

Richard Nicolls Esopus Indian Treaty 1665

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A Publication of the Ulster County Clerk's
Records Management Program ~ Archives Division
Albert Spada, Ulster County Clerk



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FORWARD

The Ulster County Clerk's Office, Records Management Division, has been a leader in the field of records management in New York State since the inception of the Program in 1988. The accomplishments of this division have been tremendous in the areas of records storage, micrographics, records management consultation and in the most recent years, archives.

The majority of the activity that has taken place in the Records Management Archives Division has been completed since 1999, at which time the County received a grant from the Local Government Records Management Improvement Fund. This grant funded the hiring of an Archival Consultant and Archival Processing Technician. At the conclusion of the grant cycle, Ulster County supported the creation of a line item in the Records Management Program's budget for an Archivist. This action was and remains a demonstration of support for the Archives Division.

This commitment, pledged by the Ulster County Legislature, and shared by the Ulster County Clerk's Office, is confirmed here in this publication. Supported again by the Local Government Records Management Improvement Fund, the publication of this booklet concerning this historic document is another successful effort of the Ulster County Records Management Program. With it another goal of the Archives Division is realized, yielding further benefits for all the constituents of Ulster County.

Ward Todd Chairman, Ulster County Legislature

PREFACE

What was life like here in 1665, just thirteen years after the first Dutch settler, Thomas Chambers purchased land from the natives in 1652? How can we know? For the most part, we can only rely on the secondary sources of published historical texts and our own imaginations.

Fortunately for us, due to the diligence and stewardship of a long line of individuals too numerous to mention here, there exists in Ulster County, a small but very important number of primary documents from that time. The Richard Nicolls/Esopus Indian Treaty is one of them.

The County of Ulster is mandated by law, not only to identify and preserve its primary documents of historical value, but also to make them available for research and study.

This publication, the Richard Nicolls/Esopus Indian Treaty/1665, is an effort of the Ulster County Records Management Program to bring to interested parties, the records and information that document that part of our history; to encourage the use of primary documents in the classroom; and to gain a greater understanding of our early associations with the original natives of this region.

Albert Spada Ulster County Clerk "In 1659 and 1663 the Esopus Wars brought Native-Dutch hostilities terrifyingly close to the Kingston area. The killing of one of a party of Indians engaged in a noisy carousal brought an attack upon the Esopus River settlement; a subsequent uneasy truce ended when the Esopus Indians burned a second settlement in the area to the ground. Hostilities were curtailed only when the exhausted Dutch were forced to turn their colony over to the English in 1664. Native-English relations were much more peaceable....nevertheless, a perhaps inevitable process of withdrawal on the part of the Munsee people had already well begun."

gainst a backdrop of intimidation, massacre, and open warfare with the Indians and an impending crisis with the English, Peter Stuyvesant, Director-General of New Netherland, imposed a treaty upon the Esopus Indians at Fort Amsterdam on May 16, 1664.² After the Dutch Republic surrendered to the English that same year, and the Colony of New York was established, the newly appointed Governor Richard Nicolls inherited a troubled peace. The new English governor initiated a more enlightened policy toward the natives. The Duke's Laws, under mandate by King Charles II, provided that Indian lands could only be taken by purchase, that prior consent of the Governor and the Indian Sachem or rightful owner was necessary, and that satisfactory payment was compulsory. In this atmosphere of mutual understanding, Nicolls negotiated a new treaty that provided terms for peaceful trade, just settlement of future grievances, payment in full for lands in dispute, and precise boundary descriptions for any lands sold.³ So on October 7, 1665 at Kingston, the beginning of a lasting peace was recognized in a document titled "An Agreement made between Richard Nicolls Esq. Governor under his Royall Highness the Duke of York and the Sachems and People called the Sopes Indyans."

The document contains twelve pages approximately thirteen by eight inches each. The first five pages show the nine numbered clauses of the original 1665 treaty. The remaining pages, dated 1670-1681, record nine renewals of the agreement, confirming its lasting significance. The essence of the peace is established in the first four clauses. "No act of hostility shall be committed on either part" whether to physical property or person, and if any is committed, "full satisfaction shall be given upon demand." If any willful killing is committed, justice will be administered by the officers in charge. The third clause allows for the construction of a lodging for Indians "without the Ports of said Towne" from which the Indians could leave their weapons and trade with the settlers. The fourth clause further clarifies issues of revenge, arrest or punishment for any willful killing. The fifth clause describes "the certain parcel of land" that the Indians relinquished. Considered the most important part of the agreement, it describes a tract of land bound on the east by the Hudson River, on the west by hills bordering the Esopus River, on the north by the Ulster-Saugerties line and on the south to the Rondout Creek.4 Governor Nicolls had just visited Kingston in September 1665 to settle some differences between some of the residents and the military, but also to make arrangements to secure the release of more land from the Indians. Wanting to encourage increased settlement by farmers in the territory, he issued circulars describing the land as "ready for cultivation" and "being clear ground." It was the rule of the English that before land could be granted, Indian title had to be quenched⁶. The sixth clause of the treaty encouraged "the said Sachems doth engage to come once every year, and bring some of their young People, to Acknowledge every part of this agreement in the Sopes, to the end that it may be kept in perpetual memory." Clause seven forgives and forgets all injuries of the past. Clause eight makes special allowances for "the young Sachem called Wingeesinoe" to plant on land that borders a "Small Creeke Choughkawokanor." Loosely interpreted, he can plant there for three years unless he's ordered to leave by Richard Nicolls or his agents. If he is ordered off before the three year period elapses, he receives a blanket as a courtesy. As payment for the aforementioned property, clause nine lists the goods given to "said Sachems and their Subjects." These include forty blankets, twenty pounds of powder, twenty knives, six kettles and twelve bars of lead. Also mentioned here is a reference to two existing copies with "one to remain in the hands of the Sopes Sachems, the other upon Record at New Yorke". The treaty is endorsed by "Rich Nicolls", but except for the marks of the Sachems (chiefs) and Indian witnesses, it has been written in the same hand. Is that the signature of Richard Nicolls Esquire, first Governor of the Colony of New York? Did he write the entire document? Certainly those non-native witnesses aren't original signatures. Were all those individuals at Kingston for the signing? How did the Sachems know what they were signing? How did they know where to place their marks?

The parties to the treaty on behalf of the English were Richard Nicolls and witnesses Philipse Pieterse Schuyler, Jeremias Van Rennsselaer, Robert Nedham, S. Salisbury and Edward Sackville. Richard Nicolls was born in Bedfordshire, England. Despite his arbitrary powers, he was an effective ruler of the English colony. He balanced the interests of the English and Dutch settlers and brought about a gradual transition to English institutions. After his resignation in 1667, Nicolls returned to England and was killed at the naval battle of Southwold Bay in the third Dutch War.⁷ Philipse Pieterse Schuyler was born in Holland in 1628 and emigrated to New Netherland in 1650. While in Rennsselaerwyck that same year, he married Margarita Van Slichenhorst, daughter of the director of

the colony. That union admitted him to the upper echelon of New Netherland society and produced a large family whose offspring established the Schuyler family in Albany. By 1660 he was a major fur trader and used the profits to acquire real estate including land along the Hudson River and lots in New Amsterdam and Wiltwyck.8 Jeremias Van Rensselaer was the third patroon of Rensselaerwyck (Albany) and the first Lord of the Manor. He had married Maritje Van Cortlandt in 1662. This union connected the Van Rensselaers to two other wealthy Dutch families (Van Cortlandt and Lockermans) and produced all subsequent patroons of Rennselaerwyck and generations of well connected Van Rensselaers.9 Robert Nedham was a counselor in the region to settle regional disputes.10 S. (Sylvester) Salisbury was born in England or Wales in 1629 and a kinsman of the ancient family of Salisbury. He was an Ensign in the English army and took part in the conquest of the New Netherlands. In 1670 he was sent to take command of Fort Albany and was schout of Rennsselaerwyck.11

Representing the Esopus Indians were sachems Onackatin, Naposhequiqua, Sewackenamo and Shewotin. Onackatin was from the Warranawonkongs, the most numerous of the Esopus chieftancies. Their territory embraced the waters of the Shawangunk, the Wallkill and the Esopus Rivers, extending from Dans-kammer (near Newburgh) to Saugerties. Onackatin's lands were near the village of Walden, now in Orange County and were part of a patent granted to Henry Wileman of June 30, 1712.12 Sewackenamo had represented the Esopus Indians at earlier peace agreements with the Dutch. Native witnesses or "Esopes young men" were Pepuickhais, Robin Cinnaman, a Pekoct (Connecticut River area) Sachem, Ermawamen and Bywackus.

As stipulated in the treaty itself (clause six), the natives were encouraged, if not ordered, to "come every year" to renew the treaty. That they understood the gravity of the stipulation is evident in the nine meetings that are documented following the treaty proper from 1670 to 1681. Although some of these later endorsements are almost illegible, earlier transcripts and scholarly analyses reveal that natives renewed the treaty before the Justices of the Ulster County Court of Sessions.¹³ Established October 25, 1671, the court was originally intended to try the bulk of the ordinary litigation in the colony for both "Christians or Indyans." 14 Any earlier differences between settlers and Indians were handled by special courts commissioned for such occasions. 15

Remember that two copies of the treaty were made, "the one to remain in the hands of the Sopes Sachems, the other upon record at New Yorke." Evidence indicates that the treaty was sent up from New York as needed and kept in the Provincial archives. 16 But based on the endorsement written on the margins of the first page reading "Rec'd these Records in Court of Sessions of Sarah Rosecrance," this copy has presumably been in the possession of the County Clerk since October 3, 1722. Sarah Rosecrance, or Rosekrans was a daughter of Harmon Hendrix¹⁷ who was living in Kingston when the treaty was signed. Researchers have theorized that Sarah Rosecrance may have received it from her brother, Hendrick Rosenkrans, who possibly succeeded his father as Esopus Indian Officer or through his marriage in 1721 to the widow of Lucas DeWitt. Lucas DeWitt's father Tjerck Claesen DeWitt had participated in three successive treaty renewals in 1679, 1680 and 1681 and may have held the treaty in his custody.¹⁸

Although the document is well-known to historians and scholars and the text has been published on numerous occasions, my first encounter came in 2001 while working in the archives of the Ulster County Record Center. The document was stored along with a handwritten transcription performed by Daniel T. Van Buren on February 12, 1875. The introduction of the transcript explains that Mr. Van Buren had been appointed by then County Clerk Charles W. Deyo "to have repaired and preserved certain maps and old records in the office of the Clerk of said County." While the document was in very poor condition then, it can be assumed that without Mr. Van Buren's efforts in 1875, it may not have survived. It was thrilling and wonderful to have read and to have held papers of such significance, papers that have been touched by individuals of such history and repute. The treaty was a powerful document when it was first endorsed, ending a regional clash of cultures and opening up land for peaceful settlement. That power persists to this day; proof of its enduring value; proof of its promise for peace, the legacy of our past and now, conserved as it is, proof of our hope for the future.

Ken Gray, Archivist

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<sup>1</sup> Steve Comer, The Munsee Delaware: The Original People of Kingston, from KINGSTON NEW YORK, 1652-2002, Celebrating 350 Years, Souvenir Booklet, Daily Freeman, June 2002 <sup>2</sup> Kenneth Scott and Charles E. Baker, Renewals of Governor Nicolls' Treaty of 1665, The New-York Historical Society Quarterly, July 1953
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⁴ Marc Fried, The Early History of Kingston & Ulster County, N.Y., Ulster County Historical Society, 1975

Marius Schoonmaker, The History of Kingston, New York, Burr Printing House, 1888
 Norman J. Valkenburgh, L.S., The Hardenburgh Patent, New York State Association of Land Surveyors Inc., 1988

⁷ The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, Sixth Edition, Columbia University Press, 2000

⁸ Schuyler Genealogy, Friends of the Schuyler Mansion, 1987 & 1992

⁹ D.C. Shouter, A Classification of American Wealth, 2000/2001

Marius Schoonmaker, The History of Kingston, New York, Burr Printing House, 1888

¹¹ Salisbury Family Genealogy, Paul and Jeanne Salisbury, Spokane Washington

¹² E.M. Ruttenber, Indian Tribes of the Hudson's River to 1700, originally published 1872, Hope Farm Press, 1992

¹⁸ Kenneth Scott and Charles E. Baker, Renewals of Governor Nicolls' Treaty of 1665, The New-York Historical Society Quarterly, July 1953

¹⁴ Ibid. 15 Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Ulster County Genealogical Society, Hurley, NY

¹⁸ Kenneth Scott and Charles E. Baker, Renewals of Governor Nicolls' Treaty of 1665, The New-York Historical Society Quarterly, July 1953

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Treaty Transcript

From Sylvester's History of Ulster County

An agreement made between Richard Nicolls, Esqre, Governor under his Royal Highnesse, the Duke of Yorke, and the Sachems and People called the Sopes Indyans.

That no Act of Hostillity shall at any time bee committed on either part, or if any damage shall happen to bee done by either Party, to the Corne, Cattle, Horses, Hoggs, Houses, or any other Goods whatsoever, of the other Party, full satisfaction shall be given upon demand for the same.

That if any Christian shall wifully kill an Indyan, or any Indyan a Christian, hee shall bee put to death. And the said Sachems do promise on their parts to bring any such Indyan to ye Officer in charges at the Sopes, to receive his punishment there.

That a convenient House shall bee built where said Indyans may at any time Lodge without the Ports of the said Towne, in which House ye Indyans are to leave their Arms, and may come without molestason, to Sell or Buy what they please from the Christians. That in Case any Christian should kill an Indyan, or any Indyan a Christian, the Peace shall not bee broaken, or any Revenge taken before Satisfaction is demanded by the one Party, and refused by the other, allowing a competent time for the apprehending of the Offender, in which Case ye Indyans are to give Hostage till ye Offender is brought to Punishm't, the aid Hostage (will be well Treated and suffer) no other Punishment but Imprisonment.

That the said Sachems and their Subjects now present do, for and in the names of themselves and heirs forever, give, Grant, Alienate, and Confirme all their Right and Interest, Claime or demand, to a certaine Parcell of Land, lying and being to the west and South West, of a certaine Creeke or River, called by the name of Kahanksen, and so up to the head thereof, where the old Fort was. And so with a direct Line from thence, through the woods, and Cross the Meadows, to the Great Hill, lying and being to the West, or South West, which Great Hill is to bee the true west, or Southwest Bounds of the said Lands, And the said Creeke, called Kahanksen, the North or North East Bounds of the said Lands herein mentioned, to bee given, granted, and confirmed, unto the said Richard Nicolls, Governor under his Royall Highnesse the Duke of Yorke, or his Assignes, by the said Sachems, and their Subjects forever, to hold and Enjoy the same as his free Land and Possession, against any clayme hereafter to be made by the said Sachems, or their Subjects, or any their heirs and Successors. In token of the aforesaid Agreem't, the aforesaid Sachems, do deliver two Small Sticks; and in confirmation thereof, do deliver two more small sticks, to the said Richard Nicolls, And in the name of the Indyans their Subjects, and of the Subjects, do deliver two other round Small Sticks in token of their assent to the said agreement, And the said Richard Nicolls does deliver (as a present) to their Sachems, three laced Redd Coates.

The said Sachems doth Engage to come once every yeare and bring some of their young People to Acknowledge every part of this Agreement in the Sopes, to the end that it may bee kept in perpetual memory. That all past Injuryes are buryed and forgotten on both sides.

That the young Sachem called Wingeesinoe hath Liberty for three yeares to Plant upon a Small neck of Land over against a Small Creeke Choughkawokanor, unless the saide young Sachem bee warned off by order to remove, and give place to such Christians as shall have Order from the said Richard Nicolls or his Assignes, to Plant there at which time the said young Sachem is to receive a blanket by way of Courtesie, and to remove to the other side of the Creeke without delay or Clayming any future Interest thereupon.

In consideration of the premises, the said Richard Nicolls doth farther give and pay to the said Sachems and their Subjects forty Blanketts, Twenty Pounds of Powder, Twenty Knives, Six Kettles, Twelve Barrs of Lead, which paym't wee acknowledge to have rec'd in full Satisfaction for the premisses, And do binde our selves, our heires and Successors for ever to pforme every part of this Agreement, without any fraud or reservation of minde. And further, That we will maintaine and Justifie the said Richard Nicolls, or his Assigns, in the full, peaceable Possession of the said Tract of Land, Roylatyes, and Priveledges for ever, against any nation of Indyans whatsoever, pretending right to the same; In testimony whereof wee have Sett our markes to two severall writings, the one to remain in the hands of the Sopes Sachems, the other upon Record at New Yorke, this 7th day of October, 1665.

Richard Nicolls

Witnesses:

Jeremias Van Renslaer, Phgilip Pietersen Schuyler Robert Nedham, S. Salisbury, Edw. Sackville, Sachems. The mark of Onackatin X
The mark of Waposhequiqua X
The mark of Sewakonama X
The mark of Shewatin X

Indyan Witnesses of the Esopes young men.,

The marks of Pepunckhais X

Robin Cinnamen X a Pekoct Sachem

Ermawawamen X Bywackus X Sept. 25th, 1669, There appeared the second and third Sachems above names and owned their marks: Witness. Mechdoah, his mark $\,$ X

April the 11th, 1670, There appeared before me, a New-Made Sachem of ye Sopes Indyans, named Calcop, who hath this day owned and confirmed the Agreement made between Coll. Nicoll & ye Indyans for ye land adjacent to Sopes as appears by his marke hereunto set.

The marke X of Sachem Calcop.

Witnesses hereunto Dudley Lovelace, Pres'dt. Thomas Chambers, Will Beeckman, Henry Pawling. Indyan Witnesses: X Tautopauha.

X Sachem Calcops his young Son, The marke of Mamasheenan X

On this 24th of January, 1671, these Sachems have renewed the articles of peace.

X Sinnerahan, sachem,

X Bewaskus, young sachem, son of Sewakonama.

Witness, Wm. LaMontayne, Sect.

Thomas Chambers,
Cornelis Barentsen Slecht,

Isaack Gravenradt.
Henry Pawling.
Jan Williamsen.

Geo. Hall.

On this 5th day of Feb., 1674, the underwritten Esopus Chiefs have again renewed the treaty with the English, following the order of the Noble Lord Governor Edmond Andross, and have again subscribed to these articles:

Thom. Chambers, Sewakonama, Chiefs

Geo. Hall, schout Asenerack,

Cornelis Wyncoop, Famagipo, Young Men

Guste Seynenor, Wastimo, William Ashfordby. Raithtoneck,

Mm. Lamontayne, Sect.

This 22 January, 1675-6, the Esopus chiefs renewed the peace by order of the Right Honorable Lord Governor Edmond Andros, and subscribed to the same.

Thom. Chambers, Sewakonama,
G. Hall, Sinnerakan,
Ed. Whittaker, Pannerewache,
Henry Hendricksen, Sesackerop,
Wessel Ten Brook, Hugaris,
Dirick Shepmoes, Mutnuck,
Wm. Lamontayne, Sect. Jumarvasoe.

167 7-8, 23d. Feb. This treaty is again renewed with the Esopus Indians, and being now satisfied and glad that all is well, they have offered a belt of sewant, in token that from this time they will remain content.

Wm. Jansen, X Assumeraken,
Wm. Ashfordby, X Pannerewack,
John Gaston, X Pouck Vajandam,
Wm. Lamontayne, Sect., X Winguwes,
Thom. Chambers, X Ankerop,
G. Hall, Sheriff, X Wissenacka,
Dirick Shepmoes, X Niamsymaekak,

Hendrick Jochems, Jan Williamse, Mattys Mattysen, Gerret Cornelis, Lambert Huyberts, Roeloff Hendricksen. On this Day of Feb. 167 7-8, peace is again renewed with the Esopus Chiefs, who have observed the same even until now, and will observe the same forever. In testimony whereof they have again hereunto subscribed.

Kingston.

Thom. Chambers,
G. Hall,
Ed. Whittaker,
Wessel Ten Brok,
Derick Schepmoes,
Hendrick Jochems,
Sewakonama,
Pannerewache,
Sinnerahan,
Pouck Nayunck.
Matsyan,
Papasewanhack.

Feb. 11, 167 8-9, This treaty is again renewed, and both parties being fully satisfied, bind themselves as by a new article. In witness of the truth hereof, this is again signed by both parties.

Kingston.

Thomas Chambers, Sewakonama,
Thos. Delavall, Pannerewacke,
Wm. Ashfordby, Sasakerop,
Gerret Aertsen, Korpowaen,
Benj. Provoost, Kentkamin,

Tjerck Claesen, Amseawas, son of Asinerakan,

Wessel Ten Brook, Awmarnet, Wm. Lamontayne, Sect. Aronego.

At the same time the Indians acknowledged that the title to the land given by Kentkamin to Harmon Hendrix and Hendricus Beekman, called Easinck, is valid; in witnesses of the same, they have hereunto subscribed.

Kentkamin, Sewakonama, Pannerewacke, Korpawa, Sesackerop.

Jan. 19th, 1681. These articles, according to the old practice, are again renewed, so that they are not broken by either side, but remain in full force to bind them in continued friendship. In testimony of the truths hereof, both parties subscribe again.

Thos. Delavall,
Thos. Chambers,
Wm Ashfrodby,
Wessel Ten Brook,
Arie Lyssen,
Tjerick Claessen De Witt,
Sewakonama,
Nama Rocht,
Wrimamaker,
Aroma mat,
Achthios,
Arawegon,

Ed. Wittaker,

Wm. Demyer, quod attestor, Wm. Lamontayne

On this 23d Feb., 1681; these articles are again renewed and having given good satisfaction to both parties, the Esopus Indians promise to observe the same now and forever. In witness of the truth thereof, both parties have hereunto subscribed, in Kingston.

John Garton, Sarackharop, Wm. Ashfordby, Mamarioeh,

Wm. Fisher, Sekarowas, son of Pamesewack,
Wessel Ten Broek Winkaroas, son of Sinnesakan,
Tjrick Claessen De Witt, Mes Naroun, son of Sewakanamine,

Wm. DemyerHarl Marnin,Tho. Garton,Komienes,

John Viel, Pocht Sinenu, son of Sewakanamine,

Lambert Huybertse, Arianeta,
Geysbert Krom, Papa Kohonek,
Henry Pawling. Sako Rakehineg.

Attested, Wm. Lamontagne, Sect.

Endorsed. - Received the Records in the Court of Sessions, of Sarah Rosecranse, the 3d October, 1722.

GLOSSARY

Ensign - a commissioned officer, who formerly carried the ensign or flag of a company or regiment.

Esopes – or Esopus. As early as 1620 the land on the west side of the Hudson River, south of the Rondout Creek was known by the Dutch and English as a good place to trade with the Native Americans who called the area *esepu* or *high banks*. In the book "Indian Tribes of Hudson's River to 1700" by E. M. Ruttenber, Esopus is supposed to be derived from *Seepus*, a river and a *Sopus* Indian, a *lowlander*.

Munsee – one of several subdivisions of the Lenape or Delaware natives who were the original inhabitants of the Delaware valley in the present states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York. The island of Manhattan and New York City was originally Lenape territory. Near cousins of the Lenni Lenape (the real people), the remaining Munsee Delaware live primarily in Ontario, Canada.

Provincial – of or belonging to the provinces or to a province as in government. New York was a province of the British government until the American Revolution. The first New York State Constitution was ratified in Kingston in 1777.

Sachem – a chief of the tribe or of a confederation among some North American Indian tribes. This treaty shows the names and marks of four Sachems.

Schout – a bailiff or municipal officer in the Dutch colonies of North America. The first local government in Wiltwyck consisted of a schout and three schepens or aldermen. Roeloff Swartwout was the first schout or presiding officer in Wiltwyck. The first schepens or aldermen were Evert Pels, Aldert Heymansen, and Cornelis Baren Slecht.

Sewant – shells used as money. Also called wampum. The east end of Long Island was a center of wampum production for Indian tribes in the northeastern coastal region. Long Island wampum was well known and circulated widely. Because of the large quantity of wampum the Dutch called the island Seawanhackey or place of seawan.

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The Ulster County Records Management Program 300 Foxhall Avenue and Arcalles Esq. Governo under Kingston, New York 12401 his Royall Wighness the Duk of Gords (845) 340-3415 and the exaction and Coople called the Sogar Indigand I hat no old of Hostillity that at any time 600 committed on orther part, or if any dermago shall happen to boo dono by outher barty to the Count, Cattle Blows Hoggs Houses, or any other 40000 whitsoored of the other Sarty sufamile ton ind Sound. Shal of any freshan shall wilfully hea ore findyon, or very fredyon a Charling how shall bee put to douth, And the Jun Fachone do promis on their parts to Gring very Juck Snayon to y Offection Reife at the wopon to account tisand son showent though That a comberriord Stours that Goo birth