

# Dymen of Hudson's River

## A Paternal Lineage Study

*Surname spelling Dymen is found in the earliest records. It is used in place of surnames Diamond, Dymond, and Dimond, all of which are used in the patrilineage.*



Family lore and geographical location place the Dymen of Hudson's River in historical time among the Wappinger and Mahican. Y chromosome genetics confirms membership to the greater Algonquian population to which Wappinger and Mahican were members. The following **First Nations** histories are from the work of Lee Sultzman.

## WAPPINGER HISTORY

### Wappinger Location

East side of the Hudson River between the Bronx and Rhinebeck extending east to the crest of the Taconic Mountains on the border between New York and Connecticut. Except for a few small groups, most Wappinger had left the lower Hudson Valley by 1760 and settled in western Massachusetts with the Mahican at Stockbridge, the Iroquois in New York, or the Delaware in Pennsylvania.

### Population

In 1600 the seven Wappinger tribes probably numbered about 8,000 in 30 villages. After contact, the rate of their "melting away" was dramatic. Smallpox struck the area 1633-35 and 1692. By 1700 epidemics (including malaria) had reduced the lower Hudson tribes to 10 per cent of their original number. Warfare also took a serious toll, and at least 1,600 Wappinger were killed during the Wappinger War (1643-45). Only a few hundred Wappinger remained in the lower Hudson Valley after 1700, and almost all were gone by 1758. One possible group of Wappinger remains in the region today, the Ramapough Mountain Indians (Ramapo Mountain People) in northern New Jersey. They are probably descendents of a mixture of Munsee Delaware, Mattabesic Ramapo, and Pompton (Wappinger who relocated to northern New Jersey during the 1660s). With 2,500 members, they have state recognition but were denied federal status in 1993.

### Names

Meaning "easterner" and applied to the entire group of seven related tribes, Wappinger was originally the name of a small sachemship consisting of three villages on the east side of the Hudson near Poughkeepsie. Spelling variations are: Wappinck, Wapping, Wappingo, and Wawping. Because many of the Algonquin-speaking tribes south of the St. Lawrence River (Mahican, Wappinger, Delaware, etc.) had a wolf clan, the French commonly referred to them collectively as Loup (French for wolf). Other names for the Wappinger were: Highland Indians, Long Reach Indians, Oping (Opine), and Pompton.

## Language

Algonquin. The R-dialect spoken by the Wappinger was almost identical to that of the Mattabesic in western Connecticut and the Metoac tribes of western and central Long Island.

## Sub-Nations

**Kitchawank** (Kitchawong) - northern Westchester County.

Villages:

Kitchawank, Sackhoe, and Senasqua

**Nochpeem** - northern Putnam and southern Dutchess Counties.

Villages:

Canopus (Canopus), Keskistkonk, Nochpeem, and Pasquasheck

**Sintsink** (Sinsink) - east side of Hudson River between Tarrytown and Croton. Villages:

Kestaubuinck, and Ossingsing (Sin-Sing)

**Siwanoy** (Sinanoy) - Hellgate east to Norwalk, Connecticut.

Villages:

Cassacuhque, Noroaton (Roatan), Norwauke (Norwalk), Poningo, and Sioascauk

**Tankiteke** (Pachami, Pachany) - extreme western portion of Fairfield County, Connecticut into eastern halves of Dutchess and Putnam Counties, New York.

Villages:

Aspetuck, Mount Misery, Pahquioke, Saugatuck, and Shippan

**Wappinger** (Waping) - east side of Hudson River between Wappinger Falls and Poughkeepsie.

Villages:

Poughkeepsie, and Waping

Wecquaesgeek (Wechquaesgeek, Wiechquaeskeck, Wickquaskeek) - east side of Hudson River between the Bronx and Tarrytown.

Villages:

Alipkconk, Nappeckamak, Nipinichsen, Rechouwakie, Rechtauck (Rechgawawank, Reckawawana), Wecquaesgeek, and Wysquaqua

Other Villages:

Ridgefield (CT), Saeckkill, and Sapohanikan

## Culture

Mention is sometimes made of a Wappinger tribe or confederation, but it took a major war with the Dutch to unite these seven small tribes into a single unit. Like most of the eastern Algonquin groups, the Wappinger were organized into sachem ships where, in most cases, the authority of the sachem and council (composed of clan chiefs) extended over only a few villages and was limited mostly to resolving problems and disputes. Councils of the individual sachems were only held as required by common problems. However, in times of war, leadership was given to a war chief, whose authority was absolute for the duration of the conflict. A greater degree of organization was not required, since the Wappinger generally lived in peace with most of their neighbors. "Most" is used here, since, like the neighboring Metoac on Long Island, the Wappinger manufactured a superior form of wampum which they traded with other tribes. There appears to have been some warfare before contact because of this valuable commodity. There were also raids by European slavers during the 1500s.

As a result, the Wappinger were forced to make more extensive military preparations than the norm. Besides their villages, most of the Wappinger had at least two "castles," or forts, where they could retreat when threatened. Like other tribes in the region, the Wappinger relied heavily on agriculture of corn, beans, squash. Tobacco was also grown for ceremonial purposes. Diet was supplemented by fishing in the spring and summer and hunting during the colder months. The Wappinger frequently cooked their meat without removing the innards which made it difficult for some of their Dutch guests to enjoy the meal. Despite this, many Dutch are known to have married Wappinger women. Villages consisted of wigwams and mid-sized longhouses. As a rule, the Wappinger only lived in their villages during the warmer months and moved to their castles for the winter. The Hudson River provided easy transportation for their dugout canoes. Because of its tidal surges, both the Wappinger and Mahican called it the Mahicanituk meaning "ever flowing river." Its Iroquois name was Cohatatea, but the Dutch renamed it the Mauritius. Only after the English gained control of New York in 1664 did it become known as the Hudson River.

The area around greater New York City was originally occupied by three tribal groups: Wappinger, Munsee and Unami Delaware, and Metoac. Since all of them spoke related languages and shared a common culture, there has never been a consensus as to which tribe belonged to which group. In the classification employed here, the Wappinger lived on the east side of the lower Hudson, the Delaware occupied the west side, and Manhattan and Long Island belonged to the Metoac. These distinctions would not be important if not for the question of which tribe sold Manhattan Island to the Dutch for only twenty-five dollars. Even Native Americans are not certain about this. The Delaware usually blame the Wappinger. However, if the Manhattan had purchased, rather than sold, their island for this price, they would probably be claimed as immediate family. For our purposes, the Manhattan - meaning "people of the island" - were Metoac.

## History

While he was exploring the coast of North America for France in 1524, Giovanni da Verrazano discovered the narrow entrance to New York harbor which today bears his name. His encounters with the native peoples at the mouth of the Hudson River were friendly, but unfortunately, he set the pattern for what was to follow by trying to kidnap some of them before his departure. During the next 80 years, this kind of "unofficial" contact continued as Spanish treasure fleets and English pirates passed by riding the Gulf Stream home to Europe from the Carribean. The Wappinger and other coastal tribes soon learned to be wary of the Swannekins "salt water people" who came ashore from the big ships to kidnap them and steal their food. Aside from this harassment, European contact did not really begin until 1609. Attempting to find the fabled Northwest Passage to China for the Dutch East India Company, the English sea captain Henry Hudson explored the New Jersey coast north of his initial landfall at Delaware Bay. While anchored off Sandy Hook, Hudson and his men apparently had a minor confrontation with the Navasink (Unami Delaware). Despite this, Hudson pressed on and entered the mouth of the Hudson River on September 9th.

Hudson dropped anchor near the north end of Manhattan Island and lowered his longboats to explore the area. His men were already nervous from their encounter with the Navasink. One of the boats became lost in a fog bank near Hellgate. When the fog parted, the crew suddenly found themselves being approached by a group of curious Wappinger in canoes, and the sailors apparently fired first. A barrage of arrows killed one sailor and wounded two

others. Fortunately, the Wappinger withdrew, and the survivors were able to make their way back to the ship. Despite this initial hostile encounter, Hudson was able to entice a delegation of Wappinger sachems aboard his ship. Food and drink were served, and gifts exchanged, but the meetings remained uncomfortable, giving Hudson the feeling that he "durst not trust them." It would appear that the Wappinger "durst not trust Hudson" either, since he attempted to detain two of their young men as guides before raising anchor and continuing upstream. Once clear of the Wappinger, the people became friendlier after reaching the Highlands, and the Munsee near Kingston deliberately broke their bows and arrows as a sign of their peaceful intentions.

On September 18th, Hudson was finally halted by shallow water at the Mahican villages just south of Albany. The Mahican were not only friendly but eager to trade. Hudson soon exhausted trade goods and, loaded with a cargo of valuable fur, started back down the river on September 23rd. Two incidents marred the return journey. Near the Highlands, the Munsee came aboard again, but during their visit, a warrior was caught stealing and shot trying to escape with his loot. The other Munsee immediately jumped overboard. Hudson ordered a longboat lowered to retrieve the stolen goods, but one of the Munsee warriors in the water attempted to overturn the boat and was killed. Hudson raised anchor and kept going, but opposite Yonkers, he was attacked by Wappinger warriors in canoes who pursued him downstream until he finally reached the open sea on October 4th.

Hudson had not found the Northwest Passage, but the furs he brought back >from the Mahican brought Dutch traders to the Hudson River the following year. The Wappinger on the lower river remained hostile and had fewer furs than the tribes upstream, so the Dutch bypassed them, and in 1613 opened their first trading post (Fort Nassau) on Castle Island just south of Albany. This was in Mahican territory, the location unfortunate since it was vulnerable to flood. Perhaps worse, the fur trade aggravated a pre-existing rivalry between the Mahican and the Mohawk of the Iroquois League. The Mahican proved reluctant to allow their old enemy to trade with the Dutch, and after four years of occasional skirmishes, war erupted between the Mohawk and Mahican during 1617 which forced the Dutch to abandon Fort Nassau. The Dutch managed to arrange a truce the following year, but since the Mohawk were forced to pay tolls to cross Mahican territory to trade, the situation remained tense.

Involved in a war along the St. Lawrence with the Algonkin and Montagnais (French allies), the Mohawk endured this only because they desperately needed the steel weapons obtained in trade with the Dutch to fight their northern enemies. The problem was, however, that neither the Mohawk nor the Mahican had enough beaver in their own homelands to satisfy the enormous demand of the Dutch. Within a few years, most of their beaver were gone which forced them to expand to find more by taking hunting territory from neighboring tribes. In 1615 this encroachment started a war between the Mohawk and the Munsee and Susquehannock along the upper Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers. As time went by, the situation only worsened. In 1624 the Dutch brought 30 families to New Netherlands and built a new post (Fort Orange) at present-day Albany. The new location was on the west side of the Hudson and, while still on land claimed by the Mahican, was actually more convenient for the Mohawk who no longer had to cross the river to trade.

There is little doubt that the Dutch at Fort Orange were more sympathetic to the Mahican than the Mohawk. At their urging, the Mahican attempted to cut into French trade on the St. Lawrence by arranging trade between the Dutch and the Algonkin and Montagnais. The Mohawk had endured the humiliation of paying tolls to trade with the Dutch, but the Mahican trading with their enemies was too much. A war broke out in 1624 which the Dutch could not halt. The fighting continued until 1628 and before it ended, the Mahican had been defeated and forced to abandon their territory west of the Hudson River. With the exception of seven Dutch soldiers who joined a Mahican war party against the Mohawk (four were killed), the Dutch were neutral during this conflict and allowed the rivals to fight it out among themselves. The lengthy warfare did, however, force them to look elsewhere for fur and a place to settle and, for the Wappinger, had the unfortunate effect of shifting the focus of Dutch settlement downstream to the mouth of the Hudson River.

This was not entirely unwelcome. After 1610, the Dutch had steadily improved their relations with the Wappinger, Munsee and Metoac at the lower end of the river, and as a result, they had been able to expand the range of their trade into Connecticut, Long Island, and New Jersey. In 1626 Pieter Minuit, the new director-general of New Netherlands, purchased Manhattan Island from the Metoac tribe of the same name for twenty-five dollars of trade goods. Fort Amsterdam was built with the settlement of New Amsterdam for the farmers to raise the food for its garrison. Dutch settlement soon spread across the lower Hudson Valley. Unlike the friendly relations the Dutch

enjoyed with the Mahican, conflict with the Wappinger and neighboring tribes was immediate. A seemingly unimportant incident occurred in 1626 when a Wecquaesgeek visiting Manhattan was robbed and murdered. His young nephew who accompanied him managed to escape unharmed, which several years later would have serious consequences for the Dutch.

The colony of New Netherlands which the Dutch established on the Hudson was essentially a company town. The Dutch West India Company had been formed in 1621 with exclusive authority to trade and govern. Since there was little economic opportunity for anyone else in this arrangement, there was little immigration from the Netherlands to the New World. An attempt to increase settlement occurred in 1629 when the company sold patroonships to persons willing to pay to bring in settlers. Only one, Van Rensselaer, met with any success, and by 1635 the company had repurchased four of the five patroonships it had granted. Immigration did increase until the company decided in 1639 to give up its monopoly in the fur trade. Dutch colonists began to arrive in greater numbers, although by then there were still fewer than 750 Dutch in New Netherlands in 1643. New settlements began on Staten Island, in the Hackensack Valley in New Jersey, and the Bronx. The amazing thing was how so few Dutch were able to create so much trouble with their Native American neighbors.

The Dutch usually took the trouble to purchase the land they occupied, but in many cases, they greased the process with brandy and fraud. The able Pieter Minuit was replaced as director-general in 1631, and his successors were not always as capable. Serious trouble began in 1639 after the appointment of Director Kieft, an aggressive but stupid man inclined to run roughshod over the rights of the resident tribes. Kieft arrived just after the English had destroyed the Pequot (Pequot War, 1637), and English settlement had spread down the coast of western Connecticut to within a few miles of Fort Amsterdam. At the same time, the Swedes had established themselves on the lower Delaware River on lands claimed by the Dutch. Once in charge, Kieft set the tone by dispatching an armed sloop to demand tribute in corn and wampum from the Tappan (Unami Delaware) in New Jersey. The Tappan paid but were angered by this abuse.

One source of irritation was that Dutch farmers allowed their cows and pigs to wander free in the woods which often resulted in their invasion of the tribal corn fields. Not only did this bring immediate revenge on the offending animal, but the natives did not yet understand the European concept of the ownership of domestic animals, and a pig roaming loose in the woods was often viewed as meat on the table. After some pigs were stolen at the De Vries plantation on Staten Island in 1640, Kieft dispatched 100 men to punish the Raritan (Unami Delaware) thought to be responsible. The Dutch killed several of them, took one chief prisoner, and mutilated the corpse of another. Raritan retaliation in the "Pig War" killed four of De Vries' workers and burned his farm. Kieft then ordered a war of extermination against the Raritan and offered a bounty of ten fathoms of wampum for every Raritan head brought to Fort Amsterdam. Most tribes refused to participate, and only a few Metoac warriors from Long Island "took up the hatchet" for the Dutch. Records indicate that Kieft received one only head for his trouble.

The growing tension could have ended there. Unfortunately, the Wecquaesgeek nephew, in the fashion of his people, chose this moment to take revenge for his uncle's murder by killing a hapless Dutchman with his own axe. Not understanding the native tradition of a blood debt, Kieft demanded the Wecquaesgeek surrender the murderer, but this was refused. In March, 1642 Kieft dispatched a punitive expedition of 80 men under Ensign Hendrick Van Dyke to attack the Wecquaesgeek village at Yonkers. Fortunately, Van Dyke and his men got lost. The Wecquaesgeek, however, soon learned of this attempt to attack them and, becoming alarmed, immediately signed a peace with the Dutch. However, by this time the nephew had found refuge with another tribe, and the Dutch never got their hands on him. A similar situation developed after some Dutch got the son of a Hackensack (Unami Delaware) sachem drunk and robbed him of his beaver coat. In what has been called the "Whiskey War," he retaliated by shooting a Dutchman and then fled to the Tankiteke.

Kieft made his usual demand that the Hackensack surrender him. For their part, the Hackensack were willing to settle things with a payment of wampum to "cover the dead," but the sachems were unwilling to go to Fort Amsterdam for fear that the intractable Kieft would take them hostage. That summer, the Narragansett sachem Miontonimo from Rhode Island, in the company of 100 of his warriors, visited both the Metoac tribes on Long Island and the Wappinger and Mahican in the Hudson Valley to recruit allies for the war he was planning against the rival Mohegan in Connecticut. While an intertribal war in an English colony should have been of little concern, the growing tensions had made Kieft and Dutch almost paranoid, and they came to believe that an uprising was being

planned against themselves and the English. However, it was not the Narragansett who would touch off the powder keg building on the lower Hudson. Instead, it was the most reliable allies of the Dutch - the Mahican and Mohawk.

The peace which ended the war between the Mohawk and Mahican in 1628 had also bound them together as allies against the Algonkin, Montagnais, and Huron who had driven the Iroquois from the St. Lawrence River during 1610. The Iroquois never accepted their defeat, and after the English capture of Quebec in 1629 interrupting French trade, the Mohawk seized the opportunity to retake the upper St. Lawrence Valley. By the time Quebec was returned to France by the Treaty of St. Germaine en Laye in 1632, their native allies were in retreat and the Mohawk were close to controlling the critical trade route through the Ottawa River Valley to the western Great Lakes. Prior to this, all of the Europeans had been very reluctant to sell firearms to Native Americans ...the steel knives and hatchets conferring enough advantage for their trading partners over their enemies. However, when the French regained Quebec in 1632, the situation was desperate enough that they sought to restore the previous military balance by providing limited amounts of firearms and ammunition to their allies.

The result was an arms race and a major escalation in the level of violence in intertribal warfare. Dutch traders countered with their own guns for the Iroquois, and the latecomers to the fur trade, the English and Swedes, attempted to compensate by selling even more. However, the sales of these new weapons were not even, and the tribes which traded with the Europeans suddenly acquired a tremendous advantage over their neighbors. French trading partners in Ontario used their firearms to seize hunting territory from the Fox, Sauk, and Mascouten in Michigan who only had traditional weapons. The disparity only worsened. In 1640 English traders along the Connecticut River, in violation of existing laws, tried to lure the Mohawk away from the Dutch by offering firearms. With this all restrictions ended, and the Dutch responded by selling the Iroquois as many guns and as much ammunition as they wanted. They also offered the same weapons to the Mahican, who were Iroquois allies.

For obvious reasons, the Dutch did not provide firearms to the tribes near their settlements of the lower Hudson. Sensing their growing disadvantage, this refusal added to the growing resentment of the Wappinger, Munsee, Unami, and Metoac. To acquire even more guns, both the Mohawk and Mahican needed more fur and hunting territory. This was especially true for the Mahican, since they had been forced east of the Hudson by their defeat in 1628. They expanded north, east and south, the last direction being mostly at the expense of the Wappinger. The Mohawk did the same to the Munsee west of the river. Fur was becoming scarce but the Dutch also accepted wampum as payment. Located in the interior, neither the Mahican nor Mohawk had access to this, but the Wappinger and other lower river tribes did. The solution was for the Mohawk to demand tribute in wampum from the Munsee while the Mahican went after the Wappinger. During the winter of 1642-43, 80 heavily-armed Mahican warriors came to the Wecquaesgeek villages to demand tribute. In the melee which followed, the Mahican killed 17 Wecquaesgeek and captured many of their women and children.

The Wecquaesgeek fled south to what they thought was the safety of the Dutch settlements on Manhattan. They remained nearby for two weeks before moving across the river to the Tappan and Hackensack villages at Pavonia (Jersey City). Another group settled with the Tappan at Corlear's Hook. As mentioned, the Dutch at New Amsterdam were already concerned about an uprising, and several incidents afterwards seemed to confirm this suspicion. Ignoring the advice of his council, Kieft decided to exterminate the Wecquaesgeek and set an example to the other "wild men" in the vicinity. In what has become known as the Pavonia Massacre, he ordered a surprise attack to be made on the night of February 23rd, 1643. Maryn Andriansen was sent with a group of militia to Corlear's Hook, while Sergeant Rodolf and his soldiers from Fort Amsterdam were to attack the village at Pavonia. Kieft's orders were to kill all of the warriors and take the women and children prisoner (valuable as slaves). Only Andriansen followed these instructions.

Rodolf and his men just slaughtered every Wecquaesgeek in the sleeping village at Pavonia without regard for age or sex. The killing by these Dutch "Christians" was especially brutal involving babies hacked to death in their mother's arms, torture, and mutilation. When the attacks began, some Wecquaesgeek made the mistake of fleeing to Fort Amsterdam. They were murdered in cold blood outside the gates and their bodies tossed into the Hudson. De Vries, who had relocated near the Tappan villages at Corlear's Point and apparently bore no hatreds after his plantation on Staten Island had been destroyed by the Raritan, saved some of the Wecquaesgeek who came to him for protection by telling them to hide in forest. In all, Andriansen killed 31 but brought 30 prisoners back to an uncertain fate at Fort Amsterdam. Rodolf butchered 80 Wecquaesgeek and took no prisoners. His soldiers reportedly

brought the severed heads of their victims back to the fort and played kickball with them. Preparing for a possible siege, Kieft further inflamed the situation by seizing corn from the Metoac on Long Island and killing three Canarsee warriors in the process.

Kieft expected some retaliation but obviously underestimated the extent of the ill feeling among the tribes of the area against the Dutch. As the news of the massacre spread, the other Wappinger raided the outlying Dutch farms and settlements. The war quickly spread to include warriors from almost 20 different tribes: Tappan, Hackensack, Haverstraw, Navasink and Raritan in New Jersey; Wecquaesgeek, Sintsink, Kitchawank, Nochpeem, Siwanoy, Tankiteke, and Wappinger to the north; and Canarsee, Manhattan, Rockaway, Matinecock, Merrick, Secatoag, and Massapequa on Long Island. Kieft had his uprising - Wappinger War (Governor Kieft's War 1643-45), but it was far greater than anything he had anticipated. The Dutch were quickly driven inside of Fort Amsterdam. Small groups sent even a short distance outside to gather firewood were in constant danger of attack. A glimmer of hope came in the spring. Although the Metoac were still denouncing the Dutch as murderers and "corn thieves," De Vries was able to convince their sachems to meet with Kieft and negotiate a peace. After a treaty was signed, envoys were dispatched to the Tappan and Hackensack, and for a time, it looked as if the hostilities would end at this point.

However, this was not to be. Urged by the Tankiteke sachem Pacham to destroy the Dutch, the Wappinger and their allies resumed the war that fall. After years of abuse, Pacham's words found ears willing to listen. It began with a Wappinger attack on Dutch boats near Poughkeepsie followed by raids on what remained of the outlying Dutch settlements. Among the victims was Anne Hutchinson, a religious dissenter banished from Massachusetts in 1634 along with Roger Williams. After settling near Portsmouth, Rhode Island for several years, she had, with a terrible sense of timing, chosen to relocate to New Amsterdam in 1642. She and her entire family (a granddaughter was taken prisoner) were killed during a Siwanoy raid in 1643. With only 250 men to defend against more than 1,500 warriors led by the Siwanoy war chief Mayane, the Dutch were in danger of being overwhelmed. As the war spread, the Dutch were being hit by tribes they had not met or with whom there had always been friendly relations and trade. Since the Netherlands was at war with Spain at this time, Kieft could not expect much help from Europe.

Despite his other shortcomings, Kieft was resourceful. He first negotiated a treaty of friendship and alliance at Fort Orange with the Mohawk and Mahican. Although the Mohawk and Mahican did not intervene directly, the mere threat of their doing so was sufficient to keep the war from spreading further. Kieft then offered 25,000 guilders to the English colonists in Connecticut for 150 men to help put down the uprising. There was no objection to this. The English were already angry about the deaths of Anne Hutchinson and other English colonists in New Netherlands and concerned by the proximity of the fighting to the new English settlements at Stamford, Bridgeport, and New Haven. Captain John Underhill organized two companies of volunteers (120 men) with Mohegan scouts and joined the fight in 1644. Underhill had a well-earned reputation throughout New England as the "scourge of Indians." A deeply religious man, he had a unusual concept of Christian duty, best illustrated by his later explanation that "Scripture declareth women and children must perish with their parents ...we had sufficient light from the word of God for our proceedings."

The first combined efforts by the Dutch and English were largely ineffective. An expedition sent to clear Staten Island found only abandoned villages. However, the corn it brought back to Fort Amsterdam was very welcome since the Dutch were running out of food. A second expedition against a Wecquaesgeek castle had similar results, and an English attack on Siwanoy villages and forts near Stamford and Greenwich killed only a few warriors and captured a few old men, women, and children. More telling results came when Underhill combined with the Dutch to lay waste to the Metoac villages on the western end of Long Island. 120 Canarsee, Massapequa, Merrick were killed and, warming to their work, the soldiers executed seven of their prisoners in a manner usually reserved for the worst descriptions of the atrocities attributed to native warriors. However, the most brutal acts occurred during the night attack by the English and Dutch on the Siwanoy and Tankiteke fort near Greenwich Connecticut in February. Between 500 and 700 Wappinger were killed in this massacre, exactly the same number as the more infamous slaughter of the Pequot at Mystic, Connecticut by the English in 1637. Once again, there was unspeakable cruelty, mutilation, and torture, but it brought the war to an end. In April of 1645 the Sintsink, Wecquaesgeek, Nochpeem, and Wappinger sachems presented themselves at Fort Amsterdam and asked for peace.

This was not granted immediately, because the Metoac were still at war with the Dutch. The Matinecock finally succeeded arranging a truce which was also extended to the Tappan and Hackensack in New Jersey. Through the

mediation of the Mahican and Mohawk and Mahican, a final peace treaty was signed with Kieft and the Dutch at Fort Orange in August of 1645. By this time, more than 1,600 Wappinger and their allies had been killed. As a condition of the peace, the Mohawk and Mahican gained control not only of the Wappinger, but also the Metoac on the western end of Long Island. Annual tribute was to be paid in wampum, so without losing a single warrior, the Mahican and Mohawk benefited enormously from the war they had provoked between the Wappinger and Dutch. After the war, some groups of Wappinger crossed over to northern New Jersey and settled among the Unami and Munsee where they became known as the Pompton. Others were absorbed outright by the Mahican (not always voluntarily). The Mahican used the remaining Wappinger as enforcers to collect the wampum tribute due them from the Metoac. Failure to pay brought Wappinger raids on the Metoac villages which the Dutch made no effort to prevent.

For the most part, the Wappinger who remained on the lower Hudson tried to avoid further conflict with the Dutch, and in 1649 the Wecquaesgeek surrendered their claims to lands on the north end of Manhattan. However, just below the surface, resentment continued to smolder fueled by the illegal brandy readily available at Fort Amsterdam. Another source of irritation was the Dutch support of the Mohawk after 1651 in their war against the Susquehannock and Munsee. This was tolerated while the Swedes on the lower Delaware River were able to supply guns to Munsee and Susquehannock, but the Dutch capture of New Sweden in 1655 ended this and forced the Susquehannock and Munsee to ask the Mohawk for peace. That year, the Wappinger got into their final major confrontation with the Dutch. In September, a Dutch farmer on Manhattan named Van Dyck shot and killed a Wappinger woman when he caught her "borrowing" a peach from a tree in his garden. This brought canoes with more than 200 Wappinger warriors down the Hudson to Manhattan to kill Van Dyke. They eventually found and put an arrow into him (he was only wounded), but while tearing up the island looking for him, they got into a fight with burgher guards (Dutch militia). The warriors retired across the river to lick their wounds and raise hell by burning Dutch farms at Pavonia, Hoboken, and Staten Island. At least 50 Dutch were killed in the fighting - Peach War (1655).

Meanwhile, the Metoac had grown increasingly angry that the Dutch permitted the Wappinger to attack them whenever they failed to pay the tribute due the Mahican and by 1658 were planning to kill all of the Dutch on Long Island (and also the English settlers on the island if they dared to intervene). Despite a recent Anglo-Dutch War (1652-54), the English colonists warned Governor Peter Stuyvesant who brought in troops to put down the revolt. After ransoming the 50 Dutch prisoners held by the Metoac, Stuyvesant promised to halt the Wappinger attacks. Following the Wappinger War, Dutch settlement in New Netherlands increased from 2,000 in 1648 to more than 10,000 by 1660. Beginning in 1652, it had spread north into the Munsee country in the Esopus Valley near present-day Kingston. During 1659 this erupted in a serious conflict known as the Esopus Wars (1659-64). The Wappinger certainly had enough of their own grievances against the Dutch, but few, if any of them, were involved in the fighting on opposite side of the Hudson. However, a Wappinger sachem was able to arrange a prisoner exchange in November, 1663. To defeat the Esopus, the Dutch ultimately were forced to call in the Mohawk. Although the Dutch made peace with the Esopus in May of 1664, the slaughter did not finally end until 1675 with the Munsee defeated and subject to the Iroquois.

In September, 1664 a British fleet captured New Amsterdam, and the important role of the Dutch in North America ended. Despite this, few of the Dutch settlers left the area. A steady influx of English colonists began to arrive with the first Puritans from Connecticut settling at Newark, New Jersey in 1666. Few were willing to settle up the river and challenge the Iroquois, so most of the new settlement moved onto the Wappinger and Munsee lands along the lower Hudson. Rather than treaty, lands were surrendered mostly through private contracts of sale with payment in trade goods. In some cases land was taken without any attempt at payment. In 1677 the Esopus sold their remaining lands to newly-arrived French Huguenots and moved west with the permission of their Iroquois masters to the Wyoming Valley. East of the Hudson, the Wappinger sold more than 100,000 acres between 1683 and 1685. While a few families stubbornly clung to their river homeland, most began to move north to the Mahican villages along the Housatonic River in western Massachusetts or settled with the 1,000 New England Algonquin refugees who had settled at Schaghticoke after the King Phillip's War (1675-76).

The "melting away" of the Wappinger population on the lower Hudson is a perfect example of what happened to most of the eastern tribes when confronted with the "advance of civilization." The blame cannot easily be attributed to any single reason. Although illegal, alcohol contributed to social disintegration and greased the wheels of a series

of suspicious land sales to whites which usually left the Wappinger with little beyond the clothes on their backs. Epidemic accelerated the process by killing off both the old and young (smallpox in the Hudson Valley during 1636, 1656, and 1692 followed by malaria after 1700) leading to a lack of experienced leadership and a loss of any hope for the future. Warfare also contributed to the decline. When the Mohawk were dispersed in 1693 by French attacks on their homeland during the King William's War (1689-96), the British attempted to compensate by recruiting Mahican, Munsee, and Wappinger warriors to help defend New York. Fully two-thirds of the Wappinger and Mahican warriors who volunteered never returned and gave their lives defending the interests of the colonists who were taking their land.

The Wappinger disappeared but did not cease to exist. However, there was no massive migration which would be easy to trace where they went. As their lands and numbers dwindled, small groups of extended families left the Hudson Valley and moved elsewhere. As mentioned, many went north and settled at Schaghticoke on the upper Hudson or in the Mahican villages near Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Others moved to northern New Jersey and were absorbed by the Unami and Munsee Delaware. By the 1730s, only a few hundred remained in the lower Hudson Valley. Living in small bands, they posed no threat to their white neighbors, and through the influence of Christian missionaries were adjusting to their new circumstances. Missionaries not only exposed traders who were illegally selling alcohol to the natives but also provided legal advice which kept many natives from being cheated. Rather than supporting these efforts, many whites resented the missionary's interference with "nature taking its course." This was especially true of the Moravians who in 1740 established a mission at Shekomeko (Pine Plains, New York) for the Wappinger and Mahican still living along the river.

In the meantime, the King George's War (1744-48) broke out between Britain and France. The Iroquois, except the Mohawk, chose to remain neutral. The Wappinger and Mahican made a similar decision, but French allies from Canada raided settlements in Vermont, New Hampshire, and the Hudson Valley north of Albany. Warned of impending attacks on the lower river, the colonists massacred several peaceful Munsee families near Walden, New York during the fall of 1745. The Munsee and Wappinger immediately left the area and remained in Pennsylvania until 1746. That year, a French army of 960 men under Philippe de Vaudreuil captured Fort Massachusetts on the Hoosic River which exposed the entire Hudson Valley to attack. Apologies were quickly sent explaining that the incident at Walden the year before was a terrible mistake, and the Wappinger and Mahican suddenly found they were welcome in the Hudson Valley to defend it against the French. No invasion came except for a battle near Schenectady in 1748.

The good feelings lasted until the outbreak of the French and Indian War (1755-63). In August, 1755 Abenaki raiders from St. Francois (Quebec) grabbed the last New England refugees at Schaghticoke and took them back to Canada and the French alliance. The Mahican, Munsee and Wappinger families there probably went with them. Their sudden departure cast suspicion on the loyalty of all natives still living along the Hudson. In December, the Munsee and Wappinger families living along the Hudson were ordered to leave the backcountry and move closer to white settlements for their own "protection." On March 2nd, 1756, a group of white vigilantes led by William Slaughter (appropriate name) killed nine peaceful Munsee. Remembering 1746, the 300 remaining Munsee and Wappinger fled north to the Iroquois. A total of 196 Wappinger and Munsee moved in among the Mohawk and Oneida in 1756; others settled near the Moravian missions for the Mahican and Delaware at Freidenshutzen and Gnadenhutzen in Pennsylvania; and the remainder with the Mahican at Stockbridge. None would ever return to their homeland.

During the summer of 1757, frontier settlements in Orange and Dutchess Counties, New York and northern New Jersey were attacked by Munsee warriors still angry about being cheated out of their lands near Minisink. The following year, New York responded by confiscating all of the remaining native lands in the Hudson Valley. Whites immediately moved into the abandoned lands, and when the Moravian missionaries protested, they were arrested as French agents and banished from New York. The Munsee and Delaware raids were not prompted by any desire to help the French, but to avenge themselves against the British for being cheated out of their lands. Realizing this, William Johnson, the British Indian Commissioner, convened a conference at Easton, Pennsylvania in 1758. Hostilities ended for the most part after Pennsylvania relinquished its claim to Ohio and New Jersey agreed to pay the claims of the Delaware and Munsee within its borders. Besides the Munsee, Delaware, and Iroquois, the Wappinger also signed this treaty. By 1760 there were 300 Mahican, Munsee, and Wappinger living with the Oneida in upstate New York. They served with distinction as scouts for Sir William Johnson and the British for the

remainder of the war. However, their demands that the St. Francois (French allies) compensate them for the warriors they had lost delayed peace with the Abenaki until 1762.

After violence and riots in reaction to the Pontiac Rebellion (1763), the Moravian closed their missions in Pennsylvania. The Wappinger families living nearby joined the general migration west to Ohio where they were most likely absorbed by the Delaware. Many of those with the Iroquois settled at Chenango and were adopted by the Nanticoke, themselves refugees from English settlement in Maryland. The Nanticoke supported the Mohawk and British during the American Revolution and in 1783 were forced to relocate to southern Ontario. Some of their descendants can still be found there among the Delaware of the Thames and Munsee-Delaware First Nations. The last major group of Wappinger settled in western Massachusetts with the Mahican at Stockbridge. Because of the missionary efforts of John Sargeant, the Mahican at Stockbridge were largely Christian, and through association, many Wappinger also converted. Besides acquiring a new religion, they also learned something about the British legal system.

Both the Wappinger and Mahican were still angry about their lands in Dutchess and Putnam counties which had been confiscated by New York in 1758. However, when they tried to forcibly expel the white squatters, troops were brought in to prevent bloodshed. Daniel Nimham, the last great Wappinger sachem, travelled to England to plead his people's case. After receiving a favorable hearing, he returned to America in 1762 and filed suit in the New York courts to reclaim land taken without compensation. The idea of Native Americans demanding justice in an English court stunned the colonists of New York, but they recovered with numerous motions intended to delay a decision. The proceedings were finally interrupted by the start of the American Revolution. As the war started, the Mahican and Wappinger, now virtually the same tribe joined the Iroquois as neutrals. However, after attending a meeting in Boston in April, 1774, Captain Hendrick Aupamut of the Stockbridge agreed to support the Americans. Ninham's Wappinger followed suit. Few white American families can match the patriotic credentials of the Wappinger and Mahican from Stockbridge. They fought at Bunker Hill (1774), White Plains (1776), Saratoga (1777), and Barren Hill (1778).

Daniel Nimham was killed at the battle of Kingsbridge (near Yonkers NY) in August, 1778. The Stockbridge and Wappinger lost over 40 warriors in this battle. In all, half of the Mahican and Wappinger men of military age were killed fighting for the American cause in the Revolutionary War. The new nation's gratitude for their sacrifice was brief. They were not allowed to become citizens after the war. By 1786 the last groups of the Stockbridge (and Wappinger had been forced to leave Massachusetts and resettle with the Oneida in upstate New York. For similar reasons, the Brotherton Indians from Connecticut and Long Island joined them at Oneida during the next few years. During the years which followed, the Oneida, Brotherton, and Stockbridge slowly lost their lands to speculators and the State of New York. In 1822 they relocated to a reservation established for the Oneida near Green Bay, Wisconsin. In 1856 a separate reservation was created for the Stockbridge, Brotherton, and Munsee on lands purchased from the Menominee by the United States.

# MAHICAN HISTORY

## Mahican Location

The original Mahican homeland was the Hudson River Valley from the Catskill Mountains north to the southern end of Lake Champlain. Bounded by the Schoharie River in the west, it extended east to the crest of the Berkshire Mountains in western Massachusetts from northwest Connecticut north to the Green Mountains in southern Vermont.

## Population

Because they include all Algonquin tribes between the Hudson and Connecticut Rivers, some estimates of the Mahican population in 1600 range as high as 35,000. However, when limited to the core tribes of the Mahican confederacy near Albany, New York, it was somewhere around 8,000. By 1672 this had fallen to around 1,000. At the lowpoint in 1796, 300 Stockbridge, the "Last of the Mohicans," were living with the Oneida and Brotherton in upstate New York. However, if the Mahican with the Wyandot and Delaware in Ohio were also included, the actual total time was probably closer to 600.

The census of 1910 listed 600 Stockbridge and Brotherton in northern Wisconsin. Three years after the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, the Stockbridge became a federally recognized tribe. They currently have almost 1,500 members living on, or near, their reservation west of Green Bay. There are also 1,700 Brotherton Indians (without federal status) on the east side of Lake Winnebago.

## Names

Both Mahican and Mohican are correct, but NOT Mohegan, a different tribe in eastern Connecticut who were related to the Pequot. In their own language, the Mahican referred to themselves collectively as the "Muhhekunneuw" "people of the great river." This name apparently was difficult for the Dutch to pronounce, so they settled on "Manhigan," the Mahican word for wolf and the name of one their most important clans. Variations were: Maeykan, Mahigan, Mahikander, Mahinganak, Maikan, and Mawhickon. In later years, the English altered this into the more-familiar Mahican or Mohican. The French name for the Mahican was Loup (French for wolf) and followed a similar reasoning. However, the French were prone to using this without distinction for most Algonquin-speaking tribes south of the St. Lawrence (Mahican, Delaware, and Abenaki). Other names: Akochakaneh (Iroquois), Canoe Indians, Hikanagi (Shawnee), Monekunnuk, Mourigan (French), Nhikana (Shawnee), Orunges, River Indians, Stockbridge, Tonotaenrat, and Uragees.

## Language

Algonquin. N-dialect, but in many ways more closely related to the L-dialect of the Munsee and Unami Delaware than the N-dialect spoken in eastern Massachusetts by the Wampanoag, Massachuset, and Nauset.

## Sub-Nations

Divisions: Mahican, Mechkentowoon, Wawyachtoc, Westenhuck, and Wiekagjoc.

## Villages

New York State unless otherwise noted. The name of (another tribe) indicates the village had a mixed population.

Aepjin's Castle, Chaghnat (Chugnut) (Iroquois), Hoosac (Hoosick) (Abenaki), Horicon (Horikan), Housatonic, Kaunaumeeck, Kenunckpacook, Kaunaumeeck, Maringoman Castle, Mohican John's Town (OH), Monemius (Cohoes, Monnemen's Castle), Nepaug, Nutimys Town (Shawnee-Delaware) (PA), Oswego (Iroquois), Otsiningo (Iroquois-

Nanticoke-Delaware), Paanpaack, Peantam, Potick, Potie, Schaghticoke (Scatacook, Scaticook, Shachcook, Skachcook - NOT to be confused with the Schaghticoke in Connecticut), Shekomeko, Shodac (Shotak), Shakehook (Skatekook, Sheffield), Tioga (Munsee-Nanticoke-Saponi-Tutelo) (PA), Tullihass (Delaware-Caughnawaga) (OH), Unawat's Castle, Utfonango (Iroquois), Wechquadnach (Wukhquatenauk), Wequadnack, Westenhuck (Wnahktakook), Wiatiae, Wiltmeet, Winooskeek (Winooski), Wyeck, and Wyoming (Munsee-Shawnee-Iroquois-Nanticoke) (PA).

Christian Villages:

Brotherton, Shekomeko (Shecomeco, Moravian), and Stockbridge (Wnahkutook).

## **Culture**

When James Fenimore Cooper wrote "Last of the Mohicans" in 1826, he made the Mahican famous. Unfortunately, he also made them extinct in the minds of many people and also confused their name and history with the Mohegan from eastern Connecticut. Unfortunately, this misconception has persisted, and most Americans today would be surprised to learn the Mahican are very much alive and living in Wisconsin under an assumed name ...Stockbridge Indians. With a similar language and name, the Mahican (Mohican) and the Mohegan may have been members of the same tribe before contact. The Mohegan, however, migrated east as part of the Pequot and settled in eastern Connecticut sometime around 1500, while the Mahican stayed in the Hudson Valley. Afterwards, these two tribes followed separate paths.

Although culturally similar to other woodland Algonquin, the Mahican were shaped by their constant warfare with the neighboring Iroquois. Politically, the Mahican were a confederacy of five tribes with as many 40 villages. In keeping with other eastern Algonkin, civil authority was not strong. Mahican villages were governed by hereditary sachems (matrilineal descent) advised by a council of the clan leaders. The Mahican had three clans: bear, wolf, and turtle. However, warfare required a higher degree of organization. A general council of sachems met regularly at their capital of Shodac (east of present-day Albany) to decide important matters affecting the entire confederacy. In times of war, the Mahican council passed its authority to a war chief chosen for his proven ability. For the duration of the conflict, the war leader exercised almost dictatorial power.

Mahican villages were fairly large. Usually consisting of 20 to 30 mid-sized longhouses, they were located on hills and heavily fortified. Large cornfields were located nearby. Agriculture provided most of their diet but was supplemented by game, fish, and wild foods. For reasons of safety, the Mahican did to move to scattered hunting camps during the winter like other Algonquin and usually spent the colder months inside their "castles" (fortified villages). Copper, gotten from the Great Lakes through trade, was used extensively for ornaments and some of their arrowheads. Once they began trade with the Dutch, the Mahican abandoned many of their traditional weapons and quickly became very expert with their new firearms. Contrary to the usual stereotype, most Mahican warriors were deadly marksmen. The mother of the famous Miami chief Little Turtle was a Mahican.

## **History**

Throughout the 1500s, European sea captains rode the Gulf Stream north along the east coast of the United States on their return to Europe. It became common practice to add some last minute profit to their voyage by stopping enroute to capture native slaves. For this reason, many coastal tribes became hostile to the pale-faced men from the big ships, but the Mahican lived well-inland and had no such experience. Employed by the Dutch East India Company to search for the Northwest Passage (a fabled shortcut to China), Henry Hudson sailed through the Verrazano strait and entered the Hudson River in September, 1609. For the reasons mentioned, the Wappinger on the lower river proved hostile, but Hudson continued upstream until stopped by shallow water near the Mahican villages just below Albany. The Mahican were not only friendly but eager to trade. Hudson exhausted his trade goods and returned to Holland with a cargo of valuable furs which immediately attracted Dutch merchants to the area. The first Dutch fur traders arrived on the Hudson River the following year to trade with the Mahican. Besides exposing them to European epidemics, the fur trade destabilized the region, and rather than prosperity, it brought the Mahican death and destruction.

The turmoil had started almost as soon as European fishermen visiting the Newfoundland's Grand Banks during the 1500s began exchanging metal knives and cooking pots for furs from the Micmac and Montagnais in the Canadian Maritimes. To protect this trade and gain additional hunting territory, these tribes had used their new steel weapons to drive their Iroquois rivals from the lower St. Lawrence River sometime after 1542. Although the French built their first trading posts near the Micmac in 1604, the quality of the fur from the St. Lawrence drew them north. Abandoning the Micmac, the French built new posts at Tadoussac, and then farther upstream at Quebec in 1608. The Iroquois, meanwhile, had organized into the Iroquois League, an alliance of five tribes (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca), and were once again formidable. After 50-years of warfare, which apparently started around 1560, they had driven an unknown Algonquin-speaking enemy who they called the Adirondack from the mountains in northern New York of the same name, and were in the process of reclaiming the St. Lawrence Valley from the Algonkin, Montagnais, and Maliseet.

However, this confrontation was far from over in 1608, and the St. Lawrence River west of Quebec was a war zone which blocked the expansion of the French fur trade to the west. The danger from Mohawk war parties made the Algonkin and their Huron allies reluctant to bring their furs to Quebec and to win their loyalty, the French decided to help them against the Iroquois. In July of 1609, only two months before Henry Hudson reached the Mahican villages, Samuel de Champlain and six other French accompanied a combined Algonkin, Montagnais, and Huron war party south into New York. At the north end of Lake Champlain, they encountered a large force of Mohawk warriors massing for battle. French firearms broke the Mohawk formation killing several of their chiefs. Confronting a new weapon for the first time, the Mohawk broke and ran. The following year, the French joined their allies to destroy a Mohawk fort on the Richelieu River, and afterwards the Algonkin used the steel weapons gotten from the French to drive the Iroquois from the upper St. Lawrence.

If this unequal contest had continued long enough, the Iroquois might well have been destroyed, but they were saved by the beginning of Dutch trade on the Hudson River in 1610. The one obstacle for the Mohawk, however, was that to trade with the Dutch, they first had to cross Mahican territory. Relations between these two tribes had apparently been hostile for many years before contact, and in all likelihood, the Mahican were a part of the Adirondack. A further source of irritation appears to have been that the Mahican had better access to tribes in the wampum producing areas of Long Island sound which gave them control of the trade in this valuable commodity with the Iroquois. In any case, the Mahican were very reluctant to allow Mohawk access to the Dutch, while the Mohawk desperately needed to trade for steel weapons if they were to survive their war with their northern enemies.

At first, the Dutch traders came only in the summer, loaded their ships with fur, and then sailed back to Europe. By 1613 the fur trade on the Hudson River had grown so lucrative, it became organized, and the United Netherlands Company, a consortium of thirteen Dutch merchants, was granted a four-year charter by the Staten General. It was decided to establish a permanent trading post, but the Dutch first had to arrange a truce to end the fighting which had erupted between the Mahican and Mohawk. Once this was done, the Dutch built Fort Nassau on Castle Island just south of present-day Albany in 1614. Just opposite a Mahican village, it was not easy for the Mohawk to visit, but Fort Nassau was also inconvenient for the Dutch. Prone to flooding, it was abandoned with the outbreak of another Mahican-Mohawk war in 1617. Dutch traders were inclined to favor the Mahican in these conflicts, but they had also ingratiated themselves to the Mohawk by arming them against the Munsee and Susquehannock during 1615. This gave the Dutch enough influence to negotiate another truce between the Mohawk and Mahican in 1618. A new Fort Nassau was built on higher ground near its former location.

The terms of this agreement gave the Mohawk unlimited access to the Dutch but required them to pay tolls to cross Mahican territory. This was not easy for the Mohawk to accept, but the peace endured for six years. During 1621 the United Netherlands Company was absorbed by the newly-formed Dutch West India Company, a commercial enterprise whose charter gave it exclusive authority to trade, govern, and settle New Netherlands. Settlement had been secondary to the fur trade, but after the establishment of an English colony at Plymouth (Massachusetts) in 1620, the Dutch West India Company began to encourage greater immigration. Thirty families under the direction of Willem Verhulst arrived from Holland in 1624. Most settled near Fort Nassau at a place which they called Maeykans "Home of the Mahican" and began to construct new trading post (Fort Orange) on the west side of the Hudson at present-day Albany. Since they no longer needed to cross the Hudson, the new location was more convenient for the Mohawk, but after 14 years of supplying the Dutch with fur, both the Mahican and Iroquois had just about exhausted the beaver in their homelands. As the fur reaching them began to dwindle, the Dutch asked the

Mahican to arrange trade for them with the Algonkin and Montagnais (French allies and trading partners) in the St. Lawrence Valley.

The Mohawk had endured tolls for six years but would not tolerate trade with their northern enemies and attacked the Mahican in 1624. To protect their trade, the Dutch tried to arrange a truce, but this was a war they could not stop. The struggle between the Mahican and Mohawk during the next four years was a critical moment in the history of North America, and if the Mohawk had not won, Cooper's book might well have been called "Last of the Iroquois." Since they lived near their villages and often intermarried with them, the Dutch favored the Mahican, and in 1626, Kriekbeck, the commander at Fort Orange, and six Dutch soldiers joined a Mahican war party against the Mohawk. Running into an ambush, Kriekbeck and three of his men were killed, and the Mohawk warriors celebrated their victory afterwards by cooking and eating one of the dead. Rather than retaliate, Governor Pieter Minuit ordered the other Dutch to remain strictly neutral and evacuated the families near Fort Orange to Fort Amsterdam on Manhattan Island. By 1628, the Mahican had been defeated and abandoned their villages west of the Hudson River.

When the Mahican-Mohawk war ended in 1628, the Dutch pragmatically accepted the outcome, and the Mohawk became their dominant trading partner. The peace not only bound the Mohawk and Mahican into an alliance but required the Mahican to pay an annual tribute of wampum to the Iroquois. The Dutch had become aware in 1623 of the value which natives placed on wampum from their dealings with the Pequot along the Connecticut River. Soon afterwards, they began accepting it as a medium of exchange in the fur trade which greatly increased its value. Using the wampum they were receiving from the Mahican, the Mohawk could purchase many of things they needed from the Dutch, but to continue to dominate the fur trade, they still needed to find new sources of beaver. For this reason, the Mohawk, after they made peace with the Mahican in 1628, continued their wars against the Mahican allies in western New England: Pennacook, Pocumtuc, and Sokoki (western Abenaki). At the same time, they renewed efforts to retake the upper St. Lawrence which they had been forced to surrender to the Algonkin and Montagnais in 1610.

Strangely enough, it was a European war between Britain and France which allowed them to do this. In 1629 a British fleet captured Quebec, and for the next three years until it was returned to France by treaty in 1632, French trade goods (and weapons) came to a complete halt for the Algonkin and Montagnais. While their trade with the Dutch continued, the Iroquois seized this opportunity to attack their enemies while they were at a disadvantage. In 1629 a Mohawk war party destroyed the Algonkin-Montagnais village at Trois Rivieres. By the time France regained Canada in 1632, the Algonkin and Montagnais had been forced to abandon most of the upper St. Lawrence, and the Mohawk were close to cutting the vital trade corridor through the Ottawa River Valley to the western Great Lakes. To restore the previous military advantage, the French began selling their allies firearms for "hunting" which started an arms race. Dutch traders countered with similar sales to the Iroquois, and the result was seventy years of intertribal warfare to control the European fur trade known as the Beaver Wars (1629-1701).

Efforts by the Dutch West India Company to increase immigration proved unsuccessful, and in 1629 they offered large land grants with feudal authority to wealthy investors (patroons) willing to transport, at their own expense, fifty adult settlers to New Netherlands. Five patroonships resulted, but since there was little economic opportunity for anyone but patroons, most ended in failure. By 1635, the company had repurchased four of the original grants. The exception was Rensselaerswyck (Van Rensselaer Manoi) in the Mahican homeland which straddled both sides of the Hudson near old Fort Nassau. Since Dutch law required the purchase of native lands, Kiliaen van Rensselaer sent Sebastian Jansen Crol to Fort Orange in 1630 to negotiate the sale with the Mahican. His timing could not have been better. The Mahican were agreeable since they still claimed their old lands west of the Hudson, but after their defeat by the Mohawk in 1628, they no longer had any villages there. Besides the promise of trade, it also seems likely that, despite their recent alliance with the Mohawk, the Mahican felt more comfortable about their new "allies" with a Dutch settlement near them. Other purchases from the Mahican were added over the years, and Rensselaerswyck eventually grew to almost a million acres.

One of the effects of the prolonged Mahican-Mohawk war between 1624 and 1628 was that it had forced the Dutch to locate their settlements elsewhere. In 1626 Pieter Minuit purchased Manhattan Island from the Metoac tribe of the same name. Fort Amsterdam was built on the south end of the island along with the settlement of New Amsterdam, and farmers were brought to raise the food for the garrison. In 1639, the Company gave up its monopoly in the fur trade, and immigration to New Netherlands increased dramatically. As settlement spread across the lower Hudson

Valley, native lands were often taken through fraud and intimidation. Unlike the friendly relations which the Dutch had enjoyed with the Mahican, conflict with the Wappinger, Unami Delaware, and Metoac on the lower river was immediate, and because of the growing hostility, the Dutch were reluctant to sell firearms to the tribes near their settlements.

Unfortunately, this was not the situation elsewhere. Although the Dutch and French sold firearms to their native allies, both were very careful to limit the amount of ammunition to prevent the use of these weapons against themselves. However, after the Swedes settled on the lower Delaware River in 1638, they tried to compensate for their late start in the fur trade with unrestricted sales to the Susquehannock who quickly became a threat to neighboring tribes. When the other latecomer, English traders along the Connecticut River, tried to lure the Mohawk away from the Dutch with offers of firearms in 1640, the Dutch reacted by providing guns and ammunition to the Iroquois and Mahican in any amount they wanted. While a brutal war raged to the north along the St. Lawrence between the Dutch supplied Iroquois League and the French allied Huron and Algonkin, the Mohawk and Mahican along the Hudson were at peace with each other. However, both tribes had become very heavily-armed compared to the Wappinger and other tribes on the lower river.

The Dutch were unable to prevent either tribe from using their new weapons against neighboring tribes. The European presence in the Hudson Valley had also introduced a series of new epidemics which further destabilized the situation. Smallpox started in New England and devastated the native population during 1634. Measles, influenza, typhus, and a host of other diseases took a similar toll. To maintain their dominant position in the trade with the Dutch, the Mahican and Mohawk needed additional hunting territory, but they had been hit as heavily as anyone else (perhaps moreso) and were forced to compensate for the fall in their populations by cooperating in warfare. After years of fighting, the Mahican and Mohawk had acquired a great respect for each other as warriors, and by 1642 they were forming joint war parties against the Sokoki and Montagnais. Despite military successes and territorial gains, beaver fur was becoming increasingly difficult to find, but the Dutch were also accepting wampum as payment.

The solution for the Mahican and Mohawk was to subjugate the weaker tribes to the south and demand tribute in wampum. While the Mohawk pressured the Munsee Delaware west of the river, the Mahican went after the Wappinger on the east side. During the winter of 1642-43, eighty heavily armed Mahican warriors arrived at the Wecquaesgeek (Wappinger) villages near present-day Yonkers to demand tribute. In the melee which resulted, 17 Wecquaesgeek were killed and many of their women and children taken prisoner. The Wecquaesgeek fled south to what they thought was the protection of the Dutch settlements on the south end of Manhattan Island. After a two-week stay, they moved across the river to the Hackensack and Tappan (Unami Delaware) villages at Pavonia (Jersey City). Because of a recent incident and near war with the Wecquaesgeek, the Dutch had little sympathy for their plight and considered them, at best, unwelcome guests.

There had also been trouble with the Raritan (Pig War, 1640) and Hackensack (Whiskey War, 1642), and when the Narragansett sachem Miontonimo, accompanied by 100 of his warriors, had visited the Metoac villages on Long Island that summer to recruit allies for a war against the Mohegan in Connecticut, Governor Kieft and the other Dutch became suspicious that a general uprising was being planned against themselves and the English. Ignoring the advice of his council, Kieft decided to exterminate the Wecquaesgeek to set an example to the other Wilden (wild men) near Manhattan. On the night of February 25th, 1643, the Dutch made two surprise attacks on the sleeping Wecquaesgeek villages near Pavonia and, without regard for sex or age, massacred at least 110. As word of the Pavonia Massacre spread to the other tribes along the lower river, they retaliated with attacks on the outlying Dutch farms. The Dutch were quickly driven inside the confines of Fort Amsterdam, and in preparing for siege, Kieft compounded the damage by stealing corn from the Metoac on Long Island.

The Wappinger War (Governor Kieft's War, 1642-45) quickly spread to at least 20 tribes: Tappan, Hackensack, Haverstraw, Navasink, Raritan, and a few Munsee in New Jersey; Wecquaesgeek, Kitchawank, Sintsink, Nochpeem, Siwanoy, Tankiteke, and Wappinger in the north; and Canarsee, Manhattan, Rockaway, Matinecock, Merrick, Secatoag, and Massapequa on Long Island. With only 250 men, the Dutch were nearly overwhelmed. Only the Mahican and Mohawk remained loyal, and Kieft took advantage of this to travel to Fort Orange and conclude a treaty of friendship and alliance with them. Although the Mohawk and Mahican did not intervene in the fighting, the mere threat of their doing so was sufficient to keep the war from spreading. Kieft then offered 25,000 guilders to the

English in Connecticut for 150 men to help put down the uprising. Dutch and English forces combined with terrible effect during the 1644 and 1645 to crush the Wappinger and their allies. By the summer of 1645, more than 2,600 had been killed, and the Wappinger asked the Mahican to mediate a peace for them with the Dutch. The Mahican were rewarded for their services. The treaty signed at Fort Orange that August made the Wappinger subject to the Mahican and required the Metoac on the western end of Long Island to pay them an annual tribute in wampum.

Since the Mahican were required in turn to pay tribute to the Mohawk, some of the Metoac tribute found its way to the Iroquois who also profited indirectly from the war. Without losing a single warrior in a war they had provoked between the Dutch and Wappinger, the Mahican and Mohawk gained control of the wampum trade of the lower Hudson. After the war, the Mahican added to their diminished ranks by absorbing remnants from the surviving Wappinger. However, several of the Wappinger tribes, although now subject to the Mahican, had come through the war intact. Rather than collect their tribute from Metoac themselves, the Mahican used the Wappinger as their enforcers. Any failure to pay brought immediate Wappinger attacks on the Metoac villages. While these raids may have annoyed the Dutch, they made no effort to prevent them. By 1655 the Metoac had grown angry enough at this that they were ready to kill all of the Dutch settlers on Long Island, but English colonists on the island warned the Dutch and prevented a major uprising. In 1656 Governor Pieter Stuyvesant signed a treaty with the Metoac agreeing to the construction of a Dutch fort on the island for trade and to defend them against the Wappinger (and indirectly Mahican). Despite this, there was more trouble with the Metoac in 1659.

Meanwhile, a string of Iroquois victories along the St. Lawrence had brought the French fur trade to a complete halt by 1645. To continue their trade, the French were forced to sign a peace treaty with the Mohawk agreeing to remain neutral in future wars between the League and the Huron and Algonkin. During the next two years, the Iroquois attempted to gain permission from the Huron to hunt to the north but were refused. In 1647 the Iroquois resorted to force, and sensing their ally was on the verge of victory, the Dutch supplied them with 400 of the latest flintlocks (much better weapon) and unlimited ammunition on credit. In the spring of 1649, the Iroquois overran and destroyed the Huron Confederacy. During the next two years, the Algonkin, Tionontati, and Neutrals suffered similar fates. The suddenness of these conquests alarmed everyone, including the Mahican who, emboldened by the addition of Wappinger warriors to their ranks, were also annoyed that they still had to pay tribute to their Mohawk "allies."

After the Iroquois victories, the French scrambled during 1650 to organize an alliance of the Pocumtuc, Sokoni, and Pennacook to oppose them. Deciding the time had come to end their alliance with the Mohawk, the Mahican also accepted an invitation to join. However, except for an occasional raid or skirmish, this new alliance went untested at first, since the Mohawk and Oneida were engaged in a serious war in Pennsylvania with the Susquehannock and their Munsee allies. Supplied by the Swedes on the lower Delaware River, the Susquehannock and Munsee easily held their own against the fearsome Mohawk, but in 1655 the Dutch captured the Swedish colonies. Suddenly deprived of their supplier of firearms, the Susquehannock were forced to make peace which freed the Mohawk to turn east. Although the Mahican had remained friendly, the Dutch intervention was not appreciated by the tribes of the lower river and may have contributed to a brief but bloody conflict with the Wappinger that year known as the Peach War.

Much to the distress of the Dutch, the Mahican and their allies exchanged raids with the Mohawk and Oneida across northern and western New England during the next three years. Following the murder of Jesuit priest in 1658, war resumed along the St. Lawrence between the Iroquois and the French. At the same time, the western Iroquois (Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga) became involved in a new war with the Susquehannock, Munsee, and eventually the Unami Delaware. With this many enemies to fight, the Iroquois appealed to the Dutch for support. Besides promises of firearms and ammunition, the Dutch also agreed to use their influence to end the fighting between the Mahican and Mohawk. At the insistence of the Dutch, the Mahican deserted their alliance with the New England Algonquin that year and made a separate peace with the Mohawk. This helped, because, the Dutch were just beginning to have serious problems with the Esopus, four Munsee tribes in the Esopus Valley near present-day Kingston, New York.

The Esopus felt they had never been paid for the lands in the valley taken by the Dutch settlement which had begun in 1652. Although their complaints were ignored, it was not uncommon for Dutch colonists to circumvent their own laws and cheat natives whenever they thought they could get away with it. The difference was that the Esopus did not take this abuse, and after several incidents of increasing violence (some of which may also have involved Mahican and Wappinger warriors), a Dutch farmer was murdered in 1657. Stuyvesant arrived with troops, and after

negotiations with the Esopus went nowhere, he left after ordering the construction of a fort and leaving 50 soldiers to garrison it. Tensions built over the following year, and after the murder of some Esopus hired by a Dutch farmer to husk his corn, Esopus retaliation started the First Esopus War (1659-60). The Dutch were besieged inside their fort for three weeks before Stuyvesant, delayed by hostilities with the Metoac on Long Island, arrived with 300 men in relief. The Esopus retreated west into the Catskill Mountains and continued to raid the settlements in the valley.

In December, the Mahican and Mohawk attempted to mediate a truce but failed, and in the spring the Dutch went on the offensive. Threatened with war with the Mahican and Mohawk if they refused, the Esopus finally agreed to meet with the Dutch during the summer of 1660. Since the treaty signed required the Esopus to surrender most of the disputed land, it did not sit well, but the Mahican and Mohawk guaranteed the treaty and threatened to attack the Esopus if they violated it. Unfortunately, the Mahican and Mohawk were unable to guarantee peace between themselves. That same year, the Mohawk discovered the Mahican were once again trying to arrange trade between the Dutch and the Algonkin, Montagnais, and Sokoki. After the Mahican ignored their warnings, the Mohawk attacked them in 1662. After two years of fighting with battles at Wanton Island and Red Hook, the Mahican had abandoned almost all of the Hudson Valley, including their ancient capital at Shodac just opposite Albany. The fighting continued until 1672, but after 1664, the Mahican council fire was at Westenhuck on upper Housatonic River in western Massachusetts.

With the Mahican and Mohawk preoccupied with each other, the Esopus attacked the Dutch settlements in the Esopus Valley in June, 1663. Reinforcements arrived and drove the Esopus back into the hills where the Dutch could not reach them. In desperation the Dutch called in the Mohawk, who this time employed a more direct method of mediation. Combined with the Seneca, they struck the Munsee and Esopus villages with devastating effect. The Esopus made peace with the Dutch in May of 1664, but the Munsee war with the Iroquois did not end until 1676. By then the Munsee were a conquered people subject to the League. The Dutch had little time to enjoy the peace with the Esopus. In September of 1664, a British fleet arrived and captured New Netherlands. Stuyvesant surrendered Fort Amsterdam on the 6th, and Fort Orange surrendered four days later. Despite the fact the Mahican and Mohawk were at war, the British urged them to make peace and signed treaties of trade and friendship with both tribes on September 24th. New Amsterdam became New York, and except when the Dutch briefly recaptured it in 1673 (renaming it New Orange), the important role of the Dutch in the settlement of North America had ended. The Treaty of Westminster returned New York to Great Britain in 1674.

Little changed for the Mohawk after the British takeover. The British wisely allowed the same Dutch traders to continue trading with the Iroquois, but the Mahican never achieved the same amount of influence with the British that they had enjoyed under the Dutch. Pressed by the Mohawk, the Mahican entered into another alliance with the Pocumtuc, Pennacook and Sokoki, but they had chosen the losing side. While the British stood by in not-so neutral fashion, the Mohawk gathered support from the Oneida, Cayuga, and Onondaga and drove the Pocumtuc, Pennacook, and Sokoki from western New England. Only the Mahican still opposed the Iroquois, but by 1669 they had retreated to the Housatonic Valley in western Massachusetts, and despite the incorporation of small groups of Wappinger and Mattabesec, their population had fallen to less than 1,000.

Because of the threat from the French, the British became increasingly concerned, and in April, 1670, Governor Lovelace travelled to Albany to try to arrange peace between the Mohawk and Mahican. The British continued to insist, and the peace which the Mahican finally made with the Iroquois League in 1672 was actually a total surrender. After 1675 the Iroquois League handled all Mahican negotiations with Europeans, and two years later, the Mahican became the first members of the Iroquois "Covenant Chain." Mahican warriors were recruited for Iroquois raids against tribes in Virginia and Carolina during 1681. Although subject, the Mahican still exercised considerable respect and influence within the Iroquois councils, and under the protection of the Mahican, a group of Shawnee from South Carolina in 1692 were allowed to move in among the Munsee Delaware in northeast Pennsylvania. For this to be allowed, the Mahican had to overcome strong objections from the Iroquois who still thought of the Shawnee as enemies. During the winter of 1676, the Mahican were also instrumental in providing a sanctuary at their village of Schaghticoke on the Hudson River for 250 refugees from the King Philip's War (1675-76). Others followed, and by 1700 the number of refugees at Schaghticoke had grown to more to 1,000.

However, the Mahican had more difficulty protecting themselves and their lands from the colonists of New England and New York. Settlement of the upper Housatonic began shortly after the King Philip's War. In the Hudson Valley,

the Mahican sold their lands west of the river to the Van Rensselaer Manoi in 1680, and seven years later, they parted with even more. Sales of other lands along the Hudson were also made to Robert Livingston in 1683 and 1685 followed by the surrender of their claims in northwest Connecticut. Whites usually took the lands in between these tracts which were sold without purchase. Even as they continued to absorb members of the Wappinger and Mattabesic, smallpox during 1690 reduced the Mahican to less than 800 (10% of their original number). During the King William's War (1689-96) between Britain and France, the Mohawk were dispersed during 1693 by French attacks on their homeland. Faced with a possible French invasion from Canada, the governor of New York recruited Mahican, Wappinger, and Munsee warriors to stem the tide. The Mohawk are said to have lost half of their warriors in this conflict, but two-thirds of the Mahican and Wappinger who entered British service never returned.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Queen Anne's War (1701-13), the Mahican sachem Minichque was mortally wounded by four free blacks during a visit to Albany in August of 1702. Concerned the Mahican would go over to the French, the British did everything in their power to nurse him back to health. Although they normally had problems punishing white men for murdering an Indian, for some reason, the British had no trouble prosecuting the culprits in this particular case. The Mahican apparently appreciated these efforts and remained loyal to the British. In 1711 the Mahican, Schaghticoke, and Iroquois attended a conference at Albany with the British to plan an expedition to capture Quebec. The undertaking ended in disaster. The ships used to transport them to the Gulf of St. Lawrence became lost in fog off the coast of Nova Scotia, and after a collision, two sank with the loss of 840 men.

As their land and number dwindled, the Mahican began to scatter, and by 1740 most had disappeared from the Hudson Valley. In their search for beaver, Mahican hunters had ranged west into the Ohio Valley as early as 1665. In 1680 the French encountered two groups of Mahican living with the Miami on the upper Kankakee River in northern Indiana. They were still there in 1721, when the French refused permission for other groups of Mahican to relocate to the Ohio country from New York. At the time, the French were on the verge of another war with the Fox and concerned the Mahican were either sympathetic to the British or would ally with the Fox. By 1750 the Mahican on the Kankakee had disappeared and are presumed to have been absorbed by the Miami. As more and more English colonists moved into western Massachusetts, the Mahican began to sell their lands on the Housatonic. Konkapot, their chief sachem, sold one large section in 1724 for £460. Payment also included three barrels of cider and three quarts of rum, presumably to ease the pain of his decision. After the sale, the only Massachusetts land that the Mahican had left was a small area along the Housatonic River between Sheffield (Skatekook) and Stockbridge (Wnahkutook).

After settlement, game became increasingly scarce and alcohol a serious problem. Even with their greatly diminished numbers, the land could not support them. Keepedo (known later as Mohican Abraham) abandoned his lands and left Massachusetts with his people in 1730 to settle among the Unami and Munsee Delaware in Wyoming Valley in northern Pennsylvania. After Pennsylvania cheated the Delaware out of their remaining lands through the infamous Walking Purchase Agreement in 1737, the Iroquois refused to defend the Delaware and even insulted them as "women" during meeting with the Pennsylvania governor in Philadelphia. By 1749 most of these "women" had left the Wyoming and Susquehanna Valleys and moved to the Ohio country without bothering to ask for Iroquois permission. The Mahican with them went also, and one group of Mahican settled on the upper Sandusky River in northwest Ohio near the Wyandot. In 1763 they joined the Pontiac Rebellion, and the following year their village (Mahican John's) was burned by Colonel John Bradstreet. Although they maintained a separate identity until 1793, the Ohio Mahican eventually were absorbed by the Delaware.

The departure of these Mahican left only 400 Mahican at Wnahkutook on the Housatonic, the last official Mahican capital. Most of these were converted to Christianity by missionary work which began 1707. The most notable work was by John Sargeant (Sergeant) who arrived in western Massachusetts in 1734 and, the following year, built a mission at Stockbridge, a place the Mahican called the Great Meadow. Sargeant's growing congregation was joined during 1736 by other converts: Mahican from Schaghticoke and Potick (New York); Munsee; Wappinger; and several other New England tribes. Although the population remained predominately Mahican, tribal identity became increasingly blurred and the native community became known as Stockbridge Indians rather than Mahican. Most of the Stockbridge abandoned their traditional wigwams for frame houses, attended church on Sunday, sent their children to British schools, and resembled their white neighbors in every way except the color of their skin. This was, however, not sufficient to protect them from the colonists who continued to encroach and take their lands. All

transfers of Mahican land to whites required approval from the Massachusetts general court, but this legal safeguard was routinely ignored.

Although they were generally disliked by New York and New England colonists, the Moravians also worked with the Mahican after 1740. A mission was established at Shekomeko (Pine Plains, New York) in 1749, but was closed after the start of the French and Indian War (1755-63) when its ministers protested white takeovers of native land and were arrested on the suspicion of being French agents. The Moravians found greater tolerance in Pennsylvania and their missions there at Freidenshutten and Gnadenhutten ministered to both Delaware and Mahican. One of their first converts was the Mahican sachem Keepedo who after baptism was called Abraham. The riots and lynchings by white colonists which accompanied the outbreak of the Pontiac Rebellion in 1763 forced the Moravians to close their missions in Pennsylvania, and their converts left for Ohio. The Moravians followed them west to Ohio and in 1772 established new missions with the same names. In March of 1782 Mahican Abraham (by now an old man) and 90 peaceful Christian Delaware were massacred by American militia at Gnadenhutten, Ohio.

Meanwhile, the Mahican at Stockbridge had been providing invaluable military service in the defense of British settlements. They garrisoned Fort Dummer (Vermont) to protect settlements in western New England against Abenaki raids during Grey Lock's War (1724-27). They also served as British scouts during the King George's War (1744-48), but their white neighbors grew increasingly hostile. Turning the other cheek as required by their new faith, the Stockbridge chose to not retaliate for the unprovoked murder of a Mahican in 1753 by two whites, even when their punishment by a Massachusetts court was exceptionally lenient. At the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1755, a war party from St. Francois came to Schaghticoke in August and took its people back to Canada with them. The defection of the Schaghticoke made the British suspect the loyalty of all of their native allies. This worsened after some of the Schaghticoke returned and killed five colonists near Stockbridge. Despite this, 45 Stockbridge warriors joined Major Robert Rogers's Rangers in 1756, and because of them, Abenaki and Schaghticoke raiders avoided English settlements along the Housatonic.

Rather than gratitude, the Stockbridge found themselves increasingly unwelcome in New England. Although Konkapot and a few families refused to leave, many Stockbridge sold their Massachusetts lands in 1756 and, accepting the invitation of the Oneida, moved to upstate New York. These were soon joined by the last groups of Wappinger and Munsee from the lower Hudson Valley forced to relocate for similar reasons. After the fall of Quebec in September, 1759, there was no doubt about the outcome of the war with the French, and a new wave of British settlers poured into western Massachusetts. To pay debts owed to white traders, Konkapot was forced to sell more land in 1763, and by the start of the American Revolution in 1775, the Stockbridge holdings in Massachusetts had been reduced to less than 1,200 acres. Other than the lands which had been provided to them by the Oneida, this was all the Mahican had left after years of loyal service to both the British and Dutch.

Especially galling were the Mahican and Wappinger lands along the Hudson River confiscated by New York or occupied by white squatters after the Mahican and Wappinger families in the area had been forced to leave in 1758 by the threat of massacre. When the Mahican and Wappinger tried to forcibly expel squatters in Dutchess and Putnam counties, troops were brought in to prevent bloodshed, but the whites stayed where they were. When it looked as if nothing further would be done, the Wappinger sachem Daniel Nimham visited Great Britain where his protests received a favorable hearing. Encouraged, he returned in 1762 and stunned the colonists by filing suit in the New York courts for the recovery of Wappinger and Mahican lands taken without compensation. Recovering from their surprise, the colonists responded with legal motions intended to delay a ruling. By the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1774, nothing had been done.

As war approached, both the Mahican and Wappinger (now virtually the same tribe) sent wampum belts to other tribes advising neutrality. However, after a meeting with the Patriots at Boston in April, 1774, Captain Hendrick Aupamut changed his mind and decided to throw in with the rebels, and Nimham's Wappinger followed suit. The Stockbridge were one of the few tribes to support the American cause during the war. They participated in the siege of Boston and fought at Bunker Hill that June; saw service at White Plains in 1776; served as scouts for the army of Horatio Gates at Saratoga and fought as a company-sized unit at the Battle of Bennington in 1777; and were at Barren Hill in 1778. Nimham was killed at the battle of Kingsbridge in August, 1778. For their service, the Stockbridge received a land grant in Vermont (later sold). Unfortunately, the Stockbridge also paid a terrible price for their patriotism ...the war cost them almost half of their adult male population.

Whatever the gratitude of their white neighbors, it did not last after the war and certainly did not include citizenship. With most of their lands gone, the Stockbridge left western Massachusetts for New York - the last group in 1786. By 1802 the Stockbridge community on the Oneida reserve had added several hundred Christian Brotherton Indians from Connecticut, Long Island, and New Jersey. Only a few isolated Mahican families continued to live along the Hudson. Meanwhile, the Stockbridge had provided another invaluable service to their country. In 1793 they volunteered for the thankless and dangerous role as American negotiators with the tribes of the western alliance in Ohio who were at war with United States. Two other government commissioners' enroute to a meeting with the alliance had been murdered only the year before, but the Stockbridge delegation led by Hendrick Aupamut arrived safely in August, 1793, undoubtedly because they had so many relatives among the hostile Miami and Delaware. They were heard in council with respect, but unfortunately, the negotiations ended in failure and the war went on to its eventual conclusion at Fallen Timbers in 1794. Stockbridge and Brotherton warriors also served in the American Army during the War of 1812.

Patriotic service and conversion to Christianity did not prevent land speculators and settlers from taking their lands or demanding their removal >from New York. As their landbase shrank, nearly one-third of the Stockbridge under the leadership of John Metoxin accepted an offer made in 1808 by their relatives among the Delaware and Miami and in 1818 moved to the White River in Indiana. Unfortunately, they had no sooner arrived than they learned the Delaware had sold their Indiana lands and were preparing for removal west of the Mississippi to southwest Missouri. Some Stockbridge continued on to Wisconsin, but many chose to stay and were joined later by a group of Munsee Delaware. This mixed group did not leave Indiana and rejoin the main body until 1834. Meanwhile, the remaining Stockbridge in New York had sold their remaining lands in 1822 and agreed to move with the Oneida and Brotherton to a new reservation in northern Wisconsin on lands east of the Fox River which the government intended to purchase from the Menominee and Winnebago. The Menominee changed their minds about the amount of land they wished to sell, and it took some time to negotiate a new agreement.

After a new treaty signed in 1831, the move was completed by 1834 with the Oneida located just west of Green Bay and the Stockbridge and Brotherton settled on the east shore of Lake Winnebago. During the late 1830s the government made plans to send them to Oklahoma and Kansas. One group actually moved in 1839, but after extreme hardship enroute, they did not adjust well to life on the plains and returned to Wisconsin. By this time, the Stockbridge had decided they had moved enough. However, serious internal divisions developed after the government offered citizenship if the Stockbridge would end their tribal ownership of land. The majority of the Brotherton finally accepted this offer in a treaty signed in 1856, while the Stockbridge, Munsee, and a few Brotherton moved to a new 40,000 acre reservation west of Green Bay. Tribal ownership finally ended with the individual allotments mandated by the General Allotment Act (Dawes Act, 1887). During the 28-years between the completion of allotment (1910) and the formation of a new Stockbridge tribal government in 1938 under the Indian Reorganization Act (1934), much of their land had been lost to either tax foreclosures or sales to whites. Although only 16,000 acres of their original reservation remains today, the "Last of the Mahicans" are still there and very much alive.