁹⁴ In Boston the Housatonic delegates complained of encroachments on land belonging to a young man named Kotbase, and when a Connecticut agent investigated land claims in Salisbury in 1743, he found that lands at the northern corner of the township belonged to a specific family, whose only living members were a woman named Shekannenooti, her brother, and “a Child of another branch of s^d Family.” These people now lived at Stockbridge, and the Mahicans there identified these relatives as owners of the land at Salisbury.⁹⁵

Abraham of Shekomeko provides an example of a local Mahican leader who managed his community’s land affairs. In 1730, Abraham cooperated with Wappinger sachems Acgans and Nimham and other members of their people in the sale of a large tract of land in Dutchess County to the holders of the Great Nine Partners Patent.⁹⁶ The reasons behind Abraham’s participation in this sale are not clear, but his people did face considerable pressure on their remaining land base at this time. In 1724, Abraham had met with the governor of New York and reached an agreement whereby he consented to sell much of his land in exchange for payment and guarantees for safe possession of a square-mile reservation around Shekomeko. No payment came, and in 1738 Abraham undertook another journey to Manhattan and received new promises for the safety of his lands.⁹⁷ Abraham went again to New York City to meet with the governor in 1740.⁹⁸ Although Abraham mostly seems to have managed his own land affairs independently of other Mahican leaders, in the spring of 1745, Abraham did accompany Housatonic Mahican and Wappinger delegates to a conference with Governor George Clinton, but only Abraham saw this meeting primarily as an opportunity to defend his lands against continuing English pressure. The Housatonic chiefs seemed more concerned with recent reports that the Mohawks were planning war against the English.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the concept of a collective Mahican territory did exist, and in 1762 a Wappinger witness described the east bank of the Hudson as an area simply divided between the Mahican and Wappinger peoples, not dotted by smaller communities with particular parcels and claims.¹⁰⁰

CONCLUSIONS: MULTIPLE CONCEPTIONS OF TERRITORIALITY

If at times the Indians treated their lands as an integrated territory belonging to an entire political group, at other times they behaved as if it belonged to smaller local communities, and on yet other occasions individuals and their

families appeared to be the true landowners. The surviving records shed little light upon how Hudson Valley Indians reached collective decisions regarding land, but it may be presumed that preceding large land transactions, complex negotiations among individuals and families with land rights took place. When such internal negotiations were completed, in presenting a united front in relation to the European buyers the Natives might give the impression that their lands always functioned as a cohesive territorial unit—a notion that stands in contrast to the many land sales undertaken by individuals and small groups of people. Moreover, Native populations declined drastically due to foreign diseases (mid-to-late-seventeenth century observers described a population decline in excess of 90 percent). This population decline may have encouraged tendencies toward treating land as the permanent possession of individual families simply because of a substantial reduction in the number of persons who might claim a stake in any particular parcel of territory.¹⁰¹

How one should describe Native landholding in this area may therefore depend entirely on particular historical circumstances. For that reason, behavior such as that of the sachem Oratam in October 1664 may be only apparently inconsistent. A little over a year after he had told the Dutch government that without consulting his people he could not agree to cede land, Oratam took it upon himself to sell land at Hackensack to an individual buyer.¹⁰² Perhaps this sachem did have communal approval and this is not reflected in the extant documentation, but even if he did act largely on his own, the contextual difference between cessions to colonial authorities and sales to individuals may have made all the difference. Cessions to the colonial government were certainly not the only occasions when sachems spoke for their followers in land affairs, nor were they the only transfers of territory that might serve diplomatic and strategic purposes that were within the role of the sachem.

Moreover, collective territoriality might have a dormant existence that emerged only when required. Such contextual differences explain the different descriptions of Wappinger landholding practices referred to earlier in this article. In the early 1760s, Daniel Nimham had only begun to organize the defense of his people's lands, possibly hampered by his lack of chiefly status. In 1761, another Nimham living in Susquehanna country had described himself as the only true Wappinger chief, and before late 1765 Daniel does not seem to have made claim to the rank of sachem in any writing produced by him and his supporters.¹⁰³ In order to legitimize his resistance without the sachemship, he relied on his own claims to inherited land rights and authorizations from other Wappinger land claimants. In 1762 Daniel also had laid claim to lands north of Philipse's patent in the possession of Catherina Brett in the Rumbout Precinct of Dutchess County, and therefore had to account for the claims of the various Indian landowners in that area.¹⁰⁴ These proprietors included his

cousin Hendrick Wamash, who seems to have pursued his own land claims independently of Daniel.¹⁰⁵ Documents produced during the early 1760s thus highlight the individual aspects of Wappinger landholding practices.

But by 1767 the situation was quite different. For one thing, by late October 1765 Daniel had begun to claim the rank of sachem and could therefore more authoritatively speak for the Wappingers as a collective, eventually becoming a highly visible spokesman for his people with Philipse's patent lands as his primary target.¹⁰⁶ He defended the Wappinger claims before the governor's council and in 1766 even obtained an audience with King George, with the result that the British government ordered New York authorities to reopen his case, which they had dismissed in early 1765.¹⁰⁷ As Daniel's case gained momentum, it thus made sense for him and his supporters to highlight the collective aspects of Wappinger territoriality.

A petition drawn up in March 1765 represents a kind of hybrid of communal and individual notions of landholding. The body of this paper spoke to the rights of the Wappingers as a collective, but the preamble states that it was drafted on behalf of Daniel and his brother Jacobus, his leading supporters Stephen Kounham and One Pound Pocktone, "and other native Indians of the Tribe of Wappingers," suggesting some uncertainty as to whether it came from a cohesive nation or several associated compatriots.¹⁰⁸ The petition presented in January 1767 was much more clear. It simply spoke for "Daniel Nimham Indian Chief of the Tribe of Wappinger in Behalf of himself and the Rest of said Tribe," although two months later Daniel's supporters still presented evidence to show that other Wappingers had previously authorized him to speak on their behalf.¹⁰⁹ Daniel's opponents, at any rate, were well aware that the extent of his authority was a matter of importance. An attorney representing the heirs of Adolph Philipse initially refused to concede that he was a sachem, and among the arguments mustered against Daniel in the provincial council's final judgment was the claim that he appeared to lack property rights to the lands in dispute, which had previously been "owned by some other principal Sachems."¹¹⁰ These officials chose to stress Daniel's alleged lack of personal ownership and ignore his position as spokesman for the entire Wappinger people. The council was characterized by one of Daniel's supporters as composed mostly of men "either Interested in the Lands in Controversy, or in other Lands which lay under Simular Circumstances," and consequently was predisposed to rule against the Wappingers, regardless of how one should describe their landholding practices.¹¹¹ The council concluded that the Wappinger claim "is vexatious and unjust; and as such ought to be, and is hereby accordingly dismissed."¹¹²

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52. Council Meeting, November 27, 1684, *Archives of the State of New Jersey* (hereafter “NJA”), ed. William A. Whitehead (Newark: Daily Advertiser Printing House, 1880), 13:137–38; Charles Wolley, *A Two Years’ Journal in New York and Parts of Its Territories in America*, ed. Edward G. Bourne (Cleveland, OH: The Burrows Brothers, 1902), 65 (quote); Deed to Land in Bergen County,

July 15, 1679, Liber A:328–329, NJD; Deed to Jacques La Rogue, Oct. 4, 1681, Liber 1:188 (151)–187 (152), NJD.

53. Report of John Tabor Kempe to Governor Robert Monckton and Council, 1762, JTKP, box 10, folder 9.

54. Certificate from Governor Burnet, September 7, 1721, CP, 63:143; Deed to Land in Dutchess County, October 13, 1730, *Eighteenth-Century Documents of the Nine Partners Patent, Dutchess County, New York*, ed. William McDermott (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1979), 110–13; Gottlieb Büttner, *Shekomeko Journal*, May 12–June 23, 1744, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA (hereafter “MOA”), box 112, folder 19, item 4 (microfilm at Wheaton College, Illinois). See also Robert S. Grumet, “The Nimhams of the Colonial Hudson Valley,” *The Hudson Valley Regional Review* 9, no. 2 (1992): 80–99.

55. Gottlieb Büttner’s Journal, August 14–October 30, 1744, MOA, box 112, folder 19, item 5.

56. Report of John Tabor Kempe to Governor Robert Monckton and Council, 1762, JTKP, box 10, folder 9. This account thus provides an answer to the question of Van Gilder’s ethnic background discussed by Debra Winchell in “The Impact of John Van Gelder, Mohican, Husbandman, and Historical Figure,” *New York State Museum Bulletin* 511 (2004): 127–44. John Tabor Kempe also referred to Van Gelder as “Jonathan Gelder.”

57. Robert S. Grumet, “The Selling of Lenapehoking,” *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey* 44 (1989): 1–6.

58. Meeting between Governor Andros and the Esopus Indians, April 27, 1677, AP, 2:57–59.

59. Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 135–37.

60. Meeting between the Mahicans and Other River Indians by Major John Pynchon and James Richards, April 24, 1677, *The Livingston Indian Records, 1666–1723*, ed. Lawrence H. Leder (Stanfordville, NY: Earl M. Coleman, 1979), 39–40.

61. Council Meeting, June 6, 1677, NYCD, 13:507–08; Council Meeting, June 11, 1677, NYCD, 13:508; Andros to the Authorities at Albany, July 12, 1677, AP, 2:72–73; Council Meeting, July 16, 1677, NYCD, 13:510.

62. Deed for Land on Long Island, June 16, 1636, *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch*, volumes GG, HH, and II, *Land Papers* (hereafter “Land Papers”), ed. and trans. Charles T. Gehring (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co. Inc., 1980), 5; Deed for Land on Long Island, June 16, 1636, Land Papers, 5–6; Deed for Land on Long Island, July 16, 1636, Land Papers, 6.

63. Deed for an Island called Pachonakellick, February 8, 1661, ERA, 1:291–92.

64. Deed to Land at Woodbridge and Piscataway, Middlesex County, September 14, 1677, Liber 1:251, NJD.

65. Deed to Land at Wicquaeskeck, July 26, 1655, *Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1648–1660*, 413–15; Deed to Land at Claverrack, January 1, 1678, NYCD, 13:515–16. Wattawit, the principal grantor in the latter deed, was sachem of the Mahicans. See Dunn, *Mohicans and their Land*, 163–84.

66. Deed to Land on the Hudson, Land Papers, August 6, 1630, 2–3; Deed to Land in New Jersey, November 22, 1630, Land Papers, 3–4; Deed Land on the Hudson River, 1631, Land Papers, 4; Deed to Land in New Jersey, June 3, 1631, Land Papers, 4–5.

67. Deed to Land on the East side of the Hudson, June 11, 1678, ERA, 1:182–183; Deed to Robert Livingston, August 10, 1685, ERA, 2:281–83.

68. Deed to Land in Dutchess and Albany Counties, 1714 [?], Governor’s Warrants of Surveys and Other Miscellaneous Records, 1721–1776, 1st series, New York State Archives.

69. Receipt Issued to Naunusquah, June 6, 1737, MAC, 31:207–08.

70. Deed from Esopus Indians, December 28, 1678, ALG, 1:158.

71. Treaty of Peace with the Esopus Indians, July 15, 1660, NYCD, 13:179–81; Articles of Peace with the Esopus Indians, May 15, 1664, NYCD, 13:375–77; Deed to Land in Ulster County (New Paltz), May 26, 1677, NYCD, 13:506–07.
72. Deed to Land on the Hackensack River, October 16, 1684, Liber A:263–64, NJD.
73. License to Henry Cuyler, May 6, 1687, CP, 35:85; Frank Hasbrouck, *The History of Dutchess County, New York* (Poughkeepsie, NY: S.A. Matthieu, 1909), 34.
74. Deed from Machaneek, March 27, 1685, ERA, 2:269–70.
75. Conference Proceedings Held at Sheffield and Westfield, March 25, 1736, MAC, 29:309–17 (quote on 311); Hopkins, 54–57.
76. Memorandum by Abraham, October 16, 1743, MOA, box 113, folder 5, item 4; Journal of Indian Affairs, September 20, 1763, JP, 10:853–54.
77. Frazier, 82–88.
78. Deed to Land on the Housatonic River, April 25, 1724, *Indian Deeds of Hampden County*, ed. Harry Andrew Wright (Springfield, MA, n.p., 1905), 116–18.
79. Deed to Land at Egremont, Massachusetts, October 24, 1737, *Indian Deeds of Hampden County*, 141–42; Winchell, 135.
80. Report of John Tabor Kempe to Governor Robert Monckton and Council, 1762, JTKP, box 10, folder 9.
81. Winchell, 127–28; Governor Hardy to the Lords of Trade, December 22, 1756, NYCD, 7:206–08.
82. Indian Deed to Land in Sheffield and Egremont, Massachusetts, June 1, 1756, *Indian Deeds of Hampden County*, 155–57; Report of John Tabor Kempe to Governor Robert Monckton and Council, 1762, JTKP, box 10, folder 9; Winchell, 142.
83. Hearing on the Claim of the Wappingers, March 6, 1767, CM 26:82–83 (quote on 83); Winchell, 129. For Jacobus as brother of Daniel, see Appointment of Guardianship from the Indians to Samuel Monroe, November 17, 1764, JTKP, box 10, folder 9.
84. Several Testimonies & writings relating to ye Purchase of Staten Island, 1672 (?), in “Melyn Papers, 1640–1699,” *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1913* (XLVI), 123–27; Petrus Stuyvesant to the Council, June 17, 1652, NYCD 14:183.
85. Cronon, 62–63.
86. Deed to Land at Nevesink, March 25, 1664, Liber 1:247 (72)–246 (73), NJD; Deed to Land in Ulster County (New Paltz), May 26, 1677, NYCD, 13:506–507; Contract of Sale, July 11, 1683, ERA, 2:189–190.
87. Deed to Land near Hell Gate, August 1, 1664, ROD, 2:74–76.
88. Grumet, “We Are Not So Great Fools,” 53–55.
89. Memorial of John Stoddard, November 29, 1738, MAC, 31:227; Dennis A. Connole, *The Indians of Nipmuck Country in Southern New England, 1630–1750: A Historical Geography* (London: McFarland & Company, 2001), 9–10.
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91. Grumet, “We are Not So Great Fools,” 23–28.
92. Aupaumut quoted in Jones, 20–21; Nathanael Appleton, *Gospel Ministers Must Be Fit to the Master’s Use* (Boston: Kneeland and Green, 1735), vi; Wheeler, 21, 37.
93. Dunn, *Mohican World*, 125–153; John W. De Forest, *History of the Indians of Connecticut from the Earliest Known Period to 1850* (Hartford: William J. Hammersley, 1853), 399–402; Gottlieb Büttner, *Shekomeko Journal*, August 10–December 31, 1743, MOA, box 111, folder 2, item 7; Committee Report on Sharon and Salisbury Indians, October 23, 1742, Indians, series 1, I: 244 a–c (quote), Connecticut Archives, 1629–1820, Connecticut State Archives.

94. Committee Report on Sharon and Salisbury Indians, October 23, 1742; Conference Proceedings Held at Sheffield and Westfield, March 25, 1736, MAC, 29:309–317; Hopkins, 67–68.
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100. Deposition of David Ninham, August 2, 1762, quoted in Smith, *General History of Dutchess County*, 175–76.
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105. Journal of Indian Affairs, Sept. 20, 1763, JP, 10:853–54; Sir William Johnson to Cadwallader Colden, September 20, 1763, JP, 4:205; Colden to Johnson, October 8, 1763, in “The Colden Letter Books, vol. 1,” 247–48.
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109. Petition of Daniel Nimham, January 7, 1767, ALG, 22:139 (quote); Hearing on the Claim of the Wappingers, March 6, 1767, CM, 26:82–83.
110. “Chief Daniel Nimham v. Roger Morris,” 214; Judgment and Opinion in the Case of the Wappinger Claims, March 11, 1767, CM, 26:85–89 (quote on 86).
111. “Chief Daniel Nimham v. Roger Morris,” 213.
112. Judgment and Opinion in the Case of the Wappinger Claims, March 11, 1767, CM, 26:85–89 (quote on 89).