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The Raritan Valley buffer Zone: A Refuge Area for Some Wiechquaskeck and other Native Americans during the 17th Century

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LUCIANNE LAVIN, Ph.D.
Editor

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The Raritan Valley buffer Zone: A Refuge Area for Some Wiechquaeskeck and Other Native Americans during the 17th Century

Marshall Joseph Becker, Ph.D.

Abstract

Detailed histories of some of the lesser known Native tribes of southern New England, southeastern New York, and northern New Jersey have yet to be written. The Wiechquaeskeck of southwestern Connecticut and adjacent New York had become almost unknown to modern scholars. A series of Native wars and struggles with and among colonial groups had led some of the Wiechquaeskeck to leave their homeland about 1630. However, most of the Wiechquaeskeck remained in their home territory until the late 1700s.

The relocation after 1630 of some Wiechquaeskeck into the Raritan Valley of New Jersey serves as a model for one mode of Native survival in the early seventeenth century – relocation into a buffer zone between other Native territories. This process reveals aspects of Thomassen's concept of liminality. It also set the stage for the "buffer deeds," a type of land sale agreement that became a common category of Native dealings in the Northeast. The data indicates a Hudson River valley origin for the Native peoples in northern New Jersey identified as the Raritan. Some of the Waping, the northern neighbors of the Wiechquaeskeck, became the Pompton of northern New Jersey. Both groups, along with many Esopus who were actually native to New Jersey, later relocated to the uplands or "highlands" of northwestern regions, forming an amalgamated group that became known as "Munsee."

Understanding Native Boundaries

The impressive numbers of early historical documents relating to each specific Native people throughout the Northeast (cf. Vaughan 1979, etc.) have daunted scholarly efforts to process the information contained in them. A century ago, several diligent historians made various efforts to reconstruct the complex Native past in the area surrounding Manhattan, based on their readings of some of these records (e.g. Nelson 1894; Bolton 1920; Stewart 1932; Philhower 1936; and see Saville 1920 for the use of these records in archaeology). Their efforts hardly dented the abundant Native land sale records and other documents, and their results were not cumulative. These early studies yield no clear picture of any of the several tribes in the region around New York City, and they made no effort to understand cultural borders. Recent research has made some headway in the understanding of tribal groups, the many bands in each of them, and where cultural borders existed when Europeans first came into this region.

While I prefer to construct a culture history from the beginning, or the first document that records the name of the people whose story is being told, here the narration will begin with the earliest document that best offers the name and location of the Wiechquaeskeck. From this Dutch description we will then go back to what now can be interpreted as the earliest records of these people.

On 4 March of 1650 the Dutch West India Company, in an effort to stimulate settlement of towns and farms in New Netherland, issued a listing of areas within their jurisdiction that might be attractive to prospective settlers (O'Callaghan 1856, I: 365-367). The merits of each were described, along with notes regarding the presence or absence of Native inhabitants. The New Netherland colonists' recent confrontations with several of the tribes in and around the sparse

settlements that constituted this Dutch colonial venture remained as fresh memories but were not noted in their brochure. This 1650 listing was intended to dispel thoughts regarding the dangerous life on the American frontier, which may not have been worse than in the Low Countries of that period. The various “areas” listed in this 1650 document provide us with some clues to the locations inhabited by various groups of Natives, allowing us to understand the tribal units to which they belonged. The principal tribe that is the focus of this study is one identified as the Wiechquaeskeck. In 1650 they are identified as a group that inhabited the area identified to the north of Manhattan Island as “Wiequaeskeck.” How these Wiechquaeskeck relate to a Native group identified as the “Raritangs” or Raritan River Indians in northern New Jersey is central to this research and marks the point at which I came to study these people.

“Wiequaeskeck, on the North river, five leagues above New Amsterdam, is very good and suitable land for agriculture, very extensive maize land on which the Indians have planted – proceeding from the shore and inland ‘tis flat and mostly level, well watered by small streams and running springs. It lies between the East and North Rivers and is situate between a rivulet of Sintinck and Armonck¹” (O’Callaghan 1856, I: 366).

O’Callaghan’s editorial note “1” after the word “Armonck,” reads as follows: “This tract extends across the county of Westchester, from Sing Sing [Ossining?] to the Byram river (Bolton’s History of Westchester County [1848], I, 2).” Why O’Callaghan indicated the Byram River as the eastern border is not clear, but Bolton (1920: 339-340) refers vaguely to a 1685 sale of land at Ossin Sing by only six vendors whom he identifies as “Sintsink.” That 1685 sale document, now unknown, may have provided a reference to the Byram River.

The fact that the Byram River today forms the most southerly section of the New York-Connecticut state line appears relevant. The actual presence of Indians at “*Wiequaeskeck*” is not emphasized in the Dutch brochure of 4 March 1650, suggesting that the presence of any Wiechquaeskeck then resident there was benign. An absence of Natives is made more explicit at the end of the second entry in this 1650 Dutch account – a description of the nearby area of the Raritan Valley into which some of the Wiechquaeskeck had relocated before 1650:

“The district inhabited by a nation called Raritangs, is situate on a fresh water river, that flows through the centre of the low land which the Indians cultivated. This vacant territory lies between two high mountains, fair distant out one from the other. It is the handsomest and pleasantest country that man can behold, and furnished the Indians with abundance of maize, beans, pumpkins, and other fruits. This district was abandoned by the natives for two reasons; the first and principal is that finding themselves unable to resist the Southern Indians, they migrated further [emphasis added] inland; the second, because this country was flooded every spring like Rensalaer’s colonie, frequently spoiling and destroying their supplies of maize which were stored in holes underground.

Throughout this valley pass large numbers of all sorts of tribes, on their way north or east; this land is therefore not only adapted for raising grain and rearing all description of cattle, but also very convenient for trade with the Indians” (O’Callaghan 1856, I: 366-367).

The Raritan River Valley as a Buffer Zone: A Theory of Boundaries

The modern idea that “boundaries” between properties, territories and nations can be traced as linear dividers has a history of only a few hundred years. Our perception of modern property ‘lines’ derives from ideas that emerged along with the development of modern surveying instruments and the desire of modern states, from Roman times, to delineate their frontiers (see Elton 1996). Previously, cultural groups and even early modern nations consisted of “core areas” representing the homeland, each surrounded by peripheries or buffer areas that were claimed by no social or political entity (Bintliff 1997). Ethnohistorians concerned with the larger Northeastern region of the modern United States are increasingly able to recognize the extent and geographical configuration of waterways and other geographical features that were parts of intra-cultural boundary systems. These boundaries consisted of buffer zones between aboriginal tribes, also called “shared-resource-areas” or “no-man’s lands”. In the Northeast these have been examined over the past 30 years in an effort to understand Native cultural dynamics, cultural “borders” or boundaries, and land sales during the early colonial period (Becker 1983; see Becker 2014a). How these findings support our understanding of the land use and territories of traditional peoples within New Jersey are important to understanding the basis for some of the complex movements of Native peoples in the early colonial period.

Buffer zones are neutral territories that separate the home territories of two or more tribes. The resources of a buffer zone are shared by adjacent peoples, but the land itself is not claimed nor occupied on a long term basis. After European immigration and colonization became a major factor in the cultural dynamics of Native Americans in the Northeast, some Native groups annihilated and/or absorbed some of their neighbors. By the 1630s Five Nations policies of extermination, Mahican raiding, and colonial expansion created groups that were displaced to take any of three options.

1. Remain scattered in their home territory but avoiding summer aggregation while maintaining traditional culture.
2. Maintain cultural ways but by relocating into buffer lands.
3. Join Praying communities, subject to significant cultural change.

The second option, shifting their residence into a nearby buffer zone, attracted a limited number of Wiechquaeskeck. Were these relocators all the members of a single band or a collection of families from throughout the tribe is not known. The delineation of the buffer area into which they relocated is a reciprocal feature of determining aboriginal tribal areas, an aspect of cultural integrity that is rarely examined in detail. In effect, the determination of areas that had served as buffer zones enables us to better recognize how a culture maintains its own integrity.

Earlier efforts to depict tribal areas on maps utilized European concepts of boundaries in which all the land is assigned to some state. More recently, archaeologists and ethnohistorians have recognized that tribal areas are relatively small entities surrounded by extensive buffer zones – but without identifying these “buffers” with any term. Increasingly, we find that scholars are, directly or implicitly, recognizing these buffer regions. Melissa Otis (2013) recognizes that the vast Adirondack region was jointly utilized by all the Five Nations Iroquoian tribes as well as various nearby Algonquian groups. Harald Prins believes a buffer existed along the “eastern [sic] border

of the Mawooshen Confederacy” that he dates to the early 1600s (Harald Prins, personal communication, 17 April 2015). Being sensitive to these features, Prins also perceives the writings of Champlain as providing evidence in the Saint Lawrence Valley. The Plains tribes employed huge buffer areas as shared resource zones. In the northern Plains, the major source of red catlinite (pipestone) used for pipes had been in a buffer zone until about 1700, when various Siouan people took control. They relinquished the lands in 1851, with the Yankton Dakota holding out for a separate treaty in 1858. The various tribes who previously had shared this resource entered into litigation that lasted nearly a century (Scott *et al.* 2006: 9-10; see also Morey 1981).

Two decades ago I discussed the possibility that at least some of the Wiechquaeskeck, the inhabitants of an area called by that name and situated along the eastern side of the Hudson River just north of and including Manhattan Island, had shifted their foraging range from their home territory, as described in that 1650 document quoted above (O’Callaghan 1856, I: 366-367), into the Raritan Valley buffer zone (Becker 1993a). The valley of the Raritan River, which flows into Raritan Bay immediately south of Staten Island, long had been used as a buffer zone between the Lenopi of southern New Jersey and the Esopus of the northeastern part of the present state (Becker 2008). The territory of the Esopus is difficult to determine from the documents, but in 1677 a full description is provided to the Governor (Graymont 1985, VII: 381, from Fernow 1881, XIII: 504-506).

I now suggest that these Natives from east of the Hudson, may have produced some maize as a supplementary food and stored it in pits, and moved into the Raritan Valley buffer area ca. 1635-1637.¹ There they found their traditional storage techniques not suited to residence in the low lands of their new area of activity. No evidence for Native occupation during this post-1630 period is known from the very limited archaeological record in the Raritan Valley, but some adjustments to this environment enabled this immigrant population to remain in the area for half a century as indicated by the historical documents. As the Dutch description in 1650 points out, the valley long had served as a passageway for Native movement between the New Jersey highlands on the west and the Staten Island area. This observation is consistent with my belief that this valley was a buffer zone that also functioned as a neutral trade route during the Late Woodland and Contact periods. I now suggest that Staten Island also was part of this buffer strip. The idea that Staten Island had been part of a buffer area is based on the land sale documents that we have for this island. Their content had been confusing until recognition that the “sales” of the island or parts of it were opportunistic dealings that generated what I term “buffer deeds” (see Becker 1998).

¹Brush *et al.* (2015) provide evidence of storage pits dating to 1500-1700 CE at a site located on a high terrace along the Walhonding River in Coshocton County, Ohio. They “hypothesize that this high terrace may have initially been chosen for food storage ... because of increased flooding ...” after the onset of the Little Ice Age (Brush *et al.* 2015:133). Those Wiechquaeskeck relocating into the Raritan Valley may not have stored any maize (cf. Becker 2006), or if they did, took some years to recognize the local flooding conditions.

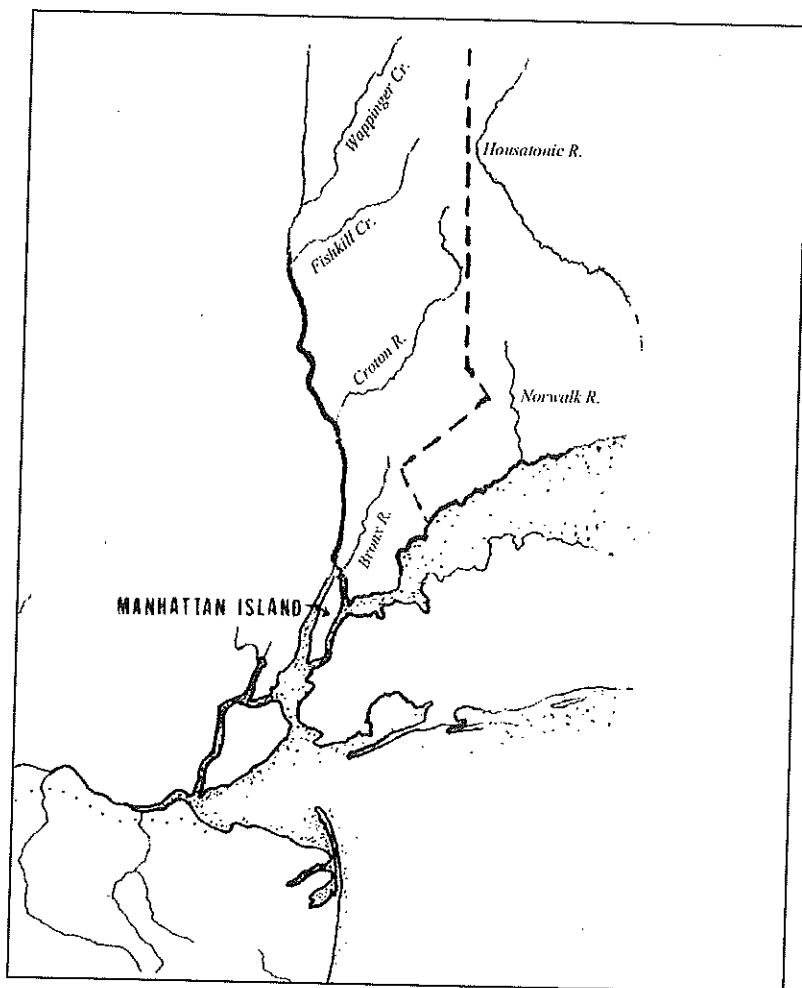


Figure 1. The Wiechquaeskeck territory and its rivers, being on the east side of the Hudson River and including Manhattan Island (drawn by Julie B. Wiest).

The Algonquian-speaking tribes in the area of interest here were all foragers. The appearance of village-dwelling Iroquoian speaking peoples in the interior of New York and Pennsylvania, perhaps as early as 1100 AD, had an interesting impact on the foraging patterns of most of these tribes. Recent research into how large mammals optimize their space requirements yields information that may be related to questions regarding how human societies, each with significantly different feeding patterns, optimize cultural space. Large mammals need areas “large enough to meet their energy needs, but small enough to be protected

from intrusions by same-species neighbors that occupy adjacent home ranges” (Buskirk 2004: 238). The collective efforts of neighboring human groups may operate with similar dynamics, but with the important human ability to create (understand the value of) and to share the resources of buffer zones to reduce conflict.

Liminal Space

In delineating the territory of the Lenopi of southern New Jersey as distinct from the Esopus of northern New Jersey, the Raritan Valley can be recognized as a separating or buffer area. The Raritan buffer area conforms to Thomassen’s (2009) description of “liminal space,” derived from Turner’s concept of liminality (1964) as had been applied to ritual behaviors. Liminal space not only applies to a transitional zone but also to any space that forms the limits of adjacent territories. It also applies to the road or path that is created by that conceptual space. Recognition of this buffer zone along the Raritan Valley, which also acted as a transit route to the coast, offers insights into why the Wiechquaeskeck, or at least some of them, could relocate into that particular buffer region; some perhaps as early as the 1630s (see below).

The Raritan River basin separates three distinct ecological zones: the southern New Jersey lowlands, the northern uplands, and the swamps and islands surrounding the mouth of the Hudson

River. During the period ca. 1000 - 1200 AD, the Late Woodland cultures in these zones developed very different responses to these three specific ecologies. The Raritan River basin itself provides an enormously rich area, including anadromous fish for much of the year (cf. Becker 2006) and easy access to the western uplands via the tributaries forming the river. The considerable resources of the valley were too important to be claimed by any specific Native population in the region. By default the Raritan River area became a buffer region, with its resources shared by all the adjacent native populations but claimed by no specific tribe. This resource area, which included Staten Island, was shared between the Lenopi on the south, the Esopus (Sopus) to the north and Wiechquaeskeck of the lower Hudson River region.

The people who took up residence in the Raritan Valley, and then became identified by the name "Raritan," arrived after 1630 from Wiechquaeskeck. The people who became known as "Pompton" arrived at a later date and appear to have been relocated Waping (Wapping, Wappinger) from their Hudson River homeland, or those members of that tribe who shifted their area of operation into that region of northern New Jersey known as the Pompton Plains. Quite probably the name "Pompton" had been a designation of the area and the newcomers took their name from the place. Efforts to reconstruct the history of this particular group generally neglect their origins along the central Hudson River valley (cf. Grumet 2009; also Ahmadi 2009, 2011).

The Raritan basin in northern New Jersey appears to have had a history parallel to what we know about the buffer zone in the Forks of Delaware of Pennsylvania, the Bombay Hook swamplands of northern Delaware, and other areas now being identified as uninhabited peripheries during the Late Woodland period (ca AD 1000-1700). An important source of the information that allows us to reconstruct these buffers has been published in the form of the colonial records of the various states. These published data should be cited, at least, when discussing particular Native individuals, and every effort should be made to put into print those newly identified documents which contribute to these studies. The three tribal entities of New Jersey at a later date are best delineated in the treaties of 1756 and 1758 in which the elders of three tribes, the Lenopi, the Esopus, and the Pompton (in 1756 these included Waping and some Raritan of Wiechquaeskeck origin) exchanged their final land claims for land and cash. We now know that these Pompton arrived in New Jersey only after 1630.

Exactly when the immigrant Wiechquaeskeck began living within the Raritan Valley still eludes us. As early as 1634 they appear to have been recognized as a population newly arrived along the Raritan River. By 1640 they occupied, or at least were foraging in, the Raritan Valley in lands that had previously been a mutual resource area for the Esopus and Lenopi.²

² The archaeological evidence for any of this information, largely concentrated within the 17th century, is close to zero. All these documented killings, burnings, and other events in the historical record remain unknown from any archaeological evidence. Simply put, there is no archaeological data from the Wiechquaeskeck homeland from the Late Woodland through the early Colonial Period, or into the 1700s. A collation of the limited historical record, and its relevance to this study, will be left to scholars working in that region. Our interest here is to determine what kind of archaeological record might support the belief that the Raritan region, or part of it, served as a buffer zone between the Lenopi and Esopus tribes during the early historic period. We would expect to find very few "residential" archaeological sites of those eras in an area which was, at best, intermittently host to small groups gathering resources.

The arrival of at least some of these Wiechquaeskeck immigrants from their home area, which stretched from the Hudson River to the New York-Connecticut border area (see Salwen 1983, which includes important material cut from Salwen 1978, 15: 160, as noted by Dincauze 1992-1993: 9), was the result of events that were stressful to some of the colonists who were trying to establish farmsteads in unprotected areas beyond Fort Amsterdam.

These hostile events of the late 1630s led Cornelis Melyn to seek release from his contract to purchase rights to Staten Island from the West India Company, citing the farmers killed there by Natives. A release was granted to him on 15 August 1640 (Fernow 1881, XIII: 8). Twelve years later Melyn was back, having "strengthened himself upon Staten Island, where he resides with 117 or 118 Raritans and Southern Indians each armed with a musket, to defend him against the Director" of the West Indian Company (Gehring 2000: 128; see Becker 2014b: 120). These "Raritans" in 1652 were from among the Wiechquaeskeck who relocated to this area (Becker 1993a). The "Southern Indians" were probably from one or more northern bands of Lenopi who were living in the area immediately south of the Raritan buffer zone, groups that often were noted for their belligerence (Becker 1987a, 1992).

In 1640 these marauding Native people remained respectful of De Vries and his people, who maintained good relations with his Native neighbors during all these difficult times. The Lenopi and Esopus traditionally using the resources of the Raritan Valley buffer zone may have been disquieted by these arrival of Wiechquaeskeck, at least at an early date and before the new arrivals came to be viewed as potential allies against expanding Dutch power.

An 'absence' of sites, however, might be attributed to survey or other methodological problems. Therefore, we might consider relative abundance of sites as a better indicator, with activities from earlier time periods being better represented than from the more populous Late Woodland period. In fact, that is what is indicated from the sparse archaeological record.

A recently found site in Raritan Borough, New Jersey, located on an elevated terrace overlooking the Raritan River, reflects significant Late Archaic Period activities, together with some Middle to Late Woodland 'occupation' as indicated by Jacks Reef and 'Triangular points', as well as Native ceramics. The excavators did not identify any storage pits or other subsurface features. Only a portion of the site (28So127) was tested, but it appears to 'extend for some distance along the terrace.' The excavators believe this may represent intermittent occupation or a short term procurement camp (McEachen and Tomkins 2001). This is consistent with Late Woodland period hunting-gathering expeditions into this area when it had become a buffer zone, and any short term occupation during the 1600s. Very few Native sites have been identified within this buffer zone, and all reflect short-term activities.

Another archaeological find of possible interest here relates to finds from the Springhouse Rockshelter site in the Highlands area of southern Rockland County, New York (Casagrand 1994). An analysis of the ceramic assemblage from this site, which is located near the Ramapo River in the Upper Passaic River drainage, and from a second site in the area not identified by Casagrand but probably the Conly Site, provides some very interesting hints. Casagrand suggests that ceramics of the Late Prehistoric to Contact period suggest the movement of Connecticut Algonkians into this drainage. He dates the evidence to 1650-1700, based on *one* Dutch pipe fragment from ca. 1680. A single "Munsee" related sherd of the Contact period was noted. Once again I suggest that the absence of "Munsee" related Late Woodland materials is significant, suggesting that this area was a relatively uninhabited (but not unused) buffer zone during the Late Woodland and thus "available" to become a refuge area during the later Contact period when use by adjacent tribes was waning.

Some Wiechquaeskeck become the Raritan

The Wiechquaeskeck bands were severely stressed in their homeland by the Pequot War of 1636-1637. The continuing power struggles that occupied the westward expanding English colonies then taking over the Connecticut River trade added to the stress produced by Mahican raids (see Starna 2013). The large area formerly dominated by the Dutch West India Company and the various people resident there was subject to problems caused by nearby conflicts. During the Pequot War some Wiechquaeskeck may have sought neutral ground on which to relocate. Their problem was where to go. The option of joining those New England Native groups living in what are identified as “praying towns” was not yet available. The Puritans began to develop these communities during the 1640s, and after that date some Wiechquaeskeck may have joined them. This strategy involved the Natives placing themselves under the limited protection of the colonists, but it required an alteration in their foraging lifestyle. These religious communities also tended to include members of several different tribes, thereby accelerating culture change and a drift toward European systems; economic and linguistic. These praying towns also tended to be on the fringe of colonial settlement (perhaps in former buffer zones?), and subject to raiding and other threats from the Iroquois Confederacy as well as colonists seeking “free” land.

The only available relocation strategy for displaced members of a tribe in the 1630s involved moving into areas claimed by no other -- the buffer zones that provided spatial separation for the relatively stable and traditional cultures (see Becker 2011a, 2014a). In the Northeast these buffer areas already were diminishing in size, and in their potential for occupation. But at the northern parts of the Middle Atlantic range (Nash and Wholey forthcoming) there were some locations not yet stressed by colonial settlement in the 1630s. One of these buffers, perhaps the closest to Wiechquaeskeck territory, was the Raritan River buffer zone that separated the Lenopi from the Esopus, the residents of northern New Jersey (Fig. 1: Map).

The name “Raretangh” appears frequently in the colonial documents after 1630 in reference to the place of residence of a Native group. The absence of early land sale records in the Raritan Valley suggests that the people later living there held no traditional claim to the lands that they occupied. Earlier I had suggested that these people had come from southwestern Connecticut (Becker 1993a). This is consistent with the idea that a group of people had moved into this area and then assumed the name of the region. It is the original identity of these people that is the subject of this study. The earliest record of Indians actually resident in the Raritan Valley is dated 16 July 1640. The document, suggesting that these same Natives had initiated trade some years earlier, reads as follows:

“Whereas the Indians, living in the Raretangh have before now shown themselves very hostile, even to the shedding of our blood, notwithstanding a treaty of peace made with them A° 1634, under which we continued to trade with them by sending a sloop there every spring and whereas in the spring of this year 1640 they have tried to capture our sloop, manned by only three men ... [who escaped] ... with the loss of a canoe only” then they came to Staten Island and killed the Company’s pigs and plundered “the negro’s house” ...” (Fernow 1881, XIII: 7; cf. Fernow 1881, XIII: 22).

Of interest here is the mention of a sloop trading somewhere along the Raritan River every spring since 1634, and reference to a treaty of 1634, for which no record now is known. If this is a

fictitious treaty it would suggest that in 1640 or 1641 the company leadership had stumbled into a conflict situation with the Natives along the Raritan, perhaps without evident cause. At the very least there is a discrepancy between a possible Native invitation to trade and the Natives' supposed actions, after several peaceful years of interactions, when a possible trading party arrived, possibly during the winter of 1640-1641. Part of this account is confirmed only in a Dutch deposition of 17 July 1647 signed by Harman M. Bogardus, Harman Downer and Cors Pitersen, stating:

"that we, being in the Company's service in the year 1640, were at the request of the savages, called the Raritans, sent by the Honorable Director Kieft to trade. Arrived at the usual trading place in the yacht 'de Vreede' [The Peace] these Raritans in stead of showing the customary friendship... began to scoff" and otherwise treated the traders very badly, threatening them and stealing the ship's canoe (Graymont 1985, VII: 65-66, from Fernow 1881, XIII: 22-23).

On 4 July 1641 a resolution was passed indicating that:

"the Indians of the Raretangh are daily exhibiting more and more hostility, notwithstanding they have solicited of us peace, which we consented to, permitting him [an emissary?] to depart unmolested on his promise to advise us within twelve days of the resolution of his chief, which has not been done; and whereas the aforesaid Indians, who experienced every friendship at our hands, have in the meantime on the plantation of Mr. de Vries and Davit Pietersen ... partners, situated on Staten Island, murdered four tobacco planters and set fire to the dwelling and tobacco house, ... we have therefore considered it most expedient and advisable to induce the Indians, our allies hereabout, to take up arms, in order to cut off stray parties who must pass through their territory, so they can not reach our farms and plantations ... and in order to encourage them the more, we have promised them ten fathoms of seawan for each head, and if they succeed in capturing any of the Indians who have most barbarously murdered our people on Staten Island we have promised them 20 fathoms of seawan for each head" (Graymont 1985, VII: 70, from NYCMD, IV: 115-116).

Presumably any Natives brought in alive could be sold as slaves. These various accounts suggest that trade on the Raritan River had been going on for some years, but those Natives coming to trade may have been from any of a number of tribes.

The 1640 date that is offered in the 1647 deposition is clarified by David de Vries in his *"Korte Historiael."* In general, the specifics of the Native-Dutch interaction on the Raritan in 1639 and just after are few. An important source for these data, and for other data about the various Native groups around Fort Amsterdam derives from the publications of David De Vries (1655a, b). De Vries was strongly opposed to the Indian policies of Governor Willem Kieft, the fifth Director of the colony who served from 1638 to 1647. I believe the documents speak for themselves. Here I offer portions of several documents, as taken from Graymont's (1985, VII) translated versions of De Vries's *"Korte Historiael,"* generally placed in chronological order.

De Vries's memoirs first mention the people called "Raritanghe" on 16 July of 1639, but his recall may refer to the above noted event that may have taken place between 1639 and July of 1641. De Vries states that after these events Cornelis van Thienhoven led 100 armed men to seek out "to the Raritanghe, a nation of savages who live where a little stream runs up about five leagues behind

Staten Island” to punish them for “killing my swine and those of the Company, which a negro watched...” (De Vries 1655a: 208; Graymont 1985, VII: 82). De Vries states that the troopers, acting on their own, killed several Natives and took the brother of the chief as hostage. Details of the attack followed his presentation of information regarding their location in what now is northern New Jersey. The possibility that the Native peoples in northern New Jersey who were attacked by these colonists in 1639 or 1640 were Wiechquaeskeck immigrants merits investigation, but possibly these were marauding traders from another tribe. The attack on the Natives living on the Raritan led to reprisals prior to 4 July 1641, during which the Indians killed four of De Vries’s men and burned his buildings (see Graymont 1985, VII: 65-75).

De Vries’s “*Korte Historiae*” offers no further comment on what he believed was a 1639 expedition, but recounts Indian information from his own journey up the Hudson three months later, on 20 October 1639, “to Tapaen in order to trade for maize or Indian corn.” When De Vries arrived at Tapaen he found the Company sloop there and the representatives trying to extract a “contribution” from the Indians (Graymont 1985, VII: 83). Once again De Vries is reporting on the less charming behaviors of Kieft, the leader of the Dutch West India Company. When De Vries sailed the 150 km from Manhattan Island to the Fresh (Connecticut) River in January of 1639/1640, he was warmly hosted at what he described as a very strong English fort at the river’s mouth (cf. De Forest 1853: 75). The small Dutch fort further up the Fresh River, probably no more than a palisaded trading station, was located some 15 leagues inland, near present Hartford. Although it was toward the center of the regional pelt trade it could not be reached by ships that drew more than six feet (De Vries 1655a: 203). Exactly how large such ships would have been is not certain. The English in this area of coastal Connecticut before the Pequot War were too weak to challenge the West India Company, but after 1640 the English settlements continued to grow. Soon they became increasingly threatening to Dutch interests up the Fresh River as well as to the west at Manhatan.

Since the entire Raritan River valley had formed a traditional buffer zone (Becker 2008, also 2015), unclaimed by any specific tribe, any group of Natives moving into it and establishing foraging patterns entirely within the valley might be seen by previous users as a potential threat to free trade along that waterway. The Raritan River formed a significant conduit to the New Jersey highlands and the vast area beyond to the west that was part of the Five Nations foraging (and pelt collecting) region. Despite the Dutch resolution to attack these Natives, nothing more now is known about the “Indians living in the *Raretangh*” until a year later. On 4 July 1641 the record indicates that the “Indians of the *Raretangh* are daily exhibiting more and more hostility” including burning the Staten Island house and tobacco facilities belonging to the partners David P. de Vries and Frederick de Vries (Graymont 1985, VII: 70). Not surprisingly an “Ordinance offering a reward for the heads of Raritan Indians passed” that same day (Fernow 1881, XIII: 7).

The Native attack was confirmed by De Vries, who reported on 1 September 1641 that “my men on Staten Island were killed by the Indians and the Raritans told an Indian ... that we [Dutch] might now come to fight them [the unnamed Indians] on account [of the power of] our men; ...” (Graymont 1985, VII: 83). De Vries appears to indicate that the Indians along the Raritan as well as another group, perhaps one or more bands of Lenopi, or perhaps Esopus, were involved (see below). Another report, dated 12 September 1641 confirms that a short time before “some of our people on *Staten-Island* have been murdered by the savages” (Fernow 1881, XIII: 9). The Dutch erected “a small redoubt” (fortification) in response, presumably near the location on Staten Island

of that attack. These events led to the massacre of two groups of Wiechquaeskeck who had taken refuge in the area of the fort in New Amsterdam; a dreadful event during one night in the winter of 1642/3 called by some Kieft's War. The victims, usually described in the literature as Esopus or "Wappingers" (Waping), now can be specifically identified as groups of Wiechquaeskeck (Becker Ms. B).

Continued Dutch aggression and terrible treatment of local Indians led the Esopus to conduct raids on Dutch farmstead in two brief "wars." Dutch policies managed to maintain an uneasy peace with their Long Island Native allies, with relatively few "incidences" of open conflict. Only the Esopus undertook confrontation with the Dutch, who were receiving little actual support from home or from Native allies. On 15 May 1664 Articles of Peace were finally signed with the Esopus. The third through seventh Native polities on this list, plus representatives from Long Island groups, are:

*"Meeght Sewakes, chief of Kightewangh,
Ses-Segh-Hout, chief of Rewechnongh or Haverstraw,
Sauwenarocque, chief of Wiechquaskeck,
Oratamy, chief of Hackingesacky and Tappaen,
Matteno, chief of the Staten-Island and Nyack savages,"* [originally from Long Island?]
(Graymont 1985, VII: 282).

Native Tribes in New Jersey

Only two aboriginal or truly Native tribes can be identified in New Jersey prior to 1630, the Esopus and the Lenopi (Becker 2008, also 2010a). Recognition of the distinctions between the two Native American tribes of New Jersey derives from the extensive documentation from the archival records of the state, often found in the same contexts as the New York colonial records (see Graymont 1985, 1995, 1996). In reviewing documents from south of the Raritan, considerable attention was given to records of early dates in an effort to be specific about the named aboriginal bands belonging to the single known tribe in southern New Jersey: the Lenopi. While specific names used for the many bands in New Jersey are abundant, to date only one example of the name "Lenopi" provides us with a tribal designation.

The term "Lenopi" appears in a statement provided by Teedyuscung himself, who identifies himself as the King of the Lenopi (Becker 2008). More commonly the Lenopi are called "Jerseys" or "our Indians" in the many English documents; they are never identified as "Lenape." In the New Jersey documents individuals are commonly identified by name, and their band affiliations also are commonly noted (cf. Becker 1998). After the 1758 settlement of all Native land claims in the colony, the descendants of all New Jersey's tribes, ancient and the recent immigrants discussed in this paper, were commonly glossed, together with other tribes, as "Delaware" (Becker 2014a). Several early New Jersey scholars had culled the early documents for specific and direct evidence relating to the many named aboriginal individuals and the names of the specific bands to which they belonged (cf. Becker 2010b). These scholarly efforts to use documents to clarify the separate identities of the aboriginal tribes in New Jersey began with the investigations of William Nelson (1894, 1902, 1904), and later continued with the studies made by Frank H. Stewart (1932) and

others. Frank Stewart largely focused his work on the southern part of the state, among the people now identified as Lenopi. The territory of the Esopus, the people in the area north of the Raritan Valley, remains more difficult to decode. For example, I remain uncertain if the people at Hackinsack were only one band of the Esopus or were an independent tribe.

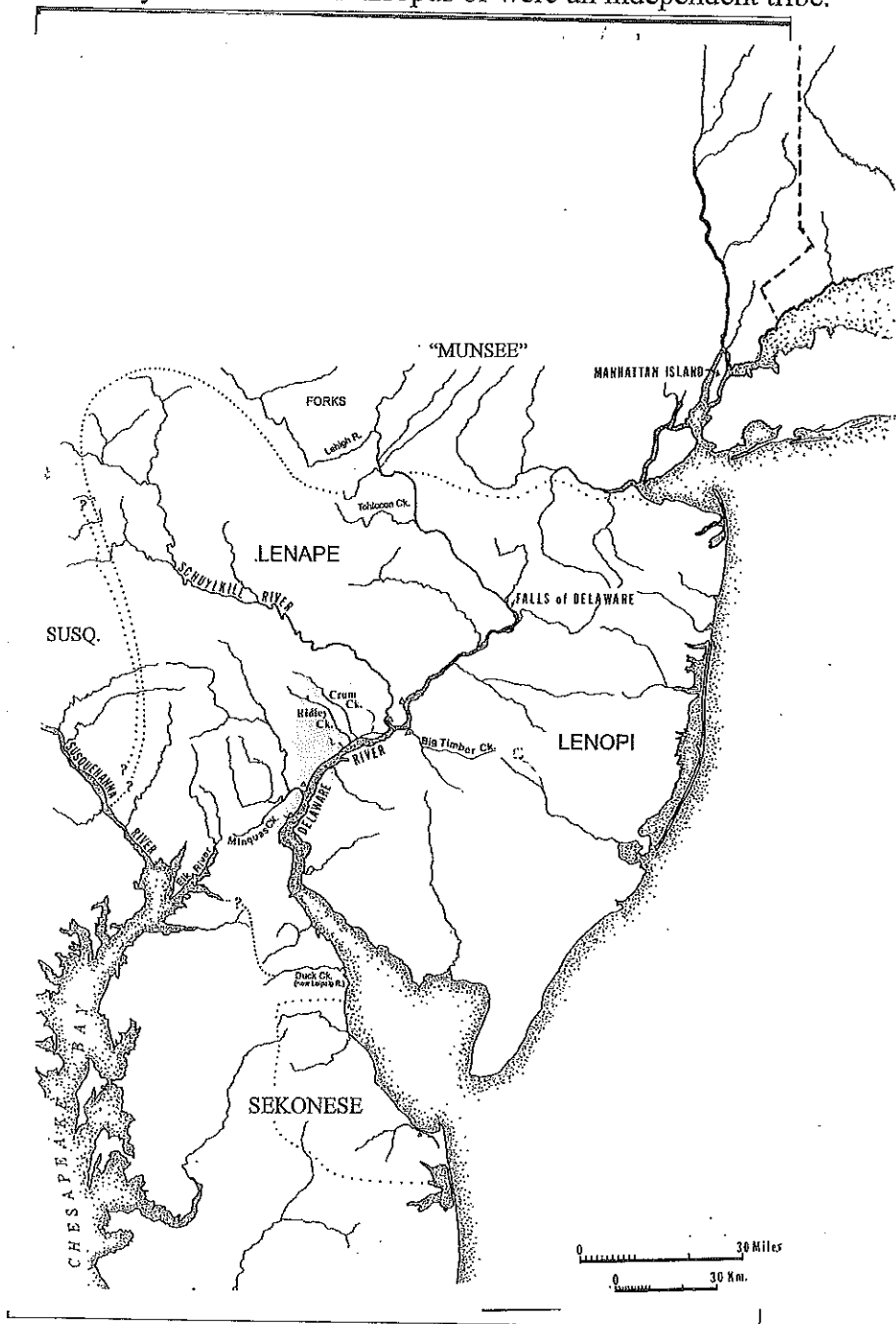


Figure 2. Map identifying the locations of the cultures of the Lenape, Lenopi and tribes south of the Wiechquaeskeck region of the lower Hudson River valley.

Until the 1980s many historians and linguists had conjoined both of the now identified Native tribes of New Jersey into an undefined group of "Indians," commonly using the name "Delaware" to identify them. By the 1980s the term "Lenape" became substituted for "Delaware" for politically correct and academically lazy reasons, but without any real cultural understanding of the people being discussed. We now can identify the Native populations and also document the Raritan Valley buffer strip as being occupied, after 1630, by small numbers of people belonging to tribes originally located not far to the east.

I have often been asked "Where were these people going?" In fact, as with any people undertaking relocation, their move is not seen as a step in a chain of events in their lives, but as a shift in residence in hope of a more successful adaptation to present conditions. The new immigrants to the Raritan buffer zone, people who became called "Raritans," and their neighbors who had been Wapig and then became identified as Pomptons, were relocated peoples from not far away in the lower Hudson River Valley. After many decades both groups moved farther up the Raritan valley, reflecting continuing changes in the world around them. Some of these "new" groups, and the Esopus as well, appear to have relocated in the area immediately to the west, within the same buffer lands and later farther west into the southeast section of Five Nations' buffer territory. More direct alliances with these people may have reduced the stresses suffered from their raids.

Other Esopus moved farther west into the uplands identified as the Minisink. The lands at the western edge of the "Minisink," along the Delaware River, as well as the lands surrounding the several tributaries of the Raritan, were sold at late dates by various Natives claiming to be "owners" (see Becker Ms. A). The boundaries of these tracts, which have rectilinear borders rather than waterways demarking them, indicate that they were not traditional hunting territories or parts thereof. Graymont (1995, VIII: 26-27) provides excellent transcriptions of a number of these sales of land in the Raritan Valley, often for tracts on both sides of the river, with straight line boundaries similar to those used by colonials instead of Native boundaries marked by waterways. For example, Cornelius Longfield bought a tract on the south side of the Raritan on 29 November 1683, for which the metes and bounds in no way resemble traditional Native land holdings (see also Becker Ms. A).

The "vendors" in these many land sales appear to have been opportunistic Natives taking advantage of the colonists' desire (need?) for Native lands plus the sales documents with Native signatures. Since the land in question had been in a shared buffer zone, the vendors "claimed" them simply by stating that they owned that area, or at least that they were willing to "sell" the land without making reference to possible owners (cf. Becker 2015). Lands previously used as shared resource areas had no "owners" to dispute these sales. Not surprisingly, some of the same Natives selling these tracts of buffer lands in New Jersey were later involved in specious land sales in Pennsylvania. The records indicate that very few Natives were involved in these questionable dealings, in effect acting as specialists in this process (cf. Becker 1998).

At a council held at Fort James (the former Fort Amsterdam) on Manhattan Island, 9 April 1684, with "The Indians of Minisinck being present" there was a discussion of the purchase from Natives of all lands from the Hudson to the Delaware River (Graymont 1995, VIII: 27). In effect, these were the lands of the Raritan Valley and Raritan River headwaters plus a narrow zone along the upper Delaware River. The most interesting feature of this document is the absence of any Native names in any context! The document does indicate that various Indians present at this Council in

1684 had moved west from their earlier areas of activity, suggesting that they were Esopus and others (such as the Wiechquaeskeck who had become the Raritan, etc.) who had moved into this former buffer region. Ruttenber (1872: 201) recognized that several groups “of the *Minsis* or Esopus living upon the east branch of the Delaware river” had relocated from their homeland. Graymont’s important efforts (1996: 664, n18) to decode the cultural origins of the peoples living at the Minisink area were unsuccessful, but the general information gathered here suggests that they were all identified as “Munsee” in the later colonial documents.

In general, any Natives resident at the Minisinck, regardless of their cultural origins or affiliation, was called a “Munsee” (cf. Becker 1983). Tracing the specific cultural origins of any specific individual identified as a “Munsee” is another matter. A complaint by a sachem called Ankerap in 1722 is noted by Ruttenber (1872: 201), who identifies this Native as an Esopus. The “Esopus” people continue to appear in the literature into the 1770s, but gradually that aboriginal identification morphed over time. During the same period members of other cultures, such as some of the Wiechquaeskeck, became known as “Raritan” and ultimately were identified as “Munsee.”

Staten Island as Part of the Raritan Valley Buffer Zone

At the eastern end of the Raritan River, where it enters Raritan Bay and the Atlantic, is a large island formed at the confluence of the Hudson River. Hamel’s Neck once had been used to identify “The Narrows” that separate Staten Island from Long Island. Perhaps *because* Staten Island is at the center of some major waterways and close to other important transit points it became, during the Late Woodland period (ca. 1000 to 1100 AD) a part of the buffer system separating the several tribes in the region. Thus, Staten Island was a land mass providing an extension of the Raritan Valley passage extending from the New Jersey highlands across to Manhattan and Long Island. My thesis states that this island had been part of a buffer zone, and in the period AD 1500-1600 when Europeans first came into this area, it had no aboriginal owners. After AD 1600 a number of claimant “owners” appeared. A review of all known land sales and other documents relating to Staten Island may offer some clarification on whether it was part of Esopus territory, or part of the Raritan valley buffer region at the southeastern edge of that tribe’s lands. If Staten Island had been a buffer area, it also would have been available to the Manhattan and other bands of the Wiechquaeskeck in the years before AD 1600.

The status of Staten Island as a buffer region can be inferred from its location as well as by examination of the many “deeds” ostensibly selling Native land rights. We do not find the pattern of Native sale and resale (or confirmation sales) for Staten Island, but rather an erratic pattern of vending that suggests that various Native claimants are taking whatever opportunities available to them to secure goods from colonists (cf. Becker 2014b). These various sales are not an original that was followed by a series of confirmation deeds to the descendants of the original vendors, but rather payments made to satisfy a series of claims made by groups apparently unrelated to the original vendors.

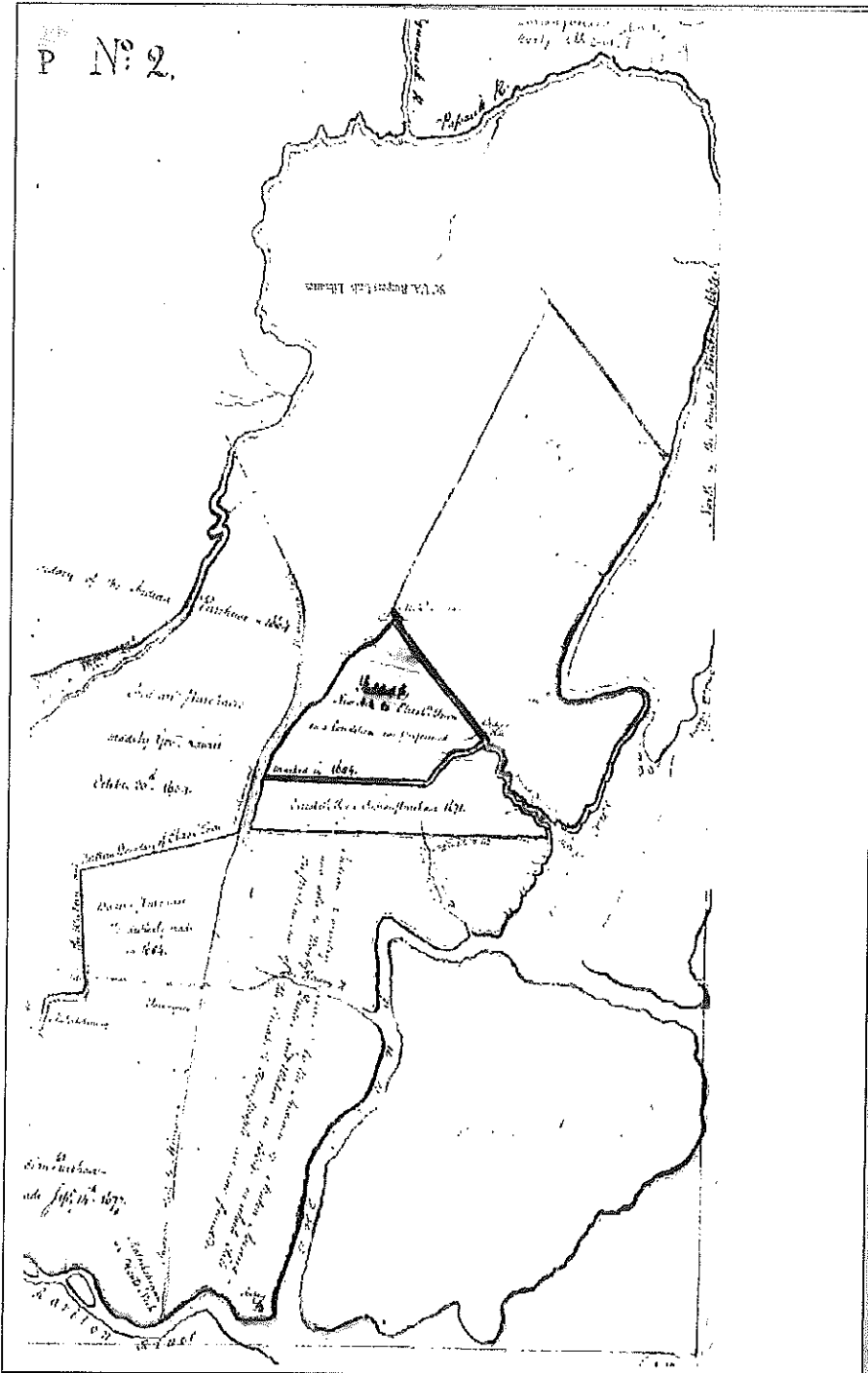


Figure 3. Copy of the eastern portion of “Indian Land Sales North of Raritan” from the Phillower Collection, Rutgers University Library Archives. Bolton (1922: Map XI, following page 202) published this map (on which is written “Map N°. 2”) and indicates that it is “Courtesy of the New York Historical Society.” Bolton suggests that it was “Drawn probably about 1750 as an exhibit in the Elizabeth boundary dispute.” Note that none of the many “sales” of land on Staten Island are indicated, suggesting that the compiler may have recognized the questionable nature of those transactions (cf. Becker 1998).

The Many “Purchases” of Staten Island: Evidence for a Buffer Zone

Barbara Graymont (1985, VII: 428 n 21) recognized the fact that Staten Island had been sold by various Native groups a number of times over several decades. Sales of Native lands to several different European buyers from different countries were not uncommon, and subsequent confirmation treaties affirming these sales are known from various parts of the Northeast. However, these several sales of Staten Island, by a series of different groups (tribes or cultures?) identify an area that was a traditional buffer zone, used for resource extraction by several groups bordering the area but owned by none. Native land sales that are followed by confirmation sales, or deeds, at intervals of about 20 years were quite common patterns for many traditional cultures, such as the Lenape of southeastern Pennsylvania (Becker 2014a, 2014b; Kent 1979) and perhaps for the Mahican of the upper Hudson Valley (Bradley 2007: 106). What Graymont does not express in her narration is that the various “vendors” of Staten Island were not all from the same tribe, or band, but from a variety of Esopus bands as well as from other cultural groups that had no traditional land rights. Graymont offers transcriptions of the two “sales” of 1630 as well as transcriptions of four later documents recording those early sales (see documents 1 through 6, below).

1: In reviewing Michael Pauw’s series of land purchases that began with the Hoboken area, we find that on 10 August 1630 he added Staten Island to his holdings; apparently the first purchase of that tract. On that date the island, or a large part of it, was purchased from “Krahorat, Tamehap, Totemackwemama, Wieromies, Siearewach, Sackwewew, Wissipoack, Saheinsios or the young one” (Graymont 1985, VII: 24-25). Wissipoack is then described as not having “reached his majority.” I suspected that Wissipoack, who is listed last and described as not having reached his majority, might be the same “person” as “Saheinsios or the young one” with *Saheinsios* being the Native term for “the young one.” This was confirmed by Raymond Whritenour (personal communication dated 30 Nov. 2015), who reports that “one name on this list is clearly recognizable ... [as] an attempt to write the Munsee word, *shkahunzhoosh*”, which Whritenour translates as “little boy.” Whritenour suggests that this person would be younger than a teenager, who “would be called *skahunzuw*.” Thus, I believe that Wissipoack is being identified as “the young one” through use of the Native term *saheinsios*.

2: By 22 November of 1630 Pauw had made a second “purchase” of Staten Island, or at least that part (all?) which was identified as “Ahasimus and the peninsula Aressick,” bought from “KIKITOUAUW and AFAROU, VIRGINIANS” selling for themselves and for Mingm [Mingw?], Wathkath, and Cauwins (Graymont 1985, VII: 28-29). The text of the document states that “the aforesaid land AHASIMUS and ARESSICK, by us named the WHORE’S CORNER,” is sufficiently distinct and separated from “the ISLAND DOBOKEN DACKINGH” by the intervening swamps to be recognized as a distinct land area. While the text suggests that this deed was made with the participants to the sale who witnessed the “several signatures” of the vendors, none of these marks and names appears to have survived.

3: Deed of 10 July 1657 (Graymont 1985, VII: 158-159, from Fernow 1883, XIV: 393-394). This important document, drawn up 27 years after Pauw’s original two purchases (above), includes many Native marks as well as a drawing of four humans (one smoking a pipe and perhaps wearing a band of wampum). All are carefully reproduced by Graymont. Included are the names of 13

“owners of Staten Island ... by us called *Eghquaons*.” One might expect, from the 27 year interval between these events, that the latter might be a confirmation agreement for the two 1630 purchases, yet no mention is made of the two original deeds in 1657. The kin relationships between those early vendors and those in 1657 are not indicated. All the 1657 vendors were from the same set of bands, or tribes, if we include the Hackensack as being Esopus and not a separate tribe. However, the seven Native witnesses to this document also come from Esopus bands! If these were tribal lands, why are some members claiming ownership while others do not? The answer appears to be that the claimants here were not aboriginal owners. I believe that this island was an extension of the Raritan Valley buffer area, and that even by 1630 Natives from nearby lands were making claims of ownership. If this had been “unowned” lands prior to 1630, it would explain why there are so many sales, and contradictory elements in the known “sales” documents.

The 10 July 1657 text is interesting for the signatories and unusual repetitions that appear on it. Within the narrative of the text the “hereditary owners of Staten Island” (vendors, N=14) are indicated as “Sackis of Tappaan, Taghkoppeuw of Tappaan, Temere of Gweghkongh, Mattenou of Hespatingh, Waerhinnis Couwee of Hespatingh, Weertsjan of Hackinghsack, Kekinghamme of Hackinghsack, Wewetackemen of Hackinghsack, Neckthaa of Hackinghsack, Minquasackyn of Hweghkongh, Terincke of Hweghkongh, Mikanis of Gweghkongh, Mintamesseeuw of Gweghkongh, Accipôor of Hweghkongh ...” (Graymont 1985, VII: 158).

Gweghkongh and Hweghkongh are certainly one and the same location, probably Achquackanonk on the Passaic River. The initial capital “G” and “H” are difficult to distinguish in sound and in script. The “land of *Waerhinnis Couwee* at the *Hespatingh* near *Hackinghsack*” was where the document was signed. This may be the present “Aspetong” in Hudson County, New Jersey (R. Whritenour, personal communication, 22 Nov. 2015). Below the text are “The marks made by the hereditary owners” (not reproduced here) followed by their names and locations. Only 13 of the 14 Natives listed within the text (above) appear as signatories; “Mikanis of Gweghkongh” does not sign. The 13 actual signatories are:

“WAERHINNIS COUWEE of Hespatingh
 NECKTAN of Hackinghsack.
 SACCIS, sachem of Tappaan.
 MATTENOUW, Sachem of Nayack.
 TAGHKOPPEUW of Tappaan.
 TEMERE of Gweghkongh.
 WEERTSJAN of Hackinghsack.
 KEKINGHAUWE of Hackinghsack.
 WEWETACHAMEN of Hackinghsack.
 MINQUASACKINGH of Hackinghsack.
 MINTIASEUW, Sachem of Gweghkongh.
 TERINGH of Hweghkongh.
 ACCHIPOOR, Sachem and Chief Warrior.” [no location given]

“The marks made by the witnesses” that appear at the end of the document are seven in number. Strangely, included among these seven are the names of three individuals who had signed as

vendors – they are the last three on this list of seven. The marks these three made on the witness part of the document are identical to those that they made as vendors. Since these three signed at the *bottom* of the witness list, the possibility of an error should be considered. These three marks may have been intended to be included on the other half of an indenture, but were cut off at the wrong place. Alternately, these three may have made an error in protocol, or otherwise erred in signing twice. Also of note is that many of the supposed vendors as well as the four supposed witnesses come from the same “bands” (identified in the document as locations). One would assume that the sale of a tract of communally owned land would involve all the resident-owners to sign off on their rights, rather than some signing as vendors and others as witnesses. This peculiar “division” of involvement in the sale is yet another indication that this is far from being a legitimate sale of land from a single band, but probably represents the sale of a buffer zone (Staten Island) that had been used (but not occupied) by all the several bands of the Esopus, apparently six in number as indicated by the “locations” listed.

- ORATAM, SACHEM of Hackinghsack.
- PENNIKECK, Sachem of Hackinghsack.
- KEGHTACKAAN, Sachem of Tappaan.
- KEGHTACKCEAN, Sachem of Haverstroo[.]
- TERINGH, Sachem of Gweghkongh.
- WAERHINNIS COUWEE, of Hespatingh.
- MATTENOUW, Sachem of Hespatingh. [listed as “Sachem of Nayack] among vendors.

The names of the four “true” witnesses on this document, added to the 14 in the text, provide a total of 18 Native names from this place and date. Beneath the marks of these seven “witnesses” are drawings of four human figures, with the one on the left depicted as smoking a pipe and wearing (or holding) what may be a band of wampum.

4. Cornelius Melyn’s 30 January 1659 account supposedly documents the purchase of Staten Island in 1640 (Graymont 1985, VII: 183-186, from NYHSC [1913] 123-127; see also the transcription in Paltsits 1910: 43-49).

Cornelius Melyn testified in Amsterdam that the lands at the mouth of Hudson’s River had been purchased by Minit and granted to him in 1640, but that the Indians had requested further payment, which he made. In 1649 Melyn and his family intended to return to the Island, after the intervening years of Native conflict, and the Indians again requested payment. They claimed the Island by right of conquest having “by killing, burning and driving us off, [it] was become theirs again.” He refused to pay, but offered “a small gift gratis to maintain good friendship as had been done before.” After some deliberation the Natives accepted goods (listed) with gratitude. A document was then noted in which “Peter Minnewit” and five other named “Ministers” bought the island on 10 August 1630 from:

- “Krahorat Piearewach
- Tamekap Sackwewah
- Tetemackwemama Wissipoack
- Wieromies ”

Other witnesses in 1659 testified that circa 1640 “Jacob Melyn’s Father” had been asked to come to Staten Island to discuss hunting rights of the Indians “whereupon then was agreed that they should yearly contribute and deliver Tenn or Twelve Deer and some Turkeys ... to the aforesaid Melyen’s Father.” Of particular note regarding the Natives claiming ownership of Staten Island is the 28 October 1664 deed to the Elizabethtown Area of New Jersey. The vendors are “Mattano, Manamowaoue, and Cowescomen, of Staten Island” (Graymont 1985, VII: 296). Not only were these Natives squatting on buffer lands that had been sold, several times, but by 1664 they were branching out and selling other buffer lands in the area. Graymont (1985, VII: 428, n 21) also includes records from a council of 11 August 1669, the original of which is in the deeds records (1985, VII: 442 n 22). This is a treaty document in which Perewyn, representing “the Hackensack Toppan and Staten Island Indians” had brought “a band of Seawant” to the Governor “at Fort James in New Yorke” that had been “received from the Maquesses [Mohawk] upon concluding the peace with them” (Graymont 1985, VII: 327). This 1669 document suggests that still other Natives were resident on Staten Island in 1669 despite the land having been sold several times.

5: The fifth known deed to Staten Island was negotiated on 28 October 1664 (Graymont 1985, VII: 296-298, see Michel 1952: 8 for a map) and may have involved some of the same vendors as the two previous sales, but now involved claimants taking advantage of the changing political situation. Although Graymont offers a more recent transcription of this record, the one presented here is the Hatfield (1868: 30-31) version. Hatfield is important as his work was important to Charles Philhower’s later works in the Highlands region (1914a, 1914b). Philhower’s (1882: 17-18) early work offers only two pages on the Indians, but he later became extremely interested in Native land sales, returning to some of Hatfield’s basic data on these documents.

“This indenture made The 28th Day of October In the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles By The Grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King Defender of the faith &c. Between Mattano Manamowaouc and Cowescomen of Staten Island of the one part and John Bayly, Daniel Denton, and Luke Watson of Jamaica In Long Island Husband Men on the other part Witnesseth That the said Mattano Manamowaouc and Coescomen hath clearly Bargained and Sold ... One parcel of Land bounded on the South By a River commonly called The Raritans River And on the East by the River w^{ch} Parts Staten Island and The Main, and To Run Northward up after cull Bay. Till we come att the first River w^{ch} settts westward out of the said Bay aforesaid And to Run west Into the Country Twice the Length as it Is Broad from the North to The South of the aforementioned Bounds, Together with the Lands, Meadows, woods, waters, fields, fens, fishings, fowlings, wth all and Singular ... And The said Mattanno Manomowaouc covenant promise Grant and Agree ... on the behalf of the sd Matteno manamowouc and Couescoman, Twenty fathom of Trading Cloath, Two made Coats, Two Guns, Two Kettles Ten Bars of Lead Twenty Handfuls of powder, And further ... Promise Grant and Agree to and with the s^d Mattano Manamowoauc and Couescoman the fores^d Indians four hundred fathom of white wampum after a Years Expiration from the Day of the said John Bayly Daniel Denton and Luke Watson Entery upon y^e said Lands. In witness whereof we have hereunto put our hands and seals, the Day and Year aforesaid.

The Mark of Mattano ~~~~~

The Mark of N Sewak herones

*The Mark of Warinanco ~~~~~**Signed Sealed and Delivered in the p'esence of us witnesses**Charles Horsley**The Mark of**Randal R Hewett*"*

“* E. Town Book, B., oth. End, 10-11. E. Town Bill in Chancery, pp. 25-26. Ans. To do, p.7. Grants, Concessions, &c. pp. 669-671. The whole cost and charges were estimated by Secretary Bollen at more than £154.”

Hatfield (1868: 30) reports that Capt. John Baker of the City of New York served as the English-Dutch interpreter, and that one of the Natives acted as the Indian-Dutch interpreter, but does not specify whom. Why the names of the second and third Native vendors, so consistently given in the text of the deed, are so different from the second and third signatories is not known.

6: A sixth deed to Staten Island dating from 22 April 1670 (New Style), or post-English conquest (see below) further supports my view of these being opportunistic Natives making sales whenever possible. Note the variations in the dates depending on the source of the record. Between 7 and 13 April 1670 (Old Style), some 40 years after the Staten Island sale of 1630, “The Indyans who pretend an Interest in Staten Island” (Graymont 1985, VII: 330-332, from Fernow 1881, XIII: 452-455) met with the English Governor to plead their case for rights to these lands; lands that had been an unowned buffer zone until 1630 when they were “claimed” by Indians resident in neighboring areas. Despite the several previous “sales” of this land, various Natives continued to live and/or hunt and gather regularly on Staten Island, possibly including Lenopi from New Jersey south of the Raritan River (see Graymont 1985, VII: 266-267 for 1663). I suspect that the many claimants in 1670 correctly believed that they could extract goods from the new English government. Despite their patently weak claim, they were quite successful in extracting a large number of goods. Supposedly the claimants had “markt out the severall Divisions, beginning at the South” of the Island to which they lay claim, but these supposed territories and their delineations are never spoken of again, nor linked with any specific claimants.

The orators for this group of claimants in 1670 were “2 ancient men, who speak for the rest, [and] doe not pretend to have any Interest in the Island, but are entrusted for the rest, who they know to bee Proprietors.” The claimants for whom they spoke were “*Matackos*, a Boy, hee was at *Staten Island* ... *Kararamint*, hee is in Towne, but hath Entrusted some here ... *Matarus*, hee'l come Tomorrow ... *Craoquy*, hee is almost dead, soe cannot come, hee is of *Rock-way* ... The 5th *Wenonecameke* of Staten Island.” The text, as I read it, identifies only three of the petitioners in this odd group as actually being from (resident on?) Staten Island.

The speakers also said that not all the island had been sold to colonists in previous years, a detail

belied by the earlier documents. The speakers also claimed that as the descendants of the vendors they were assembled to sell the land again, apparently referring to the norms of confirmation treaties as we know them well from Pennsylvania. Since some of these claimants were among Natives still resident on the island, “they [being] continued on it, but now if they shall sell it all, they will go off and leave it.” The Dutch deeds were read, with “*Warriner* and *Aquepo* and *Minquas-Sachemacks*” described as having been present in 1657. Despite the previous sale of the island, “in Consideration of their quiet Leaving the Island a Present shall be made them ...” with the long list of expensive goods entered into this record. Two days later *Aquepo* and “*Minqua-Sachemack*” were brought to the council, *Warriner* “hath play’d [gambled] away all his Interest in *Staten Island*.” *Aquepo*, who found his mark in the original sale, refused to “sell” and the Indians insisted on a huge quantity of goods, which are listed in the record reproduced by Graymont. After a break in the proceedings the Governor made a counter offer to the claimants, and provided goods for “*Quererom*, who was Employed to bring the Indyans together, [and] is to have a Blanket and a Fathom of Duffells. *Wacheckanoking*, one of the Speakers, is to have a small Iron Pott in lieu of one hee lost in Towne.” Payment was to be delivered the next day (13 April?) and all “concerned stroke hands upon the Bargaine.” The names of those “To leave the Island upon receiving the Pay” are listed as:

“ <i>Aquepo</i>	<i>Quewequeen</i>
<i>Minqua-Sachemack</i>	<i>Wewanecameck</i> [repeats]
<i>Wewanecameck</i>	<i>Mataris</i>
<i>Pemantowes-Aquepo</i>	<i>Aquepo</i> in the name of <i>Warriner</i> .” [Warrines?]

On 13 April 1670 only four of “The Sachems appeare, but not all; those that appeare for them absent are written above over against them.” On that day “The Payment is made and Deed of Conveyance signed Possession of the Island by Turfe and Twigg was given to the Indyans the 1st of May...” (see following). This “Final Deed for Staten Island” was drawn up on 13 April 1670, but the sealing and signing may have been on 1 May (Graymont 1985, VII: 333-336). A version of this “Final Deed” as it appears in Paltsits (1910: 337-344) lists seven vendors plus two other named Natives whose connections are not known. The Paltsits version is as follows:

“Between the Right Honorable Francis Lovelace Esquire Governor Generall ... and Aquepo, Warrines, Minqua-Sachemack, Pemantowes [,] Quewequeen, Wewanecameck, and Mataris on the behalf of themselves as the True Sachems Owners and lawfully Indian Proprietors of Staten-Island and of all other Indians any way concerened ... sell ... called Staten-Island and by the Indians Aquehonga Manacknong ... all and singular... without any reservation of the herbage or Trees or any other thinge growing or being thereupon.”

At the end of this text, dated 13 April but possibly signed later, are the marks of only some of these named seven Natives, but those signing the document also sign for others not present, bringing the number of vendors to seven. To this document is added an undated “Memorandum” referring to the minors possibly mentioned in the earlier document. Why these six “children” between the ages of 5 and 20 were *not* present at the Ensealing merits consideration. I have here changed the line spacing from that used by Graymont, and omitted her copies of the actual “marks” of these six minors.

“Memorandum: That the young Indyans not being present at the Ensealing and delivery of the within written deed, it was again delivered and acknowledged before them whose names are here underwritten as witnesses.

Signed in the presence of
The Governor
Capt. *Manning*
The Secretary

The marke of *** PEWOWAHONE
about 5 yeares old, a boy.
The marke of *** KOHIQUE
about 6 yeares old, a boy.
The marke of *** SHINGINNEMO
about 12 years old, a Girl.
The marke of *** KANARENANSE
about 12 years old, a Girl.
The marke of *** MAQUADUS
about 15 yeares old, a young man.
The marke of *** ASHEHAREWAS
about 20 yeares old, a young man.

This inclusion of minors as supposed “vendors” on Native land sales was really pushing the limits. Very rarely are adolescents or even young adults (ages 17-20) listed as vendors on any Native deeds. The “vendors” appear to have been trying to amplify the numbers of supposed “owners” of the Island in order to secure a maximum quantity of goods in payment.

This added memorandum includes the listing of the full and considerable payment of goods for the Island. Included are eleven different types of goods, in five distinct categories, such as shirts and match coats (clothing, see Becker 2005a), and metal goods such as kettles and axes. These goods in payment included 30 examples of each type, plus 60 “Barres of Lead.” From other deed lists for the many other land sales among the hunting-gathering tribes of the Northeast we know that the numbers of items presented, when they are uniform such as the 30 found here, or multiples of that number are a reflection of the total number of adults who are part of the vending band. I believe that sales of land on which only a few individuals sign as vendors do not represent those privileged adults, such as those belonging to the royal lineage, but rather lands in buffer zones that had been settled or poached by specific Native families.

The list of goods on this deed of 13 April 1670 is followed by a second memorandum in which the Governor requires that:

“before th’ensealing and delivery hereof [of these goods] That Two or Three of the said Sachems their heires or successors or so many Persons Employed by them shall once every yeare (viz.) upon the First day of May yearely after their surrender repair to this Fort to acknowledge their sale of the said Staten-Island to the Governour or his Successors to continue a mutuall friendship between them As witness their hands.”

Five of the seven vendors made their marks, with two of the five signing on behalf of the two vendors who did not attend this final meeting. This second memorandum was added to keep this

understanding fresh in the minds of the vendors, whose habits of returning for further payments at confirmation treaties and whenever they pleased, has been continued by numerous claimant groups to this day.

Other Squatters Selling Buffer Lands: A "Buffer Deed" of 1695 from Taphow and Other "Vendors"

Parallel to the seven deeds for Staten Island presented above is the deed of 7 June 1695, in which lands in the Pompton Plains area of the Raritan Valley are "sold" by a group of Native Americans from several different tribes (see Becker Ms. B for a transcription). Examining this and related documents, and comparing the names and cultural affiliations of these erstwhile Native vendors, reveals the vast differences between those deeds Natives draw up to tracts of their own lands as distinct from deeds from Natives to tracts to which they had no traditional claim.

Research with the Native peoples of southern New Jersey reveal a wide variety of types of questionable Native land sales (Becker 1998, esp. 2012). One type of these dealings are not quite Native "scams," but rather represent a generic category of sales involving lands not owned by the Native vendor nor any other Natives. These "sales" involve what I term a "buffer deed," or a land sale document drawn up between Native "vendor/s" and colonial purchaser/s that purports to sell a tract of land lying within a formally unclaimed and entirely "un-owned" shared resource area – an aboriginal buffer zone. As part of any colonial expansion in Northeastern North America, the buffer areas that separated Native polities remained beyond the territories that aboriginal groups would claim as their traditional land holdings. When one or more of the various tribes sharing a buffer region moved away from the periphery of that zone, individuals from various other polities would often feel free to claim ownership and negotiate "sales" of tracts to which they had no traditional or cultural claim, creating a "buffer deed." Often the "vendors" had no understanding of the geographical extent of the buffer involved, and therefore provided confusing information about the boundaries of the tract that they were "selling." To deal with this difficulty, colonial purchasers often arranged a survey of the tract, thus generating straight line (European) boundaries for a purchased area.

A set of such "buffer deeds" has been recognized in the buffer zone that existed within the Bombay Hook part of northern Delaware -- an area that had separated the Lenape of southeastern Pennsylvania and northern Delaware from their Sekonese neighbors to the south in present central Delaware. Before 1681 at least two Sekonese, acting on their own, and one Lenopi identified clearly as from the Cohansey band in New Jersey, made regular trips to that former buffer zone to provide local colonial settlers with "Native" title to small tracts of land (Becker 1998). A similar process in 1737, which the colonists claimed represented a "confirmation treaty," actually "transferred" lands in and around the Forks of Delaware from several unrelated New Jersey Native "vendors" to the Pennsylvania Proprietors. I suspect that these "vendors" were not all Lenopi who had migrated from southern New Jersey into the Forks in 1733-1734 (Becker 1987, 1992, 2008), but included members of the Esopus or of immigrant groups who had come into New Jersey at an earlier date. Tracing their origins is a task not yet completed.

Recognition of the Raritan River Valley and Staten Island as a buffer zone enables us to understand an extremely interesting feature of this portion of northern New Jersey. There is a complete absence of early Native land sales in the Raritan Valley zone. The earliest documented "sales" all were made by Natives who had migrated into this formerly unclaimed ("vacant") region. These

sales may be contrasted with land sales in other areas where early Native deeds (indentures) include the names of the many Native grantors and often the relationships between them, either by inference or by direct statement in the record (cf. Becker 1992). The typical Native sale document also specifies the name or names of grantees and includes the names and signatures of witnesses to the contract, often including both visiting Natives as well as colonists. In the 1630s the “newcomers” in the Raritan Valley recognized that they had no traditional claims to those lands. These newcomers and their heirs did not pretend that they had the right to sell these lands, and interest in the purchase of these remote areas on the part of colonists remained low. By 1695 the heirs of these Native immigrants may have seen these lands as their rightful inheritance, but the deed of 6 June 1695, transcribed below does not support any idea that they “assumed” a legal claim.

Whereas land sales within the territories of traditional cultures in the region of the West India Company date from some of the earliest contacts in the 1620s, the first “Native” sales of land in the Raritan Valley buffer area, as in the Bombay Hook region, date from 50 years later. Just as the large numbers of Native land sales and other documents available for use in the reconstruction of the life histories of individuals enable us to reconstruct extended families and cultural boundaries of traditional Native Americans, we also can examine land sales from within buffer areas, all related to a later period, to understand how the members of several immigrant Native groups morphed into “groups” with names that today are better known (e.g. Abenaki, Munsee, Delaware) than the names of their ancestral, aboriginal groups. The documents that refer to these relocated populations may be relatively great in number. Land sales by relocated populations also provide a narrower window through which to view these people, so that each document adds important information to their histories (e.g. Becker 1992).

The Waping Become the Pompton in New Jersey: 1695 and After

The homeland of the Waping lay along the eastern side of the Hudson River, north of Wiechquaeskeck territory, extending farther north up to the middle of present Columbia County: an area to the south of the Mahican range as it existed after 1630 (Starna 2013, also Brassler 1978). The eastern border may have been as far as the Housatonic River valley in the area where it swings west to the present Connecticut border. How some Waping came to be resident in northern New Jersey is a subject covered elsewhere (Becker Ms. B). In addition to the 6 June 1695 sale of land to Arent Schuyler, Philhower (1936:255) documents Waping participation in two other land agreements in New Jersey that took place fifty years apart. The earlier of these texts, dated 13 August 1708, is a deed for the Morristown area, 25 miles (40 km) due west of Manhattan Island and 35 miles (48 km) southwest of the Pompton-Poquaneck area, for which Philhower presents a transcription of only a part of the text. I have yet to transcribe the entire original deed in the New Jersey Historical Society collections.

The second appearance of the Waping noted by Philhower took place in 1758, but he then did not know of other related documents now generally available to scholars. These many documents that have come to light since 1936 make references to several Native players who were central to the politics of the period, particularly the problematical braggart and alcoholic Lenopi named Teedyuscung who took to presenting himself as “King of the Delaware” (Wallace 1949). Teedyuscung (1709-1763) was a young member of the Toms River band of Lenopi when they

relocated into the Forks of Delaware buffer zone in 1733/34 (Becker 1987, 1992). Teedyuscung's rise to "power" led to his presentation of himself, falsely, as the leader of ten Native tribes (Becker 2008), which created some interesting situations for the New Jersey and Pennsylvania colonial governments. Prior to the major treaty of October 1758, Governor Francis Bernard had delegated Teedyuscung to go to the "Indians of Minisink and Pompton" (as the two northern tribes in New Jersey were then identified) to involve them in the upcoming conference (Graymont 2001, X: 299-300, also 301). Bernard's effort to settle any and all land claims in the New Jersey colony may have caused the Five Nations to assert their hegemony over these various Indian groups, who at that time all were resident in regions under Five Nations aegis: areas such as the uplands called the Minnisincks and the vast buffer lands along the present New York-Pennsylvania border.

At meetings held on the 7th and 8th of August 1758 "John Hudson, the Cayuga" asserted Five Nations suzerainty over these displaced peoples, stating that "I, who am the Mingoian, am by this belt to inform you, that the Munseys are women, and cannot hold treaties for themselves ..." (Graymont 2001, X: 302). His declaration indicated that the people then called "Munsee" were immigrants who were living on former buffer lands, and that they were not their own "property." Thereby they were under the control of the Five Nations. To attest to this statement in a very firm manner, John Hudson presented a belt of white wampum on which there were woven seven "figures of men in black wampum" four of whom he said represented the Five Nations, collectively, and the other three represented these subordinate peoples. This reading of this particular belt of wampum reveals the situational nature of their interpretation. Here the Cayuga presenter known as John Hudson uses four figures as a group to represent the Five Nations, and the other three to represent the "Munseys" and any others resident in the area in question (see Graymont 2001, X: 303). An important observation in this August 1758 text is the recognition that "The chief man of the Munseys, is Egohohoun" (see below). On 12 August land rights for "the Delaware Indians [Lenopi], now inhabiting near *Cranbury*, and to the Southward of *Raritan River*..." (Graymont 2001, X: 305) were noted as an issue already clarified, with the upcoming treaty at Easton aimed at resolving rights north of the Raritan.

The important document regarding the Waping that was cited by Philhower (1936: 251-254) records Waping activity some 50 years after the 1695 land sale. This document is the longtext of the Minutes of the important October 1758 Treaty at Easton in Pennsylvania (Graymont 2001, X: 309-353; see also Nelson 1894:117-119; also claimed by Grumet 1988:27 as from the record in the New Jersey Archives as Liber I-2: 89-94). This Treaty concluded the release of all Native claims to lands in New Jersey. The central importance of this 1758 agreement is how well it delineates the Native cultures of New Jersey *at that time!* The immigrant "Wapings or Pumptons" were, in 1758, identified as a Native population, perhaps being seen as one and the same as the indigenous Esopus who had fought two wars with the Dutch only a century earlier.

Treaty at Easton in Pennsylvania, October of 1758: "All" the Tribes of New Jersey

The Treaty at Easton in October of 1758 was a major gathering at which the English colonial government of Pennsylvania met with all of their regional Native allies. Sir Francis Bernard, the new Governor of New Jersey, also was included since much of that colony remained a wilderness with small but identifiable Native American populations continuing to live there, almost all in traditional fashion (see Becker 2011b, 2014c). This marathon "treaty" (meeting), in the midst of

the Seven Years War ("French and Indian War"), began on 7 October, as the first participants arrived at this venue (Colonial Records of PA 1852, VIII: 174), and continued as a public discourse open to all the attendees who came from the many tribes of the region. The treaty did not end until the 26th of October 1758, nearly three weeks later. The proceedings of this important event are preserved in Newark, New Jersey (NJHS L.C. 1 Vault) and are published in *The Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (Colonial Records of Pennsylvania 1852: 174-223). The nearly 50 pages of published text provide a wealth of information concerning the Native American peoples of the Middle Atlantic area who were allied with the English in 1758.

At this 1758 meeting the Pennsylvania government and their English colonial neighbors were seeking a guarantee from the Six Nations Iroquois, by then allies, regarding their amicable intent during this period of conflict. Much of what was discussed related to the attacks of certain "Delaware", the Lenopi Teedyuscung and his kin who were living along the frontier, on the English settlers, many of whom were illegally intruding into areas reserved by treaty for Native American populations. The English now wished to consolidate their alliance with the Native American peoples with whom they had long interacted, and considered to be their supporters in their war against the French and those Natives allied with the French.

The roster of attending Nations in 1758, using the standard protocol, lists the most powerful Nations at the beginning (Mohawks, Oneida, Onondaga, etc., but no Cayuga: see above for John Hudson's presentation on 7-8 August of 1758) and descends to the least powerful. On the list are 13, or possibly 14 tribes, depending on how one evaluates these Native American names. Many near the bottom are the 'landless' groups, or peoples who had sold all of their traditional territory and in 1758 were living elsewhere, in most cases scattered over buffer zone lands under the suzerainty of the Six Nations. The group third from last are identified as the "Munsies or Minnisinks – [represented by] Egohohowen," then the "Mohickons" and very last listed are the "Wapings or Pumptions," represented by "Nimhaon, Aquaywochta, with Sundry Men, Women and Children" (Colonial Records of PA 1852, VIII: 175-176; see also Smith 1877: 479). The Waping are noted in the 1758 treaty as having sold lands in New Jersey and elsewhere, but their aboriginal homeland along the Hudson and their land sales there were not noted. Exactly where these Waping in New Jersey were living in 1758 remains unclear. At least some of them were said, later in this 1758 record, to be living near "Goshen" as Teedyuscung spoke of the "Waping Tribes, or Goshen Indians" (Graymont 2001, X: 333). I suggest that most were resident in southeastern New York in 1758.

"Nimhaon," the first listed representative of the "Wapings or Pumptions" in the 1758 New Jersey treaty must be "One Shake" Nimhan (also identified as Nimhan II, who died in 1762), of the famous Nimhan line of Waping from east of the Hudson (for earlier evidence see Becker 1997a, also 1993b, etc.). Daniel Nimhan (1726-1778) was the third in his line to be identified as a leader of the Waping and was specifically reported as representing the "Wapings or Pumptions" at the New Jersey treaty of 1758 (Colonial Records of PA 1851, VIII: 176). The published version of this readily available 1758 treaty has been documented as a reliable transcription. These "Wapings or Pumptions," descended from earlier Waping immigrants, were then living in the Pompton Plains area. The Waping who relocated to northern New Jersey after the 1630s, however, left numerous members of their tribe behind in their homeland. This "stay at home" population may not have

included Daniel Nimham (Young Nimhan), the son of “One Shake” Nimhan.

DISCUSSION

This study began many years ago with an effort to confirm Philhower’s hypothesis that the aboriginal people called “Pompton” originated in the area of southeastern New York and across the border with southwestern Connecticut. Philhower’s equation of the “Waping” with the Pompton, evident in the New Jersey treaty of 1758, confused me for three decades, but decoding the specific borders of the homeland of the Wiechquaeskeck and their relationship with the Waping have clarified the process by which these River Indians living along the Hudson became the “Raritan” as well as the “Pompton” groups in New Jersey. Delineating the range of any foraging population using land sale documents remains the best route now available to determining the boundaries of aboriginal land holdings.

The evidence indicates that in the aboriginal period only one Native culture, the Esopus, operated in the area of present New Jersey north of the Raritan River. Various political factors after 1630 resulted in the migration of small groups of Wiechquaeskeck and also Waping into the Raritan Valley. The specific territorial borders of the aboriginal Native culture in northern New Jersey have been determined largely from deeds of sale for their lands, or portions thereof. In northwestern New Jersey land “sales” by immigrant groups confuse the picture. The impressive series *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789* (General editor, Alden T. Vaughan) offers an excellent means by which scholars can examine the interactions among tribes and colonial immigrants from Europe. The vast numbers of documents relating to many of the Native tribes presented a significant challenge to the many editors who contributed to Vaughan’s efforts. The resulting collection is nearly complete for early Pennsylvania (Kent 1981) but less inclusive in the volumes for New York, combined with New Jersey, as reflects their political history during and after the Dutch period (Graymont 1985, 1995, 1996, 2001).

The production of the Graymont volumes had to confront the extreme complexity of Native politics involving the Five Nations Iroquois plus the estimated 1,500 land transfer documents for New Jersey alone. This plethora of information placed an enormous burden on Graymont. The difficulties in simply transcribing the many land sale documents (e.g. Becker 1998, 2012, etc.) are but the first part of a long process of study in New Jersey. For New Jersey we can include the work of Fernow (1881), who provides a transcription of the deed (patent) of 12 July 1630 for the area that includes present Hoboken, an area I believe was sold by members of the Hackensack band of Esopus. Careful review of all the known documents should provide evidence for territorial limits of individual bands, each tribe, and then the extent of the buffer zones that surrounded each Native homeland. Until that considerable task is undertaken, we may make inferences based on the documentary evidence that is now available.

The complexity of political and military interactions among the Native nations and the role of the Dutch in opening the pelt trade in amplifying these relationships was increased by the development of a Native produced commodity known as “wampum.” This important commodity, produced by Natives living at the margins of the pelt trade, increasingly influenced every dynamic of economics throughout the region, and into a world trade system (Ceci 1990, Becker 2012b, 2014b).

Traditional histories fail to understand the role of the Pequot in these maneuverings (e.g. Cave 1996), and how they gained power by conquest and controlling wampum production. These dynamics are not understood through simple narratives of colonial authors, but can be better decoded when we recognize specific Native people as individuals, and then trace their specific roles and the importance of tribal dynamics during those turbulent times.

The tracing of individual biographies and tribal histories requires that we return to the many basic documents and use the extensive data in them to reconstruct this period in history. For many Natives, European trade and colonization provided opportunity and abundance. Many individuals and entire tribes benefited from the opportunities to trade with Europeans (Becker 2014b, also 2015b). Other Native groups such as the Narragansett, pushed aside by their neighbors during this period, were forced to make difficult decisions in order to survive. That one of these decisions involved movement into known buffer zones should not come as a surprise. The question addressed in this study concerns the matter of where a group of Natives could move if they were displaced from their own territorial area.

Of some note may be the use of buffer lands by the Moravian missionaries operating in this part of North America. The Moravian Church had established a base of operation on Manhattan Island by the 1740s, although their first church there may date to 1763. From Manhattan they extended their missionary activities across to Staten Island and west along the Raritan corridor through Hope, New Jersey and into the Forks of Delaware buffer region (see Becker 1987). By 1740 Native activity in this region had become minimal, and the days of transit for the pelt trade were long past. Peltry remained an important commercial product, but most were secured along the frontier, which at that time included the Forks region. The decision of the Moravians to establish missions in the Forks appears to relate to the changing social dynamics of the westward frontier, but the exact location may relate to land availability and frontier politics. If the Raritan Valley buffer, and its extension to the west into the Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania, were significant factors in selecting a location, then perhaps we should examine other Moravian mission stations for clues to the decisions used in their establishment. The use of buffer zones avoids encroachment on any tribal lands as well as saving costs that would be expended to make land purchases from Native owners.

Shonnard and Spooner (1900: 33), in examining the documents for Westchester County where the Wiechquaeskeck lived, made a simple but extremely important observation regarding Native activities following the sale of their lands:

“They always remained on the lands after the sale continuing their former habits of life until forced by the steady extention of white settlement to fall back farther into the wilderness.”

This can be seen with all the Native peoples of the Northeast. Thus the land sales to Philipse and others had minimal influence on the first generation making these sales. But gradually, the inexorable immigrant population increase exerted land clearing pressures on the peoples of the forest. By the 1750s, the Wiechquaeskeck of the area that became southwestern Connecticut were no longer an identifiable people within the New England region (cf. Mancini 2015). The Wiechquaeskeck had been a foraging society partly dependent on anadromous fish (cf. Becker 2006). Their use of fish resources facilitated the relocation of some to the Raritan Valley, a nearby

coastal zone that shared many of the same fish populations seasonally available in their homeland (see Moore 2001). How many Wiechquaeskeck actually relocated to the Raritan and how many remained behind or went elsewhere we do not know. How many moved into Connecticut is likewise unknown at present.

This leads us to ask how many Wiechquaeskeck were living in their aboriginal New York-Connecticut zone in 1500 A.D.? Available data on foraging societies suggests that the “magic number” of 500 commonly is the mean number associated with these tribal populations, varying with a range of ecological factors. The individual band size tends to average 25 individuals (cf. Lenape bands in Becker 2006, 2011a). From the available evidence I infer that the Wiechquaeskeck had a population of approximately 500 members (cf. Becker 1989; see also De Forest 1853: 45-47 on population size for these hunting-gathering people).

From all the evidence presented over the past few decades, individuals and families among these foragers made their own decisions on how to respond to changing environmental factors. While a substantial number of the Wiechquaeskeck, perhaps as many as 50 or more, may have relocated to the Raritan Valley ca 1630, most of the tribe remained in their traditional range. By 1750 many of the traditionalist Wiechquaeskeck merged into the colonial population, with most of these settling into marginal situations. Others may have been attracted to the praying communities being established in several New England locations. Still others may have relocated to the Housatonic River valley. Mandell (2003, XX: 464-465) indicates that by 1723 the Housatonic Valley had become an important center for Indian refugees from the Connecticut River valley to the east, and presumably also from among the several tribes from areas to the west. I would assume that the newly formed Housatonic populations included at least some of the Wiechquaeskeck. By 1739 Mahican can be documented among these peoples relocated to, or concentrated along the Housatonic (Mandell 2003, XX: 516). Lavin suggests that the fertile and resource-rich lands of the Housatonic drainage of western Massachusetts had always been part of the Mahican homeland, with their eastern border located within the Berkshire Mountain ranges; i.e., present Berkshire County and western portions of present Hampden, Hampshire, and Franklin counties (Lucianne Lavin, personal communications, September 2016).

Movement among the Native populations may have shifted to the individual level soon after. In the 1790s at least one individual from a New England tribe is known to have married a Lenopi woman and became resident with her in central New Jersey (cf. Becker 2011b), where we know that their common language was English. Despite these occasional marriages and considerable population movement after 1600, the cultural integrity of the core groups of these peoples remained remarkably intact for quite some time, well into the 1800s in some cases.

By the middle 1800s, those Wiechquaeskeck still operating in the area that became southwestern Connecticut were no longer identified by that name. By the later 1800s all recall or recognition of their cultural origins had vanished, as did most traces of Native traditions as the descendants morphed into an “ethnic group.” Whether their ethnicity had an “Indian” caste or some other identity may have depended on market forces. Similarly, those Wiechquaeskeck groups who moved into the Raritan Valley and those Waping who moved into the Pompton Plains area may have remained there, while yet other members of these migrant groups moved farther west into the

New Jersey highlands, or the Minisink region. These several descendant groups also lost memory of connections to their own ancestors. That individual families retained some awareness of Indian origins is most probable. Groups such as the “Ramapo Mountain” people and others claiming Native descent may indeed be direct, if admixed, biological descendants of early immigrants into northern New Jersey. The probability of some Native ancestry in these and other populations is great, but the cultural connections had long ago been lost.

We still need standardized methods of recording and referencing data from land sales and Native-related documents in order that scholars may share their databases. This will allow us to reconstruct ever more effectively the histories of individual Native Americans and the cultures of which they were members. The extensive and important information that Native American name searches can provide may help resolve the question of the origins and what became of those Wiechquaeskeck who became the Raritan Indians.

Conclusion

The evidence indicates that the Manhattan Indians were but one band of the Wiechquaeskeck tribe. Their immediate kinship with Wiechquaeskeck bands to the north and northeast of Manhattan explains why, when they were attacked by the Mohican in the early 1640s, many Wiechquaeskeck took refuge among their kin – the Manhattan band - who were still resident on Manhattan Island. The members of that band were resident not far beyond the palisade, or “wall,” in the area of Corlaer’s Hook, a location quite close to Fort Amsterdam. Other displaced Wiechquaeskeck took refuge in present New Jersey among neighboring Esopus at a location just across the Hudson River from lower Manhattan.

A small number of the Wiechquaeskeck people moved to the Raritan region during the decades between 1630 and 1650. They were later joined by other kin from their aboriginal homeland in a process paralleling that of the Lenopi move from New Jersey to New Stockbridge in New York (see Becker 2011b, 2014c). When resident in the Raritan Valley these relocated Wiechquaeskeck were identified as “Raritan.” These Raritan continued to move west along that river valley to forage, immediately after entering the region. With them in this shift to the west were numbers of the Esopus and Pompton (originally Waping).

Many if not most of the Waping, living along the eastern shore of Hudson, to the north of the Wiechquaeskeck territory, relocated to the Pompton Plains area, and there they became known as the “Pompton.” Whether the Esopus had joined with the Wiechquaeskeck-Raritan and/or with the Waping, and if all were in the process of become the “Munsee” since the 1650s remains unclear. After further western moves, all these people became identified as “Munsee.” Ultimately they all became confused by the colonists with other Delawarean language speaking groups, groups collectively identified by historians as “Delaware.” As generic “Delaware” (Delawarean speakers) most of these people lived within the vast buffer zone territory utilized as the southern foraging range by the Five Nations Iroquois. Some of these Delawarean speakers later moved to Canada while others traced an irregular journey towards the west during the course of their dispersion into the heartland of North America.

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