MOHICAN LANDS AND COLONIAL CORNERS: WEATAUG, WECHQUADNACH AND THE CONNECTICUT COLONY 1675-1750

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PREFACE

In the present text, the designation *Mohican* refers to an Eastern Algonquin society of the upper Hudson River and the upper Housatonic River. An alternate spelling, *Mahican*, is occasionally seen in historical and ethnographic contexts but is not used here. Today, Mohican descendants include members of the Stockbridge-Munsee Band of Mohicans in Wisconsin. The history of the Mohicans is distinct from that of the Mohegan Tribal Nation in eastern Connecticut.

An early spelling of *Weataug* is used here in reference to the eighteenth-century Mohican community and settlement area in Salisbury, Connecticut. The intent is to avoid confusion with the present-day village of Weatogue, located in Simsbury, Connecticut.

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1.0 Introduction

By the end of the seventeenth century, the Native American societies of Northeastern America had experienced radical transformations due to disease, warfare and trade that followed contact with Europeans. Where possible, the survivors of devastated groups worked to sustain community life and tradition, often accepting refugees from other tribes. As the seventeenth century moved forward, the pressures from encroaching European settlement affected Native groups in areas that colonists had previously considered remote. In the face of pervasive land-loss and the challenges to tradition posed by the European ways, Native communities were forced to consider alternate strategies of adaptation. These included migration, consolidation with mission communities or "praying towns," the withholding of village tracts from sale, and *in situ* coexistence with colonial society.

Such deliberation was the case for the communities of the Mohican nation. When Henry Hudson arrived in 1609, a network of Mohican settlements held sway over the upper Hudson River Valley and the area that became eastern New York State, western Connecticut, western Massachusetts, and southern Vermont (Dunn 1994:45-62). By 1700, the greatly reduced Mohican population occupied settlements east of the upper Hudson and in the upper Housatonic River drainage. As colonial settlement advanced from the west and east, Mohican leaders moved their political center from Schodac Island near Albany to the vicinity of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Before the middle of the eighteenth century, communities of the Mohican diaspora were compelled to devise

new strategies. Responses varied according to individuals and families, but the primary options selected by the Mohicans were consolidation with the Stockbridge Mohican community and migration to Moravian-sponsored Native settlements in Pennsylvania. Others may have moved to Pachgatgoch (Scaticook at Kent, Connecticut) and Canada. A small number of individuals remained in the colonial settlements that had rapidly subdivided traditional tribal lands.

Located near the Housatonic River south of Stockbridge were the Mohican communities of Wechquadnach and Weataug (in present-day Sharon and Salisbury, Connecticut). These affiliated Native communities managed relations with a small contingent of Dutch settlers who arrived from New York in the early eighteenth century. In the decades to follow, the people of Wechquadnach and Weataug confronted colonial land speculators, farmers, and pioneers of the iron industry eager for the communities' lands. Like many other Native groups of New England, the communities saw most of their land outside of a small core area removed from their control by purchase and expropriation. While the communities' participation in the Mohican political system continued, the practice of traditional subsistence strategies, including agriculture, hunting, and fishing, became problematic. The proximity of new colonial settlements caused social problems. Further tension resulted from ideological competition between the Calvinist mission in Stockbridge, Massachusetts and the Moravian missions at Wechquadnach, Pachgatgoch (Scaticook) and Shekomeko. In addition, administrative differences existed between the colonies of New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay, whose new borders intersected in the upper Housatonic area.

The goal of the present paper is to identify the combination of strategic options, including migration, *in situ* coexistence and the protection of village tracts from sale, that were chosen by the members of the Housatonic Mohican communities of Weataug and Wechquadnach in their resistance to colonial society, and to analyze this in the context of the Mohican society's historical trajectory. This will enable the comparison of a Mohican adaptive model to those of other eighteenth century Native communities of the Northeast, and supplement the historical understanding of the Mohican society. It is hoped that questions inspired by the historic documents pertaining to Weataug and Wechquadnach will lead to further documentary and archaeological inquiry into the communities and the people who lived in them, thereby providing a fuller appreciation of this pivotal period in colonial history.

2.0 Mohican Ethno-Historical Background

Between the arrival of Henry Hudson and the Dutch in 1609 and the insurrection of King Philip's War in 1675, the Mohican society experienced a number of transformations. Trade with the Dutch became focal to the Mohican economy. The Dutch presence grew from seasonal visits for trade to permanent settlement and land ownership on the Hudson. The Mohicans engaged the Mohawk in sporadic, costly warfare that led to social and economic disruptions and substantial loss of Mohican land (Dunn 1994:91-92). Most ominously, the Mohicans' population plummeted, and their control over their territorial core was dismantled. By 1700 the upper Housatonic Valley, adjacent to the Mohican heartland on the east, may have been regarded as a relatively undisturbed relocation area by the Mohican leadership (Dunn 1994:137). In order to evaluate changes in the Mohican society and their significance for the Housatonic Mohican communities of Wechquadnach and Weataug, a Mohican ethno-historical baseline for the early seventeenth century is summarized below. It is followed by a review of Mohican history in the later seventeenth century.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, prior to substantial interaction with Europeans, the Mohicans maintained control over a vast area of land. The Mohicanichtuck, or upper Hudson River, was the core of their territory (Heckewelder 1819:20). Mohican jurisdiction was bounded on the west by the territory of the Mohawks, with whom the Mohicans had an acrimonious relationship. The Mohican territory extended north to the St. Lawrence River, Lake Champlain, and the lands of the Western Abenaki tribes. To the east, the Mohican sphere included the upper Housatonic

River valley in what would become western Massachusetts and northwestern Connecticut. In this area, neighboring tribes included the Massachusett, Wampanoag, and tribes of the Connecticut River valley. Bounding the Mohicans to the south were the Esopus, Munsee, Manahates, Wappingers, and other groups of the lower Hudson, and the Potatuck and Paugussett tribes of the lower Housatonic (Dunn 1994:45-62; Snow 1980:96). The Mohicans also had close social ties to the Lenni Lenape of the Delaware basin. With the exception of the Mohawk, the tribes surrounding the Mohicans also belonged to the Eastern Algonquin group. In terms of language, economy and social traditions, the Mohicans had much in common with these Algonquin neighbors (Snow 1980:88).

During the early historic period after 1609, the majority of the Mohican populace occupied settlements on the riverside flats of the Hudson and its tributaries. The Mohican hinterlands, including the northern and western areas and the upper Housatonic Valley to the east, appear to have been less densely populated, although these were outlying settlements within the Mohican cultural sphere. Relations between neighboring Algonquin groups hinged on respect for jurisdiction over territories and resources, as well as the maintenance of Native trade networks (Dunn 1994:45-62).

The Mohican Nation was a loose confederacy of local tribal communities. These communities, of which there were several dozen in the seventeenth century, were subject to a great sachem. This leader lived at the political center of Schodack on the upper Hudson (Dunn 1994:164-166,232; Young 1961:99). A typical Mohican community occupied a main village with seasonal satellite camps, and was associated with a

particular watercourse and resource area defined by topographic features (Dunn 1994:54). The community sachem maintained these boundaries, resolved local disputes, and represented the community to other groups (Dunn 1994:165-166; Frazier 1992:55-56). Sachems acted as counselors to the great sachem in times of crisis (Ruttenber 1992:29). While this diplomatic duty was a male role, women also served as sachems (Dunn 1994:248-249). The roles of these women, who were presumably elders, evidently extended to the administration of land control and inheritance. As the local communities were generally matrilineal (Dunn 1994:247-248), and lineages were associated with specific tracts of agricultural land, women had great influence over the use, and eventually the sale, of land.

Because agriculture, fishing and hunting were integral to the Mohican economy, access to streams, lakes, rivers and floodplains was critical in the selection of habitation sites. Mohican settlements, or main villages, were often located on terraces or protected hilltops in proximity to the cleared fields under cultivation. In summer and winter, main villages were supplemented by satellite camps for fishing, hunting and other seasonal activities (Dunn 1994:231; Snow 1980:47; Young 1969:99).

Mohican communities, and the lineages which composed them, made intermittent use of parcels of arable land. Over time, arable plots were repeatedly cleared of foliage through controlled burning, later cultivated, and ultimately left to grow over again in a system of rotation. Traditionally, the Mohicans practiced extensive agriculture, which contrasted with the generally intensive methods of the European settlers. This required frequent movement of cultivated plots, as large-scale cultivation and occupation of

permanent, bounded farmsteads were not feasible. Periodic translocation of semi-permanent, main-village sites within a local area was apparently a Mohican practice (Dunn 1994:231; Snow 1980:47).

The typical Mohican main village of the early seventeenth century consisted of an arrangement of elongated or semicircular wigwam longhouses in combination with smaller wigwam structures (Snow 1980:47; Young 1969:99). These buildings were constructed of anchored, arched hickory-sapling frames, reinforced by exterior layers of bark, matting and split pole laths. Overlapping bark layers were held to the laths by withes (Ruttenber 1992:24-25). The Mohican longhouses contained multiple hearths, and may have housed matrilineal family units (Snow 1980:89). On the Hudson, by the 1630s at least, wooden palisades enclosed some Mohican villages (Dunn 1994:107). In the construction of these palisades, vertical wooden elements were joined together on a base of large logs (Ruttenber 1992:25). Located on high ground with commanding views, the palisaded villages were frequently referred to as "castles" by the Dutch. Extensive woodlots and farming areas were contiguous to central villages.

Within the habitation structures, woven mats served as bedding (Snow 1980:76). Habitations were occasionally decorated with pictographs (DeForest 1970:393). Outdoor hearths and wooden racks enabled the smoking of meat, fish and mussels. Subterranean storage pits were filled with dried maize. Villages included open areas for public and ceremonial activities, as well as small, dome-shaped sweat lodges or "earthen ovens" for medicinal and ceremonial use (Ruttenber 1992:27).

In the early period of Dutch trade, when European textiles had become available,

many Mohican men replaced their animal-skin breechcloths with "a lap of duffels cloth half an ell broad and nine quarters long" around their waists, "with a flap of each end hanging down in front and rear." Later, this was worn as a sash drawn round the body and covering the knees. Facial tattoos and feather mantles were common, and braided headbands of scarlet deer hair were occasionally worn. Mohican clothing often included fur, feathers and copper. Women wore "around the waist a girdle made of [wampum]." Beneath a cloth "coat" that extended below the knees, women wore garments of dressed deerskin with wampum fringes. Women wore woven bracelets and necklaces, and bound their hair into a "club" which was covered by a square cap also ornamented with wampum (Young 1969:99).

The spring and summer months saw the planting, maintenance and harvest of staple cultigens. These included maize, beans, squash and pumpkins. In the early spring and autumn, fishing for herring, shad and salmon involved construction and use of weirs, canoes, netting and barbed bone hooks and points. Both fish and mussels were smoked. Maple sugar was also manufactured in the early spring. Hunting and deer drives, often entailing extensive travel, were a primary activity of the late fall and winter months (Snow 1980:88-89). The pelts of bear, beaver, deer and otter required extensive processing for clothing and other purposes. As with the construction and maintenance of habitation structures, the manufacture of ceramic vessels, lithic implements, twine, baskets and matting, were likely to have been perennial activities.

The Mohican regimen of subsistence activities required access to different local ecological zones. These included cleared, arable land for agriculture, rivers and streams

for fishing, and woodlands and wetlands for the hunting of deer, fowl, and fur-bearing animals. This diversified subsistence strategy was extremely successful in the Mohican territory throughout the Hudson and Housatonic drainages.

The subsistence tool kit of the early seventeenth century Mohicans was also diverse. Agricultural activities required stone hoes, mortars, pestles, and wooden bowls. Ceramic vessels were used for food preparation and storage. Dried maize was often stored in reed baskets. Stone adzes were used for various types of woodworking and carving, including the manufacture of bark and dugout canoes. Stone axes were used for the preparation of lumber and the gathering of firewood. Fishing required the construction of weirs and the use of nets, weights, barbed fish hooks, and barbed bone points on leisters. The bow and arrow were commonly used for hunting; lithic projectile points were frequently of the triangular, Madison-type variety, although wooden darts were also used. The processing of meat and hides entailed the use of specialized lithic knives and scrapers. Lithic drills and awls were available for the manufacture of clothing and other articles (Snow 1980:49).

Mohican spiritual life was linked to events of the annual round, and cycles of social gathering and dispersion. Moon festivals were frequent, and Green Corn ceremonies took place at the time of the harvest in late summer. Autumnal deer drives were followed by Deer Sacrifice ceremonies. Mid-winter ceremonies were conducted in main villages between the two major hunts of the season (Ruttenber 1992:27-28; Snow 1980:89) and important religious articles were maintained by the sachems (Frazier 1992:56). The sweat lodge was a vital element of spiritual life through the mid-

eighteenth century (Buninger 1995a; Rundt 1994; Sensemann 1995).

Estimates of the Mohican population of the early seventeenth century have varied widely. Snow's estimate of population density for Native groups of northern New England would suggest a Mohican population of 5300 (Snow 1980:88). While not reliable in their estimates of Mohican demographics, early European observers gauged the Nation's military capability; one estimate of 1600 warriors, adjusted to include non-combatants, suggests an overall population of 8000 or more in the early seventeenth century (Dunn 1994:257). In the seventeenth century, a number of factors combined to reduce the Mohican population. Epidemic diseases, introduced through interaction with Europeans, sharply reduced the populations of most New England Native groups. While pertinent information for the Mohicans in the first half of the seventeenth century is not available, they were likely affected by an epidemic in 1616 and 1617 that was calamitous to the New England tribes. A smallpox epidemic in 1633 affected tribes from the Connecticut River to the region of the Iroquois. Smallpox was spread by warfare south of the St. Lawrence River in 1669. In the aftermath of King Philip's War, Native refugees from New England came to Mohican territory in 1676 while afflicted with contagious disease (Hubbard 1969:280). In 1690, a disastrous epidemic broke out among the Mohicans of the Albany area (Dunn 257-259). Given the lack of accurate demographic data from the seventeenth century, Mohican population levels cannot be proposed with confidence.

After 1650, a socio-political environment characterized by warfare and frequent dislocation of Native populations enabled the spread of contagious diseases. For the

Mohicans, warfare resulted in the interruption of the traditional subsistence cycle (Dunn 1994:91). The fortification of main villages and the diversion and loss of combatants made fishing, hunting and the maintenance and harvesting of crops more difficult. The Mohican reproduction rate was very low in the seventeenth century, presumably due to disease and the consequences of periodic warfare. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the government of New York estimated the Mohican population at approximately 500 persons (Dunn 1994:258-259).

The preceding ethno-historical summary is intended to summarize changes in the Mohican life way during the seventeenth century. During that time, Mohican reactions to European technology, trade and perspective brought changes of unprecedented scope. As they shared many attributes of the Mohican life way described here, the communities of Weataug and Wechquadnach may be more clearly understood in a context of Mohican transformation and persistence.

2.1 Trade, Land and War: The Mohicans in the Seventeenth Century

The following account of Mohican history during the seventeenth century relies upon Dunn (1994):

Henry Hudson's visit in 1609 provided the earliest documentation of contact between Mohicans and Europeans. Beaver skins and other furs were the indigenous commodity of greatest interest to the early Dutch traders. During the earliest phase of trade with the Dutch, the Mohicans bartered furs (primarily beaver and otter) and foodstuffs (corn, beans, pumpkins, fish and game) for textiles and metal tools.

The Mohicans had a troubled relationship with the Mohawk prior to the beginning of the Dutch trade. In the sixteenth century, an alliance of Algonquin tribes had achieved military dominance over the Mohawk. By 1609, Mohican-Mohawk relations were based on defense of their common boundary and mutual avoidance. While the Mohicans might allow travel and hunting privileges to their Algonquin allies, the Mohawk were typically denied access to the Mohican territory. This balance was rapidly upset by the Dutch presence.

Due mainly to trade, the Mohican economy underwent a period of adjustment in the years after Henry Hudson's arrival. Preparations were made for the annual upriver visits of a few Dutch traders. The acquisition and processing of pelts by the Mohicans required more labor than had previously been necessary in clothing manufacture. Stockpiles of cultigens were reduced through barter with the Dutch. In preparation for the annual trading opportunities, Mohican communities prepared stores of processed furs.

By 1614, ships from different Dutch companies were in competition for Native trade on the lower Hudson River, causing considerable turmoil there. In a map produced that year by Adriaen Block, the Mohicans and their land upriver were referred to by name for the first time. The Dutch also established Fort Nassau, an island trading post near present-day Albany which they occupied year-round after 1614. It has been suggested that during this period the Mohicans shifted the focus of their heartland settlements northward, to the east side of the Hudson, in response to this Dutch trade location.

In 1624, Fort Orange was established on an island at present-day Albany. While the Mohicans still vastly outnumbered the Dutch, and attempted to deny them land next to the river, they were unable to prevent Dutch expansion from this location. In the meantime, the Mohawk became active competitors for the Mohicans' trade with the Dutch. To gain access to Fort Orange, the Mohawk needed to cross the western Mohican territory. Tension resulting from this led to armed conflict between the Native groups.

The goods initially provided to the Dutch brought the Mohicans woolen blankets and duffels, other textiles, copper kettles, axes, knives, and beads. Firearms, powder, shot, wampum and alcohol were increasingly in demand later in the seventeenth century. For the Mohicans, the increased utilization of European technologies did not entail the adoption of a European way of life, but the abandonment of some indigenous technologies, and the turmoil of intermittent warfare, apparently led to the need for a reliable supply of European goods.

The advent of Dutch trade, particularly after the establishment of Fort Nassau, heightened the tensions between the Mohican and Mohawk nations. To this point, the

Mohicans had acted as hosts to the Dutch, simultaneously protecting the traders and Mohican interests. However, the resurgent Mohawk began crossing the Mohican territory west of the Hudson to gain access to trade. The Dutch appear to have played the two parties against each other, being interested in Mohawk furs but wary of the Iroquois in general. For a number of reasons, the Mohicans appear to have shifted their settlements at the trade site to the east side of the Hudson, while retaining control over the western area now used by the Mohawk. Armed conflict broke out between the Mohicans and the Mohawk in 1625, and continued for three years. The Mohawk emerged victorious, gaining control over extensive Mohican hunting and fishing areas west of the Hudson. Mohawk access to the new Dutch trade center at Fort Orange was assured, and they were able to exact seasonal tribute from the Mohicans.

For the first fifteen years after the arrival of the Dutch, European activities in the Mohican territory were largely confined to the immediate vicinities of Fort Nassau and later Fort Orange on the Hudson. The Mohicans appear to have resisted strongly the expansion of Dutch activities beyond limited farming and lumbering at Fort Orange. By 1625, several Dutch families had arrived and were using a closely bounded area assigned, but not sold, to the Dutch by the Mohicans. The Dutch requested more land, but were rebuffed due to Mohican resentment of the Mohawk presence at the trading center. Tensions escalated when Mohawk war parties crossed Mohican territory to attack Mohican allies to the east. The Mohicans, perhaps encouraged by the Dutch, became involved in the conflict but eventually suffered a defeat at the hands of the Mohawk. This served as a catalyst to the earliest sales of Mohican land to the Dutch, which began

immediately after the Mohican defeat in 1628.

Typically, the sale of a tract of Mohican land was approved by male and female members of a lineage. Some acted as signatories and witnesses, sometimes empowered by absent relatives. By the mid-seventeenth century, Mohican families included clauses in land transactions which allowed them future access to sold tracts for hunting and other purposes. In some cases, this was rendered problematic by the clearing and fencing of land. Land not immediately occupied by Dutch settlers continued to be used by the Mohicans, who also used abandoned Dutch houses and farm plots. On occasion, tracts had to be re-purchased by the Dutch and boundaries re-negotiated.

In 1630, Dutch patroon Kiliaen Van Renssalaer achieved a breakthrough in his attempts to set up a colony in the Fort Orange area. At that time, armed hostilities had caused the Mohicans to temporarily abandon their settlements on prime land west of the Hudson. The victorious Mohawk posed a threat to any Mohicans who returned. Van Renssalaer believed he had obtained title to the entire historic Mohican territory west of the Hudson, as well as a mill-stream on the eastern side. In fact, the Mohicans had sold Van Renssalaer two relatively small tracts on the west side of the Hudson, to the north and south of Fort Orange. In addition to sparking controversy among Dutch rivals, the sale demonstrated the type of mutual confusion that would characterize many land sales later on.

While the Mohawk did not immediately claim the Mohican lands near Fort Orange, they did exact annual tribute from the Mohicans, who now routinely constructed palisades around their villages. In the period prior to the resumption of armed conflict in

the 1660s, the two Native nations achieved a level of uneasy cooperation.

After 1630, there was a resurgence in the fur trade. The English of the Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay colonies attempted to cut into the Dutch fur trade, and English trading posts were established at Hartford, Connecticut and at Springfield, Massachusetts. On the lower Housatonic River, trade was underway on Goodyear's Island at Wyantenock (near present-day New Milford, Connecticut) by 1644 (C. Smith 1946:52-53). In the 1650s, the Dutch rebuffed an English attempt to gain access to the Housatonic Mohican sphere.

Erosion of Mohican control over the core area in the upper Hudson was the result of their loss of military dominance. Interrupted cycles of agriculture and hunting, and population decline due to disease and armed conflict, made control over a large territory more difficult. Furthermore, the Dutch had failed to support the Mohican effort to drive the Mohawk away from the Hudson.

In 1660, warfare broke out between the Mohawk and an alliance of Abenaki tribes in northern New England. The Mohicans were caught between their traditional Algonquin allies and the Mohawk. In 1664, the Mohicans were drawn into the conflict and engaged in a series of attacks and counter-attacks against the easternmost Mohawk settlements. A brief truce in 1666 was followed by another crushing Mohawk victory over the Mohicans in 1669. The Mohawk then sold numerous parcels of Mohican territory. Tensions between the two nations erupted periodically after a treaty was reached in 1671.

The overall structure of Mohican society and politics changed greatly between

1609 and 1750. The turn of the eighteenth century may have been the time of greatest transition. Conflict with the Mohawk had led to the confiscation of land. The Mohican population had dropped precipitously. Local community leaders (not clearly identified as sachems) sought the approval of the great sachem for the sale of large tracts to the Dutch in the Mohican heartland and outlying areas. Within two decades, the political center had shifted to the east, away from the Hudson and toward smaller, more localized polities. The sachem Metoxon apparently controlled one of these, to the west and south of the Taconic Range; it included Weataug and Wechquadnach.

By 1730, the Mohican leadership generally acted only on the community level. However, a new political center coalesced, this time at the western Massachusetts community of Wnahktakook (Stockbridge) under the sachems Umpachenee and Konkapot. While the Mohican communities downriver on the Housatonic had integrated members of different New England tribes, and maintained ties to Native groups in the lower Housatonic and central Connecticut, they were most strongly influenced by the sachems at Wnahktakook after 1730. Gender roles also appear to have changed. After about 1720, women were no longer signatories to Mohican land transactions, although their continuing influence over negotiations may be inferred. Land sales were more frequently approved by individuals, not groups.

3.0 Land Policies of the Connecticut Colony

Some Native villages of the eastern Mohican sphere, including Weataug and Wechquadnach, eventually existed within the confines of the Connecticut Colony, and not inside New York. The policies of the Connecticut government had a significant influence on the land strategies of the two communities. Many of the English colonists' attitudes regarding the land and its Native inhabitants were the legacy of the Connecticut Colony's original charter. Obtained by John Winthrop from Charles the II in 1662, the charter allowed the Colony considerable autonomy. In essence, the Colony was considered a Company, made up of landholding freemen. The freemen elected a Governor, as well as a General Assembly made up of one or two freemen from each colonial township. The Company was empowered by the charter and King to lease, grant, alienate, and sell land (Van Dusen 1961:70). The rights of the Native proprietors were rarely recognized in this process, as Indians were considered a type of tenant on the King's property (Dunn 1994:129; Pettee 1957:30).

Charles II had arbitrarily designated the Connecticut Colony's borders. Eventually problematic for the Colony, these were the Narragansett Bay to the east, Massachusetts Bay Colony to the north, Long Island Sound to the south, and the "South Sea" or Pacific Ocean to the west (Van Dusen 1961:70). The earliest colonial settlements in the Colony were concentrated on the Connecticut River and the Thames River. As a result, the northwestern area of the Colony (in the upper Housatonic River drainage) was largely unexplored territory for the Assembly until early in the eighteenth century.

Numerous events shaped the formulation of the colonial borders. In a 1667 agreement, Connecticut and New York settled on a north-south border placed twenty

miles east of the Hudson (Van Dusen 1961:95). In 1675, the Duke of York obtained a patent from Charles II which included the "land west of the Connecticut River." Edmund Andros was appointed governor of New York, and demanded control of western Connecticut. As a result, the two colonies arranged a partition in 1683 to better define their mutual border. In 1686, Andros was promoted by James II to the governorship of New England. Upon his arrival in Connecticut, Andros was rebuffed by colonial authorities who invoked their original charter. The Connecticut Assembly was convinced that Andros and other appointees would usurp their Company's powers (Van Dusen 1961:73-74, 82-87). It was decided that if the public lands of the Connecticut Colony were sold to townships and private owners, with title guaranteed by the government, they could not be seized by agents of the King. Thus, in 1686 the administration of the "Western Lands" to the north of Waterbury and Woodbury and west of Simsbury was conveyed to the towns of Hartford and Windsor. The land west of the Housatonic River was retained by the Connecticut government, however (Sedgwick 1877:10).

Prior to 1730, the Western Lands remained largely an unknown quantity to the Connecticut authorities, although all lands within the limits of the Colony's charter were considered to be at the disposal of the government. The first Connecticut surveys in the Weataug area were undertaken by 1720 because of land grants. Between 1668 and 1720, tracts of various sizes had been granted by the Assembly to Connecticut residents who had performed distinguished military service, civil service, or who met other criteria. These grants were regarded as solid investments, but none was developed or even visited by a titleholder until after 1720. Indeed, the precise locations of the grants were only

vaguely conceptualized as being west of the upper Housatonic and within the Connecticut Colony.

The Colony also held that Indians were merely tenants of lands which they occupied. Treaties and other agreements between Europeans and Indians were not considered valid until approved by Connecticut's Colonial Court (Pettee 1957:30-31). After 1722, the purchase of Mohican tracts by New York settlers in the upper Housatonic Valley, in combination with an increased demand for land on the part of Connecticut colonists, apparently led to conflict in the Assembly. Hartford and Windsor re-asserted their jurisdictional control in the Western Lands, given in 1686. However, the Assembly had become reluctant to recognize this agreement. After several years of infighting, the Assembly officially ceded the territory east of the Housatonic to Hartford and Windsor, while reserving the west side for its own purposes (Pettee 1957:20-21).

In the Western Lands, the assertion of power by the Connecticut Assembly was different from the Dutch settlement in both its scale and its philosophy. Early in the colonial history of the Netherlands, the Dutch had debated the treatment of indigenous peoples and the lands occupied by them. A policy had emerged in the seventeenth century, under which Indians were recognized as the rightful proprietors of land with legal rights. Native claimants were to be paid for the tracts they released. At the same time, the Dutch assumed that all Indians should be Christianized, and saw the reduction of Indian lands and populations as proof of God's favor. Generally, the Mohicans of the Upper Hudson and Housatonic had peaceful relations with the Dutch. However, in Connecticut and elsewhere in New England it had long been held that all titles to colonial

land resided in the King (and later the colonial government). In this view, Indians could not claim lands that were not under cultivation *and* granted by the King. As the Indians moved their habitation sites and held possessions in common, they were not accorded the right to sell land. In New England these policies had led to expropriations, armed conflict and the extermination of Native populations (Dunn 1994:126-130).

Before 1750, these historical differences affected the standards by which Connecticut settlers dealt with the Mohicans in the Western Lands. Weataug, Wechquadnach and other Native communities of the western Housatonic Valley would see their ancestral lands subdivided as a result of policies over which they were permitted no influence.

4.0 Weataug: Community and Land

The historical American Indian settlement of Weataug was located west of the Housatonic River in what would become the present township of Salisbury, Connecticut. Prior to the European settlement of the area, Weataug consisted of a Mohican main village and a large territory of floodplains, woodlands and hills. Additional occupation sites were distributed throughout the area (Pettee 1957:49); these were probably used seasonally. Weataug proper was located on a riverside flat, near the Housatonic and south of the Bartholomew's Cobble topographic feature. This secluded location, framed by rocky, wooded hills, provided Weataug's inhabitants with access to the resources of nearby streams, lakes and arable land. The Housatonic and the trail which followed it enabled communication, travel and trade between Weataug and other Native communities up and down the river.

The Native settlement area of Weataug entered the Colonial record in 1676, at the close of King Philip's War. Shortly after the death of King Philip, a contingent of Mohican and Housatonic Indian combatants tried to leave southern New England. Possibly their goal was to withdraw to the upper Hudson River area. However, a contingent of English troops under Colonel John Talcott left Westfield, Massachusetts and overtook the Indians at a Native village on the Housatonic River. In the ensuing massacre, dozens of Indians were killed. Some sources place this event at the village of Weataug itself (Crofut 1937:426; Trumbull 1972 Vol.1:348-349) while others put it upriver near present-day Sheffield, Massachusetts (Ruttenber 1992:62; C. Smith 1946:53). It is unclear whether the casualties included villagers as well as travelling

combatants. The English may have gone on to attack other Native communities on the Housatonic in their campaign of retribution (Barber 1836:472). Nonetheless, the Mohicans evidently remained the eminent Native group in the Weataug vicinity after King Philip's War. In 1678, a New York document referred to the "Mohicanders" of the later Salisbury, Connecticut area (Young 1969:100).

In 1685, Mohicans were involved in three land transactions within the Weataug vicinity. The first of these was signed at Albany on February 4, 1685. It included riverside flats and other land on both sides of the Housatonic, from downstream of the Great Falls at later Falls Village, Connecticut, north into Massachusetts. Much of the Weataug area was included in this sale to Dutch purchasers, but the transaction was subsequently declared null and void (Dunn 1994:298). It is not known if the signatories were empowered to approve the sale, or whether the Colonial government intervened.

The deed's Mohican signatories were Nishotawa, Awaanpaak, and Panematt, the son of Ottonowa. These men have been linked to the general Weataug area in the southern Taconic Range, but not explicitly to the Weataug village (Dunn 1994:314,323-325). The chief witness was Wattawit, "Sachem of the Mahikanders" (Dunn 1994:334); Mamatamitt was an additional witness. The purchasers were Lucas Santen, John Spragge, Dirk Wessells, and Cornelis van Dyke. Payment for the land consisted of "20 fathoms black wampum, 20 fathoms white wampum, 4 blankets, 3 fathoms stroudwaters [coarse woolen cloth], 6 fathoms duffels, 2 stroudwater coats; 3 duffels coats, 3 children's coats, 6 shirts, 3 guns, 4 kettles, 4 bags of powder, 6 axes, 6 pairs of stockings, 2 hoes, 2 half vats strong beer, 4 vats of rum, 12 pair of scissors, 12 combs, 2 rolls of tobacco, 20

knives, 20 bars of lead, and 30 awls." The topographical attributes of the land were clearly familiar to the Mohicans:

> [The tract] began at the great fall of waters [in present Falls Village, CT], called by the natives Pawachtuek and ran up northerly on both sides of the creek. On the west side it went up as far as the flat land, belonging to the Indian named Panaskenak, containing four flats; of these the southernmost flat was next to the falls called Kenachkehantic, the next Achneganick, the third Awaankaniss, and the fourth flat, which was the northernmost bounds on the west side of the creek was called Taashammik." "And on the east side of the kill...from the said falls running up northerly containing also four flats...the first next to the falls being a great flat or plain and the southernmost part thereof called Pacachkook and the north end Soquawaen, the second plain Nanachquak; the third flat Taasham, and the fourth or northernmost flat called Machemene Pakak, running northerly to a creek...that comes out of the woods, [the creek is] called Wata Pichkaak, and so running into the woods on both sides of the [Westenhook] creek eastward and westward to the high hills as far as the owners' property stretches; and southerly below the falls on both sides of the creek as far as to the land of Machaktehank... (Dunn 1994:298).

The second transaction of 1685, also annulled, involved an extensive upriver extension of the first tract (Dunn 1994:298-299). The Dutch purchasers were the same as before, but the Mohican signatories were different. It is possible that they were members of another lineage in the area.

The third land transaction of 1685 in the Weataug area occurred on August 10. The Dutch patroon Robert Livingston purchased the Tachkanik territory, located west of Weataug and northwest of Wechquadnach on the Hudson side of the Taconic Range. This became the Livingston Manor, which included a spur extending from its southeast corner eastward into the area of present-day Lakeville, Connecticut (Dunn 1994:61; Morrill 1987:38-66). This spur lay roughly in between the Weataug and Wechquadnach locales. The main tract lay "behind Patkook," a large hill, and ran along the Roelof

Jansen Kill to the Hudson (Dunn 1994:299). It included the Mohican village site of Tachkanik, against the Taconic foothills near present-day Copake, New York. Its northeast corner was marked by Ahashewaghkick, a stone heap near present-day Hillsdale, New York. The southeast corner and spur were marked by a location called Wichquapakkat and a distinctive group of trees (O'Callaghan 1849-1851 Vol.3:690; Ruttenber 1992:372).

The Mohican signatories included "Tataemshatt and Michiel, his brother, called Waquassamo, authorized by their brother, Amesett, who was at Canada, also Tawihaes and Nishotowaw. The rest were apparently women: Minasees, Nanamawe, and Tataemshatt's mother, Tantapenowa, who was Netepoe's wife, and Mamattittawawpe, Mohowacghqua, and Guttatamo." Payment consisted of 630 guilders, in black and white strung wampum, 7 blankets and one little blanket, 8 fathoms of strouds, 10 fathoms of duffels, 7 guns, 11 kettles, 5 casks of rum, 4 half vats of beer, 5 bags of powder, 60 bars of lead, 14 coats made of stroud and duffels, 10 great shirts and 12 little ones, 13 axes, 10 pairs of great stockings, 5 pairs of woman's stockings, and 5 pairs of children's stockings, 9 hoes, 50 knives, 4 rolls of tobacco, 4 iron pots, 200 awls, 2 serge coats, 4 hats, 4 caps, 5 pairs of shoes, 2 edges, 2 drawing knives, 2 plains, 6 bottles, and 3 earthen jugs" (Dunn 1994:299). After the sale of Tachkanik, Guttatamo became influential at Weataug, which seems to indicates her migration to the Housatonic Valley community. Thus, as of 1685, the only Europeans living in immediate proximity to the Weataug Mohicans were the Dutch of Livingston Manor, west of the Taconic Range. Possibly, the Weataug Mohicans had conducted trade earlier with the Dutch on the Hudson. Later trade with the

Livingston Manor Dutch may have occurred at Wnahktakook, upriver from Weataug. Known to the Dutch as Westenhook or Westenhuck, this Native settlement area was located next to the Housatonic in southwestern Massachusetts (Orcutt 1972:140). Trade with the English was possible downriver at Wyantenock (C. Smith 1946:52-53) and to the east in Hartford. Playing off such options may have become increasingly attractive, even necessary, to members of the Weataug community by 1700.

The next documentary references to Weataug occur after 1700. These are found in land transactions, colonial evaluations of Indian tracts, or estimations of the military capacity and proclivities of Native communities feared to be in alliance with the Canadian Indians or the Mohawk. In 1704, Weataug and the communities of Pomperaug, Bantom, and Piscatacook (Pachgatgoch or Scaticook) were said to be "in league with Wyantenock" and the sachem Wehononague (Trumbull 1972 Vol.2:83). This presumably refers to the close economic, social and political bonds between the Native communities of the western Connecticut Colony. Some sources referred to the vicinity south of the Taconic Range as Wyatiack (Young 1969:100) or Washiak (Pettee 1957:22). These seem to have been alternate spellings for Weataug. The locale apparently became a polity under the sachem Metoxon by 1721. A tradition holds that Weataug was founded by Indians from Simsbury (Fales 1972:3-4) or Windsor, Connecticut (DeForest 1970:398). While immigrants from central Connecticut probably did join the Housatonic groups, deeds indicate that the Weataug vicinity was controlled by the Mohicans at least since the era of King Philip's War (Dunn 1994:298).

In 1714, Robert Livingston of the Manor visited Weataug while surveying his

land holdings (Rudd 1899:3). At the village, he stayed for two nights at "a large Indian house" (Dunn 1994:128). Livingston's visit may have been inspired by confusion over the property boundaries of Richard Sackett, who in 1704 acquired an extensive tract of land south of the Manor. Sackett mistakenly believed the entire area, bought from Mohicans, to be within the New York Colony (Pettee 1957:22). A fixing of the boundaries two decades later showed that the eastern portion of the disputed tract extended into the later townships of Salisbury and Sharon, Connecticut (Dunn 1994:304), which at the time were the approximate Weataug and Wechquadnach lands. Whether or not they had approved the sale, Weataug and Wechquadnach were apparently not affected by it immediately. The Mohican sachem authorizing the Sackett sales, a man named Metoxon, was identified as having jurisdiction over the Weataug and Wechquadnach communities decades later. By that time, however, confusion had arisen over which lands had been sold, and who had the authority to sell them.

By the end of the seventeenth century, Dutch tenants from Livingston Manor began to explore what they mistakenly believed to be the eastern edge of the Manor. As early as 1692, a Dutchman was farming near present Mount Washington, upriver from Weataug (Pettee 1957:23). Beginning around 1714, families of Dutch settlers from Livingston Manor actually moved into the Weataug area south and east of the Taconic Range (Pettee 1957:22). While in fact they had transgressed beyond the eastern bounds of the Livingston Manor, several Dutch families were allowed by the Mohicans to establish a small settlement. This cluster of cabins was located on the Housatonic River to the south of the main Weataug village (Pettee 1957:49). For the next few years, the

Native and Dutch communities seem to have managed a coexistence without conflict. The initial Dutch homesteading activities were confined to a small area, and the resources on which the Weataug community depended, such as hunting, fishing, woodlands, wetlands, and arable land, remained abundant. The Weataug Mohicans may also have anticipated greater ease in trade with the small Dutch population.

In 1717, a colonial survey party established the boundary between the Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies (Rudd 1899:3; Van Dusen 1961:94). As this line crossed east to west immediately upriver from the Weataug settlement, it formally enclosed the Native community still further. It is not known whether the Mohicans met with this survey party or were informed of its implications.

Even before the Connecticut government began to divide the Mohican jurisdiction in the area of Weataug and Wechquadnach, the Indian communities established a pattern of land sales. In addition to containing Dutch settlement, the Mohican land strategy was apparently to withhold from sale, barter or any transaction the following: the two main village sites, in their strategic locations for travel and trade; tracts of cleared, arable land for cultivation; access to woodland tracts for hunting, firewood and timber; access to fresh water, wetlands, and seasonal resources such as maple groves and fishing; and control over areas of ancestral and lineage significance, including burial grounds. More than fixed village locations, Weataug and Wechquadnach were focal community areas used by people accustomed to travel and reconvention. As colonial demand for Native lands increased in Connecticut, the preservation of the two village tracts entailed the Mohican sale or release of outlying, less valued tracts which could no longer be

controlled. Evidently conducted by multiple lineages, this strategy was guided by the sachem Metoxon, leader of a polity in the southern Taconic Range which embraced Weataug and other Mohican communities.

On August 20, 1719, the Dutch settlers formalized their holdings in the Weataug area. For "forty pounds lawfull money of New York," William White and Abraham Van Dusen purchased a substantial tract of Weataug territory. The transaction was probably conducted at the Livingston Manor. The Weataug signatories were two men, Katrukseet and Takomp, and two women, Conekamow and Jhenem. Jhaniwan, Sankoonakehek and Mamanitiseckhan were witnesses. The deed described the boundaries of the purchase:

> [O]n the west side of Housetanick River in the Colony of Connecticut [the tract being] known by the Name of Weataok Beginning at the falls of sd. river [at Falls Village, Connecticut] and runing thence up the River to a little run of Water [unnamed creek] which comes into sd. River thence runing up the Run of Water to a Lake Called Kokonhamok [Washinee of the Twin Lakes] thence runing with a strait line to the End of a hill Called Weeatauwashoke [Wetauwanchu or "Weataug Mountain"] thence along the said hill to the first station of sd. Bounds at the afore sd. falls... (Salisbury, Connecticut Deeds 3:504).

Consisting of the eastern central portion of later Salisbury, the tract included broad floodplains, woodlands, and hills downriver from the Dutch settlement. It also included Weeatauwashoke, a prominent landform, and the land surrounding one of Weataug's downriver settlements. As in later deeds, the area around the Native village was not sold. The sale deviated from traditional Mohican transactions as it only included one side of the primary watercourse involved. It is possible that the Housatonic marked the eastern edge of the Mohican jurisdiction during this period. In fact, the Housatonic already had assumed the quality of a jurisdictional boundary in the Native political

sphere. During an outbreak of warfare in 1704, the Housatonic or "Westenhook" River became a boundary line of neutrality which the Mohicans and the Iroquois recognized in an agreement with the Canadian Indians (Ruttenber 1992:62). Thus, Mohicans were subject to attack by Indians allied with France if they traveled or settled on the east side of the river.

Apparently stung by the Dutch acquisition of lands in the Housatonic, the Connecticut Assembly passed a pertinent resolution in 1719. Often ignored, the edict forbade squatting on the Colony's lands (i.e., on any tract not yet given or sold by the Governor and Company of Connecticut) and it made the private purchase of land from Indians illegal (Rossano 1988:xi; Whitridge 1976:30). The apparent goal was to assert the colonial government's jurisdiction over all unsold land and force land transactions to occur under the aegis of the Colony.

Unfazed, the Dutch of New York continued their acquisition of Weataug lands. At the time, the Weataug transactions were signed at the Livingston Manor in New York, and payment was still made in New York currency. On August 20, 1720, one year after their first purchase, White and Van Dusen obtained an additional 200 acres from the Weataug Mohicans. This apparently was a riverside expansion of the northeast portion of the previous purchase (Morrill 1987:57-58, 63). No deed for this 1720 transaction is known.

Later in 1720, Laurence Knickerbaker made an additional purchase. In the transaction of October 28 (recorded at Hartford on May 19, 1721), the Dutch resident of New York obtained fifty acres "westward of Ousatunnuck" River and below and

southward of the Great Falls. The tract had been surveyed by Thomas Kimberly in July 1720. The purchase was made of Thomas Welles of Woodbury for twenty pounds "currant money of New York." Evidently, Welles had obtained a Connecticut Assembly grant of Indian land before 1720, had it surveyed into place, but decided to disassociate himself from it. The boundaries of the tract ran from a marker on the west bank of the river at the south part of a meadow, then twelve rods to a heap of stones, then to a white oak by a pine stump, to a large brook running into the river from the west, then south to some elm trees. Knickerbacker's title was confirmed, and he was freed from outside claims. Wells may have feared an angry response from Weataug, as stipulations were included regarding the Indians:

> ...It is hereby Especially Stipulated and agreed that the said Laurence Knickerbacker is to pay and sattisfy the Indian owners and proprietors of the said lands for that the said Thomas Welles is wholly disinterested and Engaged [,] he nor his heirs to be at any charge about the Indian purchase... (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Connecticut Colonial Land Records Volume 3: 376-379).

Welles actually signed the document on December 2, 1720 at the Livingston Manor. Dutch interest in the upper Housatonic valley was soon matched by that of English investors from Connecticut. Like Welles, many of the early speculators came from Woodbury; in time this Connecticut town, and not the Livingston Manor, was the location of deed signings involving the Weataug Mohicans.

On January 27, 1721 the Weataug Mohicans sold a large tract, the central part of present Salisbury, to two Dutch settlers. The tract described represented the westward expansion of the original Weataug deed of 1719. The Dutch obtained a small valley away

from the river, as well as a brook running down from the Taconic Plateau. The Mohican signatories, female and male, used pictographic signatures. With the exception of the sachem Metoxon, here identified by his alias "Corlar" (Dunn 1994:321), the signatories were a different set of individuals from the earlier Weataug transactions. This was the final Weataug transaction in which the Native signatories were identified as Mohicans.

> To all People to whom these presents shall come greeting. Know Yee that Weekenanaquin alias Corlar [Metoxon] Voihachoam and Sakowenahook and Makmokqueam and Auckahianawa Anshowakonak and Nanoos and Janpanotan and Peet the Son of Shukokan Mahokahaunt and Nayatoo and Mamantawokan Watnam Shonshumnawok Maquaquen Shahememon and Trekanonah all Indians of the...Nation of the Mohokanders ffor...the sum of Twenty pounds of lawfull money of New York...do by these presents grant bargain and sell unto the said Johannes Dickemann and Laurence Knickerbaker a Certain Tract of Land Lying on the west side of Oussatunuck or Stratford River beginning at the Upper Falls of said River to the southwards of Weatauk thence runing along the side of a hill called Wetawanchu by the bounds of the land which William White and Abraham Van Dusen have formerly purchased of the Indians two miles...Runing with a straight line to a mile above the falls of a brook called by the Indians Washokastanook thence running south three miles thence running easterly to the aforesaid River thence Running up the said River to the first station... (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Towns and Lands, first series, Vol.7, Doc.245a).

The General Assembly of Connecticut was spurred into further action by these unregulated Indian and Dutch exchanges on the frontier of its Western Lands. In 1720, the Assembly commissioned preliminary surveys of the seventeenth-century "country grants" in the present-day Salisbury area (Pettee 1957:31). Feeling similar pressures, the Massachusetts Bay colony soon ordered a survey of the present-day Sheffield area, immediately upriver from Weataug (Rossano 1988:xi).

By 1721, the Dutch community at Weataug was firmly established. The Dutch farmers even borrowed the Mohican name for their own settlement (Pettee 1957:63). In that year, one established a homestead near present Lime Rock, below the Great Falls downriver from Weataug. Those Dutch families that stayed in the area were eventually recognized as Connecticut proprietors.

As remembered eighty years later, the Native population of the "river area" of Weataug and Wechquadnach in the initial period of coexistence numbered between two hundred and three hundred persons (Pettee 1957:49; Sedgwick 1877:186). A large wigwam village, Weataug proper, was located east of the Twin Lakes and north of the new Dutch settlement, on the west bank of the Housatonic. An additional wigwam group, perhaps for seasonal use, was situated west of the Housatonic and downstream from the Dutch settlement (Pettee 1957:49). Near this location in the 1740s was recorded an "Indian block house" and burial ground (Moskowitz 1996:pers. comm.). It is not presently known when this site was first occupied. A third habitation site was located several miles away beside Lake Wononscopomuc (Pettee 1957:49).

While the Dutch were the first Europeans to establish a settlement in the Weataug territory, pressure soon came from the English colonial governments of Connecticut and Massachusetts. The formerly ephemeral border between Connecticut and Massachusetts was formalized in 1717 (Van Dusen 1961:94), and the main village of Weataug practically straddled the boundary line. In 1724, upriver from Weataug, Mohicans under the sachem Konkapot sold a large area to a "sterling committee" appointed by Massachusetts Colony (Dunn 1994:307). The tract, named The Westenhook Patent,

included land at present Sheffield, Great Barrington, Mount Washington, Egremont, Alford, West Stockbridge and part of Stockbridge and Lee, Massachusetts. Here, too, the Mohicans reserved some of the land: a clear riverside tract in the present Great Barrington vicinity, and a strip running west of the Housatonic in present Egremont, all the way to the New York line. This sale was the result of negotiations between the Mohican leadership and the colony of Massachusetts. While the tract that was sold was to be used in the creation of two new colonial townships, a third Massachusetts township to the north was meant to remain under Mohican control (Frazier 1992:39).

Long after King Philip's War, the possibility of Indian assaults on frontier settlements was a concern for white landholders, and it made life difficult for Indians living in areas newly settled by Europeans. The Native inhabitants of Weataug and Wechquadnach were often suspected by settlers of complicity with insurgents, although the threat was more perceived than real. In 1725, fear of unrest prompted a proclamation from the Connecticut government to the Mohicans of Weataug. The colonial authorities recognized the Weataug Indians as "friendly," but warned them against relations with Native groups the Colony considered hostile. Hunting and travel on colonial lands in the area was arbitrarily forbidden, as the Colony considered the Weataug Indians "difficult to distinguish...from the enemie" (Rudd 1899:2).

The 1720s saw the beginning of a period of rapid land acquisition and speculation by colonial investors. While the Connecticut General Assembly did not formally evaluate the Weataug locale's resources and suitability for settlement until 1732, several English entrepreneurs, as well as the Dutch farmers, had already attempted to establish a foothold

there. The Woodbury triumvirate of Hinman, Knowles and Stiles bought up a number of the old Connecticut "country grants," assembling by 1729 a patchwork of tracts in the present township of Salisbury. On paper, their holdings included the southern Taconic Plateau and the present Lakeville vicinity (Pettee 1957:32-33). They pursued the Indian lands as well. On June 19, 1729 in Woodbury, six Weataug Indians signed a document selling a large part of present Salisbury to Hinman and Knowles. As in earlier transactions, the boundaries excluded the Native Weataug land in the northeast part of the later township. It was bounded on the south by the holdings of Wechquadnach, the Dutch settlers, and Sackett.

> Know all men by these presents that we Matauckson [Metoxon] Sausenauckhege Muckaneege Pauqennapeet Nanaconett Neshanees all Indians of Weatauke in the Colony of Connecticutt in New England for and in consideration of [thirty pounds] in money to us well and truly paid by Andrew Hinman and Thomas Knowles both of Woodbury... have sold...a certain tract of land lying in the north west corner of the Colony above said [,] at or near the the place known by the name of Weatauck [the boundaries of the tract] beginning at the Massachusetts line against a pond called Panaheconnok [Lake Washining] and running southward to said pond and so from said pond southward on the high land against the Great Falls in Ousatonack or Stratford River then turning eastward to said Falls and from said Falls Runing South of the west with a streight line to a pond called Tautauquanockpaucok [probably Lake Wononscopomuc] and from said pond west so far as where the division line between the Government of New York and Connecticutt shall be setted and so running up the said line till it meet with the Massachusetts line... (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Connecticut Colonial Land Records Vol. 4-5, 440).

Approximately one quarter of the land in the tract had previously been deeded to White and Van Dusen in 1719. However, repeat sales of this kind were not uncommon (Dunn 1994:133-139). The Mohicans had a keen awareness of the bounds of tracts that had been used by them for generations. Often they occupied or re-occupied lands which

had been purchased, but not immediately "improved," by the Dutch. Historically, payment may have been understood by Mohicans in terms of a rent or lease rather than an acquisition in perpetuity. At the same time, the Mohicans were well aware of the Dutch and English settlement of Indian lands that had *never* been purchased. The 1729 purchase may also be interpreted as an attempt by the Connecticut residents Hinman and Knowles to take possession of Dutch-owned land, even while pre-empting the Colony's assumed title to the territory.

While relinquishing a large area in the 1729 transaction, the Weataug community did reserve a tract more than two square miles in size. This reserve, contiguous to the main village of Weataug, included the vicinity of lakes Washining and Washinee, north to the Massachusetts border and east to the floodplain on the Housatonic. Featuring arable land, woodlands and steep, terraced hills, the Weataug of 1729 resembled a microcosm of the community's territory a decade before.

The people of Weataug maintained smaller settlements at traditional locations outside the 1729 reserve into the 1730s. These included wigwams on the banks of the Furnace Pond (Lake Wononscopomuc) and two wigwam groups downriver from the Dutch settlement on the Housatonic (Pettee 1957:49). While no longer holding title to the land, the Mohicans apparently continued to hunt, fish, farm and live on unoccupied European properties near Weataug.

As the central, eastern and coastal parts of Connecticut became more densely settled, the demand for "unimproved" land increased. For these purposes, the potential of the Western Lands, including the Weataug territory, became more apparent. The

inheritors of seventeenth century Assembly grants, anticipating a windfall, presented old rights to the Connecticut government and asked that their acreages be surveyed into place. The first such survey in the Weataug area was in 1720 (Pettee 1957:31). In 1723, the Woodbury, Connecticut survey team of Lewis and Knowles placed the New York-Connecticut border between the White and Van Dusen properties of the 1719 and 1720 Weataug land transactions (Pettee 1957:26). At about this time, a small number of English settlers from present Sheffield, Massachusetts, upriver from Weataug, acquainted themselves with the topography and resources of the Weataug area (Pettee 1957:46).

While conducting the survey work commissioned by the Assembly, the surveyors were serving their own interests as well. Some of them actually held title to the grants they were laying out; others would become intimately involved with the rampant land speculation of the 1730s. By 1731, two Sheffield, Massachusetts colonists had become aware of a valuable resource that would have a profound influence on the European settlement of the area. To the southwest of Weataug was a steep hill that contained a large amount of high-quality iron ore. Although it was located within the Connecticut Colony, the ore hill was first owned by Massachusetts residents who had scouted out the Weataug vicinity. In 1731, Ezekiel Ashley and John Pell of Sheffield purchased a 100-acre lot from Daniel Bissell, inheritor of a 1674 grant. Being Massachusetts residents, Ashley and Pell had to purchase the grant, being unable to petition the Connecticut assembly for one. Promptly they had the grant surveyed, placing the boundaries around the ore-bearing hill in Connecticut (Pettee 1957:46).

By 1732, the contest between Hartford, Windsor and the Assembly over

jurisdiction in the Western Lands had reached a compromise. The two large towns divided up the land on the east side of the Housatonic, while the Assembly controlled the area west of the river up to the New York border. A triumvirate committee was appointed to survey the area, evaluate its suitability for settlement, and demarcate a township. This land was in fact the traditional Weataug territory, now divided between the Weataug Indians, the Dutch farmers, and numerous English grantees. If it seemed appropriate, a second township south of the first was also to be laid out. This momentous survey was assigned to a pair of interested grant-holders, William Gaylord and John Noble, and Edmund Lewis of the 1723 border survey (Sedgwick 1877:10-11).

The triumvirate wasted no time in evaluating the Weataug and Wechquadnach areas. Realizing the potential for personal profit in the European settlement of the vicinity, they laid out the boundaries of the present townships of Salisbury and Sharon. Bounded by marked trees and stone heaps, and bracketed by the New York-Connecticut border and the Housatonic, the proposed townships were designated "M." (Salisbury) and "N.S." (Sharon) (Sedgwick 1877:10-11). In their report of October, 1732, the committee emphasized the agricultural potential of the land around Weataug:

> [A]s to the quality of the...laid out lands, in the said townships, we find them like a great part of the rest of the lands in this [Connecticut] government, some good and some otherwise; we find the good and fertile lands in the north township to be considerably scattering, and that there are country grants [already] laid out in it to the quantity of about 3,500 acres. There are six ponds in said north township...There is at the northwest corner of said township, on Poconnuck [Riga] Mount, a large piece of rough waste land...The remainder of the lands...will, in our judgement, be serviceable for plowing, mowing and pasturing; and will, with the [English] inhabitants there, and the farms, accommodate a sufficient number...for a town (Sedgwick 1877:12).

Significantly, the township committee made no mention of the established Mohican and Dutch populations in the proposed townships. Nor was the presence of the rich iron deposit made known to the Assembly, indicating that the committee was unaware of it (or hoped to keep it secret) and that production had not commenced as of 1732. Already, awareness of the intentions of the Assembly had instigated a significant amount of maneuvering. Several farmers at Dutch Weataug moved to re-purchase their tracts from the newly interested grantees, a decade after securing title from the Mohicans (Pettee 1957:69).

The production of iron commenced immediately after the submission of the committee report. The Sheffield entrepreneurs had secured title just in time; in 1733, the extraction and smelting of Salisbury iron ore was underway (Barber 1836:487). Once the high quality of the product had been demonstrated, the Ore Hill came under the aegis of a joint stock corporation of seven very wealthy Connecticut patrons, and a patent was secured from the General Assembly (Rossano 1988:xiii).

The mining operation accelerated the pace of the English settlement of the Weataug vicinity. A dangerous, labor-intensive industry, iron production required a sizeable work force to dig out the ore. Large stone smelting furnaces were required to separate the metal from its stony matrix. A huge volume of charcoal, produced in outlying camps, was required to operate the furnaces. By 1735, the founding of the agrarian township of "M." was outpaced by the establishment of iron production facilities and communities. Iron bars were transported from the furnaces to forges for the manufacture of tools, cauldrons, anchors and firearms. A forge was opened at Ancram in

nearby Livingston Manor, west of the Ore Hill. To the east near the Housatonic, the Massachusetts entrepreneur Thomas Lamb had an alternate forge in operation by 1736. The next year, the Ashleys opened their own forge in Sheffield. However, the source of the iron bars was the Furnace Village, which was centered around the outlet of Lake Wononscopomuc in later Lakeville (Pettee 1957:47, 58-59). Although the Weataug Mohicans had traditionally maintained a settlement and meeting place at the lake, they apparently discontinued its use by the late 1730s.

Initially, the Weataug Mohicans had accommodated the activities of the Dutch families. Outside of the small settlement at Dutch Weataug, the Dutch habitations were homesteads in clearings west of the Housatonic, near present-day Lime Rock and the Twin Lakes (Barber 1836:486). Despite their proximate locations, the degree of social and economic interaction between the Mohican and Dutch communities is not clear. Later historical accounts described the Weataug Indians as having been "welcoming" and "friendly" to the earliest settlers (Barber 1836:489). Tensions escalated, however, when the Connecticut Assembly's designs on Native holdings became clear in the form of surveyed grants to English colonists. In an urgent memorandum in October 1736, five Dutch settlers of the Weataug vicinity appealed to the Connecticut Assembly, asking that their Indian titles be converted into government grants. The Dutch were irritated that the Colony had given them "no intelligence or protection...in the recent Indian war," and claimed that their settlements had enhanced the value of the land (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Towns and Lands, first series, vol.7, Doc.239a). In their earlier land transactions, the Dutch had negotiated with the Weataug Indians as if all were

living in New York. By the 1730s, Connecticut was claiming its western domain and preparing the land for its own English settlements. The Indians of Weataug were clearly angered by the granting of their land by the Connecticut government, but demanded compensation from the Dutch. The Dutch memorandum described the situation:

> [B]ut to [our] sudden and unexpected surprise the Indian Natives of that place[,] immediately upon your memorialists['] setling there came and threatened as that unless we would purchase the said grants of them and more lands adjoyning thereto (for they said they would not sell their land unless we bought a quantity of the [other] land with it) they would dispossess your memorialists[,] whereby we were greatly Terifyed the Indians avering that the government had never gave them any Consideration for said land and in our ignorance though contrary to law [we] made purchases of said Indians of the said grants and other lands adjoyning thereto to the value of 183 pound Newyork money for we were affraid that unless we did we should not only lose our estates but our lives also (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Towns and Lands, first series, vol.7 Doc.239a).

In 1737, the Connecticut General Assembly ordered the division and sale of the two townships (Rossano 1988:xiv). The Woodbury speculators, grantees and Dutch farmers organized their claims and Mohican deeds in anticipation of the auction. Hinman and Knowles, the speculators from Woodbury, had foreseen the founding of the Salisbury and Sharon townships, and had collected numerous old country grants in the Western Lands, as well as a large tract from the Weataug Indians in 1729. In the early 1730s, they had petitioned the Assembly to found a township, in order to profit from their holdings (Pettee 1957:32-34). Their efforts were largely unsuccessful. Realizing that the Assembly could sell all ungranted land regardless of Indian deeds, the speculators attempted to salvage some profit from the venture by means of a selective quitclaim. In the following 1737 agreement with the Colony, they managed to maintain a fraction of

the present Lakeville area for themselves. (Thomas Lamb, owner of several tracts and iron facilities in the Weataug area, served as a witness.)

> To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that we Andrew Hinman and Thomas Knowles of Woodbury...having by one certain deed bearing date June the 19th 1729, purchased of the Indians a certain tract of land lying westwardly from a place called Weatauk...Now Know Ye that we...do for ourselves and our heirs...Release and forever quit Claim of all Right Title or Interest in said tract of land By virtue of said Native deed...[releasing the land] unto the Hon. Governour and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut...saving to ourselves our heirs and assigns two hundred acres surveyed and patented near the south end of Taconnock Mountain as also two hundred acres surveyed and patented at a place called Wenunkapaugoog [at Lake Wononpakook] as also one hundred and fifty acres of land surveyed Adjoyning to the above said Two hundred acres at Wenunkapaugoog [,] the whole being 550 acres that is saved for ourselves...[T]he remaining part of said purchase of the Indian Natives we...Release and Quit our claim...unto ...the Governour... (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Connecticut Colonial Land Records Vol. 4-5, 441).

In May of 1738, the Assembly appointed Thomas Lamb to obtain title to the remaining Indian lands in the proposed townships (present Sharon and Salisbury) prior to their auction in October. Evidently, Lamb did consult with some members of the Weataug and Wechquadnach communities, and obtained titles to several additional tracts in later Sharon (Pettee 1957:62). These did not include the core village areas of Weataug and Wechquadnach.

The auction of the Salisbury township took place in May, 1738. The township was sold off in twenty "rights," each of which represented no specific acreage but rather a 5% portion of the total township. The holdings of the grantees and the Mohican deeds of the Dutch settlers were converted into rights. The remaining rights sold for an average of 175 to 200 pounds apiece. In many instances, the purchasers immediately re-sold their

lots at a significant profit (Rossano 1988:xiv-xv). The township was given its present name, and the proprietors held their first meeting in the spring of 1739.

By the end of the 1730s, the circumscription of the Mohican community at Weataug was complete. The settlement now occupied the northeast corner of a proposed Connecticut township. To the east across the river, the land was at the disposal of the town of Windsor, officially forbidden for Native use. Upriver to the north, the township of Sheffield, Massachusetts was incorporated in 1733. Beyond it lay the Mohican center at Wnahktakook (Stockbridge). To the west was the English-owned Taconic Plateau and the New York border. Downriver to the south, a rush of iron production and land speculation gripped the traditional Weataug territory. The southwest trail to Wechquadnach now passed numerous Dutch farms, the Furnace Village and Ore Hill. Although the Mohicans had successfully reserved the area around the Twin Lakes, Miles Mountain and the west bank of the Housatonic in the 1729 land transaction, even this core area was becoming subject to incursion by white settlers.

In the early 1740s, the newly arrived Connecticut settlers encountered a rugged landscape which had been modified significantly by its Mohican inhabitants. This was described by the Reverend J.W. Crossman in his New Year's Discourse of 1803:

> The face of the township, at the period of its first settlement, wore rather an unpleasant aspect. In the fall of every year, it was burnt over [by the Mohicans], to destroy the old grass...Fires also were often made to ring deer. These fires were made in a circular form, and all the deer included were driven...to one place, where the huntsmen could easily kill them. A ring, for this purpose, was made in the northeast part of the town, and the fire ran with such rapidity, that an Indian lad was shut within the ring, overtaken by fire, and burnt to death. These burnings, with the ponds, mountains and clefts of rocks, made the face of nature appear forbidding to those who were not apprised of the excellence of the soil (Barber

1836:486-487).

Evidently, the Mohicans of Weataug had employed the traditional practice of periodically burning ground cover. The township may have featured cleared tracts of "long, rank grass" not only near the Housatonic but in the interlacustrine flats as well (Rudd 1899:8). Because of the tree size in the standing forest and the height of the canopy, underbrush could be burned off to create a "park-like" effect for hunting and farming (Cronon 1983:49).

The Connecticut settlers immediately set to work clearing land for "grain and grazing" (Barber 1836:487). Highways were laid out and properties were bounded by fences and stone walls. Unlike their counterparts in Sharon, the Salisbury proprietors seldom appear to have interacted with the Native population of the township, and did not acknowledge any Native land claims. This was despite a comparatively large Mohican population in Salisbury in 1740. According to Crossman, "At the time of the first settlement in the town, there was then an Indian settlement at Weatog, consisting of seventy wigwams all in a cluster" (Barber 1836:489). Assuming that the wigwams were contemporaneous habitation structures, this suggests a population of at least one hundred and forty Native persons belonging to the Weataug community. In contrast, there were fewer than twenty English and Dutch families in the township in 1740 (Barber 1836:486).

For the Weataug Mohicans, issues concerning English land use in Salisbury appear to have arisen soon after the first wave of Connecticut settlement (Whitridge 1976:30). The English population climbed rapidly, as the settlers put in place the

infrastructure of the agrarian colonial town. For the Mohicans, the village tract they had maintained at Weataug became less a means of coexistence with the Europeans (as it had been during two decades of Dutch presence) than a social and economic island. The agent of this rapid and inexorable shift in power was identified as Thomas Lamb, whose purchases of 1738 were being overstepped by the Connecticut settlers.

A Mohican response came in 1742, when the leader Tossaunee and other Weataug community members participated in a protest of English land expropriation. As expressed in the Wechquadnach petition of that year, Native claims were made to certain tracts in Salisbury which had not been sold to the agent Lamb in 1738, but which were now being "improved" by the Salisbury settlers. These properties may have included tracts beyond the 1729 Weataug reserve, to which the Mohicans had not knowingly relinquished their title, or parts of the reserve itself that had become subject to new incursions.

The document was an appeal to the General Assembly for recognition of the Native claims. Composed by a Wechquadnach community leader and concerned Sharon proprietors, the petition of May 1742 referred to the situation in Weataug as well. This demonstrated the close ties between the communities, as well as the possibility that some Weataug inhabitants had moved to Wechquadnach by 1742:

> The memorial...humbly showeth -- that...the Indian natives, residing in Sharon, were the proper owners of the lands contained in...Sharon, and Salisbury...and that...Lamb, in negotiating the said purchases of said Indians, did take advantage of their ignorance, and as they have since understood, did obtain a deed or deeds from them or some of them for more of said land than ever they sold or intended to sell to said Lamb, and particularly the place at the northwest corner of...Sharon, where the...Indians live and improve, and *always designed* to reserve for

> themselves a settlement, besides *several other parcels* that have never been sold to the English; That the Government's Committee have obtained the rights purchased by said Lamb of the Indians, and have sold all the lands...to the proprietors..., who are now improving and entering on the said lands still claimed by the Indians, which has aroused a great deal of uneasiness among the Indians, they looking upon themselves defrauded of their rights [emphasis added] (Sedgwick 1877:32-33).

The petition further requested that the Assembly appoint a committee to investigate the Native claims, to "settle...all matters of difference and controversy relating to the premises, and for the quieting [of] the said Proprietors and the said Indians, or that your Honors would in some other way, as in your wisdom you shall think fit, find a remedy." While the petition was primarily concerned with the Wechquadnach complaints, it spoke also for Weataug and demonstrated the problems both Native communities faced in the early settlement period.

After a trip to Sharon, an investigative committee (which included Thomas Fitch, later Governor of Connecticut) reported back to the Assembly. In evaluating the claims made in the Wechquadnach petition, the committee had brought together Indians of Weataug, Wechquadnach, and the vicinity, as well as English proprietors of the new townships. Apparently the Dutch settlers were not consulted, or else they were regarded as English proprietors. The committee found that the sachem Metoxon had overseen the sale of tracts to Sackett in 1726 (present west Sharon and southwest Salisbury) and to Lamb in 1738 (the rest of Sharon except the southern strip, purchased from Naunese in 1739) (DeForest 1970:399-400). Other sales which involved Metoxon, in 1704 and 1729, were not mentioned. Though he was not present at the meeting, Metoxon's jurisdiction was said yet to extend over the Weataug and Wechquadnach communities and their

unsold lands. The report of October 23, 1742 detailed the committee's findings:

> [W]e find that one Metoxon...is allowed by all to be ye Chiefe Sachem of the indians in these parts[,] and that he and his tribe or Nation are the Claimers of these Lands not sold and also [that Metoxon et al. had] Claimed and [sold] all [that] have been sold there about...That the said Motouk son and other indians in ye year 1726 sold to Richard Sacket & Company... ye southwest Corner of Salisbury [and] That by sundry deed[s] to Diverse persons, given by some of that tribe of Indians the township of Salisbury has been purchased except about (as near as we could guess) two mile Square at ye north east Corner [Weataug] and this seemed to be generally agreed to both by the English and Indians [who] have always understood and now believe that Corner *was never intended to be sold*[,] neither was it ever honestly Sold...therefore we think the Indians who are Generally allowed to Claim said Corners[,] and for whom as ye Indians say ye said Corner *was intended to be Left when ye other was sold*[,] should be quieted by giving them some Consideration to resign their claim[;] which Umpechenee on their behalf Declared they would do for Sixty pounds and not Less... [emphasis added] (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Indian Papers, Series 1, Volume 1, Document 244).

The committee also recommended that a token be given to Tossaunee: "[W]e therefore recommend...that one Tossaunee who on some encouragement given him by ye Committee for Laying out Lands in Salisbury[,] that they would [endeavor] he should have two blankets Resigned [to him in compensation, and that] a Considerable improvement he had made and lived upon in Salisbury [Weataug] should be considered and Made Easy accordingly [i.e., purchased]."

The General Assembly's resolution in October 1742 was to appoint an agent to lay out a very small reserve at Wechquadnach and to purchase the Weataug tract (Hoadley 1874:502-503). The agent, Daniel Edwards, arrived late at Wechquadnach. Nequitimaugh and the other community leaders being absent, Edwards consulted a group of Sharon proprietors for their opinion of the Indians' situation. They stated that the

arrangement of a reserve would require compensation for the township, in the form of other land. Foremost among Native concerns (as described by the proprietors) was the possibility of the dispersal of families to distant parts, brought about by the diminishment of the land base and lack of access to basic resources (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Indian Papers, Series 1, Volume 1, Document 246).

Continuing his mission, Edwards sought for members of the Weataug community, in order to obtain title to their village tract in northeast Salisbury. He traveled upriver to the Mohican town at Stockbridge, where he attempted to locate anyone claiming ownership of the Weataug tract. (It is assumed, but not known, that Edwards first visited the Weataug village and found it unoccupied.) He found two members of a family said by the Mohican elders to own the Weataug "corner." (In his subsequent report, Edwards made erroneous reference to the "northwest" corner of Salisbury, evidently confusing it with Wechquadnach's location in northwest Sharon.) Conducting the transaction on an impromptu basis through translators, Edwards drew up a deed and obtained the "five-thousand acre" Weataug tract for sixty pounds. This was a minute fraction of its fair market value; depending on the degree of improvement, land in Salisbury was then selling for between two and eight pounds per acre (Historical Collections Relating to the Town of Salisbury, 1913: Vol.2, 173-196). Edwards described his activities in May, 1743 in his report to the General Assembly:

> [F]rom Sheron proceeding to Stockbridge, where whom ye claimers of ye northwestern [northeastern] Corner of Salisbury [i.e., Weataug] were, and with whom most safely to transact in that affair, I by much inquiry found out, they having no Records or other Durable monuments or evidence of Title or Property, [that] I had recourse to ye following measures which with them it seems is accounted sufficient to Depend and act upon in

> matters of this nature; -- That is to say as I had before noticed them of your honours' Directions and my purpose to treat with them[,] ...[I] now published among all the Indians there ye arrend on which I came, to ye end I might Discover whether they were agreed in allowing ye Title to be quieted [i.e. quitted] in any one person or family or whether there were not sundry opposite and contending claimers. -- but may it please your Honours on all ye Inquiry I could make by ye help [of] an Indian Interpreter of good report -- among them together with Mr. Woodbridge ye Indian Schoolmaster who was allso sworn an Interpreter on this occasion [--] I found by ye Concurrence of all ye elderly and principal persons among them that ye [northeast] Corner of Salisbury had been Deemd to belong to a family by them mentioned During their remembrance[,] of whom those who now survived were one Tautaupusseet[,] an Indian man who was abroad at a great Distance, and allso an Indian Woman cald Shekannenooti[,] who was present and sister to the said Tautaupusseet, together [with] a child of another brother of said Family [the child being named] Kowannun, which survivors they all agreed were ye owners of said lands -- unless allienated to ye English...

Having located two members of an eminent lineage of Weataug "with whom most safely to transact in that affair"--others such as Tossaunee, Tautaupusseet and Metoxon being elsewhere--Edwards hastily obtained their signatures:

> [A]fter some Doubts & Deliberation how to proceed...I drew and had executed a Deed of five Thousand acres more or less of said land to ye Governor and Company of [the Connecticut] Colony, which was first distinctly read over in English and then...interpretted to those who were to execute it and allso to a number of ye elderly Men[,] who were to be Witnesses with some English so that all Declared they understood it -- Thus was the Deed Executed by said Indian woman and a lad of about fourteen years, for whom allso she acted as Guardian...whereupon of Seventy pounds old currency drawn out of the treasury I paid down sixty and had a receipt thereof Indorsed on said Deed, with a Promise to procure ye Tautaupusseet on his return (which they expected would be shortly) to execute ye same allso and satisfy him[,] therefore which deed I accordingly lodged in ye Hands of ye Reverend Mr. Serjeant of Stockbridge to be executed and acknowledged on his [Tautaupusseet's] Return as it already has been by the others.

Edwards had also been commissioned to deliver two blankets to Tossaunee, in

compensation for the sachem's survey work in Salisbury and to "make him easy" about the expropriation of the "considerable improvement he had made and lived upon." This was probably the Weataug village of seventy wigwams described two years before.

> As for Tossonee ye Indian to whom two blankets were ordered I understood he was gone abroad, but would likely return in short time, so that I nor saw nor acted any thing with him. Thus Stand these affairs and thus...have I endeavored to Discharge what your honours gave in command... (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Indian Papers, Series 1, Volume 1, Document 246).

Thus, also, ended the Native ownership of land in the Salisbury township. The incorporation of the town in 1741 apparently led directly to the abandonment of the Weataug main village. The vicinity soon became known as the "Indian Purchas Right" in the Weatogue district of Salisbury (Historical Collections Relating to the Town of Salisbury, 1913: Vol.2, 174). Evidently, some members of the Native Weataug community moved upriver to Stockbridge after 1740, joining the Mohican community there. It is possible that others joined the Wechquadnach community, drawn by close social ties and the promise of the other Native-owned tract. Furthermore, Moravian missionaries had visited Native Weataug prior to the acquisition of the land by the Connecticut government (Reichel 1860). Given the history of the Moravian mission at Wechquadnach after 1743, it is possible that any Weataug immigrants there moved on to Moravian communities in Pennsylvania later in the decade. Other people of Weataug may have moved downriver to join the Native community at Pachgatgoch (Scaticook), either directly or by way of Wechquadnach. Still more may have moved to Canada.

According to a history of the township, some Native members of the Weataug

community remained in Salisbury after 1742: "The remaining families, unmolested, built their primitive shelters on the unimproved colony lands, and, adopting the customs of their white neighbors...lived on for some years in a degraded condition until their families became extinct" (Pettee 1957:50). As the English population increased to approximately two hundred persons by the end of 1741 (Rossano 1988:xv) and the improvements and designs of the proprietors became firmly established, the Native population of Salisbury appears to have been completely marginalized. As they were landless in the colonial sense, it is perhaps unsurprising that no mention was ever made of them in the minutes of the early town meetings or in the vital records of the town. During the French and Indian War of the 1740s, the wariness of the white settlers toward all Indians must have made life even more difficult. Nonetheless, a Native presence was maintained in the township. By 1751, Benjamin and Isaac White (sons of an original Dutch settler) had built houses next to the Housatonic, approximately four miles south of the old main village site of Weataug. Near these residences "at a fork of the road running westerly stood an Indian block house. East of the house ncarer the river [was] a very old burying ground" (Moskowitz 1996:pers. comm.). This suggests that some of the Weataug Indians remaining in Salisbury after 1742 occupied a structure near a Native burial site and habitation area used earlier in the century. Significantly, the Litchfield County census of 1774 counted thirty-five Indians living in Salisbury (Hoadley 1880).

The strategy of selective land sales was successful at Weataug through the period of Dutch settlement. However, with the rapid colonial division of the Western Lands and the founding of Salisbury by 1740, the main village tract at Weataug became an isolated

"corner." The economic and social pressures following colonial settlement compelled most of the Mohicans there to emigrate shortly after that time.

5.0 Wechquadnach: Community and Land

The historical Native American community of Wechquadnach occupied a territory in the area of present-day Sharon and Salisbury, Connecticut. By the third decade of the eighteenth century, the people of Wechquadnach occupied a pair of villages associated with the lakes flanking Poconnuck (present Indian Mountain in Sharon). One settlement was located on the eastern shore of Lake Wechquadnach (present-day Indian Pond) (DeForest 1970:398-399). A smaller village, one mile distant, was situated at the south end of present-day Mudge Pond (Silver Lake) to the east of Poconnuck (Barber 1836:492; Sedgwick 1877:31). In the 1740s, and presumably earlier, occupation of the sites alternated seasonally (Bruce 1995:1-2, 8).

In contrast to the riverside location of Weataug twelve miles to the northeast, the main Wechquadnach settlement was approximately eight miles west of the Housatonic River. Extending east of Wechquadnach to the Housatonic was a territory of fifty square miles, which included wetlands, woodlands and mountainous terrain. Both of the Wechquadnach settlements were near lake outlet streams, which fed into a large wetland. The primary watercourse associated with Wechquadnach was the Webatuck Creek, a tributary of the Housatonic.

The location of Wechquadnach allowed its inhabitants to take advantage of the local resources of lakes, streams and woodlands. As at Weataug and other Native settlements of the upper Housatonic Valley, the people of Wechquadnach probably utilized a seasonal round of hunting, fishing, farming, horticulture and the gathering of wild foodstuffs.

While archaeological evidence indicates that the Wechquadnach vicinity was occupied by many generations of Native people prior to the seventeenth century, the origins of the Wechquadnach community recognized by the Connecticut Colony in the 1730s remain uncertain. It is suggested that Wechquadnach was occupied during the period of King Philip's War by Housatonic Mohicans, who were later joined by displaced members of Tachkanick and other Mohican settlements of the eastern Hudson Valley. As seen in the documentary record, the people of Wechquadnach maintained close ties to the Pachgatgoch (Scaticook) community to the south, Shekomeko to the west, and Weataug and Wnahktakook (Stockbridge) to the north. However, it is not presently clear when the lineages claiming "Native Right" to the lands in Sharon first occupied them (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Towns and Lands, first series Vol.7 Doc.249).

In 1694, a brief description of the Wechquadnach area was provided by the Reverend Benjamin Wadsworth. In a party of commissioners from the Connecticut and Massachusetts colonies, Wadsworth traveled to a Five Nations treaty convention in Albany. Following an ancient trail from Westfield, Massachusetts to Albany, the company crossed the Housatonic River and camped at "Ousetonuck," an unoccupied Native village in the vicinity of present-day Sheffield, Massachusetts. After the convention, Wadsworth returned to Hartford by way of a southerly route, passing through the vicinity of Tachkanick on the west side of the Taconic Range ("on [the] left a hideous high mountain"). The party then followed the Webatuck or Ten Mile River south to its confluence with the Housatonic. While Wadsworth passed through the vicinity of Wechquadnach, he did not mention a Native settlement there (Spencer 1988:88).

In 1704, a large tract of land including much of the Wechquadnach area was sold to Richard Sackett (DeForest 1970:399; Dunn 1994:304). This transaction was apparently reiterated in 1726. Metoxon, the primary Mohican signatory, was later described as "the great Chief of all the Indian tribes in that region, whose residence was probably at Copake Flats, N.Y." (Sedgwick 1877:13-14). The sachem was instrumental in numerous other land transactions, including those at Weataug, in the early eighteenth century. The boundaries of Sackett's purchase were described by Sedgwick (1877:13-14):

> The east line commenced at a place [apparently near present South Amenia, New York] which the Indians called Wimpeting, at the western base of a range of mountains, about seven miles south of [later] Sharon Village, and from that point it followed the western base of the mountain range, northerly, to a point in [later] Salisbury, a little east of Town Hill, so called. From that point the line ran northwesterly to the base of the mountain north of the Ore Hill, which in the Indian deed is called Ponsumpsie [Bird Peak], thence southwesterly to the foot of the mountain west of Spencer's Corner [NY], then following that range southerly to Sackett's other possessions.

Sackett's "improvements" were concentrated to the southwest of Wechquadnach near present-day Amenia, New York, where the Englishman lived among Mohicans for several decades (Dunn 1994:304).

In 1731, after decades of negotiation, the colonies of New York and Connecticut agreed upon a mutual boundary (Sedgwick 1877:12). In the agreement, Native territories were not recognized or accounted for. The new border ran from north to south and bisected Wechquadnach Lake approximately two thousand feet west of the Native settlement. Previously, Sackett believed all of his holdings were located within New

York. After the New York-Connecticut border was redrawn, the Connecticut General Assembly voided Sackett's title to any land within Connecticut (Sedgwick 1877:14-15).

While the 1726 boundaries of Sackett's purchase seem to have embraced the Wechquadnach settlement area, it is evident that the Indians never intended to sell their main village tract. As Sackett had good relations with the Mohicans, he may have permitted them to continue to occupy this outlying part of his holdings. When the Assembly assumed control of Sackett's Connecticut land, they voided his title permanently. Nonetheless, the Sackett deed would be cited years later to undermine the Wechquadnach community's claim on their settlement tract. Whatever the understanding between Sackett and Wechquadnach may have been, one irony remains: by voiding Sackett's title, the Assembly reestablished the Wechquadnach community's proprietary status in the borderland. This issue would not be confronted until 1742, however.

The Connecticut Colony commissioned a survey of lands west of the Housatonic in 1732. In the northwest corner of the colony, the boundaries of two proposed townships were laid out: the northernmost one (present Salisbury) was designated "M.", and to its south was the township of "N.S." (present Sharon, including Wechquadnach). The land downriver (present Kent) was left largely unsurveyed (Sedgwick 1877:11).

The township survey committee, which included two later proprietors of Sharon, reported back to the Assembly in October, 1732. Their findings were similar to the Weataug survey. While they emphasized the attributes of the land which made it suitable for colonial settlement, the committee did *not* mention the presence of the Wechquadnach community with its own widespread "improvements":

> In the second township [Sharon] we find two ponds, which may contain 500 acres. There is laid out in it, of country grants [given earlier by the Connecticut government], 400 acres, and a considerable quantity of rough land, yet we find such a quantity of feasible lands in it (and not so much scatter[ed] as in the first township), as will, in our judgement, accommodate a sufficient number of inhabitants for a town (Sedgwick 1877:12).

Immediately, Connecticut investors commenced jockeying for deeds in the township. By 1734, the country grants in later Sharon were consolidated into Jackson's Patent. In 1737, the Assembly ordered the division and sale of "N.S." into fifty-three rights, costing thirty pounds apiece. Finally recognizing the Wechquadnach community's presence and jurisdiction, the Connecticut Assembly decided officially to acquire title to the advertised township land. In 1738, they commissioned Thomas Lamb to act as land agent to Wechquadnach (Pettee 1957:62). Lamb, an entrepreneur of the fledgling iron industry in the Weataug area, was qualified for the task. He had recently acquired a tract at Weataug, and had witnessed the signing of Hinman and Knowles' quitclaim on their 1729 Weataug deed (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Connecticut Colonial Land Records, Vol. 4-5, 441).

By October, 1738, Lamb had acquired several new deeds from members of the Wechquadnach community (Pettee 1957:62). The acquisitions were later said to have included all of unsold Sharon, obtained from Metoxon and others, and a mile-wide strip at the south end of the township, obtained from "an Indian named John or Naunese" (DeForest 1970:399-400). The Indians later claimed that they had witheld from sale several additional tracts in the town. Lamb apparently dealt with individual Wechquadnach members, sidestepping the processes of communal approval that had

formerly characterized Native land transactions in the area. In preparing the deeds, he evidently misled the Indians regarding the dimensions of the tracts they were signing away; it is unlikely that he obtained a legitimate title to the main village tract. He "effected a purchase from the tribe [or individual] *claiming* title...The indefiniteness and uncertainty of this contract with Lamb, as to how much, if any land was reserved to the Indians...caused no little trouble to the settlers [emphasis added]" (Sedgwick 1877:15). Lamb's negotiations, while ambiguous, satisfied the Assembly. In any case, Wechquadnach was presented with a *fait accompli:* in May 1738, before Lamb had obtained any of the controversial Wechquadnach deeds, the Assembly had scheduled the proposed township for an October auction. The sale was conducted as planned.

In January of 1739, a few months before the incorporation of the Sharon township, the new proprietors prepared to move into their "rights." At Wechquadnach, the effects of Lamb's scheme were becoming evident. In a memorandum to the Assembly, a Connecticut resident described the sentiments of the Native community regarding the impending settlement of their traditional territory: "Sundry Indians claim in their Native Right a considerable tract of land in ye northwesterly part of said township [the tract measuring] at least two miles north and two miles east and west[,] which said right ye said Indians hold and affirm to be their own and that some hath never been purchased of them" (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Towns and Lands, First Series Vol.7 Doc.249). As far as the Assembly was concerned, however, Native-owned land in the Sharon township consisted of the immediate area of the Wechquadnach settlement only.

After the auction of fifty-three rights, some buyers re-sold their lots immediately for considerable profit. In 1739, at least a dozen Connecticut families came to settle Sharon. The township proprietors formed a corporation to oversee land development, and established rules to ensure rapid occupation of purchased plots: "[The purchaser] shall...within the space of two full years next...enter upon the said granted premises, build and finish an house thereon not less than eighteen feet square, and...subdue, clear and fence six acres...[and] pay all taxes that shall be granted..." (Sedgwick 1877:18-21).

While evaluating the effects of these local developments, the Wechquadnach Indians remained in close contact with other Native communities experiencing similar circumstances. In 1739, a Wechquadnach delegation visited the Mohican township of Wnahktakook (Stockbridge, Massachusetts). At the granting of its charter two years before, this western Massachusetts town was intended to remain under the control of the Mohican political leadership that had consolidated there. The Colony had given the town an English name, and created a Calvinist mission to serve it. Stockbridge had no sooner been incorporated, however, than the English ministers assumed control over the land jurisdiction from the Mohican leaders (Frazier 1992:45-49). Nonetheless, the mission town eventually attracted many Mohicans from the diaspora.

A different religious denomination would also affect the Mohican villages. From their headquarters in Saxony, missionaries of the Moravian Brethren sought converts among the indigenous peoples of Africa and North America. Typically, the Moravians lived within Native communities and kept detailed journals, and by the early 1740s had established settlements for Indian converts near their base in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

In 1740, a Moravian missionary commenced activity at Shekomeko, four miles west of Wechquadnach (Heckewelder 1820: 19-21). The missionary delivered spontaneous sermons, describing Christ as a personal savior who had suffered terrible wounds for the redemption of humanity. He held "love feasts," or communal religious suppers, with the Indians (Frazier 1992:60). Although initially rejected, the Moravian was able to claim several Native converts to the sect, and the Moravian endeavor at Shekomeko gained momentum. Rumors of the conversion of some Shekomeko Indians, who had maintained a reputation for belligerence, created a sensation among Indians and settlers alike. According to Connecticut Indians who visited, the Shekomeko converts had previously been "like wolves and the worst in all this part of the country" (Frazier 1992:62-64). Wechquadnach Indians went to Shekomeko to observe the Moravian services (Orcutt 1972:140). By year's end, two Wechquadnach residents had been baptized at Shekomeko (Dyer 1903:52).

Several additional missionaries came to Shekomeko in 1741. Next to the Indians' wigwam village they built a small chapel of wood and bark, set up a bake oven, and cultivated a garden plot. A hut was constructed at a habitation site nearby, where the Indians manufactured maple sugar in early spring. (Frazier 1992:63) The missionaries visited Weataug, described the previous year as "seventy wigwams in a cluster" (Barber 1836: 489), and also Wechquadnach, where a Moravian mission was established by 1745 (Reichel 1860). Native involvement with the sect would have profound consequences, as it heightened colonists' concerns over the politics of the Native communities and led many Indians to migrate to Moravian settlements in Pennsylvania.

The colonial development of traditional Wechquadnach lands brought protest from the Native community. In 1742, several Sharon proprietors decided to work with the Wechquadnach leadership in seeking the redress of the Native complaints. In a memorandum of May 13, 1742, the situation at Wechquadnach was brought to the attention of the Connecticut General Assembly:

> The memorial of Peter Pratt, Nathaniel Skinner and Jonathan Dunham, agents for said town, and Stephen Nequitimaugh Nanhoon, and others of the Indian nations, residing in said Sharon, humbly showeth -- That they, the said Stephen Nequitimaugh Nanhoon, and others of the Indian natives, residing in Sharon, were the proper owners of the lands contained in the said township of Sharon, and Salisbury...and that a considerable part of said lands was honorably purchased of said Indians, and paid for by Thomas Lamb of said Salisbury, [but]...Lamb, in negotiating the said purchases of said Indians, did take advantage of their ignorance, and as they have since understood, did obtain a deed or deeds from them or *some* of them for more of said land than ever they sold or intended to sell to said Lamb, and particularly the place at the northwest corner of said Sharon, where the said Indians live and improve, and *always designed to reserve* for themselves a settlement, besides several other parcels that have never been sold...
>
> That the Government's Committee have obtained the rights purchased by said Lamb of the Indians, and have [since] sold all the lands in the townships of Salisbury and Sharon to the proprietors of said Towns, who are now improving and are entering on the said lands still claimed by the said Indians, which has aroused a great deal of uneasiness among the Indians, they looking upon themselves defrauded of their rights. That many of the Proprietors of Sharon are likewise inclined to believe, that the said Indians, who were the proper owners of said land, did never, to this day sell to the said Lamb or to this government, all the lands in said Sharon or Salisbury, but that they have still an honest right to that said tract where the said Indians now live, as also to one mile in width across the south end of said town of Sharon, and that they are willing the said tract where the Indians now live should be restored to them and confirmed to the said Indians, though the Proprietors have purchased the same of the government, Provided they can have it made good to them by other reasonable satisfaction.
>
> Whereupon your Honors' memorialists humbly pray that the Honorable Assembly would take the case into their consideration and would appoint a Committee to repair to Sharon to hear...the claims of the said

> Indians...with power to...determine all matters of difference and controversy relating to the premises, and for the quieting [of] the said Proprietors and the said Indians, or that your Honors would in some other way, as in your wisdom you shall think fit, find a remedy [emphasis added] (Sedgwick 1877:32-33).

As a consequence of the unusual petition, the Assembly appointed an investigative committee (which included a Thomas Fitch, a Salisbury proprietor and future governor of Connecticut) reported in October 1742 that the Wechquadnach Indians numbered "fourty...in all" and that they stood by their claims to their lands in Sharon and Salisbury. In evaluating the claims made in the Wechquadnach petition, the committee brought together Indians of Wechquadnach, Weataug and elsewhere, as well as English proprietors of the new townships. (Apparently the early Dutch settlers were not consulted, or else they were considered English.) It was reported that Metoxon, sachem of a territory in the New York-Connecticut border area, had sold tracts to Sackett in 1726 (present west Sharon and southwest Salisbury) and to Lamb in 1738 (the rest of Sharon except the southern strip, purchased from Naunese in 1739). Though he was not present at the meeting, Metoxon's jurisdiction was said to extend over the Wechquadnach and Weataug communities and their unsold lands (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Indian Papers, Series 1, Volume 1, Document 244).

In keeping with Metoxon's strategy, Stephen Nequitimaugh Nanhoon and the Wechquadnach leadership apparently had been aiming for the reservation of habitational, agricultural and hunting tracts. In 1742 they occupied the lake shore tract in northwest Sharon, and claimed the south end of the town and other tracts. According to the committee, two "corners" were being reserved by the Indians: one at Weataug, the other

either at Lake Wechquadnach or to the east near the Housatonic River in northeast Sharon. If one corner were eventually to be sold, the other would be occupied by the collective Weataug and Wechquadnach communities. While this process has been viewed as an emulation of the Stockbridge example (Frazier 1992:64), it appears to have been a refinement of the strategy begun earlier by Metoxon. The Indians indicated that they would settle for a permanent tract in northern Sharon. However, the town proprietors insisted that if they were to permit this tract, they should be compensated with another grant of twice the size. This land, they argued, was to consist of the standing Wechquadnach claims at the south end of the township. The committee described the proceedings in their 1742 report:

> [P]ursuant to your Honours' appointment on ye memorial of Peter Pratt and other agents for Sharon and Neguntemauge [Nequitimaugh] and other Indians Living in or Near Sharon[,] we...Repaired to the township of Sharon and...proceeded to Enquire into the several matters Referred to...[T]he Several partys concerned being present and having interpreters both of English and Indians we were informed by Deeds and witnesses...that...one Metoxon alias Callonek alias Carlow is allowed by all to be ye Chiefe Sachem of the indians in these parts[,] and that he and his tribe or Nation are the Claimers of these Lands not sold and also [that Metoxon et al. had] Claimed and [sold] all [that] have been sold there about.
>
> That the said Motouk son and other indians in ye year 1726 sold to Richard Sacket & Company all ye western part of Sharon within about two Mile of Ousatunnuck River little more or less and ye southwest Corner of Salisbury -- which sale some of ye Indians who signed ye Deed being present owned to be honestly made. That [in] 1738 the said Metaukson and other Indians by agreement with and for Eighty pounds Received of Thomas Lamb sold...the town ship of Sharon except one mile at ye south end[,] which deed...several witnesses Declared was fairly made and well understood by ye Indians. That in...1739 ye said Thomas Lamb procured another Deed from an Indian of that tribe [named] Naunese...for one mile across at ye south end of Sharon -- for nine pounds.

> [W]e think the Indians who are Generally allowed to Claim said Corners[,] and for whom as ye Indians say ye said Corner *was intended to be Left when ye other was sold*[,] should be quieted by giving them some Consideration to resign their claim[;] which [Stockbridge sachem] Umpechenee on their behalf Declared they would do for Sixty pounds and not Less[;] and concerning the north east corner of Sharon we find it all to be sold and included in ye aforesaid Deed to Sacket and that procured by Lamb. Yet from indian evidence only we are informed that the Indians did and do now think they might and may live there and the people of Sharon are willing they should live there if an Equivalent [in land] is given[,] whereupon considering ye Circumstances of those indians we think it might be well to alow them about fifty acres of land to Live on...and that on the proprietors of Sharon securing ye same to them an Equivalent of about two acres for one be given Sharon at ye south end of their town[,] they purchasing the same of ye indians if not already Done.
>
> [U]pon the matter aforesaid being settled we conclude the Indians will be easy and peaceable and friendly and we hope comfortable Neighbours and Friends and probably Christian Brethren... (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Indian Papers, Series 1, Volume 1, Document 244).

The Mohican political leaders in western Massachusetts appear to have monitored closely the land situation and Moravian activity at Wechquadnach. The sachem Umpachenee of Wnahktakook (Stockbridge) was present in Sharon when the Assembly committee investigated the Native claims. He also demanded that payment be given for the Weataug tract. Metoxon was not present to speak for Wechquadnach, having recently moved to the west side of the Hudson (Dunn 1994:321). In October, 1742, about twenty Stockbridge Mohicans visited Shekomeko with their Calvinist minister, John Sergeant, and his counterpart from Sharon. Sergeant was permitted to preach, and agreed to allow a Moravian to preach later at Stockbridge. After the Calvinist ministers departed, the Stockbridge Mohicans asked for a sermon from the Moravians, evidently hoping to compare the messages (Frazier 1992:64).

In the same month, the Connecticut Assembly commissioned Daniel Edwards of Hartford to travel to Wechquadnach and Weataug. His mission in Sharon was to have the proprietors "settle, in proper manner, fifty acres of land, at the north west corner...unto the Indians living there, where [the Indians] now live." In compensation, the proprietors were to receive title to the tract claimed by Wechquadnach at the south end of the township, "they making the purchase of the native right, if not yet done" (Hoadley 1874:502-503).

Traveling first to Sharon, Edwards sidestepped a meeting with the leaders of the Wechquadnach community. Consulting instead with a committee of Sharon proprietors, he was advised by *them* of the Indians' concerns. Primary among these was the possibility of dispersal to distant parts, brought about by the diminishment of the Wechquadnach territory and lack of access to basic resources. In addition to approximately ninety acres of "improved" or cleared land cultivated that year at their lake shore village, the Wechquadnach community continued to claim two hundred acres of rugged woodland on the adjacent Poconnuck Mountain, as well as a narrow strip along the south end of the township (obtained extra-legally by Lamb in 1738). In compensation for setting up the proposed fifty-acre Wechquadnach reserve, the Sharon proprietors maneuvered to obtain large tracts claimed by the Indians. Title to these was to be transferred by the Assembly to the township. Certainly, the offer of a small reserve did not assuage the concerns of the people of Wechquadnach. In his report of May, 1743, Edwards described his visit to Sharon:

> [O]n Notice to all partys Concerned first given, I...proceeded to... Sharon where arriving a few hours later than my expectation [I was unable to

> consult] their [Indian] Committee to your purpose appointed -- being all save one absent on a long Journey [I] could transact nothing touching ye Indian claims in ye Town; but was made to understand [by the Sharon proprietors] that ye equivalent of two acres across ye south end of their town [Sharon] for one acre of ye Indian improvements [at Wechquadnach] would be in no wise satisfactory, and am since allso advised by [the] committee under [the proprietors'] Hands that on view and measure of ye Present Indian improvements, they account to eighty nine acres at least, which is almost double ye quantity heretofore supposed, allso that their Indians in a late Conference with them here demonstrated that their [present] actual improvements are not only greatly short of their just claim [to lands in Sharon] but allso alltogether insufficient to answer their necessitys, especially in ye article of Firewood, alledging that on their being secured [by the Colony] in ye improvement and benefit of about two Hundred acres (which it seems they now claim) they may be able to keep together undispersed, and enjoy civil education and Christian Instruction and allso ye Benefit and Protection of ye good laws of this Community -- which they say they shall cheerfully and thankfully receive and submit to. -- or otherwise [the Indians] shall be necessitated to break up & scatter abroad (or at least the most of them) which they are very loath to do, or remove else where for more room, [and the proprietors] have also signifyed to me their estimate of an equivalent for said Indian lands viz. Six acres for one to be taken across their bounds, or two for one to be pitcht where they shall chuse, less than which they seem to think will not be equal (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Indian Papers, Series 1, Volume 1, Document 246).

While the colonists understood land use in terms of fixed blocks of land, the Indians' subsistence involved access to seasonal resources distributed over a large area. The attempt by Wechquadnach leaders to maintain bounded residential and hunting tracts may have been seen as a means of prevailing within the colonial system. However, it enabled the piecemeal sale of some tracts, while the residential core areas at Wechquadnach and Weataug evolved into the outlying corners of the colonial townships: a metaphor for the social and economic marginalization of the Native communities. In offering recognition of the Wechquadnach settlement tract, the Sharon proprietors may

have seen an opportunity to obtain land the Indians claimed elsewhere.

The apparent result of the 1742 petition and committee review was that for the time being, the Wechquadnach community could maintain their lakeside settlement. While the legal status of Indian ownership remained ambiguous, the political atmosphere prior to the French and Indian War probably made this expedient solution seem prudent to the colonists. The Connecticut Assembly was reluctant to recognize Native ownership, and did not order a survey at Wechquadnach for five more years (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Indian Papers, Series 1, Vol.2, Doc.19).

5.1 Wechquadnach After 1742

Much of what is presently known about the people of Wechquadnach after 1742 is drawn from the journals of Moravian missionaries, who visited all the Native communities of the upper Housatonic Valley. In addition to providing insight into the opinions of community members, these records provide details concerning change and persistence in the Wechquadnach life way during this period.

Thus it is known that the Indians at Wechquadnach continued to maintain different wigwam clusters for winter and summer (Bruce 1995; Sensemann 1995). Located on the east side of Lake Wechquadnach (present Indian Lake) and near the outlet of Mudge Pond, these settlements were alternately occupied during the manufacture of maple sugar in the late winter and for seasonal hunting, fishing, and the practice of agriculture. This type of group movement between different lodging sites was a regular event, which could give sedentary Europeans an impression of abandoned Native villages (Cronon 1983:53). In general, a winter site could not be used in more than two consecutive years, due to the depletion of firewood. Native housing consisted of single-family wigwams with arched roofs, their wooden frames sealed by layers of bark and hide (Buninger 1995a). Some of the wigwam structures were small enough to be moved short distances (Rundt 1994). Apparently there were none of the intricately decorated ceremonial lodges seen in the Housatonic Valley earlier in the century (Trumbull 1972 Vol.2:83).

In different seasons, hunting bands ventured over large distances to obtain the meat and hides of deer, bear, and other fur-bearing animals (Buninger1995; Rundt 1994).

Hides were prepared within the village. In cleared, manually hoed fields near the summer village, the people of Wechquadnach grew corn, beans and squash. Corn was consumed after roasting or was dried and then pounded into meal for storage. Fish, berries and wild cultigens contributed further to their subsistence (Buninger 1995a, 1995b; Sensemann 1995; Rundt 1994).

As the colonial townships grew rapidly and access to traditional subsistance resources was curtailed, a degree of Wechquadnach participation in the colonial system would have been inevitable. After 1742, it is likely that the Wechquadnach economy shifted away from subsistence farming and hunting toward short-term labor for the colonists and the manufacture of barter goods. At nearby Pachgatgoch (Scaticook), Native families manufactured items of wood and reeds for domestic use, but also for barter and sale to the English. (It is inferred that the people of Wechquadnach employed the same techniques.) These items included dugout canoes, carved wooden bowls and troughs, lidded and decorated baskets made of woven reeds or fitted tree rings, and brooms. Manufactured goods were transported to English towns for exchange, or were floated down the Housatonic to the Connecticut coast where the cargo and canoe were traded for winter blankets and other goods (Buninger 1995a; Rundt 1994). Closer to home, wooden sleighs were dragged down from the mountainsides with loads of firewood (Buninger 1995b), an increasingly valuable commodity in colonial New England.

Colonial politics also affected Wechquadnach. In the early 1740s, military tensions escalated between the governments of England and France. While the hostilities known as the French and Indian War did not fully erupt until the 1750s, the fears of

English settlers near Wechquadnach affected the perception and treatment of the Indians in numerous ways. For the settlers, attacks by New England Indians on frontier towns during King Philip's War of 1675 and 1676 were a bitter part of their history. The 1704 massacre and captive-taking by an Indian contingent at Deerfield, Massachusetts was infamous throughout the region. Rumors of impending attacks by Indians allied with the French were sporadic in western Connecticut during the first half of the eighteenth century (Cothren 1871 Vol.1:98; Crofut 1937 Vol.1:395, 412; Frazier 1992:71) and occasional violent incidents did occur (Barber 1836:453). While their concerns mostly proved to be unjustified, English settlers in Sharon and Salisbury regarded the people of Wechquadnach with a wary vigilance (Orcutt 1972:163). This sentiment appears to have increased during the 1740s.

Contagious disease posed a more immediate threat to the English settlers in Sharon. A "nervous fever" killed twenty and disabled many more in the eleven months after May, 1742. Crop failure and the interruption of improvements raised the possibility that the Connecticut Colony would foreclose on the proprietors. As the Reverend Mr. Pratt wrote in an appeal, "[N]otwithstanding the smiles of Divine Providence upon us at our first settling at this place...so dark is the countenance of our present state...[M]ore than one hundred and twenty persons were long confined with...the distemper. By reason of which, many were unable to plow [and] to sow...[W]e are a withering branch of this commonwealth..." (Sedgwick 1877:27-28). The settlers were granted a reprieve by the Colony and soon rebounded. The effects, if any, of the epidemic on the Wechquadnach populace are not known.

In 1743, Moravian visits became more frequent at the Wechquadnach village and elsewhere in the vicinity. Faced with a choice between the Sharon clergyman charged with serving them and the Moravians in Shekomeko, the Wechquadnach leadership opted for the Moravians (Frazier 1992:65). Their decision may have been influenced by the baptism of several Wechquadnach people, the participation of relatives in the Shekomeko mission, and the possibility that the Moravians spoke to Native concerns more directly than the Calvinists did. While the Moravians were translating their verses into Mohican (Bruce 1995), the Sharon clergyman was being fired for intemperance (Sedgwick 1877:38-41). As the influence of the Moravian Brethren expanded, a third mission was established at Pachgatgoch (Scaticook), approximately fifteen miles south of Wechquadnach.

The relationship between the Moravians and the Indians did not sit well with many settlers in Connecticut and New York. To some, the Moravian practices resembled Catholicism, which when combined with the Native populace evoked the French and Indian threat. In March, 1743, New York residents west of Wechquadnach began keeping a night watch on rumor of a Shekomeko-based Mohican insurrection (Frazier 1992:65). Other concerns came out. A group of New York settlers evidently resented the interruption of their profitable trade with Shekomeko. For years, locally produced alcohol and basic goods had been sold to the Indians on credit, typically at inflated prices. The Shekomeko Indians had been compelled to pay off their creditors with portions of their village land (Orcutt 1972:163). By 1743, the Moravian presence interrupted this process, angering the settlers who coveted the valley at Shekomeko.

In 1744, a full-time Moravian mission was established at Wechquadnach. A small wooden chapel was constructed on the western shore of Lake Wechquadnach, across the water from the Native village and inside the New York border. Even as a North American war loomed between England and France, the Wechquadnach mission witnessed its first baptism. In June, the second wife of Pachgatgoch sachem Gideon Mauwehu was inducted into the sect (Dyer 1903:52). Shortly thereafter, when the Moravian missionaries refused conscription into the colonial militia, it was rumored that they were supplying Shekomeko and perhaps Wechquadnach with weapons for a broad-based Indian assault on English frontier settlements. When the innuendo caused panic in Poughkeepsie, New York, a sheriff's posse searched the Shekomeko settlement and demanded the Moravians take vows of loyalty to the King. Because their religious beliefs precluded military service and the taking of oaths, the Moravians' refusals made them appear rebellious. Bands of New York settlers seized Indian land, blocked travel between Shekomeko, Wechquadnach and the Moravian center at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and forbade Moravian services (Davis 1858:24; Orcutt 1972:162-164).

Hostilities soon broke out on the New England frontier, as bands of Indians allied with France attacked English settlements. Rumors frequently ran wild among the farm communities of northwestern Connecticut and eastern New York. While members of the Wechquadnach and Weataug communities were likely in as much danger as the English, they were nonetheless suspected of complicity in the planning of an assault on the area. Sharon settlers stockpiled arms in preparation for an attack from Wechquadnach and Shekomeko (Frazier 1992:71). In Salisbury, two blockhouses were built at Dutch

Weataug, in preparation for an ambush. Forts were constructed at the Furnace Village west of Lake Wononscopomuc, and in the southeastern part of the Salisbury township. Several years later, the meeting house in the town was equipped with watchtowers, in which sentries were placed on the Sabbath "to guard from the Indians" (Barber 1836:488-489). Settlers in nearby Connecticut towns took similar measures. In Goshen, there were two houses "palisadoed in, for a defense against the Indians." Because of Indian attacks prior to 1730, Litchfield already boasted "5 houses surrounded with palisadoes." Soldiers guarded field workers and churchgoers there (Barber 1836:453, 467).

Evidence suggests that members of the Native Weataug community who remained in Salisbury may themselves have adopted this colonial mode of defense from Indian attack. By mid-century, three miles downstream from the original Weataug village, there "stood an Indian block house" (Moskowitz 1996:pers. comm.). Indeed, the Native communities of the Housatonic also stood to lose much in the conflict between England and France. In 1744, Mohawk factions of various English and French allegiances had joined in a pledge of neutrality in the imminent war, and notified the Mohican leaders in Stockbridge of the decision. By early 1745, however, the Mohawk were actively considering a campaign against the English, and asked for Mohican participation. Wary of a Mohawk reprisal against them if they sided with the English, the Stockbridge Mohicans constructed a fort, and invited members of the Native communities nearby to seek refuge there in the event of a Mohawk offensive. In April, Native leaders from Wechquadnach, Stockbridge and Pachgatgoch attended a council held at Shekomeko to

discuss the Mohawk plan to attack English settlements. Some Shekomeko members expressed reluctance to leave their land under any circumstances, but agreed that war might make it necessary. Three months later, the same leaders attended a conference with the Mohawk, convened at Albany by the governor of New York (Frazier 1992:73-75).

Apparently, these meetings greatly alarmed the settlers in Sharon. Restating the concerns expressed in the Wechquadnach petition submitted three years before, in 1745 the proprietors notified the Connecticut Assembly of the "uneasy and restless state" of the Wechquadnach Indians, adding that "We can't but think needful for some proper care, in this difficult time, to be taken" (Sedgwick 1877:34). During the same year, a number of Shekomeko Indians moved to Wechquadnach after they were driven from their own land (Orcutt 1972:181).

As the political climate made it difficult to maintain missions alongside Native villages, the Moravians established new settlements for baptized Indians and their families. These settlements, located in the Wyoming Valley of eastern Pennsylvania, were open not only to Mohicans but to members of other Nations, including the Delawares. The earliest Pennsylvania encampment, a temporary center named Friedenshutten, was succeeded by the Gnadenhutten settlement (Frazier 1992:77). Additional Indian converts gravitated to the Moravian center in Bethlehem itself, which was wrongly suspected of being a haven for insurrectionists (Frazier 1992:73). During the 1740s, dozens of members of the Wechquadnach and Pachgatgoch communities moved to Gnadenhutten or traveled back and forth to visit relatives.

While Gnadenhutten seemed to offer a safe haven, its appeal was not universal.

Many inhabitants of Wechquadnach had never embraced Moravianism. Others had been baptized, but were deeply dismayed that the long-feared scattering of community members might now come to pass. In addition, the Moravians' invitation was conditional: the Indians "would have to submit to all...regulations, thus, to find satisfaction in work... [as] we white Brothers, too, had to work diligently, yet [had] to endure in poverty...In addition, we reserved ourselves the liberty to send them away again" (Bischoff 1995). The new settlements in Pennsylvania were a week's journey away, and the Native societies near them had different social practices (Frazier 1992:73). Perhaps most significantly, it would be difficult to maintain jurisdiction over any Wechquadnach lands near the Housatonic from the remove of Gnadenhutten.

Though rarely mentioned in the Sharon township documents concerning Wechquadnach, Moravian missionaries lived intermittently in the Native community throughout the late 1740s. Somewhat ironically, a minority of the settlers in Sharon and Salisbury expressed interest in the Moravian gospel at this time, and attended the Brethren's services. One missionary traveled to Salisbury "and visited several English [people] on whom the Savior is working. They have turned away from the church of the Presb [sic]...It is, however, very bad with their poor souls. They torment themselves in so many circuitous ways. And due to their own practice and upbringing...they always deviate from the plain path of the gospel...The New English are very corrupted throughout and have much brain but no heart" (Bruce 1995).

In 1746, the Connecticut Assembly responded to the "difficult time" memorandum from the Sharon proprietors. A committee was appointed to "lay out the

Indian lands by metes and bounds" and formalize the Wechquadnach jurisdiction. The survey and demarcation was conducted by Roger Sherman (later a signatory of the Declaration of Independence). This action proved ineffective, as the Sharon proprietors still did not believe they would be compensated with other lands if they recognized the Native tract. Indeed, the proprietors' desire for land apparently now outweighed their fear of a Wechquadnach insurrection. The possibility of an "open and forcible collision" between Wechquadnach members and Sharon squatters led next to a formal proclamation by the governor, stating that while squatters had no legitimate titles to the Indian land, "the rights of the [legitimate township] *proprietors* would be protected at all hazards" (emphasis added) (Sedgwick 1877:34-35).

Evidently frustrated by the Sharon proprietors' unwillingness to recognize their jurisdiction, eight community leaders from Wechquadnach hired an attorney. In a new petition of the Assembly, submitted in May, 1747, they described the tenuous social and economic predicament they were encountering on their own land:

> Since time past upon a motion by us made to your Honours Concerning our [Indian] Lands in Sharon[,] Your Honors were then pleased to appoint and send a Committee to Examine into the manner of sales of our Lands [and] we...have not understood more or Less of the matter [and] would once again Humbly Request of Your Honours...That we may be allowed a small tract of Lands on which we have Lately built & where we have made our Improvements att a Place Called the Indian ponds in the northwest Corner of...Sharon aforesaid: [O]ur humble Request to your Honours is that we may be allowed about two hundred and fifty six acres...which tho small yet will be to us a suficient accomodations and...that the same may speedely be Est.'d unto us[,] we being in fear of being turned off by some person or other: and we then must be destitute of house or home for our selves and families and of the means for a Livelyhood... (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Indian Papers, Series 2, Vol.2, Doc. 103).

The Assembly moved, once more, to have a piece of land designated for the people of Wechquadnach where their habitations, clearings and improvements were established. A tract of one hundred and seventy acres was indicated by the Assembly, based on the work of one of their committees (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Indian Papers, Series 1, Vol.2, Doc. 19). In apparent defiance of the order, Joseph Skinner, an original proprietor of Sharon, claimed to have had the *same* tract laid out to him five years earlier, and "having thus a legal title to it, refused to give it up, or even to exchange it for another tract" (DeForest 1970:402-403). In frustration, Moses of Wechquadnach indicated "that soon he wanted to sell everything and follow [to Gnadenhutten], although...not yet this year" (Bischoff 1995). The majority of Sharon proprietors, perhaps heartened by the high rate of emigration from Wechquadnach, chose to wait the Indians out. While in 1742 some had recognized that the Wechquadnach Indians "did never sell all the lands in Sharon" and "had always designed to reserve for themselves a settlement, besides several other tracts" (Sedgwick 1877:32-33), by 1747 this sentiment had seemingly evaporated.

Some members of Wechquadnach continued to live on the land, spending summers at the main village east of Lake Wechquadnach and winters at the outlet of Mudge Pond immediately to the east. Though a relatively small tract, and tiny compared to the Native community's territory of the 1730s, the land assigned by the Assembly was still coveted by the Sharon proprietors. As development of the township accelerated, the cleared fields and steep woodlots of Wechquadnach became more valuable.

By the late 1740s, travel between Pennsylvania and Connecticut was frequent for

both Indians and Moravian missionaries. In February, 1749, members of the Wechquadnach community composed a letter to their relations now living in Bethlehem. The missive reflected the difficulties of the Wechquadnach people still living in Sharon. These included the challenges to their ownership of the land, and also their sense of isolation from family and friends who had moved away:

> We, Abraham, Moses and Jacob, and all the brethren and sisters, salute the whole Church...[W]e...wish that where the [Moravian] Brethren live we may live also; for, so long as we had no teachers, we could not say that we loved the Brethren; but now we feel that we love them...And we, the rest of the brethren, are indeed poor, and cannot say much... (Dyer 1903:65-66).

In March of 1749, Joseph Skinner's designs became more evident. The Moravian missionary David Bruce recorded that "Skinner...is making pretension on the land...where the Indians are living. He...said [that] the Lord had first used him as a tool unto the Indians...He...had loved them so much, however, that he purchased their land [so] that they would not be driven out. But now he was forced to sell it. [He] would, however, let them [the Indians] have it for a reasonable price. Perhaps...the [Moravian] Brothers would assist them in it. But he was asking a hundred pounds for the hundred acres..." (Bruce 1995). While this price was indeed "reasonable" for the time, there is no evidence that Skinner had ever acquired title to the tract; he may have thought he could coerce a payment from the Moravians.

In early April, members of the Wechquadnach community still in Sharon reconsidered a move to Gnadenhutten. The Moravian missionary at Wechquadnach claimed to have remained outside the deliberations, while viewing the circumstances

encouraging the move as indicative of divine intent. "[I] spoke with Moses...about what he now thought in regard to the land, since the white people are intent on taking it away. He said he knew nothing...From this time onward one noticed that the Savior was not only working with the external circumstances, but [that He] likewise worked vigorously on the hearts [in order] that they should all leave here together and come to the congregation" (Bruce 1995).

Yet the Wechquadnach community would not simply capitulate to the expropriation of their main village site. Several days later "[T]hey had to go take possession of their summer houses, so that the same [person] who has purchased [i.e., claimed title to] the land would not take possession...first and [hence] drive them altogether out all at once. Thus they moved...out of the *Zugar schwammp* [maple grove] and into the summer houses." One week later, members of the Wechquadnach and Pachgatgoch communities met to "agree upon their matter for Wanachquategog [Stockbridge]," apparently responding to the Stockbridge Mohicans' offer of safety. Simultaneously, the Wechquadnach missionary received a warning: "Skinner and the *depute Schrieff* [deputy sheriff] came to me...on account of the Indians, that they should get off the land. And [they] wanted me to point out the danger to them [the Indians] if they let things go to extremes because the Justice would prosecute them. I told them [that] it was not my affair to mix with the Indians in such matters...for they could discuss it with them through others" (Bruce 1995).

At the same time, a Dutch settler named Van Arenem claimed he had obtained a deed from the Indians (Sedgwick 1877:35). There is no evidence for this, and such

acquisitions had been illegal for two decades. In an April, 1749 letter to Van Arenem, Sharon settler John Williams explained that in light of the proprietors' maneuvers, the Wechquadnach land now officially belonged to Skinner. Williams added that "In assigning land the Court did not intend to give the Indians the power to sell it" (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Indian Papers, Series 1, Vol.2, Doc. 23). In considering the case, Governor Law of Connecticut opined that land sold by the government could not be taken unless forfeited by breach of law (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Indian Papers, Series 1, Vol.2, Doc. 22).

By the third week of April, the expropriation of most of the remaining Wechquadnach land seemed inevitable. "Moses heard...that their land was now entirely gone and that they will have to get off it. Therefore they readied themselves and assessed their houses and [their] work and went to become reconciled with the man who has purchased the land...[T]he man dealt very honestly with them, and wanted to give them around 220 pounds [of] New England money for their work" (Bruce 1995). Thus, the Native community was able to negotiate their compensation only after the legal status of the land had been determined at the level of the colonial government.

Two Wechquadnach representatives travelled to Wnahktakook (Stockbridge) to notify the Mohican leadership of the developments. Gideon Mauwehu, sachem of Pachgatgoch, invited the Wechquadnach members who did not move to Pennsylvania to join his community downriver on the Housatonic: "Gidion sent word...[that for] those who were not inclined to going to Bethl., [sic] he would prefer it if they had a mind to come to him instead of going to Wanachquategog [Stockbridge]. For he believed [that it]

would be better for their soul[s] at his [place]...and he would take them in with love." For his own reasons, the missionary took a dim view of Wnahktakook: "[T]hey indeed knew themselves that was no place for one who wanted to save his soul" (Bruce 1995). The people of Wechquadnach and Pachgatgoch appear to have shared a particularly close relationship, involving frequent communication and visits back and forth. Factors guiding this affiliation may have included intermarriage, cooperation in seasonal hunting and fishing activities, and a common interest in the Moravians.

"Benjamain's father," a resident of Pachgatgoch, protested the treatment of Wechquadnach to the colonial government of Connecticut. "As he had seen how it went here with the land, he had gone to Ney Millford [New Milford] on his own accord and informed the *governour* about it, and complained about the people in Scharen [Sharon]. The *governeur* then sent for the Indians and wanted to do them right." Moses of Wechquadnach joined the Pachgatgoch man in lodging the complaint (Bruce 1995). These efforts do not appear to have achieved any substantive results, however.

Between the 25th and 27th of April, several groups of Wechquadnach residents departed permanently for the Moravian communities in Pennsylvania. The decision to leave was a momentous one, resisted by numerous residents. The missionary described the events:

> Magdalenah was somewhat critical because she was not pleased that so many...wanted to go to the congregation...Martha's son changed his mind...and stayed behind." "The first column left from Wechquatenach, [that is,] Jephta, and old Cornelius and his wife...Today made [off] Abraham and his 5 sons, Jacob and his wife and 3 children, Johannes and Lorellu's sister, and his brother, and their little daughter, [and] Joachim's wife also took along her son...We left at 9 o'clock and all of Wechquatenach accompanied us a stretch [of the way] and when taking

> leave many tears were shed on both sides...We were in all, the children included, 30 persons... (Bruce 1995).

Later in 1749, the missionary Bruce returned to Wechquadnach but died there. He was interred by Wechquadnach residents at the large Native burial ground east of the lake (Sedgwick 1877:51). By the end of the year, most of the Wechquadnach Indians had moved to Pennsylvania (Orcutt 1972:177). Moravian missionaries continued to visit Wechquadnach occasionally, and some community members travelled to Pachgatgoch for services (Buninger 1995b; Sensemann 1994, 1995).

At mid-century, the few Native people who remained at Wechquadnach lived in the shadow of displacement. For at least three years after the emigrations of 1749, the settlement on the eastern shore of Lake Wechquadnach was still occupied (Sensemann 1994). Farming, hunting and the manufacture of maple sugar continued on a seasonal basis. Apparently, economic marginalization and variable crop yields kept pressure on the community, as did the proprietors who surrounded the remaining tract. For those people from Wechquadnach who wanted to stay in the area, the Stockbridge Mohican community maintained its open invitation. However, rumors of administrative upheaval at the Stockbridge mission may have been a deterrent (Frazier 1992:102). Pachgatgoch was closer, and appears to have been the most intimate social affiliate with Wechquadnach. In February, 1751, a Moravian missionary at Pachgatgoch received news pertaining to Wechquadnach:

> Josua came to me and reported that the [Native] Brethren from Weg Quatnack had requested from them [permission] to live here and that they [at Pachgatgoch] had no objections. [They] intended to give them some

> cleared land. Moreover, next year they [at Pachgatgoch] would get back 10 acres from a white man, then they could have as much as they needed. The white people had taken almost all the land from them at W. Quatn[ach]... (Sensemann 1995).

One month later, the missionary visited Wechquadnach, where he and the Indians exchanged news and opinions. The moving plans had apparently been changed. An allusion was also made to an option apparently chosen by some members of the Wechquadnach and Weataug communities: moving to Canada.

> [I] arrived...and found Susane at home. The others were in the woods to boil sugar...Timotius and his wife, Ester, and Ampiwochnant's 2 daughters came home at once. Ampiwochnant was hunting...They asked if I had met Cornelius and his wife. I told them that she had left him. They contended that she had told him already this winter that because he had left Gnadenhutten she did not want to stay with him [and that] she wanted to go back to Canada. Hence I stayed with them for some time, and they were very warmhearted. Timoteus said that they had made up their minds to continue living there [at Wechquadnach], if only the white people would not take the land that they still had (Sensemann 1995).

To stay at Wechquadnach appeared increasingly unlikely. Around the periphery of the tract apportioned to them by the Assembly, individual Wechquadnach members had sold small pieces of property merely to subsist. Most of the land went to Thomas Barnes, a newly arrived investor who purchased a large tract next to Wechquadnach (Sedgwick 1877:35). In late July, 1752, Barnes acquired a deed to the village tract from two Wechquadnach community members, Nequitimaugh (Moses) and Bartholomew. Evidently, Timotheus and other community members had not approved the sale. While "It was contrary to law to take deeds of the Indian proprietors in that way...the Legislature, on the petition of Barnes, confirmed his title, and he took possession of the

disputed territory, the Indians having gone to other parts" (Sedgwick 1877:35). The boundaries of the final Wechquadnach tract were described in the deed:

> Know ye that We, Nequitimaug, alias Moses and Bartholomous, alias Bartholomew, Indian Inhabitants of the Town of Sharon...for the consideration of fifty Pounds current money of the Province of New York [sell to] Thomas Barnes...a Certain tract or Parcel of land lying and being in the township of Sharon aforesaid, and containing by estimation fifty acres, be the same more or less, abutting South upon the land said Thomas Barnes bought of Joseph Skinner; North upon [the] Salisbury line; West upon the Pond called the Indian Pond, and extending East so far as to take in all Our improvements in said Township of Sharon, it being the whole of what Land We claim in said Township [and] We, the said Moses and Bartholomew, do for ourselves and our heirs covenant with the said Thomas Barns that...We are well seized of these premises as a good indefeasible estate in Fee Simple, and have good Right to Bargain and sell the same... (Sedgwick 1877:188-189).

The "indefeasible" nature of the transaction was not confirmed by some Wechquadnach community members who had been absent at the time of its signing. Some "carried with them...a deep sense of the wrongs they had suffered, and some of them were often back among the [Sharon] inhabitants, complaining that they had been overreached, and often giving significant hints of...resentment which was rankling..." (Sedgwick 1877:35). Moravian documents indicate that a small number of Wechquadnach residents continued to live at the lake settlement even after the land transaction of 1752. As had been the case with the remaining residents of Weataug, these individuals were rarely if ever mentioned in the later township records.

Native visits between the Wechquadnach and Pachgatgoch communities remained frequent; these were undertaken to attend Moravian events at Pachgatgoch, but also to socialize and consult on political matters. Wrote one missionary at Pachgatgoch in

September, 1752: "The [Indians] were all busy going about their work of making *Canuh* [canoes] and baskets. Sister Susana and Magdalena arrived here from *wegquatnach*. Gotlieb had shot a bear of which they also sent us a piece" (Sensemann 1994).

Soon thereafter, "Timotius and 2 other unbaptized [Indians] arrived...from *wegquatnach*" for a four-day visit. They were soon informed of a social compact between the baptized Indians at Gnadenhutten, Pennsylvania, and the Nanticok Indians who lived near the Moravian settlement. A messenger arrived on a mission to inform the Housatonic Indians of the news. "Natha[n]iel['s]...task here was...to make known here and in *wanachquaticok* [Stockbridge] the bond which has been made between the *Nanticoks* and the Brothers in *Gnaddenhutten*...Gideon summoned at once all the Indians, small and big, and asked me whether it could be announced...in our church...Nathanel opened the *Belte* and *Strings of wampon* and I read to him what each one said....It was very dear and weighty to them..." Presumably, the messenger then passed through Wechquadnach on his trip upriver to meet with the Mohican leaders at Wnahktakook (Stockbridge). Returning to Gnadenhutten one week later, he again visited Pachgatgoch. "Nathanel then showed the *pelt* [belt] from *wanachquatcok* [Stockbridge], and the words that Abraham...should be installed [so as] to hand out *Belte of Wampon* in the name of the nation, which pleased them well and [they] also sent their word and a *pelt*" (Sensemann 1994). Despite considerable emigration and dispersal, the Housatonic Mohicans clearly maintained a solidarity that embraced Wechquadnach and Pachgatgoch after 1750.

Evidently the leader of the Wechquadnach community members still living in Sharon, Timotheus consulted the Mohicans at Wnahktakook. Perhaps a move to that

community, and not to Pachgatgoch, was under consideration. As a missionary recorded in November 1752, "I got myself ready to ride to *wegquatnach*...As I arrived there I found Ester, Augustus' wife with her little daughter, Hanna, and Jonath[a]n's son, Nathanal. They said that they...wanted to visit us in *pachgatgoch* as soon as they could...Sister Susana...said that she wanted...to live there for the winter. Timotius and young Mosses had traveled to *wanachquaticock* [Stockbridge]." The following February at Pachgatgoch, "Josua came home from *wegquatnach* [and] brought us very hearty greetings from the [relatives] there. [He] said that the Indians of *wanachquaticok* [Stockbridge] had sent to the [Indians] of *wegquatnach* a *stren of wampen* and had with it said that their gate would always be open for them if they wanted to move to them, but they had not yet given them [their] decision" (Sensemann 1994).

Apparently, Timotheus and others did depart from Wechquadnach within the year, although it is not known which other community they moved to. However, they would return to the site. In the fall of 1754, Timotheus complained to local farmers that the tract laid out by the Assembly's committee had never been respected or appropriately placed in the Wechquadnach community's possession. The Native right had not been recognized by the town's English proprietors. As Timotheus told one farmer, "I vow it is my land, and you know it. I swear it is my land, and I will have it." Eventually, Timotheus signed a quitclaim for Thomas Barnes, receiving as compensation "two pounds ten shillings of New York currency, and eight pounds of the old tenor of Connecticut" (DeForest 1970:403-405; State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Indian Papers, Series 1, Vol.2, Docs. 82-89).

Most of the people of Wechquadnach had moved to Pennsylvania by 1753. Others may have gone to Pachgatgoch or Stockbridge. Some evidently continued to live in the township of Sharon, as the Litchfield County census of 1774 counted twenty five Indians residing there (Hoadley 1880). Not all of these individuals may have been descended from the Wechquadnach and Weataug communities of 1720. However, it is significant that the Native community in Salisbury and Sharon contained at least sixty members by the time of the American Revolution.

6.0 Social and Political Aspects of Weataug and Wechquadnach

The documentary record concerning the communities of Weataug and Wechquadnach is fragmentary. However, it can provide a sense of the social structure of the communities and their relationships with the other Indian settlements of the Housatonic River area. Although Dutch and English settlement constituted a challenge to Native autonomy, the history of Weataug and Wechquadnach reflects the persistence of Mohican social customs in significant respects. This was embodied by community leadership, land use, and relationships between the Indian communities of the Housatonic area in the early eighteenth century.

By 1740, Weataug and Wechquadnach were located within the confines of the colonial townships of Sharon and Salisbury, Connecticut. Previously, they had been integral members of a network of Indian settlements located near the Housatonic River and its tributaries. After 1675, in an evolving series of configurations, this network included Wnahktakook (Stockbridge, Massachusetts), Westenhuc (near Great Barrington, Massachusetts), Pachgatgoch or Scaticook (Kent, Connecticut), Bantom (Litchfield, Connecticut), Wyantenock (near New Milford, Connecticut) and Pomperaug (Woodbury, Connecticut). Occasional documentary references indicate that the communities shared social, political and economic bonds, but the network was not circumscribed in the "national" sense. Rather, the centers of influence apparently shifted over time as waves of immigration and emigration were encountered, community lands were sold or expropriated, and new sets of leaders emerged. Pressure from the spread of colonial settlement also may have influenced the responses of Indian communities in certain

locales.

Periodically, the network of Housatonic communities experienced internal shifts in governance. A series of polities, or strategic associations of multiple communities within the network, seem to have emerged between 1700 and 1750. In 1704, the Wyantenock community was said to be the focus of a "league" of Indian communities which also included Weataug, Pachgatgoch (Scaticook), Pomperaug and Bantom (Trumbull 1972 Vol.2:83). This "league" was likely an expression of long-standing social, economic and military bonds between the communities. It may also have reflected the arrangement of shared access to seasonal fishing locations and access to trade at Wyantenock. The inclusion of Weataug in this group was significant, as the community was well upriver from the other four and may have constituted a link to the Mohican center then located on the upper Hudson.

In the 1720s, a new polity evidently emerged. Located west of the Housatonic at the southern end of the Taconic Range, it embraced Weataug, Wechquadnach and the Mohican populace of the Webatuck River area. Its leader was the sachem Metoxon, who was instrumental in determining the sequence and location of Housatonic Mohican land sales as early as 1721 (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Towns and Lands, First Series, Volume 7, Document 245a). In 1742, members of the Wechquadnach community still identified Metoxon as the sachem of the vicinity (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Indian Papers, Series 1, Volume 1, Document 244). The leaders of the local communities apparently deferred to Metoxon in his negotiations with the New York Dutch, who applied settlement pressure from the west, and the Connecticut English, who

seemed determined to expand settlement up river from the south. Metoxon negotiated land sales in the Weataug vicinity in 1721 and 1729 and near Wechquadnach in 1726. By 1740, Metoxon's polity was bisected by the New York-Connecticut border and further subdivided by colonial townships. On a reduced scale, Metoxon's polity embodied characteristics of the seventeenth-century Mohican political system, in which the leaders of local communities and resource areas answered to a Chief Sachem of the broader geographical area. The preservation of the Weataug and Wechquadnach main village tracts and the sale of peripheral lands were foremost elements of Metoxon's legacy.

In the 1730s, the Mohican sachems Umpachenee and Konkapot formed a coalition in the woodlands of the western Massachusetts Colony, near the headwaters of the Housatonic. This settlement was Wnahktakook. The new locus of Mohican political leadership reflected the dissolution of the ancient Mohican center on the Hudson, and instigated an eastward shift of the Mohican populace into the Housatonic Valley (Dunn 1994:221-223; Frazier 1992:59). Mohicans of the diaspora were invited to move to Wnahktakook from Connecticut, New York and Massachusetts. Compelled by factors including the overall decline in Mohican population and land jurisdiction, many accepted the offer. Some, in fact, came from Weataug.

Over time, the alignments within the Housatonic polities were altered by emigration and the emergence of new generations of leaders. Periodic immigration may also have affected the leadership structures within the communities. When the Tachkanick lands became part of the Livingston Manor in 1685, some members of that community moved to Weataug on the east side of the Taconic Range (Dunn 1994:316).

Weataug may also have accepted immigrants from the Connecticut River Valley (DeForest 1970:398). As references to Wechquadnach prior to the 1730s are lacking, it is possible that this community was a coalition of Mohicans from the eastern Hudson Valley as well as the Housatonic area. The Indian community at Pachgatgoch (Scaticook) also accepted members of other tribes during the 1730s (Barber 1836:471). In general, interaction between all the Indian communities of the Housatonic network was regular and intermarriage was probably frequent.

The documentary record allows some insights into social relations at Weataug and Wechquadnach. In the Weataug deeds of 1719 and 1721, Mohican women and men jointly approved the sale of specific tracts of land and acted as signatories. Extended families and multiple lineages appear to have been involved. This pattern was indicative of the Mohican methods of land use. The "ownership" of land was understood by the Mohicans as the right to prepare, cultivate and harvest different tracts associated with a main village. It did not involve exclusive rights to game, wild foodstuffs or other resources of the land, which were held in common by the community (Cronon 1983:59-65). Farming tracts were periodically allowed to grow over, and were used in a system of long-term rotation. As understood in light of this definition, "ownership" was handed down matrilineally among the Mohicans. Thus, a consensus among female and male siblings had been customary (though not universal) in the negotiation of Mohican land sales, and is reflected by the participation of women in the Weataug deeds of 1719 and 1721. In effect, what the Mohicans sold to the Dutch were the rights of cultivation and habitation in the flatlands flanking Wetauwanchu (i.e., "Weataug Mountain"). They were

not surrendering their Native right to hunt and travel on the land downriver from the main Weataug village. Nonetheless, they evidently believed that a sufficient amount of arable land and woodland remained to sustain them near the Weataug village, as it must have seemed at the time.

Between 1719 and 1752, a series of community leaders emerged from Weataug and Wechquadnach. Rarely identified as sachems, they appear to have acted as local leaders and representatives to the colonial authorities. During this period the role was an exclusively male one; the influence of women in community administration was evidently disguised in response to the colonial standard of patriarchy. The leaders probably came from eminent lineages in the two communities. At Weataug, they included Katrukseet, Metoxon (who was a signatory of the 1721 and 1729 deeds), and Tossaunee. At Wechquadnach, they included Nequitimaugh and Cowpoise.

After the Weataug tract was acquired by the Connecticut Colony in 1743, the remaining community members who stayed on the "Indian Purchase" were rarely mentioned in the documentary record. In Sharon, despite a sharp decline in the Indian population due to emigration, members of the Wechquadnach community persevered for another decade. Moravian accounts indicate that Wechquadnach held an intermediate status between Wnahktakook and Pachgatgoch both socially and politically. Members of the Wechquadnach community traveled frequently to the other two Indian settlements. Wechquadnach may have been more closely linked to Pachgatgoch in terms of family relations, but the people subscribed to the policies of the Mohican leadership at Wnahktakook. After the departure of Metoxon, the sachem Umpachenee spoke for

Weataug and Wechquadnach in the 1742 negotiations with representatives of the Connecticut Assembly. By 1750, the Wechquadnach community was still divided between moving to Wnahktakook, Pachgatgoch, and the Moravian settlements in Pennsylvania that had attracted many relatives. By 1760, Wnahktakook and Pachgatgoch were the only main settlements remaining from the Housatonic network of the first half of the century.

7.0 Analysis and Conclusions

In the first half of the eighteenth century, the establishment of European settlements in the upper Housatonic River Valley brought about profound alterations in the ownership and use of the landscape. In a prolonged and complex process, control over the land shifted from the indigenous population to the European settlers. This transition was affected by an unsuccessful strategy adopted by the Mohicans in response to imposition of colonial standards of ownership and land use. This strategy involved the selective reservation and sale of specific portions of traditional Native jurisdictions, in order to sustain the communities of Weataug and Wechquadnach within the colonial milieu. As the Mohicans attempted to sustain their way of life, they sought a compromise between Mohican and European standards. Documents pertaining to the land sales and activities of the Native communities demonstrate the factors that made this accommodation impossible.

Prior to 1700, the upper Housatonic Valley appears to have been a sparsely occupied part of the Mohican territory. Several Mohicans attempted to sell numerous large tracts of land along the Housatonic in 1685. While these sales of land upriver from the Great Falls were declared null and void, they indicated Mohican familiarity with the later Weataug vicinity. This was likely based on earlier Mohican occupation of the area. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the Housatonic Valley may increasingly have been considered a favorable relocation area by the embattled Mohican leadership and populace of the Hudson Valley. Land sales in the eastern Hudson Valley evidently compelled the members of displaced communities to join or occupy settlement areas near the

Housatonic, including Weataug and Wechquadnach. In time, the Mohican leadership coalesced near the headwaters of the Housatonic. The social and political system of the valley (including the Weataug, Scaticook, Pomperaug and Bantom communities) became a vital entity in its own right, "in league with Wyantenock." As they occupied the disputed border zone between the colonies of New York and Connecticut, the people of Weataug and Wechquadnach confronted European settlement and township formation later than most Indian groups of southern New England.

In the early eighteenth century a small number of Dutch settlers ventured east of the Taconic Range into the Housatonic Valley. The Mohicans then initiated their land sale strategy, selling tracts downriver and away from main settlement and resource areas. Metoxon, the primary arbiter of the Weataug and Wechquadnach tracts, apparently controlled a polity that was bisected by the Connecticut-New York border. The sachem led the Mohican effort to work within the colonial land system in order to preserve the core lands and maintain the Mohican life way, without seeing lineages scattered or sacred areas abandoned. Other goals included the negotiation of compensation for lands expropriated in what would amount to a colonial *fait accompli*.

During the Dutch settlement period between 1714 and 1737, the land strategy worked for the Weataug Mohicans. The Dutch population was small and concentrated. In the most active years of land sales, from 1719 to 1721, it appears that multiple Mohican lineages approved the transactions and received compensation. In contrast to the null and void 1685 sales in the vicinity, these transactions only involved land on the west side of the Housatonic. This supports the contention that the river was the eastern

boundary of the Mohican jurisdiction in Connecticut at the time. Clearly, the Dutch respected the Mohicans' ownership of the lands, and did not believe that either party was subject to the laws of the Colony of Connecticut.

By 1735, the intentions of the Connecticut Assembly regarding the Western Lands around the Housatonic had become clear. Surveyors had demarcated acreages granted by the Assembly, established the borders between Connecticut, Massachusetts and New York, and evaluated all the land west of the river for English settlement. Halfway between Weataug and Wechquadnach, iron production had recently commenced. Anticipating the expropriation of their land, the Weataug Mohicans directed their anger at the Dutch settlers, demanding payment for tracts granted by the Assembly and threatening to seize Dutch properties.

While the Mohican land strategy had been to the benefit of Weataug and Wechquadnach in their coexistence with the Dutch, the assertions of the Connecticut authorities brought great change after 1735. Placement of the Connecticut-Massachusetts border immediately upriver from Weataug precluded any claim the community may have had in that direction, even as the bisection of Lake Wechquadnach (Indian Lake) by the Connecticut-New York border prevented claims of that community to lands on the west. In both cases, the founding of the townships set in motion processes of subdivision, privatization and demographic imbalance. The Indian village resource areas became rectangular "islands" of social and economic marginalization, corners set back from the geographic centers of the townships.

In contrast to their counterparts at Wnahktakook (Stockbridge, Massachusetts)

and Shekomeko (New York), the people of Weataug and Wechquadnach lived within the legal jurisdiction of the Connecticut government after 1740. As the traditional economy was affected by limitations on hunting and travel, community members likely turned to subsistence farming, short-term labor for colonial farmers, and the production of barter goods. Distress over the settlement of hunting tracts "that had never been sold" and other encroachments by settlers led the people of Wechquadnach to complain to the Sharon founders. These English settlers were new arrivals, in the process of establishing the infrastructure of the town. Some may have been surprised at the size of the Indian community, or saw injustice in the Colony's acquisition of the land. Others may have feared an Indian insurrection. In 1742, a number of settlers acknowledged the legitimacy of the Indian claims in a joint petition of the Assembly. This was the first in a series of correspondences with the Assembly that sought a permanent resolution of the Indian jurisdiction in Sharon.

Later in the 1740s, the settlers became aware of deteriorating relations between England and France. In their North American wars, both nations used combatants drawn from different Native groups. Occasional Indian attacks in towns near Sharon, and fear of collusion by Wechquadnach, likely eroded the settlers' sympathy for the Native community's claims. Later correspondences indicate a desire for mollification of the Indians by means of a small land grant. Some settlers used the arrangement of such a grant as a bargaining chip to obtain Indian hunting tracts elsewhere in Sharon. Because of the mountainous and swampy terrain in eastern and southern Sharon, the clear lake side tracts of Wechquadnach became more valuable as the English population soared. In

Salisbury, by way of contrast, scant reference was made to the Weataug settlement, except that it contained seventy wigwams in 1740, and was allegedly unoccupied three years later.

As social and economic pressures mounted on Weataug and Wechquadnach, the rate of emigration increased. The 1740 population of "two hundred to three hundred individuals" declined as Mohicans moved to Wnahktakook (Stockbridge) and perhaps Canada and Pachgatgoch (Scaticook). The remaining populace claimed the Weataug village tract, the Wechquadnach village tract and several unsold tracts in Sharon. The village tracts were viewed by the reduced Indian populace as alternate habitations, "one to be occupied if the other were sold." The purchase of the core Weataug tract in 1743 was more of a formal gesture by the Assembly than a negotiation of compensation for the remaining families. While a small number of Indians continued to live on the "Indian Purchase" in Salisbury, the focus of the documentary record moves to Wechquadnach after 1743. For the English settlers, the establishment of a Moravian mission there and at Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch raised further doubts about the political inclinations of the Indians. Indeed, the Indian rejection of Calvinism may have provided some settlers with another justification for the expropriation of Wechquadnach lands. Some Indian converts to Moravianism moved to mission settlements in Pennsylvania, encouraging other family members to emigrate. By 1750, the remaining Indians had little support in Sharon. Perhaps losing patience, the Assembly capitulated to the settlers, who were reluctant to recognize a permanent Native tract. As at Weataug, a small number of Indians continued to live on the traditional village tract after its sale. The presence of sixty Indian residents

in Salisbury and Sharon in 1774 indicates that they adapted to colonial life, but this phase remains to be examined.

In summary, the Mohicans of Weataug and Wechquadnach responded to European settlement with a land-sale strategy aimed at sustaining access to natural resources, while limiting European settlement to more distant or less valued tracts. The imposition of colonial borders, township boundaries and the process of subdivision combined with a demographic imbalance to force the Indian communities into social and economic "corners" of the new towns. Economic instability and political tensions hastened emigration, which was enabled by the new Moravian settlements. In a matter of decades, the power to determine land-use had been reformulated in the Upper Housatonic Valley and assumed by the government of Connecticut. As a result, the Mohicans were compelled to seek uncertain means to sustain themselves and their communities.

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9.0 Appendix A

DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE INDIAN COMMUNITIES OF WEATAUG AND WECHQUADNACH IN SALISBURY AND SHARON, CONNECTICUT

Edited by Timothy L. Binzen

1685--February 4. In a land transaction signed at Albany, New York, several Mohicans sold a large area along the Housatonic River in the vicinity of present-day Sheffield, Massachusetts and Salisbury, Connecticut. In the following month, a second sale added an upriver extension. Both transactions were later declared null and void. This deed demonstrates the seventeenth century methods of Mohican land sales and Dutch land acquisitions; here the methods were applied within the Housatonic drainage, rather than along the Hudson. The Dutch concentrated on the acquisition of prime riverside flatlands, which may already have been cleared for farming by the Mohicans. Each of these flats had its own name and may have belonged to different lineages over time. The deeded land included the site of the eighteenth-century Weataug main village; it is not presently known whether Weataug in 1685 was occupied by Mohicans who reversed the transaction. The deed's Mohican signatories were Nishotawa, Awaanpaak, and Panematt, the son of Ottonowa. The chief witness was Wattawit, "sachem of the Mahikanders"; Mamatamitt was an additional witness. The purchasers were Lucas Santen, John Spragge, Dirk Wessells, and Cornelis van Dyke. Payment for the land consisted of "20 fathoms black wampum, 20 fathoms white wampum, 4 blankets, 3 fathoms stroudwaters, 6 fathoms duffels, 2 stroudwater coats; 3 duffels coats, 3 children's coats, 6 shirts, 3 guns, 4 kettles, 4 bags of powder, 6 axes, 6 pairs of stockings, 2 hoes, 2 half vats strong beer, 4 vats of rum, 12 pair of scissors, 12 combs, 2 rolls of tobacco, 20 knives, 20 bars of lead, and 30 awls."

Flanking the Housatonic, the land "began at the great fall of waters [in present Falls Village, CT], called by the natives Pawachtuek and ran up northerly on both sides of the creek. On the west side it went up as far as the flat land, belonging to the Indian named Panaskenak, containing four flats; of these the southernmost flat was next to the falls called Kenachkehantic, the next Achneganick, the third Awaankaniss, and the fourth flat, which was the northernmost bounds on on the west side of the creek was called Taashammik." "And on the east side of the kill...from the said falls running up northerly containing also four flats...the first next to the falls being a great flat or plain and the southernmost part thereof called Pacachkook and the north end Soquawaen, the second plain Nanachquak; the third flat Taasham, and the fourth or northernmost flat called Machemene Pakak, running northerly to a creek...that comes out of the woods, [the creek is] called Wata Pichkaak, and so running into the woods on both sides of the

[Westenhook] creek eastward and westward to the high hills as far as the owners' property stretches; and southerly below the falls on both sides of the creek as far as to the land of Machaktehank..." (Dunn 1994:298).

1685--August 10. The Dutch patroon Robert Livingston purchased the Tachkanik territory, located west of Weataug and northwest of Wechquadnach on the Hudson side of the Taconic Range. This became the Livingston Manor, which included a spur extending from its southeast corner eastward into the area of present-day Lakeville in Salisbury, Connecticut (Morrill 1987:38-66). This spur lay roughly in between the Weataug and Wechquadnach locales. The main tract lay "behind Patkook," a large hill, and ran along the Roelof Jansen Kill to the Hudson. It included the Mohican village site of Tachkanik against the Taconic foothills. Its northeast corner was marked by Ahashewaghkick, a stone heap near present Hillsdale, NY. The southeast corner and spur were marked by a location called Wichquapakkat and a distinctive group of trees (O'Callaghan 1849-1851 3:690; Ruttenber 1992:372).

The Mohican signatories included "Tataemshatt and Michiel, his brother, called Waquassamo, authorized by their brother, Amesett, who was at Canada, also Tawihaes and Nishotowaw. The rest were apparently women: Minasees, Nanamawe, and Tataemshatt's mother, Tantapenowa, who was Netepoe's wife, and Mamattittawawpe, Mohowacghqua, and Guttatamo." Payment consisted of 630 guilders, in black and white strung wampum, 7 blankets and one little blanket, 8 fathoms of strouds, 10 fathoms of duffels, 7 guns, 11 kettles, 5 casks of rum, 4 half vats of beer, 5 bags of powder, 60 bars of lead, 14 coats made of stroud and duffels, 10 great shirts and 12 little ones, 13 axes, 10 pairs of great stockings, 5 pairs of woman's stockings, and 5 pairs of children's stockings, 9 hoes, 50 knives, 4 rolls of tobacco, 4 iron pots, 200 awls, 2 serge coats, 4 hats, 4 caps, 5 pairs of shoes, 2 edges, 2 drawing knives, 2 plains, 6 bottles, and 3 earthen jugs." (Dunn 1994:299).

1719--August 22. While Connecticut Colony had granted numerous tracts in the Western Lands, and several land transactions between Mohicans and Europeans had occurred near the Taconic Range before 1700, the earliest extant deed of land involving members of the Weataug community dates to 1719. The Mohican signatories, women and men, evidently lived at the Weataug village. As in later deeds, the area around the Indian village was not sold. Three of the Mohicans signed with their initials; the others used pictographic signatures. The Dutch purchasers, White and Van Dusen, acted as if the tract were in New York (while acknowledging it was not). The lands included substantial riverside flats, wooded hills, and the locations of at least two Native habitation sites associated with the main Weataug village; the Mohicans reserved from sale a large tract around their habitation site). The transaction itself was probably conducted at the Livingston Manor.

"To all People to whom these presents shall Come [,] Greeting[.] Know ye that

we Katrukseet and Takomp and Conekamow and Jhenem all of the Nation of the [M]ehekanders. Do for divers Good Causes and Valuable Considerations us there unto moving. More especially for and In Consideration of the sum of thirty pounds Lawfull Money of New York to us in hand paid by security the Receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge [,] have by these presents Given Granted Bargained Sold Released Ratifyd and Confirmed unto William White and Abraham Vandusa Both of ye County of Albany a Certain Tract of Land Lying and being on the west side of Housetanick River in the Colony of Connecticut [the tract and its vicinity] known by the Name of Weataok Begining at the [Great] falls of said River and runing thence up the River to a Little run of Water [unnamed creek] which comes into said River thence runing up the Run of Water to a Lake Called Kokonhamok [Lake Washinee] thence runing with a strait line to the end of a hill Called Weeatauwash[oni] [Wetauwanchu] thence along the said hill to the first station of said Bounds at the afore said falls of the said River. To have and to hold the aforementioned Granted Premises with all the appurtenances there unto [illegible] unto the only proper use benefit and Behest of the said William White & Abraham Vandusa their heirs and assigns forever [;] in witness Where of we have hereunto set our hands and seals this two & twentieth day of August anno Domini one thousan seven Hundred and Nineteen.

"Katrokseet his [KS] mark (seal) Takomp his [+] mark (seal) Conekamow her [O] mark (seal) Jhenem her [U] mark (seal) Signed Sealed and Delivered in the presence of Jhawinon [GN] his mark Sankoonakehek [] his mark Mamanitiseckhan [] his mark Jeret Deker [GD] his mark [H]endrick [illegible] Attested before me Johannes Spoor Justice[.]" (Salisbury, Connecticut Deeds 3:504).

1720--August 16. One year after the 1719 deed was signed, a Mohican woman named Guttatamow signed a quitclaim referring to the same tract. Sister to Takump, who had approved of the previous year's sale, Guttatamow was evidently displeased with the 1719 transaction. In 1685, Guttatamow had been a witness at the sale of Tachkanik, west of Weataug on the other side of the Taconic Plateau. That territory had become part of the Livingston Manor, and Guttatamow and others evidently moved to Weataug (Dunn 1994:316). Now an elder of the Weataug Mohicans, Guttatamow's consultation would have been customary in the negotiation of a land sale to the Dutch. Possibly, she had been absent in 1719, and demanded additional compensation (Dunn 1994:306). (The quitclaim enabled the sale of an additional two hundred acres near Weataug to White and Van Dusen; no deed is known for that August 20, 1720 transaction.)

"Know all men by these presents that I Guttatamow [,] Sister to ye within mentioned Takump have Received Satisfaction in full for the within mentioned land from the within Mentioned William White & Abraham Vandusen and therefore I do hereby forever quit Claim to ye said Land Rattifying and holding from all the within mentioned Deed of Sale in testimoni where of have here unto set my hand this Sixteenth Day of August 1720[.] Guttatamow her [] mark..." (Salisbury, Connecticut Deeds 3:504).

1720--October 28. (Recorded May 19, 1721) Laurence Knickerbacker of Dutchess County, New York purchased the title to a fifty acre tract "westward of Ousatunnuck" River and below and southward of the Great Falls. The tract had been surveyed by Thomas Kimberly in July 1720. The purchase was made of Thomas Welles of Woodbury for twenty pounds "currant money of New York." Evidently, Welles had acquired the acreage as a Connecticut General Assembly grant before 1720, but decided to dispose of it. The boundaries ran from a marker on the west bank of the river at the south part of a meadow, then twelve rods to a heap of stones, then to a white oak by a pine stump, to a large brook running into the river from the west, then south to some elm trees. Welles signed the document at Livingston Manor on December 2, 1720. Knickerbacker's title was confirmed. However, stipulations were included regarding the Weataug Indians. It appears that Welles had acquired the "right" to the tract, but that the local Indians had not been compensated. Welles may have anticipated their anger over the Assembly's granting of their land.

"...It is hereby Especially Stipulated and agreed that the said Laurence Knickerbacker is to pay and sattisfy the Indian owners and proprietors of the said lands for that the said Thomas Welles is wholly disinterested and Engaged [,] he nor his heirs to be at any charge about the Indian purchase..." (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Connecticut Colonial Land Records 3:376-379).

1721--January 27. The Mohicans of Weataug sold a large tract, the central part of present Salisbury, to two Dutch settlers. The tract described was west of the Weataug deed of 1719. The Mohican signatories, female and male, used pictographic signatures. Land transactions at Weataug were still carried out in New York at the time.

"To all People to whom these presents shall come greeting. Know Yee that Weekenanaquin alias Corlar Voihachoam and Sakowenahook and Makmokqueam and Auckahianawa Anshowakonak and Nanoos and Janpanotan and Peet the Son of Shukokan Mahokahaunt and Nayatoo and Mamantawokan Watnam Shonshumnawok Maquaquen Shahememon and Trekanonah all Indians of the of the [sic] Nation of the Mohokanders ffor and in consideration of the sum of Twenty pounds of lawfull money of New York to us in hand paid by Johannes Dickemann of the Manor of Livingston in the County of Albany in the Colony of New York and Laurence Knickerbaker of Dutchess County in the Colony aforesaid, the [illegible] whereof we do hereby acknowledge and every part and parcell thereof and our Selves to be therewith fully and entirely sattisfyed. -- Have therefore granted bargained and sold and do by these presents grant bargain and sell unto the said Johannes Dickemann and Laurence Knickerbaker a Certain Tract of Land Lying on the west side of Oussatunuck or Stratford River beginning at the Upper Falls of said River to the southwards of Weatauk thence runing along the side of a hill called Wetawanchu by the bounds of the land which William White and Abraham Van Dusen have formerly purchased of the Indians two miles [illegible] Runing with a straight

line to a mile above the falls of a brook called by the Indians Washokastanook thence running south three miles thence running easterly to the aforesaid River thence Running up the said River to the first station--[T]he aforesaid falls of the River with all the appurtenances and priviledges thereto belonging to have and to hold the aforementioned promises to the only proper the benefit and behoof of them the said Johannes Dickemann and Laurence Knickerbaker and their heirs and Assigns forever.

"In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals the Seven and Twentieth of January Anno Dom 1721. Kennanaquen alias Corlan his hand [] and seal, Oihaekoam his hand [] and seal, Sakowenakok his hand [] and seal, Mamaqueam her hand [] and seal, Kanakanwa her hand [] and seal, Memaquan her hand [] and seal." [Witnesses were Pemoto, Shuhekan, Kawetunk, Baehus; also Roloff Dutcher, Abram Vosburg and William White.] (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Towns and Lands, First Series, Vol.7, Doc.245a).

1726--In this transaction, Richard Sackett apparently reiterated his 1704 purchase of land from the Mohicans (Dunn 1994:321). The sachem Metoxon led the negotiations in 1726, which resulted in boundaries in the Wechquadnach vicinity. Sackett believed the tract to be entirely within New York. When the Connecticut-New York border was established in 1731, the Connecticut government did not recognize Sackett's holdings east of the line. While the 1726 boundaries seem to include Wechquadnach, later documents show that the Indian settlement area was never sold to Sackett. As Sackett evidently had good relations with the Mohicans, he may also have condoned their ongoing use of his acquisitions. The boundaries of the large 1726 tract were described by Sedgwick (1877:13-14).

"The east line commenced at a place [apparently near present South Amenia, New York] which the Indians called Wimpeting, at the western base of a range of mountains, about seven miles south of Sharon Village, and from that point it followed the western base of the mountain range, northerly, to a point in Salisbury, a little east of Town Hill, so called. From that point the line ran northwesterly to the base of the mountain north of the Ore Hill, which in the Indian deed is called Ponsumpsie [Bird Peak], thence southwesterly to the foot of the mountain west of Spencer's Corner, then following that range southerly through the Wassaic valley, to Sackett's other possessions."

1729--June 19. In Woodbury, Connecticut, six Weataug Indians (including Metoxon) signed a document selling a large part of present Salisbury to the land speculators Hinman and Knowles. This was the first Weataug deed in which the signatories were not identified as Mohicans. The tract reserved the Weataug main village tract in the northeast part of the later township, and was bounded on the south by the holdings of Wechquadnach (whose Indian owners were of one voice with the owners of Weataug), Dutch settlers, and Sackett. Much of the tract had previously been deeded to White and

Van Dusen in 1719. Hinman and Knowles seem to have been concerned that the Native signatories might continue using the land after selling it.

"Know all men by these presents that we Matauckson Sausenauckhege Muckaneege Pauqennapeet Nanaconett Neshanees all Indians of Weatauke in the Colony of Connecticutt in New England for and in consideration of...30 [pounds] in money to us well and truly paid by Andrew Hinman and Thomas Knowles both of Woodbury in the colony above said, the receipt thereof we do hereby acknowledge and ourselves therewith fully satisfied and contented [,] have sold and by these presents do fully freely and absolutely give grant bargain sell aliene convey and confirm from us and our heirs unto them the said Andrew Hinman and Thomas Knowles their heirs and assigns forever a certain tract of land lying in the north west corner of the Colony above said [,] at or near the the place known by the name of Weatauck [the boundaries of the tract] beginning at the Massachusetts line against a pond called Panaheconnok [Lake Washining] and running southward to said pond and so from said pond southward on the high land against the Great Falls in Ousatonack or Stratford River then turning eastward to said Falls and from said Falls Runing South of the west with a streight line to a pond called Tautauquanockpaucok [probably Lake Wononscopomuc] and from said pond west so far as where the division line between the Government of New York and Connecticutt shall be setted and so running up the said line till it meet with the Massachusetts line and it is butted and bounded as followeth [illegible:] It is bounded north on the Massachusetts line and east on the lands purchased by the People of Weatauge and the Great River [i.e., the Dutch settlers from the Hudson Valley, who named their own settlement after Weataug in the 1720s] and southward on the lands purchased by Dikeman in part and part on our own lands [Wechquadnach] or lands purchased by Mr. Sackett and west on the place where the line shall be setted between the governments of New York and Connecticutt [;] and the same to Have and Hold together with all privileges and appurtenances thereto belonging or in any wise appertaining as their own proper absolute Indispensable Estate of inheritance forever without [illegible] Hindrance or Molestation from us the said Matauckson Sausenauckhege Muckaneege Pauqennapeet Nanaconett Neshanees or our heirs or any other person or persons by or under us or them having any [illegible] of Right title Interest [illegible] in or to the above said parcell of land from the Date hereof forever. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals in Woodbury this nineteenth day of June in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty nine." (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Connecticut Colonial Land Records, Vol. 4-5:440)

1732--October 9. In 1731, after decades of negotiation, the colonies of New York and Connecticut agreed upon a mutual boundary. In its placement, Indian jurisdictions were not recognized. The new border ran north to south and bisected Lake Wechquadnach approximately two thousand feet west of the Indian settlement. As had been the case at Weataug, Wechquadnach now had legal recourse to the Connecticut Assembly only. In 1732 the General Assembly commissioned a survey of its lands west of the Housatonic; if

appropriate, two townships were to be laid out. In the following document, the township survey committee (which included two future township settlers) reported back to the Assembly. They emphasized the attributes of the land which made it seem suitable for colonial settlement; the presence of two large Indian communities with widespread "improvements" of their own was not mentioned. In the northwest corner of the Colony, the boundaries of two proposed townships were laid out, marked by stakes, stone heaps and blazed trees. The northermost one (present Salisbury, including Weataug) was designated "M.", and to its south was marked the township of "N.S." (present Sharon, including Wechquadnach). The land downriver (present Kent) was left largely unsurveyed.

"As to the quality of the aforesaid described and laid out lands, in the said townships, we find them like a great part of the rest of the lands in this government, some good and some otherwise; we find the good and fertile lands in the north township to be considerably scattering, and that there are country grants [already] laid out in it to the quantity of about 3,500 acres. There are six ponds in said north township, which we judge, all of them, contain not less than 2,000 acres. -- There is at the northwest corner of said township, on Poconnuck [Riga] Mount, a large piece of rough waste land, we think not less than 4,000 acres. The remainder of the lands in said township will, in our judgment, be serviceable for plowing, mowing and pasturing; and will, with the inhabitants there, and the farms, accomodate a sufficient number of inhabitants for a town.

"In the second township we find two ponds, which may contain 500 acres. There is laid out in it, of country grants, 400 acres, and a considerable quantity of rough land, yet we find such a quantity of feasible lands in it (and not so much scattering as in the first township), as will, in our judgement, accomodate a sufficient number of inhabitants for a town" (Sedgwick 1877:12).

1736--October. In an urgent memorandum, the Dutch settlers of the Weataug vicinity (Dyckmann, Knickerbacker, White, Van Dusen and Dutcher) appealed to the Connecticut Assembly, asking that their Indian titles be converted into officially recognized government grants. The Dutch were irritated that the Colony had given them "no intelligence or protection...in the recent Indian war," and claimed that their settlement had enhanced the value of their tracts. Before, the Dutch had negotiated with the Weataug Indians as if all were living in New York. By the 1730s, Connecticut was preparing the land for its own settlements. The Indians of Weataug were clearly outraged at the granting of additional local tracts by the Assembly and their exclusion from the process of land sales.

"[B]ut to their sudden and unexpected surprise the Indian Natives of that place [,] immediately upon your memorialists['] setling there came and threatened as that unless we would purchase the said grants of them and more lands adjoyning thereto (for they said they would not sell their land unless we bought a quantity of the [illegible] land with

it) they would dispossess your memorialists [,] whereby we were greatly Terifyed the Indians avering that the government had never gave them any Consideration for said land and in our ignorance though contrary to law [we] made purchases of said Indians of the said grants and other lands adjoyning thereto to the value of 183 pound Newyork money for we were affraid that unless we did we should not only lose our estates but our lives also." (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Towns and Lands, First Series, Vol.7, Doc.239a)

1737--October 17. The Woodbury speculators Hinman and Knowles had foreseen the founding of the Salisbury and Sharon townships, and purchased numerous old Assembly grants in the Western Lands as well as a large tract from the Weataug Indians in 1729. They petitioned the Assembly to found a township, in order to profit from their holdings. In this they were unsuccessful. In 1737, just before the Colony auctioned off the proprietary rights to the area, their plan finally collapsed. In this document, they reiterated the bounds of the 1729 deed before signing a quitclaim to the land. In their agreement with the Colony, they managed to save a fraction of present-day Lakeville, in Salisbury, Connecticut. (Thomas Lamb served as a witness.)

"To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that we Andrew Hinman and Thomas Knowles of Woodbury...having by one certain deed bearing date June the 19th 1729, purchased of the Indians a certain tract of land lying westwardly from a place called Weatauk...Now Know Ye that we...do for ourselves and our heirs [,] good considerations us hereunto moving [illegible] Release and forever quit Claim of all Right Title or Interest in said tract of land By virtue of said Native deed bearing date as foresaid...[releasing the land] unto the Hon. Governour and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut in New England in America to them and their successors forever saving to ourselves our heirs and assigns two hundred acres surveyed and patented near the south end of Taconnock Mountain as also two hundred acres surveyed and patented at a place called Wenunkapaugoog [at Lake Wononpakook] as also one hundred and fifty acres of land surveyed Adjoyning to the above said Two hundred acres at Wenunkapaugoog [,] the whole being 550 acres that is saved for ourselves...[T]he remaining part of said purchase of the Indian Natives we...do for ourselves and our heirs [illegible] Release and Quit our claim...unto...the Governour..." (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Connecticut Colonial Land Records, Vol. 4-5:441).

1738. At the behest of the Connecticut General Assembly, Thomas Lamb purchased several tracts of land from certain members of the Wechquadnach and Weataug communities. Lamb apparently deceived the Indians regarding the boundaries of the tracts they were selling, and the Colony's division and sale of the land caused serious problems for Wechquadnach. "Lamb...purchased certain Indian rights of land in Sharon and Salisbury 'for the consideration of 80 pounds and divers victuals and clothes.' This deed was signed by the marks of many Indians, who described themselves 'as of the

Indian nation belonging to Muttapacook.' The name of one of the signers of the deed was Tocconoc. Soon afterwards the Indians complained to the General Court that they had been defrauded by Lamb..." (Whitridge 1976:30).

1739--January. Months before the incorporation of Sharon, a memorial to the Assembly described the Wechquadnach response to settlement by Connecticut proprietors:

"Sundry Indians claim in their Native Right a considerable tract of land in ye northwesterly part of said township [the tract measuring] at least two miles north and two miles east and west[,] which said right ye said Indians hold and affirm to be their own and that some hath never been purchased of them" (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Towns and Lands, First Series, Vol.7, Doc.249).

1742--May 13. The township of Sharon had been incorporated for less than three years, Salisbury for only one. The new settlers from Connecticut had been rapidly "improving" their lots near Wechquadnach and Weataug, often on lands never sold by the Indians. Several Sharon proprietors became concerned about the prospect of violence between the Native and European communities. In a manner atypical of the time, the proprietors worked with leaders of the Wechquadnach community to generate a joint petition of the Assembly. This document touched on a number of important themes. It indicated that Wechquadnach (and by extension Weataug) was no longer exclusively Mohican, but was populated by members of different "Indian nations" who were experiencing "great uneasiness." In the era of frontier violence before and during the French and Indian War, the proprietors may have been moved by fear of insurrection as much as a desire for fairness. The machinations of the land speculator Thomas Lamb were also demonstrated; by obtaining a patchwork of scattered tracts, Lamb inspired the Assembly's confidence that the entire area could be subdivided and "improved." In 1742, the Great Awakening was at its height; the request for a Calvinist minister for the Indians may have reflected the settlers' wariness of the newly founded Moravian mission at Shekomeko, west of Sharon. While increasing numbers of Wechquadnach Indians were interested in the Moravian teachings, many English settlers viewed the Moravian missionaries with suspicion.

"To the Honorable, the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, in General Court assembled, at Hartford, in said Colony, on the second Thursday in May, A.D.1742.

"The memorial of Peter Pratt, Nathaniel Skinner and Jonathan Dunham, agents for said town, and Stephen Nequitimaugh Nanhoon, and others of the Indian nations, residing in said Sharon, humbly showeth --

"That they, the said Stephen Nequitimaugh Nanhoon, and others of the Indian

natives, residing in Sharon, were the proper owners of the lands contained in the said township of Sharon, and Salisbury, adjoining to said Sharon, and that a considerable part of said lands was honorably purchased of said Indians, and paid for by Thomas Lamb of said Salisbury, and that he, the said Lamb, in negotiating the said purchases of said Indians, did take advantage of their ignorance, and as they have since understood, did obtain a deed or deeds from them or some of them for more of said land than ever they sold or intended to sell to said Lamb, and particularly the place at the northwest corner of said Sharon, where the said Indians live and improve, and always designed to reserve for themselves a settlement, besides several other parcels that have never been sold to the English; That the Government's Committee have obtained the rights purchased by said Lamb of the Indians, and have sold all the lands in the townships of Salisbury and Sharon to the proprietors of said Towns, who are now improving and are entering on the said lands still claimed by the said Indians, which has aroused a great deal of uneasiness among the Indians, they looking upon themselves defrauded of their rights.

"That many of the Proprietors of Sharon are likewise inclined to believe, that the said Indians, who were the proper owners of said land, did never, to this day sell to the said Lamb or to this government, all the lands in said Sharon or Salisbury, but that they have still an honest right to that said tract where the said Indians now live, as also to one mile in width across the south end of said town of Sharon, and that they are willing the said tract where the Indians now live should be restored to them and confirmed to the said Indians, though the Proprietors have purchased the same of the government, Provided they can have it made good to them by other reasonable satisfaction.

"Whereupon your Honors' memorialists humbly pray that the Honorable Assembly would take the case into their consideration and would appoint a Committee to repair to Sharon to hear and examine and to enquire into the claims of the said Indians, and purchases that have been obtained from them either by the said Lamb or others, with power to agree, settle and determine all matters of difference and controversy relating to the premises, and for the quieting [of] the said Proprietors and the said Indians, or that your Honors would in some other way, as in your wisdom you shall think fit, find a remedy.

"Your memorialists further show, that there is a very considerable number of said Indians, living at said northwest corner of said Sharon, and others not far from them, that are desirous of being instructed in the Doctrines of the Gospel; to be taught to read the Holy Scriptures, and be informed of the way of salvation therein revealed; and that their children may be educated according to Christianity; which your memorialists also recommend to your Honors' consideration, hoping that your Honors will be inclined to do something towards their encouragement; and your Honors' memorialists as in duty bound shall ever pray. Dated in Hartford this 13th day of May A.D., 1742." (Sedgwick 1877:32-33).

1742--October 23. After an investigative trip to Sharon, the committee (which included Thomas Fitch, later Governor of Connecticut) reported back to the Assembly. In evaluating the claims made in the Wechquadnach petition, the committee brought together Indians of Wechquadnach, Weataug and elsewhere, as well as English proprietors of the new townships. (Apparently the Dutch settlers were not consulted, or else they were considered English.) It was concluded that Metoxon, sachem of a territory now in the New York-Connecticut border area, had sold tracts to Sackett in 1726 (present west Sharon and southwest Salisbury) and to Lamb in 1738 (the rest of Sharon except the southern strip, puchased from Naunese in 1739). Though he was not present, Metoxon's jurisdiction was said to extend over the Wechquadnach and Weataug communities and their unsold lands. Nequitimaugh and the Wechquadnach leadership were aiming for the reservation of habitation, farming and hunting tracts; in 1742 they occupied a tract in northwest Sharon, and claimed the south end of the town and eastern tracts. Presented with the 1726 Sackett deed (the Connecticut portion of which was now claimed by the Assembly) and Lamb's unauthorized 1738 purchase from Naunese, the leaders were informed that there was no Indian land left in Sharon. They replied that two "corners" had always been reserved: one at Weataug, the other east of Lake Wechquadnach. If one corner was eventually sold, the other was to be occupied by the collective Weataug and Wechquadnach communities. Umpachenee, a Housatonic Mohican sachem who was instrumental in the formation of the Stockbridge Mohican township, spoke on behalf of Weataug and Wechquadnach, setting a price for the Weataug village tract. The conclusions reached were "generally agreed to" by the English and the Indians, although the committee tried to reinterpret the "natural" boundaries of the 1729 Hinman-Knowles deed to include Weataug. Ultimately, the committee acknowledged that the Indians had long intended to reserve the two "corners" for their use, and recommended a permanent fifty acre tract for Wechquadnach, predicated on a land swap to reward Sharon.

"To the Honorable General Assembly of his Majesty's Colony of Connecticut setting in New Haven in October Dom 1742. We the Subscribers[,] your Honours' Committee appointed at Your Session in May last to Enquire into ye Claim -- made by and [concerning] purchases made of ye Indians in ye towns of Sharon and Salisbury [--] humbly Reports --

"That pursuant to your Honours' appointment on ye memorial of Peter Pratt and other agents for Sharon and Neguntemauge [Nequitimaugh] and other Indians Living in or Near Sharon[,] we (having first notifyd ye partys Concerned) Repaired to the township of Sharon and on the 13th and 14th Days of this instant October proceeded to Enquire into the several matters Referred to in said memorial[,] and the Several partys concerned being present and having interpreters both of English and Indians we were informed by Deeds and witnesses and would humbly Report to your Honours that we find that one Metoxson alias Callonek alias Carlow is allowed by all to be ye Chiefe Sachem of the indians in these parts[,] and that he and his tribe or Nation are the Claimers of these Lands not sold and also [that Metoxson et al. had] Claimed and [sold] all [that] have been sold there about.

"That the said Motouk son and other indians in ye year 1726 sold to Richard Sacket & Company all ye western part of Sharon within about two Mile of Ousatunnuck River little more or less and ye southwest Corner of Salisbury -- which sale some of ye Indians who signed ye Deed being present owned to be honestly made.

"That afterwards viz. 26th of October 1738 the said Metaukson and other Indians by agreement with and for Eighty pounds Received of Thomas Lamb sold to ye Government and Company the town ship of Sharon except one mile at ye south end[,] which deed and bargain several witneses Declared was fairly made and well understood by ye Indians.

"That in [illegible, possibly "February"] 1738/9 ye said Thomas Lamb procured another Deed from an Indian of that tribe as we understood who is sometimes Called John [and] sometime[s] Naunese [illegible] to ye Governour and Company for one mile across at ye south end of Sharon -- for nine pounds.

"That by sundry deed[s] to Diverse persons, given by some of that tribe of Indians the township of Salisbury has been purchased except about (as near as we could guess) two mile Square at ye north east Corner [Weataug] and this seemed to be generally agreed to both by the English and Indians[;] and Concerning the said north east Corner we find that ye [1729] Deed to Knowles and Hinman describes the lands sold by Certain Natural Monuments as ponds mountains (etc.) In which Desription of ye said north east Corner is not contained[,] but then the lands are again bounded by General boundarys viz. North by ye Massachusetts [and] East by the River which includes ye land at ye north east Corner but its [sic] generally declared both by English and Indians that they have always understood and now believe that Corner was never intended to be sold[,] neither was it ever honestly Sold on which we are of opinion that its most probable that ye corner was never intended to be sold[;] therefore we think the Indians who are Generally allowed to Claim said Corners[,] and for whom as ye Indians say ye said Corner was intended to be Left when ye other was sold[,] should be quieted by giving them some Consideration to resign their claim[;] which Umpechenee on their behalf Declared they would do for Sixty pounds and not Less[;] and concerning the north east [northwest] corner of Sharon we find it all to be sold and included in ye aforesaid Deed to Sacket and that procured by Lamb. Yet from indian evidence only we are informed that the Indians did and do now think they might and may live there and the people of Sharon are willing they should live there if an Equivalent [in land] is given[,] whereupon considering ye Circumstances of those indians we think it might be well to alow them about fifty acres of land to Live on[,] which appears to be a sufficiency[;] and that on the proprietors of Sharon securing ye same to them an Equivalent of about two acres for one be given Sharon at ye south end of their town[,] they purchasing the same of ye indians if not already Done. As to ye Mile at ye south end of Sharon complained of we find little or nothing worthy of Notice about it.

"Wherefore upon the whole seeing the Indians' Desire to Live there [at

Wechquadnach] and [as they] have made improvements where they live we therefore recommend it to your Honours to quiet and favour these indians as aforesaid[,] and considering they are as we were informed Disposed to be instructed in the Christian faith we think it might be well to make some provision for that purpose[;] their number being 18 males fifteen females adult and 17 Children[,] fourty live in all[;] and further that one Tossaunee who on some encouragement given him by ye Committee for Laying out Lands in Salisbury[,] that they would [endeavor] he should have two blankets Resigned [to him in compensation, and that] a Considerable improvement he had made and lived upon in Salisbury [Weataug] should be considered and Made Easy accordingly [i.e., purchased] and upon the matter aforesaid being settled we conclude the Indians will be easy and peaceable and friendly and we hope comfortable Neighbours and Friends and probably Christian Brethren[,] all which is most humbly submitted to this honourable Assembly by your Honours' obedient Humble Servant. Thomas Fitch Daniel Edwards Robert Walker New Haven October 23d 1742" (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Indian Papers, Series 1, Vol.1, Doc.244).

1742--October. The Assembly responded to the report of the committee appointed to investigate the claims of the Wechquadnach and Weataug Indians and their Sharon supporters. The Assembly's proposed solution was to establish a very small reservation for the Wechquadnach Indians, and purchase any other disputed tracts (including Weataug). For this, Sharon was to be compensated with land claimed by Wechquadnach at the south edge of the township.

"Upon the report of the committee appointed by this Assembly in May last to inquire into the Indian claims and sales made of land in the towns of Sharon and Salisbury, &c., and now made to this Court: Resolved by this Assembly, that a committee be appointed, and Mr. Daniel Edwards of Hartford is hereby appointed a committee, to agree with and purchase of those Indians that have a claim to about two miles square at the north east corner of the township of Salisbury, the said two miles square, more or less, to the Governor and Company of this Colony, for the use of the purchasers of said township; and also to procure and deliver to an Indian called Tossaunee two blankets, or equivalent thereto, in consideration of his resigning his claim in said Salisbury; also to take care that the proprietors of the township of Sharon secure and settle, in proper manner, fifty acres of land, at the north west corner of Sharon, unto the Indians living there, where they now live. In consideration of which, the said committee is hereby empowered and authorized to give a deed of conveyance, in the name of the Governor and Company of this Colony, to the said proprietors of Sharon, of one hundred acres of land at the south end of said Sharon, in an equal breadth across the said town adjoyning thereto, they making the purchase of the native right, if not yet done. And also to take some care to agree with the Reverend Mr. Peter Pratt, to endeavour to instruct the said Indians in the christian religion, till May next. And the said committee is hereby impowered to draw the sum of twenty pounds bills of the new tenour, or equivalent in old tenour, out of the public treasury, for said purpose; and lay his account of his proceeding

in the premises before this Court in May next" (Hoadley 1874:502-503; State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Indian Papers, Series 1, Volume 1, Doc.245).

1743--May. Daniel Edwards, commissioned by the Assembly to "quiet" Wechquadnach and purchase Weataug, submitted his report. In Sharon, he avoided a meeting with the leaders of the Wechquadnach community. Consulting with a Sharon committee member, Edwards was advised by *him* of the Indians' concerns. Primary among these was the possibility of dispersal to distant parts, brought about by the diminishment of the Wechquadnach territory and lack of access to basic resources. In addition to approximately ninety acres of "improved" or cleared land at their lakeside village, the Wechquadnach community continued to claim two hundred acres of rugged woodland on the adjacent Poconnuck Mountain, as well as a narrow strip along the south end of the township (obtained extra-legally by Lamb in 1738). In return for setting up the proposed fifty-acre Wechquadnach reserve, the Sharon proprietors suggested ratios of improved and unimproved lands to be granted the township in compensation. Edwards next travelled thirty miles upriver to Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where he attempted to locate anyone claiming to own the Weataug tract. (It does not appear that Edwards first visited the Weataug village to consult with its occupants.) In Stockbridge, Edwards found two members of a family said by the Mohican elders to own the Weataug "corner" of Salisbury. (In his report, Edwards made erroneous reference to the "northwest" corner of Salisbury, evidently confusing it with Wechquadnach's location in northwest Sharon.) Conducting the transaction on an improptu basis through translators, Edwards drew up a deed and obtained the five-thousand acre Weataug tract for sixty pounds (a minute fraction of its fair market value).

"To ye Honourable General Assembly of his Majesty's Colony of Connecticut now seting in Hartford[:] Daniel Edwards, of Hartford[,] at your sessions in October lasst [sic] appointed [to act as] a Committee to agree with ye Reverend Mr. Pratt [about] teaching ye Instruction of ye Indians and also to agree with and purchase of certain Indians their Claims of Lands in Salisbury and Sharon[,] ye Humbly Reports[:]

"That on Notice to all partys Concerned first given, I pursued to your Honours' appointment and Direction on ye 26th of April last [and] proceeded to said Sharon where arriving a few hours later than my expectation [I was unable to consult] their Committee to your purpose appointed -- [and] being all save one absent on a long Journey [I] could transact nothing touching ye Indian claims in ye Town; but was made to understand that ye equivalent of two acres across ye south end of their town [Sharon] for one acre of ye Indian improvements [at Wechquadnach] would be in no wise satisfactory, and am since allso advised by [the] committee under their [the Sharon proprietors'] Hands that on view and measure of ye Present Indian improvements, they account to eighty nine acres at least, which is almost double ye quantity heretofore supposed, allso that their Indians in a late Conference with them here demonstrated that their [present] actual improvements are not only greatly short of their just claim [to lands in Sharon] but allso alltogether

insufficient to answer their necessitys, especially in ye article of Firewood, alledging that on their being secured [by the Colony] in ye improvement and benefit of about two Hundred acres (which it seems they now claim) they may be able to keep together undispered, and enjoy civil education and Christian Instruction and allso ye Benefit and Protection of ye good laws of this Community -- which they say they shall cheerfully and thankfully receive and submit to. -- or otherwise [the Indians] shall be necessitated to break up & scatter abroad (or at least the most of them) which they are very loath to do, or remove else where for more room, said Committee have also signifyed to me their estimate of an equivalent for said Indian lands viz. Six acres for one to be taken across their bounds, or two for one to be pitcht where they shall chuse, less than which they seem to think will not be equal."

"That ye [period of] time by your Honours proposed for [Rev.] Mr. Pratt being engaged to instruct ye Indians being then just expired[,] nothing was transacted with him in ye matter, but on Conference with him about it [I] am informed they still express an earnest desire of Instruction both by schooling and preaching, and that your Honours would in great charity as soon as may be Devise some way to gratify them herein, to which he [Pratt] will be ready to contribute his utmost assistance [illegible.]

"And that from Sheron proceeding to Stockbridge, where whom ye claimers of ye northwestern [northeastern] Corner of Salisbury [i.e., Weataug] were, and with whom most safely to transact in that affair, I by much inquiry found out, they having no Records or other Durable monuments or evidence of Title or Property, [that] I had recourse to ye following measures which with them it seems is accounted sufficient to Depend and act upon in matters of this nature; -- That is to say as I had before noticed them of your honours' Directions and my purpose to treat with them[,] and so now published among all the Indians there ye arrend on which I came, to ye end I might Discover whether they were agreed in allowing ye Title to be quieted [i.e. quitted] in any one person or family or whether there were not sundry opposite and contending claimers. -- but may it please your Honours on all ye Inquiry I could make by ye help [of] an Indian Interpreter of good report -- among them together with Mr. Woodbridge ye Indian Schoolmaster who was allso sworn an Interpreter on this occasion, I found by ye Concurrence of all ye elderly and principal persons among them that ye northwest [northeast] Corner of Salisbury had been Deemd to belong to a family by them mentioned During their remembrance[,] of whom those who now survived were one Tautaupusseet[,] an Indian man who was abroad at a great Distance, and allso an Indian Woman cald Shekannenooti[,] who was present and sister to the said Tautaupusseet, together [with] a child of another brother of said Family [the child being named] Kowannun, which survivors they all agreed were ye owners of said lands -- unless allienated to ye English[;] and now after some Doubts & Deliberation how to proceed in an affair so circum[illegible] I drew and had executed a Deed of five Thousand acres more or less of said land to ye Governor and Company of this Colony, which was first distinctly read over in English and then [it was] by said Interpreters interpretted to those who were to execute it and allso to a number of ye elderly Men[,] who were to be Witnesses with some English so that all Declared they

understood it -- Thus was the Deed Executed by said Indian woman and a lad of about fourteen years, for whom allso she acted as Guardian for as she [illegible] it as having ye care of him and [illegible,] whereupon of Seventy pounds old currency drawn out of the treasury I paid down sixty and had a receipt thereof Indorsed on said Deed, with a Promise to procure ye Tautaupusseet on his return (which they expected would be shortly) to execute ye same allso and satisfy him[,] therefore which deed I accordingly lodged in ye Hands of ye Reverend Mr. Serjeant of Stockbridge to be executed and acknowledged on his [Tautaupusseet's] Return as it already has been by the others.

"As for Tossonee ye Indian to whom two blankets were ordered I understood he was gone abroad, but would likely return in short time, so that I nor saw nor acted any thing with him. Thus Stand these affairs and thus (tho' ineffectually in part) have I endeavored to Discharge what your honours gave in command and Remain Your Most Obedient and Humble Servant, Daniel Edwards" (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Indian Papers, Series 1, Volume 1, Document 246).

1747--May 16. The Wechquadnach community petitioned the Assembly once more, having hired a Sharon attorney to draw up the memorandum. The Indian signatories apparently wanted legal recognition of their ownership of the village tract, just as the Sharon proprietors held title to their own improved tracts. Incursions made by proprietors and squatters were also protested.

"The Honourable Generall Assembly of this his majesties Coloney of Connecticut in New England now sit[t]ing att Hartford In May An Dom 1747. The memoriall of us The Subscribers: Indians: Inhabiting in the Town of Sharon In the County of Newhaven and Coloney aforesaid Humbly Sheweth:

Whereas: Since: time past: upon a motion by us made to your Honours Concerning our: Lands in Sharon Your Honors were then pleased to appoint and send a Committee to Examine into the manner of sales of our Lands: to see wheither [sic] we had made Sale of all or not: and ever since[,] we your Honours' memoriallists have not understood more or Less of the matter: we would once again Humbly Request of Your Honours[,] That of your special favour: and Goodness: to us the poor Indians Inhabiting in Sharon aforesaid; That we may be allowed a small tract of Lands on which we have Lately built & where we have made our Improvements att a Place Called the Indian ponds: in the northwest Corner of the township of Sharon aforesaid: [O]ur humble Request to your Honours: is that we may be allowed about two hundred: and fifty six acres: if your Honours shall think fitt: which: tho: small yet will: be to us a suficient [sic] accomodations[,] and that that your Honours if [in] your wisdom shall Think fitt: to Grant that the same may speedely be Est.'d unto us[,] we being in fear of being turned off by some person or other: and we then must be destitute of house or home for our selves and families and of the means for a poor Livelyhood which we now Enjoy[;] and further we would humbly Request that your Honours would Consider us In our ignorant State and Condition for want of the means of Lerning and Education which we are destitute of: and

of your Honours Grace and favour find out some way that we may have a school among us to learn to read -- That we may both know our duty and how to perform: the same: which request if your Honours shall shall [sic] take into your wise Consideration: and Grant in some way or other as your: Honours shall: in your wisdom think best for us and your Honours memorialists as in Duty Bound Ever pray. Sharon, May ye 16, 1747.

"Sauchewawaha, alias his [] mark Benjamin Timothy alias his [] mark Cowpoise Umpawahanit mark [] his Quotomock his [] mark alias moses Samuel his [SC] Cocksinee Jannatt his [] mark alis [sic] Jonathan Ackawahanit his [] mark alias Bartholomew Tsacoke his [+]mark alias David William Spencer: Attorney for: the memorialists." (State Archives, Connecticut State Library: Indian Papers, Series 2, Vol.2, Doc.103).

1749--February 10. Members of the Wechquadnach community sent a letter to relatives who had moved to Moravian mission settlements in Pennsylvania. Correspondence between the Moravian headquarters in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania and the missions at Wechquadnach, Pachgatgoch (Scaticook) and Shekomeko was frequent. Often, baptized adults would move their families west. Some individuals travelled back and forth between their relatives in Pennsylvania and the traditional community lands in the Housatonic Valley. This letter reveals the involvement of some Wechquadnach members in the Moravian sect, their use of Christian names, and their maintenance of close familial ties to distant relatives.

"Wechquadnach, February 10, 1749.

"We, Abraham, Moses and Jacob, and all the brethren and sisters, salute the whole Church, and are very glad and thankful that the Church has cared for us again, visited us, forgiven us all that has hitherto passed and sent somebody to instruct and teach us. For we know that through this forgiveness many of us have been helped to rights, and set upon our feet again. Therefore, we are glad, and salute the brethren and sisters at Bethlehem; therefore we brethren and sisters pray that our Saviour may wash us in his blood, and make us obedient from the bottom of our hearts; for we thought we should never more, in all our lives, have any one from the Brethren's church among us. We therefore desire our brethren and sisters at Bethlehem to pray for us. We will also pray to our Saviour with our whole hearts, and do our utmost to remain steadfast in the faith in his meritorious death.

"Joshua's grandmother salutes him heartily, and is very glad that his sister was baptized at Bethlehem. And I am very glad that the missionaries show us the plain and straight way to our Saviour: and I salute Brother Joseph and mother Spangenberg; and we brethren and sisters wish that where the Brethren live we may live also; for, so long as we had no teachers, we could not say that we loved the Brethren; but now we feel that we

love them. Sarah salutes Brother Joseph and Mother Spangenberg, Brother Cammerhoff and Sister Cammerhoff, and all the brethren and sisters at Bethlehem, Gnaddenhuetten, Nazareth, and in all the churches. Our Sister Rachel does the like; our Sister Abigail the like; Bartholomew's mother the like; our Sister Miriam the like; our sister Esther the like;

"Brother Jephthah salutes the Brethren Joseph, Cammerhof, John, Nathaniel, Father Nitschmann, and the whole church, and recommends himself to their prayers, for he is poor in body and soul.

"And we, the rest of the brethren, are indeed poor, and cannot say much; yet we will constantly tell Brother Bruce the state of our hearts; then our brethren and sisters at Bethlehem will know how we stand to Jesus.

"Jephthah salutes also Philippus and all his children. Brother Moses salutes Brother Joseph and wife, Brother Cammerhoff and wife, Brother John and wife, and Nathaniel, and kisses them heartily, and the whole church at Bethlehem and Gnaddenhuetten.

"I salute my son Jonathan, and pray that he may see this letter, that he may know what we have made out. Sarah salutes Jonathan and Anna; and we shall be very glad if he comes back again; and Sarah is very glad that Jonathan again stands on a good ground.

"Moses salutes Jonathan, and rejoices much over him, and says: The words of our Saviour shall always be a light to us.

"And we salute the brethren and sisters from the Delaware nation, and were very glad to hear of the grace our Saviour has bestowed upon them; and we say to them: Let us dwell together at the pierced feet of Jesus; let us abide there; and although we have never seen one another with our eyes, we shall nevertheless feel that we are one; and, when the Lord comes, then shall we see and meet one another.

"Esther salutes Jonathan and Anna, and all the sisters, and is sorry that she could not go with them, for her mother hindered her. But she hopes a time may come when she can visit them. Brother Jephthah's daughter, who is sick, salutes her sister in Gnaddenhuetten, and thinks she will not live; prays, therefore, heartily to be baptized.

"ABRAHAM, MOSES AND JACOB." (Dyer 1903:65-66).

1752--July 24. The main village site at Wechquadnach was sold.

"To all People to whom these presents shall come -- greeting:

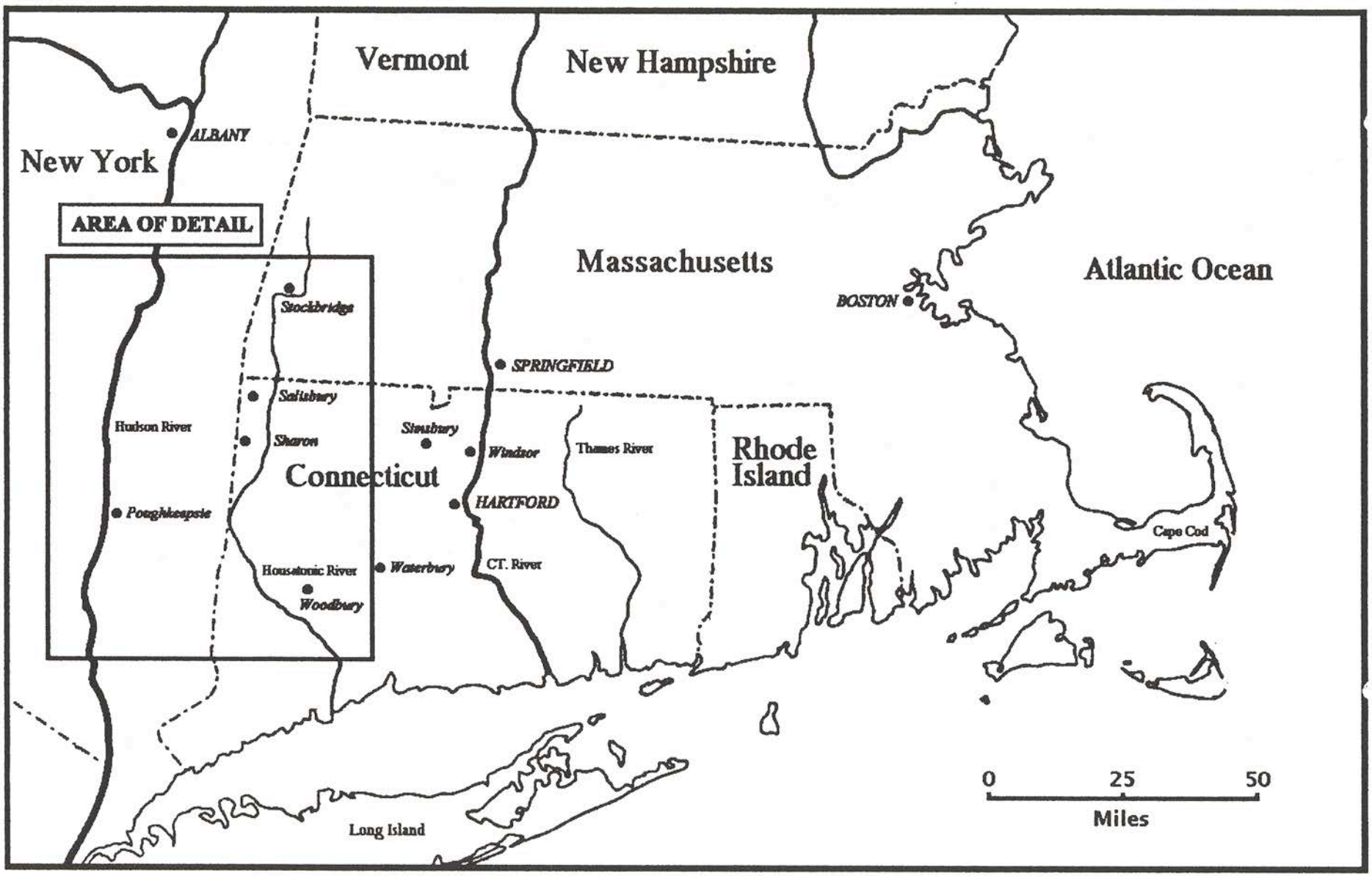
"Know ye that We, Nequitimaug, alias Moses and Bartholomous, alias Bartholomew, Indian Inhabitants of the Town of Sharon, in Litchfield County, in the Colony of Conneticut [sic], in New England, for the consideration of fifty Pounds current money of the Province of New York received to our full satisfaction of Thomas Barnes, his Heirs and assigns, a Certain tract or Parcel of land lying and being in the township of Sharon aforesaid, and containing by estimation fifty acres, be the same more or less,

abutting South upon the land said Thomas Barnes bought of Joseph Skinner; North upon [the] Salisbury line; West upon the Pond called the Indian Pond [Wechquadnach], and extending East so far as to take in all Our improvements in said Township of Sharon, it being the whole of what Land We claim in said Township. To Have and To Hold the above Granted and Bargained premises with the appurtenances thereof, unto Him, the said Thomas Barns [sic] his Heirs and Assigns forever, to his and their own proper use and behoof; and also, We, the said Moses and Bartholomew, do for ourselves and our heirs covenant with the said Thomas Barns his Heirs and Assigns, that at and until the ensealing of these presents, We are well seized of these premises as a good indefeasible estate in Fee Simple, and have good Right to Bargain and sell the same in manner and form as is above written, and that the same is free from all incumbrances whatsoever, and Furthermore, We, the said Moses and Bartholomew, by these presents bind ourselves and our Heirs forever, to warrant and defend the above Granted and Bargained Premises to Him, the said Thomas Barns his Heirs and Assigns, against all Claim and Demand of any Person or Persons Whatsoever. In Witness whereof We hereunto set our hands and seals the 24th Day of July, 1752, in the 26th year of his Majesty's Reign.

"Moses his [] mark alias Nequitimaug, Bartholomous his [] mark alias Bartholomew" (Sedgwick 1877:188-189).

10.0 Appendix B

MAPS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New Hampshire
ALBANY
New York
AREA OF DETAIL
Massachusetts
Atlantic Ocean
BOSTON
Stockbridge
SPRINGFIELD
Salisbury
Hudson River
Sharon
Simsbury
Windsor
Thames River
Rhode Island
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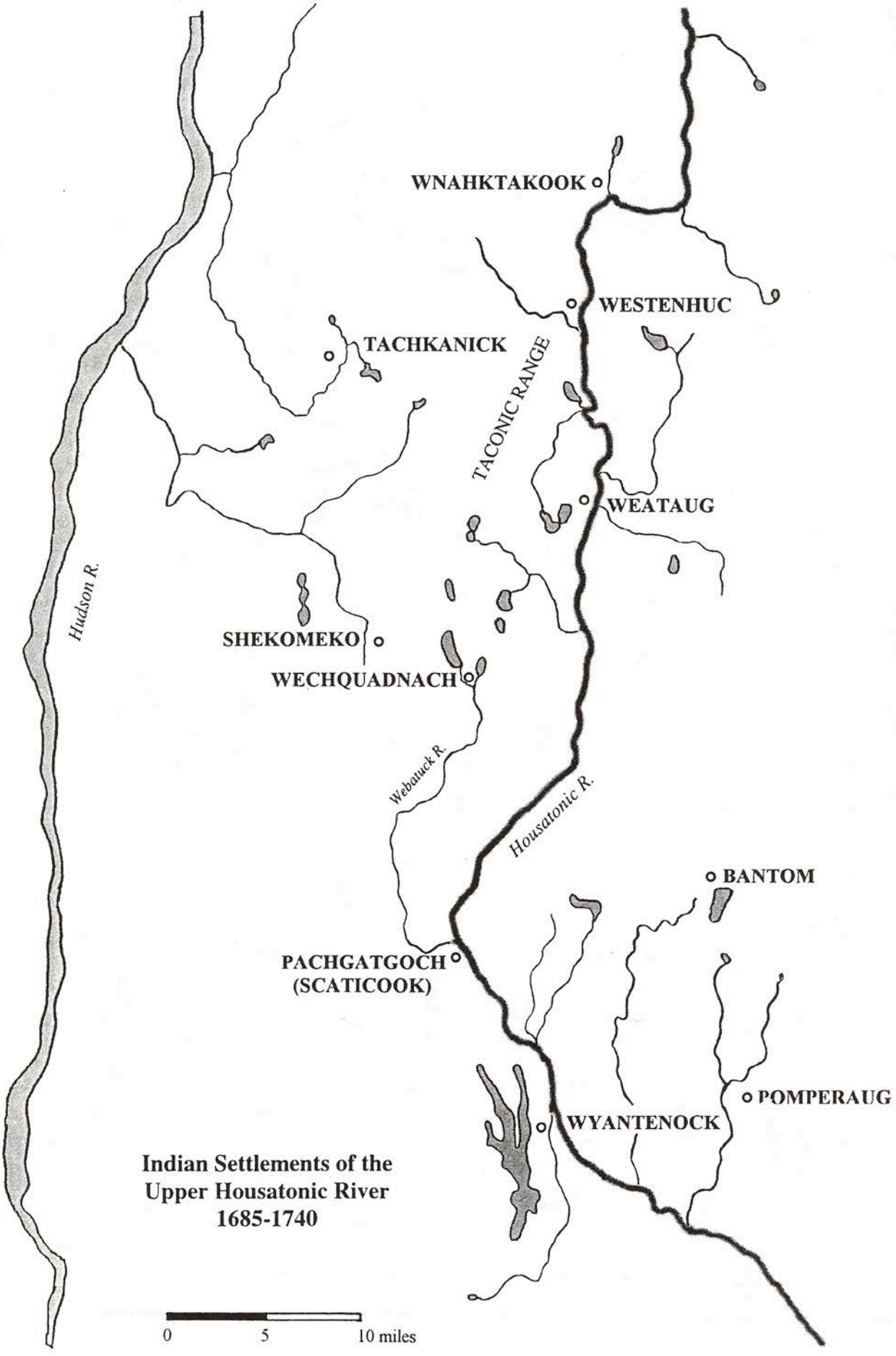
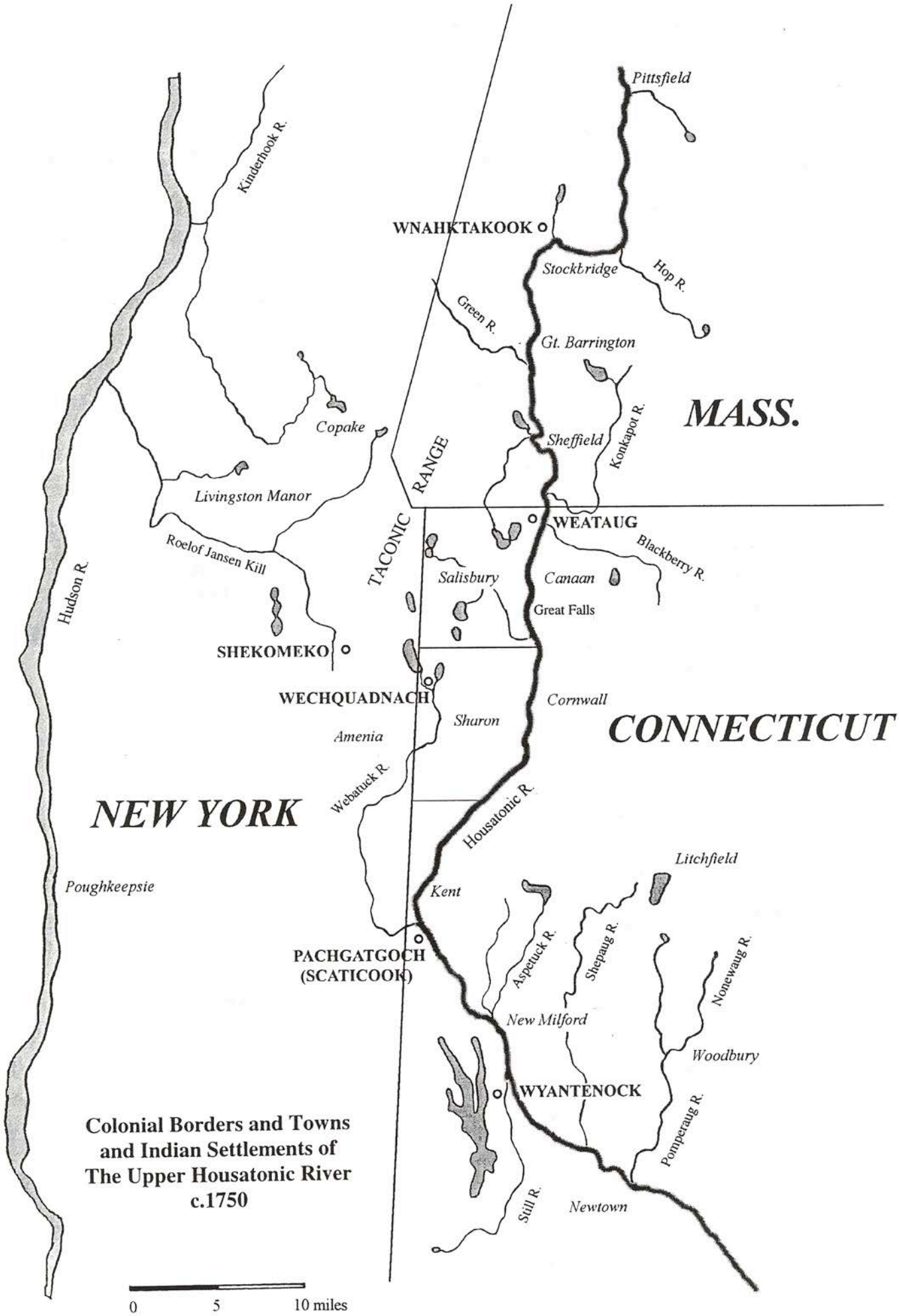
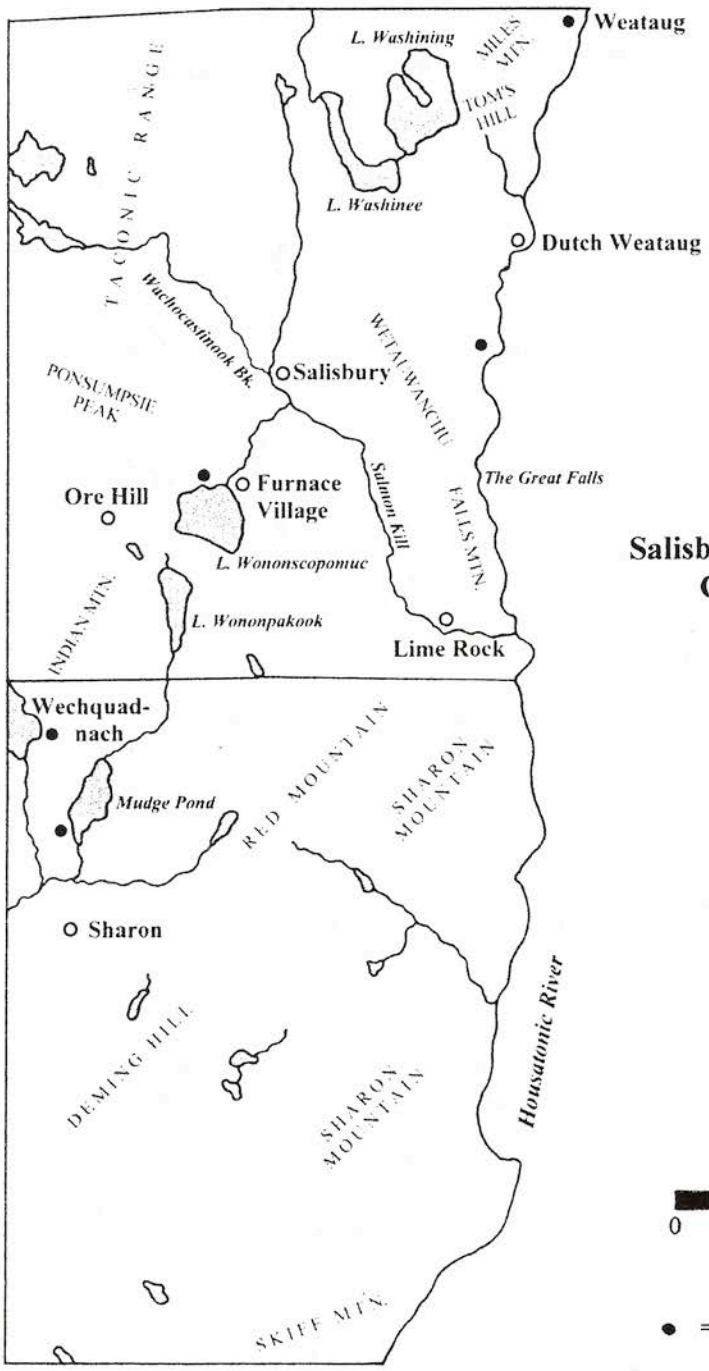


Indian Settlements of the Upper Housatonic River 1685-1740



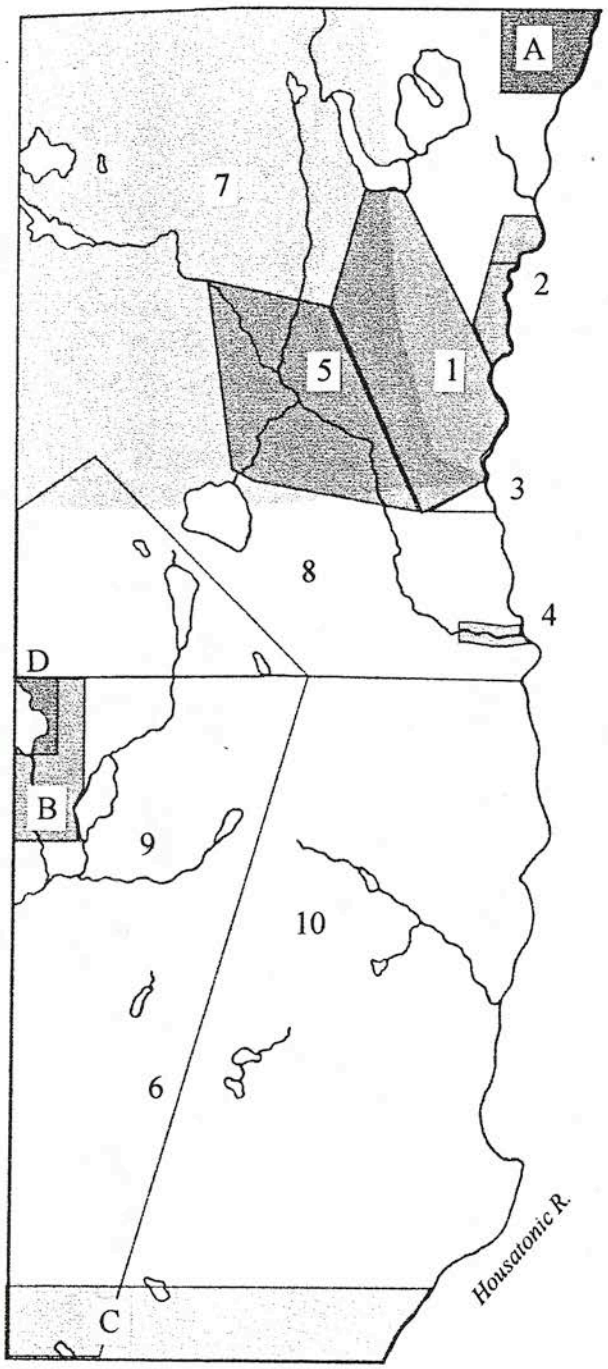
Colonial Borders and Towns and Indian Settlements of The Upper Housatonic River c.1750



Salisbury and Sharon, Connecticut c.1740

0 1 2 miles

● =Mahican settlement location



Early Land Sales and Claims in Salisbury and Sharon, Connecticut

1: 1719 Weataug sale to New York Dutch
2, 3, 4: 1720 Dutch acquisition of a Connecticut grant
5: 1721 Weataug sale to Dutch
6: 1726 Sackett boundary (nullified by Connecticut)
7: 1729 Weataug sale to Connecticut English
8: 1732 Vicinity of Connecticut grants in Salisbury
9: 1732 Vicinity of Connecticut grants in Sharon
10: 1738 Contested Connecticut acquisitions from Wechquadnach

A: 1742 Weataug main village tract
B: 1739 Wechquadnach main village tract
C: 1742 Additional tract claimed by Wechquadnach
D: 1752 Wechquadnach main village tract

0 1 2 miles