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The Boundary Between the Lenape and the Munsee: The Forks of the Delaware as a Buffer Zone

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Man in the Northeast

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

The six articles in this issue of *Man in the Northeast* identify a general trend in anthropological research in the Northeast. The growing proportion of research and publication in archaeology and ethnohistory can also be seen in the character and contents of symposia and volunteered papers at recent meetings of the Northeast Anthropological Association. While it is gratifying to see this much activity in areas that are of particular personal interest to me, it is disappointing that there appears to be declining interest and effort in other areas of cultural anthropology, linguistics, and biological anthropology. The very first issue of *Man in the Northeast* contained an important linguistic article, and annual meetings of Algonquianists and Iroquoianists are typically dominated by papers in linguistics. Thus there is both precedent in the journal and evidence of scholarly activity that should lead us to expect more linguistic articles to appear on these pages. Surely there are equivalent grounds to expect more from all currently underrepresented areas, and we encourage submissions from authors working in all aspects of Northeast anthropology.

Three of the papers that follow, those by Becker, Hoffman, and Crabtree, grew out of papers delivered in a symposium organized by Marshall Becker at the 1982 Princeton meetings of the Northeast Anthropological Association, meetings that produced early versions of all of the articles in Number 25 of this journal. The remaining three articles were submitted, reviewed, and accepted separately.

Dean R. Snow

THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE LENAPE AND MUNSEE: THE FORKS OF DELAWARE AS A BUFFER ZONE

Marshall J. Becker
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Delineation of boundaries or the buffer zones which separated various Native American cultures enables us to identify these specific groups more clearly. Recognition of the cultural integrity of specific peoples permits us to understand the dynamics of change which took place during the historic period. In turn such evidence aids in the reconstruction of prehistoric events. The area known as Lechay (Lehigh) or the Forks of Delaware appears to have been part of a buffer zone separating the territories of the Lenape, Munsee, and Susquehannock during the contact period. Linguistic and historic evidence enables us to clearly differentiate between the Lenape and Munsee. The many differences between these peoples would lead us to predict that an uninhabited buffer zone lay between their traditional territorial ranges.

Recent archaeological and historical studies of native populations in the "Eastern Woodlands" (Kroeber 1948:788-789) have enabled us to move beyond superficial generalizations which persisted regarding these cultural subareas (see Willey 1966:247-251; Griffin 1978:221-226; Grumet 1979) and into more refined studies of peoples inhabiting very localized areas. Not only are these groups being recognized as distinct and separate aggregates during the historic period, but archaeological studies provide means by which the existence of these units can be recognized.

Ethnographic reports of both human and other primate foragers often provide information regarding the boundaries between groups. Recent studies of documents pertaining to the Lenape, the aboriginal population of southeastern Pennsylvania and adjacent areas of the lower Delaware Valley, provide new evidence for their cultural boundaries. Whereas some recent archaeological studies had suggested that the Lenape and Munsee were a single culture (Kraft 1974), linguistic studies recognize that the languages spoken were distinct, being variations of an Eastern Algonkian type (Goddard 1978:213). Research on several fronts in the past two years has suggested the existence of a wide range of cultural differences which correlate with the linguistic differences between the Munsee and the Lenape noted by Goddard. In addition, the linguistic distinctions noted by Goddard (1978:224, 236, Table 2) appear reflected in the independent activities of the Lenape of Pennsylvania and their kin in southern New Jersey. Recognition of this separateness within the Lenape area enables us to understand how the hypothesized buffer zone came to be marginally utilized by a specific group of people after 1730.

At one time the linguistic similarities between Lenape and Munsee, now clearly distinguished by Goddard, and various references to the coresidence of members of these two peoples after 1760 masked the cultural differences that now are more clear. Archaeologically we remain nearly as

ignorant about the Lenape as we were 10 years ago. A nearly complete absence of archaeological data for the proto-Lenape of the lower Delaware Valley (before 1600) prevents comparisons from being made with the useful data available from excavations along the upper Delaware (Heye and Pepper 1915; Kinsey 1972; Kraft 1977, 1978).

In a program designed to locate new documents, and to reanalyze those known about these people as a prelude to archaeological research, information was gathered from the historical records which suggested that the linguistic and cultural distances between Munsee and Lenape were matched by a spatial separation. An historic (and possibly prehistoric) buffer zone appears to be recognizable between their territories. The demonstration that a buffer zone existed has profound implications for anthropological theory as well as for archaeological research strategies. Proposals for future excavations in this area could utilize this model in planning field programs, and later in the interpretation of the evidence recovered.

Although some cultural merging in the form of intermarriage appears to have taken place between Lenape and Munsee during and probably after the late colonial period, the activities of these two populations appear to have remained distinct insofar as the maintenance of cultural traditions is concerned. Both cultures were matrilineal at that time and a child would, by definition, belong to the kin group (and culture) of the mother. After 1740 the core of the Lenape bands of the lower Delaware moved west while the core of the Munsee found their way to Canada. Those Lenape and Munsee who remained behind, either converting to Christianity or otherwise affiliating with European derived society, appear to have gradually merged into the colonial population. They appear to have become part of mainstream American society rather than continuing a native identity.

The term "core" as used above refers to those members of the culture maintaining the old traditions and attempting to sustain a way of life that was hard-pressed to survive in the areas along the colonial frontier. This traditional life used the native languages to transmit the ceremonials, the mortuary rituals, and other cultural elements necessary to maintain group integrity and personal identification.

Since the Lenape were never a single cohesive residential unit they can be understood only by examining the dynamics of several bands of kin-related individuals and their interaction with the land resources available to their collective use. While in the lower Delaware Valley, the Lenape were a series of small foraging bands, each of which utilized the resources of one or more of the river valleys leading into the Delaware River. Although we can identify many of these bands at various points in time, the number of them and the sizes of their territories (extended family foraging zones) probably varied through time.

Individual Lenape bands, represented by the adult male members, sold their lands by deed to various Europeans and ultimately to William Penn, after which some of these bands may have left the area while others continued to live within the limits of their former territories. The variation in the ways in which each band, and even specific members within any band acted after these sales is enormous. Many individuals, or possibly groups, left the Delaware Valley and settled to the west in the area that had been controlled by the Susquehannock prior to their defeat in 1674. For example, some Lenape (perhaps only a few families) were living along the Susquehanna River by the end of the seventeenth century (Becker 1984b).

The Markham report of 1696 refers to "Our" Indians now on the Susquehanna. Sassoonan was settled at Peshtang above Conestoga by 1709 (Colonial Records II:469), but his residence afterwards is less certain, being either along the Tulpehocken or perhaps to the west of the Susquehanna. By 1717 the Lenape were among the many cultures on the Susquehanna (Colonial Records III:19). By 1725, when Sassoonan was a resident at Shamokin, some of his fellow Lenape already had moved to "Kittanning" in the Ohio drainage. By the time Sassoonan had died (1747) some former members of his group were living on the west branch of the Susquehanna while others had relocated to the Ohio country. Sassoonan was but one individual with an "associated" small group, but even the members of this group did not act in concert (Becker 1982c). We still do not know how many

of these Lenape bands lived in Pennsylvania at one time, and the several New Jersey bands had a completely independent and possibly different history. The histories of the Lenape bands on either side of the Delaware may be significant in explaining why the Forks area was settled only after 1730, and almost entirely by New Jersey Lenape.

Recent developments in ethnohistory and a new trend toward archival research as "above ground" archaeology have produced a vast body of information about the Lenape and their neighbors. Scanning these data leads us to suggest the following scenario as a thesis to be demonstrated through information provided below. Thesis: The cultures of the eastern woodlands occupied large zones (territories) within which their collective activities tended to focus around a core area. On the periphery of each territory was an area which served to provide foraging resources for the members of the culture and also provided a buffer zone between them and adjacent peoples. These boundaries between areas were not well defined. Intermittent and overlapping utilization of these regions by proximal populations must have been common. Such a buffer zone is inferred to have existed between the Lenape and Munsee core areas (cf. De Boer 1981). The most northerly Lenape bands on the west probably occupied the region along the Lehigh River down to the falls of the Delaware at Trenton, while in the Jerseys Lenape may have extended up as far as the Raritan River.¹ The Munsee, on the other hand, occupied the upper Delaware Valley. Their distribution and relationships with other groups (e.g., the Esopus) are less clearly known (Goddard 1978:213-216).

METHODOLOGY

One of the difficulties in working with this problem centers on the demonstration that a buffer area existed. This means that we must prove that the activities that occurred in a fairly large geographical area during a specified period of time were of a limited and peripheral nature. Demonstrating the presence of a phenomenon is far more simple than demonstrating the absence of phenomena. The latter situation may reflect research error, lost evidence, or simple failure in the search. This problem will be approached by assuming that the hypothesis is correct and seeking evidence to disprove it. Continued absence of evidence, however, could constitute insufficient proof. Therefore, we will evaluate various events that occurred at the same time to see how they reflect upon the thesis in question. Should events in adjacent regions fail to be logically explained in the context of our model, this would be evidence for the thesis being incorrect.

What follows, therefore, is an historic reconstruction utilizing all of the appropriate evidence now available for the Forks area as well as for areas surrounding this focus of concern. The analysis of these data may provide logical inferences regarding the Forks and also shed light on problems regarding shifting frontiers, the manor system in Pennsylvania, and other matters relating to local native populations and why they responded to contact as they did.

During the earliest European contacts in the early sixteenth century the development of the fur trade must have intensified utilization of buffer areas, possibly leading to the formation of specific family-owned hunting territories rather than the band units suggested by MacLeod (1922) as well as others (Snow 1968; Leacock 1954). The fur trade led to the rapid increase in Susquehannock power between 1525 and 1550. This enabled the Susquehannock to move down into the lower Susquehanna drainage, into an area which may have been occupied by the precontact Lenape (J. Custer, personal communication). Clearly the Susquehannock forced the Lenape out of the area of the Christina and Schuylkill drainage around 1620-1630. Before 1600 the Forks area buffer zone may have been a region separating the proto-Susquehannock from the Lenape, but after 1600 Susquehannock power, based on trade wealth, dominated eastern Pennsylvania. During this time the Lenape and Munsee maneuvered to keep the Europeans at bay and to maximize their gains from what resources they had. By 1650 colonial expansion had led to wars of extermination to the north and south, but clever political maneuvering allowed the Munsee to survive. On April 23, 1660 a report reached New Amsterdam of fighting up the Hudson River at Esopus; "Eleven Minissingh

savages had been killed among those of the Esopus" (Linn and Egle 1896:VII:674-675). The term "Minisink," with its locative ending, refers to an area or location (Ritchie 1949:155). The term "Munsee . . . meaning 'person from Minisink' " (Goddard 1978:236), often was used interchangeably with Minisink. Quite possibly the area referred to as "Minisink" was not a specific location, but rather the place where the main Munsee settlement was located during any period, as suggested by J. Hayes (Hunter 1954).

The Esopus and Munsee alliance did not concern the Minquas (Susquehannock), who came overland to Altena (Wilmington) to trade because the Dutch offered better prices for their goods. The Susquehannock carried messages between the colonial cities and otherwise enjoyed good relations with the Dutch. The successful interaction pattern of the 1660s, however, was to come to an abrupt end.

In 1674 changing alliances linked the Five Nations with the Maryland colony, which had been an ally of the Susquehannock. This new coalition rapidly achieved a successful dismemberment of Susquehannock power. For the allied Esopus and Munsee (Grumet 1979:50-52), as well as the Lenape, the demise of the Susquehannock made available territory and resources which enabled them to develop a new political strategy, which was to serve for over 50 years.

The Lenape were skilled at manipulating invading native peoples as well as the Europeans who came to their land. In 1638 Peter Minuyt built Fortress Christina, where Wilmington now stands, to trade with the Minquas (Susquehannock). The Minquas used this lower portage from the Susquehanna Valley (Becker 1984a) to get good prices from the Swedish merchants and to avoid a long haul to New Amsterdam. The location of Christina and the Dutch fort Beversreede clearly indicate that furs were coming primarily from the west by 1638 and not from the Lehigh or upper Delaware, which must have been hunted out. This point is made clear on a document of January 28, 1656 in which the Dutch note that they built Fort Nassau in 1626 at a distance 16 leagues up the Delaware River, this ". . . being their southern frontier . . .", and that ". . . Bevers reede, down the river on the west bank, about the lands of the Schuylkil; a place wonderfully convenient and so called on account of the Beaver trade which was prosecuted there to a considerable amount with the natives and Indians" (O'Callaghan 1856:I:588). This is important in understanding why the Forks of Delaware was never an area of importance to trade or settlement.

The end of Susquehannock power in 1675 correlates with the decline in the importance of the fur trade, after the near extinction of beaver and other valuable fur-bearing animals throughout this region. However, the large land sales by the Lenape to William Penn after 1680 continued to stimulate the general withdrawal of the Lenape bands to the west, into lands formerly controlled by the now scattered Susquehannock. By 1683 Penn attempted to purchase rights to these lands along the Susquehanna. He was thwarted (see Jennings 1966:408) until January 13, 1696 when he negotiated purchase of these lands from Governor Dongan of New York (Hazard 1852:I:116-117), who had recently purchased the rights from the "conquering" Seneca. Penn later (April 23, 1701; Hazard 1852:I:144-147) confirmed this purchase with the "Susquehanna Indians," a collection of displaced groups led by one remnant of the Susquehannock nation which had returned to a location near their former home. This area had become a haven for various groups displaced from their native territories, including a few Lenape who no longer wished to tolerate European influences on their lives.

If the Forks of Delaware was a buffer area during the period 1500-1740 then we should expect to find no evidence for native occupation and few colonial references to native use of the area of Lechay prior to 1730. Conversely, when the earliest known documents mentioning this area are studied we would expect that all native persons cited would be individuals who were not born in nor raised in the area of Lechay.

THE FORKS OF DELAWARE

Lechauwitank ("the place at the forks," Kieffer 1902:23) referred to the entire area in the

"Forks of Delaware," which also came to be known as "Lechay" (Lehigh). This area to the south and west of the water gap down to the junction of the Lehigh and Delaware rivers is now Northampton County, Pennsylvania. The area, surprisingly, played no prominent part in the early years of Pennsylvania's colonial history (Hunter 1981:1). The colonial settlement along the lower Delaware, concentrating at Philadelphia after 1680, generally expanded toward the west rather than up the river. The limited movement north, up the river, seems to have been slowed by the falls (Trenton), but the rich lands of modern Bucks County were settled quite early. The Upper Delawaran province (Munsee territory) described by Grumet (1979) extended westward to the Forks of Delaware, but ended far short of the river until quite late in colonial history.

The first colonists on the upper Delaware River, above the Delaware water gap, came into that area via New York. This area, definitely part of the Munsee cultural realm, maintained the same focus and cultural interaction pattern in the colonial period which appears to have existed in the precontact period (Brasser 1978; Grumet 1979). Munsee cultural connections clearly are with the Mahican and other of the "River Indians" (such as the Esopus on the Hudson, or North River) who later affiliated in the face of colonial expansion (Brasser 1978). The area of the Forks of Delaware does not appear to be important to the Munsee at any time in colonial history despite its proximity to their traditional territory.

THE FORKS OF DELAWARE: A PERIPHERAL ZONE

There are scant historic records for a native American population occupying the area of the Forks of the Delaware prior to 1700. The lack of interest in the area due to its negligible value to early Pennsylvanians may account for the scarcity of documents. Grumet (1979:70-71) made an extensive search of documents relating to the Munsee, whom he believed to occupy the area of the Forks. Despite his efforts, Grumet found only two references for European activities in this area around 1700 and both of these were to traders. The petition of James Letort (1704) and the somewhat nefarious activities of J.H. Steelman (Yocum and Craig 1984) reflect the early fur trade in the Forks area. An absence of documentation, however, may reflect either the loss of such records or an inability to locate them. In order to make a case for the peripheral nature of the Forks area the indirect evidence must be used.

During the late 1600s Governor Dongan had been concerned with the activities of various French traders on the Schuylkill River (Jennings 1966:408). The Schuylkill River route to the Susquehanna appears to have developed as a major trade artery in the early seventeenth century and continued in use for over 100 years (Becker 1984a). Thus traders tended to locate along this waterway or at positions on the Susquehanna which led to this route. Thomas Dongan's concern with this area, and not for waterways such as the Lehigh River, reflects the importance of native trade from the west as well as indicating the routes used in that trade.

Foremost among those French traders, who often lived with their clients, married among them, and otherwise achieved considerable success as agents in the fur trade, was the family Letort.² The elder Letorts were not operating as agents for Penn, and had routed their private goods through Burlington, New Jersey (Jennings 1966:409-411). They continued to enjoy moderate success in the last quarter of the seventeenth century even though this was a slack period in the fur trade. Toward the end of this period Shawnee and other remnant groups, including some Lenape, were settling along the frontier. Despite Dongan's concern, fur trade records, and the entire process of colonial expansion the area of the Forks is mentioned but rarely.

The peripheral nature of the Forks also is suggested by the very brevity of the few early references to it as well as the content of these notes. The very interesting Lasse Cock,³ a well-known interpreter to the Lenape, provides one such reference. After his death, which seems to have been about 1700, his estate billed William Penn's estate for a series of Lenape related activities, including "To Journey by Order of Gov^r Markham to Lahhai . . ." (Penn 1700). The nature of this mission is not explained nor has it been determined through other known documents. Quite

possibly Markham wanted to know the extent of Lenape territory, and certainly the goals of this paper would be more accessible if we had Cock's report or could date the events with precision. The date "1682" which appears on this document may not be the correct date of this journey, but it would be consistent with Penn's concern for land purchases. I assume that Cock found the area uninhabited and therefore unowned, and that Penn and his agents had no need to pursue landowners beyond the Durham Creek area.

In 1701 (May 31) William Penn took steps to restrain a Maryland trader, John Hans Steelman, from doing business with the Indians "at Lechay or y^e forks of Delaware" (Colonial Records II: 16-17). The ethnic identity of the natives coming to trade at "Lechay" is not stated. Also concerned with trade in that region during the early years of the eighteenth century was young James Letort of Pennsylvania (Letort 1704). Letort, like Steelman, spoke Lenape and possibly other languages and often acted as an interpreter or translator in treaties with the Lenape people. Letort and Steelman both were signatories to the treaty of April 23, 1701 with the "Indians" on the Susquehanna.⁴ Penn's attempt to restrain Steelman's activities suggests that Letort had official sanction to trade at Lechay and Steelman was encroaching upon him.⁵ Since no further mention of trade in the Forks area has been found, one may infer that the value of such activity was so low as to make it unprofitable relative to trade on the Allegheny River.

The few other early references to Lechay reflect the peripheral nature of the area as well as indicating that the proprietor's concern may have been primarily for security against the Five Nations. At a council at Philadelphia on May 21, 1701, pursuant to a "Resolution made by this Board on the 17th Instant" regarding reports concerning the Indians, "the Gov^r informed the Council that after the Sessions a Certain Young Swede arriving from Lechay brought advice That on 5th Day last some Young men of that place going out a hunting, being but a little while gone . . ." thought they heard Senecas shooting. The report later was proved groundless (Colonial Records II: 20-21). At the council meeting of July 26, 1701, concern with the sale of rum to the Lenape led the council to summon to Philadelphia for consultation with five Lenape elders (Colonial Records II:26). These included three elders from Christina, Indian Harry of Conestoga, and "Oppemenyhook at Lechay." No record of their meeting has been located. These two references suggest that some Lenape may have been resident in the Forks at that time.

In 1704 Oppemenyhook, noted earlier as being at Lechay, together with eight other "kings" (none of whom are named) visited William Penn, Jr. at Pennsbury (Logan 1704). This group must have represented some of the various Lenape bands then functioning, but no reference is made to "Lechay." Although regional designations, such as Schuylkill or Brandywine, continued to be used, the actual settlement zones of the various Lenape bands continued to shift (Becker 1976, 1981a, 1982c). Lenape also located in unoccupied regions, often close by other displaced peoples. Shawnee bands had come to both Conestoga as well as to Pechoqueling where they became important in what was left of the local fur trade. These two widely separated locations are mentioned in October of 1704 when James Letort (1704) submitted a petition for compensation for "Indian Debts" incurred in his trading with natives at Pechoqueling, a Shawnee town occupied from 1694 to 1728 along the upper reaches of the Delaware (Kent et al. 1981); and at Canishtoga (Conestoga). His six sheets of manuscript provide direct or indirect references to 58 natives, but no indication as to which of the five or six cultures each of these individuals might belong, or where specific individuals were trading. However, the name Lappeweinsoe is the first on the fourth sheet. Since he was a Jersey Lenape, who sold his own land rights on August 18, 1713, we may assume that he met Letort at Pechoqueling.

The town of Pechoqueling (now Shawnee On Delaware) is some distance above the Delaware water gap. The Shawnee settling there in 1694, like those who settled at Conestoga, were on the periphery of existing Lenape lands, and beyond the area of interest to the Munsee. This area may have been an extension of the Forks buffer to the east. Even if the Forks of Delaware had been used for hunting at that time, no residents can be identified in that general area as permanent occupants. As an unoccupied buffer zone it would be the ideal place to locate the displaced Shawnee. A

Shawnee presence would add security, or at least warning, against raiders going in either direction across this region.

During the period from 1704 to 1733 we cannot locate a single mention of the Forks area in the literature or documents. The confirmation deed of 1718, however, reinforces the idea that the Forks had been a vacant area beyond the traditional Lenape range. Before citing this document reference should be made again to earlier activities in the adjacent regions. William Penn assiduously bought all Lenape land claims in a systematic pattern. Working up the river, the land included in these purchases extended no further than the area around Durham Creek. Subsequent dealings with the governor of New York and the Five Nations in order to establish a northern border for the commonwealth were made without mention to any other native population. Similarly, the early traders in the Forks area, around 1700, deal with several populations all of which live in defined areas beyond the Forks.

The Lenape confirmation deed of September 17, 1718 (reaffirmed June 5, 1728) verifies the earlier release to Penn of all Lenape land between the "Rivers of Delaware & Sasquehanna, from Duck Creek to the Mountains on this side Lechay" (Colonial Records III:317-326). Hunter and Becker both believe these "Mountains" to be the low Lehigh hills along the present northwestern boundary of Bucks County and not the higher range bounding present Allentown and Bethlehem. Since the Lehigh Valley and the Forks area were not included in this release we may infer that they were not believed by the Lenape to be part of their territorial range and therefore could not be sold by those Lenape involved in the sale of 1718. Since no Lenape group (band) has been identified to the north we must infer that the grantors of 1718 represent the northernmost of the Pennsylvania Lenape people.

Certainly Sassoonan in 1728 showed no concern for the Forks area in his petition regarding land infringements. When Sassoonan (Colonial Records III:321) said that the lands beyond the 1718 confirmation area had not been paid for he was referring to the area of the upper Schuylkill drainage and westerly between the Lehigh hills and the Blue Mountains. The concern with the "Lechay hills" was made only as regards the extension of this mountain range to the southwest. In the discussion of these boundaries (Colonial Records III:322) James Logan said that the Lechay hills run from below Lechay (Forks of Delaware) to the hills on Susquehanna that lie about 17 km above Pextan, an observation which was in error. Mr. Farmer corrected him by noting that these hills pass from Lechay to a "few miles" above Oley, and beyond them lay the lands of the Tulpehocken, where his and Sassoonan's kin had their residence. This geographical problem therefore was resolved in favor of the Lenape.

Shortly after the 1728 reconfirmation of the 1718 agreement, Sassoonan (Allumapees) and six other Lenape elders sold any rights they had to the "Land lying on or near the River Schuylkill . . . being between those Hills called Lechaig Hills and those called Keekachtanemin Hills, which cross the said River Schuylkill about Thirty Miles above the said Lechaig Hills, . . ." and all lands east and west between the Delaware and Susquehanna (Hazard 1852:I:344-347). The Lenape in this sale of September 7, 1732 may have considered this land to include only the Schuylkill drainage out to the Keekachtanemin hills, or Blue Mountains, and northeast to the Lehigh River, thereby excluding the Forks. However, this was not to reserve the Forks area, but because the Lenape did not consider the Forks as their land and subject to their sale. The vague wording leaves the proprietary's point of view in doubt. Perhaps they wanted to leave the borders in doubt.

The first specific reference to any native occupant of the Forks dates from 1733. In that year "Tatemy an Indian" applied for a grant of 120 hectares "on the fforks of Delaware," for which he received a patent in 1738 (Hunter 1974:72).⁶ Tatamy was a Lenape from New Jersey and this tract appears to have been his residence prior to 1733, not the site of a settlement. The highly acculturated Tatamy, whose widow and son later are listed as "White" in census documents, appears to have been farming in this area, which he considered to be open (available) land and not subject to claims by any native population. Tatamy was the first Lenape to become a private landowner in Pennsylvania, using the English system of land purchase and tenure. Tatamy must have had a cabin

on this land long before 1738, thus preceding by more than one year the construction of the first colonist's house at Easton. David Martin is reputed to have built his house in 1739 (Condit 1885: 13).

Other "Jersey Indians" moved into and through the Forks, including Teedyuscung (Becker 1983b) and Meskikonant, following a route through the Lehigh Gap on the north branch of the Susquehanna. Not one adult Lenape in the years around 1740 is known to have been born in the Forks, further indicating the fact that no people permanently inhabited the region. One of the oldest residents in the Forks was Keposh (later identified as "Tammekapi"), born about 1672 near the Cranburys (Hunter 1978:27). As "Tameckapa" he was the first of the 12 Lenape witnesses to the Walking Purchase confirmation deed of August 25, 1737 (Hazard 1852:I:543). As "To-wegh-kapy," he is the third of the 4 named "DELAWARES, from the Forks" noted as attending the Treaty at Philadelphia of July 1742, in which all Lenape land claims were extinguished.

Tammekapi is later noted in his baptismal year 1749 as having lived most of his life at the Forks,⁷ suggesting that he may have moved there near the turn of the century. The Moravians usually referred to Tammekapi, whom they baptized "Salomo" (1748), as "der DELAWAR König in den FORKS." Despite his long residence, great status, and Moravian affiliations, Tammekapi died at Tioga far to the northwest of the Forks. The transient nature of all of these residents (Grumet 1979:193-194), and the paucity of early references to the Forks suggest that this area had been a largely vacant buffer area prior to European pressures and trade considerations bringing people into the region.

By 1734, in addition to Tatamy, a number of Jersey Lenape were resident on the west side of the Delaware River. A delegation from this group was summoned to Durham for a treaty, and Teedyuscung was a representative to that meeting from the Forks.⁸ The construction of Durham Furnace by Logan and the subsequent settlement of the area by workers, and then farmers, accelerated the colonization of this zone and set the stage for the subsequent Walking Purchase. These natives resident in the Forks include a large number of Teedyuscung's relatives, including Captain Harris, who was Teedyuscung's mother's sister's husband (Becker 1983b). Captain Harris became an important person at Pohopoco (see Colonial Records VII:400), a little hamlet on the Lehigh just below present Weissport (Hunter 1981). Pohopoco, on the far western periphery of the area called the Forks, appears to have been typical of the "settlements" in this area, each of which included a number of scattered hamlets.

Prior to 1700 the proprietors had been extremely interested in the shifting groups of natives and in attracting these remnant populations into the colonial sphere because the fur trade depended upon the efforts of these hunters (Jennings 1966:406). By 1710, however, the frontier and trade were shifting to the Allegheny and the remnant natives, particularly those like the Conestoga, who had become the most acculturated were of little interest because they were too sedentary. In fact, their presence on the land created certain problems because previously they had been allowed de facto rights wherever they were settled (Becker 1981c). This was fine so long as they actually occupied only small areas and generally moved away from the spreading colonial population. Those Lenape who had taken up farming in the Forks presented a different problem. Were native Lenape speakers who had become agriculturalists, and nominal Christians as well, to be treated in the same ways as their foraging kin?

Hunter (1981) believes that a manor in Lehigh Township may have been established to protect what he calls "the chief Indian settlement in the Forks." Indian Tract Manor, established for the proprietors (Warrant December 31, 1733; Survey June 24, 1735) occupied the area between the west branch of the Delaware (the Lehigh) and Hocqueondocy Creek (Egle 1894:No. 29). The survey for it (Land Records 1735a) notes "Indian Cabbins" scattered throughout the area between the Lehigh River and Hockendauqua Creek (see Figure 1). All of the land at the rivers' junction is believed to have been the property of William Allen, and the relationship between his rights and the manor lands is not clear.

The establishment of this proprietary manor (Indian Tract) in the Forks and the "Walking

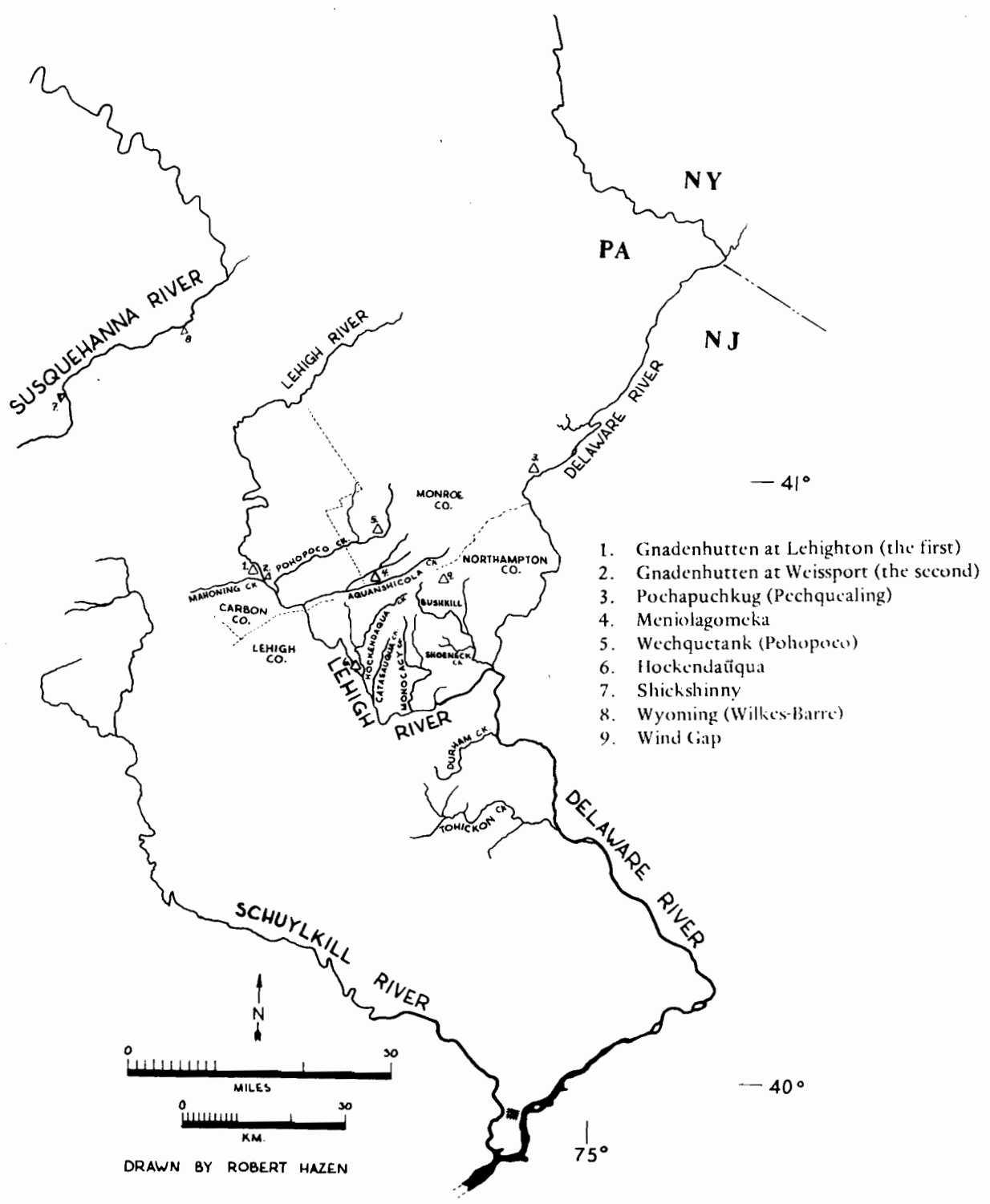


Figure 1.

Purchase" confirmation deed treaty may be related. The Lenape theoretically dislodged by the Walking Purchase could take up residence on manor land. By reserving a manor in the Forks the proprietors held for themselves a piece of ground which was ostensibly (according to one theory) to provide for such refugee Lenape.⁹

LENAPE IN THE FORKS AREA

The Land Records and other documents noted above demonstrate that by 1735 the population of Lenape, and possibly other displaced native peoples, in the Forks may have numbered 50 people. Yet despite the concern of Logan and others for the sale of land in this area, the actual native population seems small, with only two possible areas of occupation now identifiable. In 1737 the "walkers," who were engaged in establishing the boundary of lands claimed by the proprietary government, met "one called Captain Harrison, a noted Man among the Indians," at Pohopoco on the Lehigh. This undoubtedly was the Captain Harris noted above. Later depositions concerning the "Walking Purchase" mention the Indian villages of Hockendauqua and Pohopoco on the Lehigh River (Etting Collections I:95-98). These notes suggest that the area of the "Cabbins" located along Hockendauqua Creek was settled by Lenape and that the region took its name from the creek. In 1742, as the Walking Purchase arrangements were being made, Count Zinzendorf noted two "villages" in the area of the Forks, but both may have been formed after 1737 and both may have been little more than hamlets (Reichel 1870:23-28).

Two comparative notes should be offered. Lenape-Delaware on the western frontier seem to have been much more numerous than those at Lehigh at any time (Hazard 1852:I:301-302). The western Lenape appear to have been using traditional foraging plus fur trapping as an economic base, rather than agriculture. These groups were the main purveyors of furs to the Pennsylvania colony and very important parts of colonial society. Also, groups or clusters (towns) of Delaware in the west after the 1740s were named for a specific leader, a practice which became increasingly common into the Ohio and Indiana stages of Lenape history. This supersedes the use of the place-names and may reflect developing use of a formalized "leader" in native affairs.

The populations at the Forks of Delaware around 1735 were clustered in a few small areas and included very few people. The establishment of a forge at Durham and continuing colonial population growth made the entire area more valuable, and land cleared by the Lenape and their paths through the forest were resources of even greater value (Jennings 1966:407, 418-420).

In the period 1700 to 1720 colonial interest was directed toward the Susquehanna Valley because trade was a major concern and land speculation was a bonus. The great interval of time between the establishment of manors along the Susquehanna and the same activity at "Lechay" appears to reflect the lesser quality of the land to the north and a low level of trading activity. If we could secure more data on the licensing of traders after 1712 (see Jennings 1966:413) we might be able to determine if these activities were confined to the western areas only.

The complex sequence of events surrounding the Walking Purchase of 1737, printed in Hazard (1852:I:541-543), are extremely well described by Wallace (1949), with details clarified by Hunter (1974). The inclusion of the Forks area in the region confirmed as having been sold to the proprietary and subsequent events led most of the "Forks Indians," originally from the Jerseys, to move to Wyoming (Wilkes-Barre). Prior to 1737 Shawnee had been settled at Wyoming, and now the Six Nations were eager to settle their Delaware allies in this frontier area to act as a buffer between the expanding colonials and their own territory.

The continued use of the Forks after 1737 by Lenape, and the sale of lands in the Forks by the government, created some stressful situations. Some Jersey Lenape in the Forks, like Tatamy, were relatively acculturated and appear to have adopted agriculture. They had learned to use the land in much the same way as the colonials. William Penn had always protected native rights to land on which they were seated, but old Onas was 24 years dead. Although these Lenape had made many accommodations to the colonial government, the proprietary wanted the land and the money it would bring.

At the treaty (council) in Philadelphia held in July of 1742 representatives of the Six Nations and other native peoples were brought together to witness the extermination of all Lenape land claims. Many letters from Lenape petitioning Governor Thomas for rights to continue to occupy the land in the Forks are mentioned, but the governor tells the "ffork Indians" on July 9 to get off the land and says it in the most insulting fashion (Colonial Records IV:583-586). To indicate the petty nature of the native claims Thomas used one meagre "String of Wampum" to call for Six Nation enforcement of the government's order.

The next day (July 10) lavish gifts were given to the representatives of the Six Nations (Colonial Records IV:577-578). This was either one of the best recorded and most blatant political payoffs in Pennsylvania history or merely an appropriate contrast to the claims of the Lenape. By July 12, 1742 the oration of the head representative of the Six Nations, the Onondaga named Canassatego, was ready to be delivered. Canassatego accepted the "String of Wampum" offered by Governor Thomas and returned a string to verify his acceptance of the validity of the land purchases by the proprietors (Becker 1980b). At least he had the grace to give his "Cousins the Delaware" a belt of wampum when he delivered the famous speech claiming that the "Delaware" had been conquered by the Six Nations and made into women with no right to sell land. In addition to "upgrading" the Delaware petition by offering a belt of wampum, Canassatego's claim to the Lenape land, by right of conquest, provides a negation of the validity of the government purchases from the Lenape. That legal detail was lost within the rhetoric of the treaty, but could have created a bargaining wedge for the Six Nations to claim the land, if their power had not been in decline. The important point, however, is that except for recent immigrants from Jersey the Forks land appears to have been uninhabited for at least 50 years and probably longer.

Canassatego used the right of conquest as a basis for ordering the Forks Lenape to either "Wyomin or Shamokin" (Colonial Records IV:580). In addition, a string of wampum also was given to these Lenape with the warning that they were never again to meddle in land affairs. In fact, Hunter points out that Sassoonan, who received this directive, had been living at Shamokin since 1731. Sassoonan's group had last confirmed their previous land sales in 1732, and never lived in the Forks. Nutimus and his group had sold all of *their* land (or settled claims) in 1737 and probably had moved off soon after, perhaps moving into the Forks or beyond at that time. Thus Sassoonan had been living at Shamokin for 11 years when "ordered" there by Canassatego, and Nutimus may have been at Wyoming for several years when directed there by Canassatego. As Jennings (1981) pointed out, the myth of Lenape subordination to the Five Nations by right of conquest was formulated at this treaty in 1742, several years after the Lenape had already moved out. That the Lenape (now Delaware) were "guests" on lands claimed by conquest by the Five Nations, or on lands not historically known to be in their range, cannot be denied.

Thus by 1742 none of the intact Lenape bands occupied any of the area which had been their homeland for hundreds of years. This situation was reflected in the treaty with the listing of the 2 Lenape-Delaware groups in attendance as the last 2 of the 10 native American groups participating (Colonial Records IV:583-586). The "DELAWARES, of Shamokin" are placed ninth, and are represented by two "chiefs" and four other members. The Delawares "from the Forks" are represented by four named individuals, none of whom are designated as chiefs, "& several Others." This appears to reflect the low regard held for them, since they had sold all their traditional lands and now were reduced to the status of dependents (in a residential sense) of the Six Nations.

What appears significant is that all these Delaware in the Forks were Jersey Lenape (Becker 1981b; Goddard 1978:236). Although they had no hereditary rights to these lands, expulsion obviously was traumatic to all the residents.

On November 20, 1742 a petition which Governor Thomas "had lately received from Titami, Captⁿ. John, and sundry other Delaware Indians," was presented to the board. The petitioners claimed to have "embraced the Christian Religion . . ." and wished to have allotted to them a place to live under the same laws as the English (Colonial Records IV:624). The political problems of leaving any Delaware in this area were evident and the colonials wanted all of them removed. These

petitioners, having sold their land rights as Indians, were making a major effort to play the game according to the rules of the colonial government. Tatamy held a patent (1738) for 120 hectares in the eastern part of the Forks area, secured by all the proper laws of the colony (Hunter 1974: 73-74). Captain John (Becker 1983b) lived at Welagamika (present Nazareth), only a short distance from Tatamy's holding. Neither Captain John nor any of the other petitioners held formal title to lands in the Forks.

The council decreed that Tatamy and Captain John, with their immediate families, could remain in the Forks if they could secure permission to stay from the Six Nations. Although Captain John was allowed to stay in the Forks he was ordered to leave Welagamika (Colonial Records IV:625), which was in an area purchased the year before by the Moravians. Captain John refused to leave and late in 1742 the Moravians bought his claims. He then retired to lands along Bushkill Creek where he died in 1747 (Hunter 1981:5).

The petitioners' claim to have become Christians may have been overstated, but the Forks soon became a mission field, cultivated by both the Moravians and the Presbyterian David Brainerd. Brainerd had spent a year at Kaunaameek, about 34 km (24 miles) east of Albany, but was instructed to relocate in the Forks of Delaware. On his way south he stopped (April 6, 1744) at "Miunissinks," which he estimated to be 235 km (140 miles) from Kaunaameek "and directly in my way to Delaware river." After being rebuffed in his missionary activities at Minisink, Brainerd continued south on his "Journey toward Delaware. And May 13th, I arrived at a place called by the Indians *Sakhawotung*, within the Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania" (Dwight 1822:175). His congregation here was never larger than 40 people, suggesting a small regional settlement but also demonstrating that Lenape continued to inhabit the Forks. In July Brainerd noted a place he calls "*Kauksesauchung*, more than thirty miles [50 km] westward from the place where I usually preach" (Dwight 1822:176). *Kauksesauchung* probably lay on the fringe of, or just outside the area of the Forks. There Brainerd found about 30 people who were originally from the Susquehanna region, and who soon afterwards returned there. On a subsequent visit to the people along the Susquehanna, Brainerd visited *Opeholhauping* (now Wapwallopin), a community of 12 houses and 70 people who appear to have been Lenape, but whether from the Forks or from southeastern Pennsylvania has not been determined.

Writing to the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton on November 5, 1744, Brainerd described his "congregation" at *Sakhawotung*: "The number of Indians in this place is but small; most of those that formerly belonged here, are dispersed, and removed to places farther back in the country. There are not more than ten houses hereabouts, that continue to be inhabited; and some of these are several miles distant from others, which makes it difficult for the Indians to meet together so frequently as could be desired" (Dwight 1822:175). This description seems to reflect traditional Lenape settlement patterns and not a departure of the Lenape in accordance with the governor's 1742 ruling. The populations in the Forks never grew very large nor did these people cluster. Quite probably the council's order had little effect on the actual population in the Forks. *Sakhawotung* cannot be placed definitely, though one is tempted to associate it with Oughoughton Creek, east of Martins Creek, and with the unnamed village where Zinzendorf had spent a night two years previously.

Moses (Tunda) Tatamy continued to occupy land in the Forks (Dwight 1822:210). His life has been well documented by Hunter (1974), and his family became both Christian and "white" during the next half century. Hunter's clear presentation of this process serves as a model for future studies concerning the merger of Native Americans into the American mainstream.

Whether or not Tatamy's tract was used by more than a single family remains uncertain. Welagamika clearly supported a community of Lenape, as indicated by later Moravian records which identify some of the residents there when the Moravians arrived. Among these occupants was the family known to white settlers as the Evanses, who were all related to Teedyuscung.¹⁰ All of these adults during these years around 1740 appear to have been born in New Jersey and recently moved into the Forks area.

The nearby Munsee, despite status reduction and colonial pressures after 1670, and despite distant activities such as participation with the Mahican in raids into Virginia after 1680 (Brasser 1978:204-205), rarely appear in the Forks. Most of the Munsee affiliated with the Mahican, but some became coresident with Lenape on the upper reaches of the Susquehanna and in more westerly settlements (Deardorff 1946:5-6).¹¹ Those Munsee who became conjoined with Lenape gradually lost most of their distinct identity, but their separateness continued to be recognized among Oklahoma Lenape into the 1900s (I. Goddard, personal communication).

By 1758 most traditional Lenape had left Pennsylvania, but some were still resident in the western part of the state. The flow was steadily westward and the wars of 1755-1763 probably forced many Lenape to make new decisions. By 1760 most of the Lenape had moved out of the Forks or become "white." The last native community in the Forks was at Nain (1757-1763), situated about 3 km north of Bethlehem. This actually was a Moravian mission colony and all but a few of the residents were converts (Hunter 1981). The records indicate that they were partly Munsee and partly Mahican (Brasser 1978:208), and some may have been Lenape.¹² If there were other Lenape (now Delaware) in the Forks area they must have been acculturated remnants.

The wars after 1755 also influenced Lenape living far from the frontier (Becker 1983a). In New Jersey the ability of Europeans to buy land directly from native residents had created complex situations distinct from those involving land sales in Pennsylvania (Hunter 1978:25-26). These New Jersey purchases created numerous disputes, which were brought to a climax after the outbreak of hostility on the frontier. In 1758 Lenape claims were settled by establishing a native reserve (the Brotherton Tract) 42 km southeast of Philadelphia for remnant members of the Jersey bands. These acculturated residents, like many of their Lenape-speaking brothers, later ignored Newcomer's attempt (1765) to attract Lenape to join their kin living on the Muskingum River in Ohio.

CULTURAL MERGING

By the period of the American Revolution most of the Pennsylvania Lenape were living beyond the frontier (Weslager 1978:31-32). The importance of the Lenape and other native peoples in times of conflict can always be seen in these treaties. The Lenape who attended the treaty (meeting) at Easton in 1777 came from Wyoming or beyond, although some individuals may have been resident closer to the meeting site.¹³ No documents indicate that any traditional Lenape were living in or near the Forks. A few remnant individuals continued to live among the colonials (Becker 1983a) but in the area of the Forks the remaining Lenape must have been farming or following trades that masked their native origins. Most of the Lenape remaining in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey were strongly acculturated by 1780 and their identity can only be inferred in most cases.

In New Jersey many individuals from the remnant Lenape bands had gathered on the Brotherton Tract, but other Lenape settlements continued to function. All of these clusters were in decline, leading to the sale in 1802 of the New Jersey reserve, after which the few remaining residents moved north. As in Pennsylvania, those who remained were not numerous but were rapidly blending into the European or African populations. Being Indian became anathema and for two centuries the heritage, of which one should be proud, was hidden.

The problems of identifying the territorial ranges of the Lenape and the Munsee before 1740 are enormous. In general, the Munsee appear to have lived in northwestern New Jersey, above the Raritan River and along the upper Delaware. The Lenape occupied the lower Delaware River valley, but divided by the river into two linguistic units (Goddard 1978), which were socially distinct.

The Lenape population probably never exceeded 2500 although it actually may have increased after contact. The interdependence on colonial farmers provided new sources of food. Colonial land clearing also opened large areas to brush, which provided better forage for deer. If the deer population increased the Lenape population may have increased. Regardless of these early possible responses to contact, we can demonstrate the accelerated aggregation of Lenape bands, or band clusters, after 1700. This coalescence, however, appears to be indicated only through the colonial

records reflecting interaction with the larger bands. The Okehocking band (Becker 1976), resident so close to the Brandywine band, is never mentioned in official records beyond those few documents referring to the unusual grant of land (by title) made to them. How many such small bands existed we may never know.

What we do know is that references to the Forks area are few, and the Lenape do not appear to have occupied it in early historic times. Although Oppemenyhook is noted as having been "at the Forks" the references to him are distinct in form from those which speak of the "Schuylkill Indians" or the "Indians on Brandywine." In 1737 mention is made of three "Kings of the Northern Indians," as signatories of a Penn purchase made in 1686 (Hazard 1852:1:541-543). These are Mayhkeerickkishosho, Sayhopy, and Taughhaughsey. This would place these three at the northern range of Lenape territory, but after their sale of land we have no evidence that they moved into the Forks.

Since most of the Lenape documented as living in the Forks (all after 1730) seem to have come from New Jersey, and many had moved on to the west even before 1742, one might suggest that the area was not generally inhabited prior to 1700. No tradition of occupation seems to have held these people even at Nain, where the Mahican and others sought temporary refuge.

These data have numerous implications for archaeology. First, the demonstration of cultural continuities among the conservative members of various cultures should be reflected in certain aspects of ritual behavior (e.g., house form, layout of ritual structures, mortuary programs). Although elements of material culture (tools, clothing, ornaments) may change rapidly to reflect European technology the basic value system and the ways in which these components are treated are slow to change. Thus we should be able to identify the archaeological analogues to the ethnographic data.

Using the evidence for differences between the Munsee and the Lenape we should be able to "upstream" these cultural traditions and predict that the archaeological record of the Late Woodland period is likely to be as distinct as that for which we have evidence during the period after contact. The research of D. Griffith (1980) along the southern margin of Lenape territory has documented the archaeological evidence for a buffer zone. We assume that historic evidence comparable to that presented in this paper could be located to parallel the excavation data for that area, and vice versa.

The differences noted earlier plus the separation between the Lenape and Munsee (and perhaps between the Lenapean bands on either side of the Delaware River) lead us to predict reflections in the archaeological findings. Furthermore, if the Forks area, north of the Lehigh River, was a buffer zone then the archaeological evidence during the Late Woodland period should be scarce. We would expect that period to be represented by the intermittent encampments of foragers, perhaps only hunting stations of the Lenape and the Munsee prior to 1550 A.D. The densities should decline with distance from their respective core areas. After 1550, Susquehannock stations geared toward trapping should become the dominant archaeological assemblage. By 1700 native technology had become nearly completely superseded by colonial made goods. Lenape-Delaware sites of the eighteenth century may be distinguishable from others on the basis of structure form and artifact inventories.

CONCLUSION

Historic documents provide evidence suggesting that the area of the "Forks of Delaware" may have been a buffer zone between the Lenape and the Munsee prior to the contact period. More significantly, previous assumptions regarding the potential for applying upper Delawaran data to the Lenape area must be reconsidered. The Lenape cultural traditions not only differ from those of the Munsee but maintain cultural integrity throughout this period, and into the twentieth century. Despite early changes in material system culture and later alterations in subsistence economy the Lenape appear to have held their basic system intact. This suggests that the data from later periods

in many cases is an adequate reflection of Lenape culture as it was at the time of contact.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century until nearly 1740 the Lenape consistently and effectively defended themselves against their militarily powerful neighbors to the north and west and against the inexorable march of European colonists. For 140 years the Lenape deferred the inevitable changes in their culture in the area in which they called home prior to the arrival of Columbus. Only now are we beginning to recognize the vague boundaries of their homeland and to know more about a style of life gone for over 200 years.

END NOTES

1. Lindeström (1925:156-157) clearly locates "Sanckikans" below the falls of the Delaware, which he called "Asinpinck Fall." The band living in that area is also called Sankikans, Santhickan, or some variation of this locative. While trading at Fort Nassau on January 5, 1633 with a band of Mantes, David De Vries was warned by a woman of Sankitans that the Mantes planned to attack. The Mantes came from the Red Hook (now Mantua Creek) area of New Jersey, only 2 km (1/2 league) south of Fort Nassau. Grumet (1979:61, 193) suggests that the Sanhican were Munsee.

The southern boundary of the Lenape may have been just south of the Christina River (Griffith 1980:37-40). Others would place it far to the south in Delaware, below Indian River (Dunlap 1954; Dunlap and Weslager 1958). These data also may be used to determine how these bands began to amalgamate into what became known as the "Delaware." If the Lenape bands in the State of Delaware extended as far south as Indian River then those people appear to be among the first to have left their homelands, or coalesced. Possibly they moved up the Susquehanna even before 1690, or moved into Conoy (Piscataway) territory quite early. However, the entire area of central Delaware may have been a buffer zone sporadically inhabited by members of several cultures, a point which Griffith (1980) suggests for the Late Woodland period.

2. James Letort, the son of famous traders (Benson 1961), became active in 1697 and continued as a trader and translator for many years. He probably became approved to trade on the Susquehanna according to the Treaty of April 23, 1701. During the frontier difficulties of the 1720s his services became extremely important. In 1728 Letort and John Scull were sent to Chenasstry (somewhere on the upper Susquehanna) to give gifts to Alamachpee (Alumapees?), M. Montour, and Manawhyhickon, but probably to reconnoiter the region. On April 18, 1728 the council then held at Philadelphia noted that "James Letort, an Indian Trader, was lately come to town from Chenasstry or the upper parts of the River Susquehannah, to acquaint this Government with a matter he had been informed of by Mistress Montour, who had married the Indian called Robert Hunter, & was here with her said husband last summer in company with those of the Five Nations who had visited us then . . ." (Colonial Records II:295). Letort planned to travel to the west end of Lake Erie, ostensibly to trade with the Miamis (Twechtweys). Mistress Montour, wife of Carondowana, had a sister who had married a Miami (Colonial Records III:274). On May 12, 1728, Letort sent a letter, dated at Catawasse (Cattawissy Creek enters the northeastern branch of the Susquehanna, on the south side, 30 km from the Forks of the Susquehanna and about 33 km from Shamokin-Sunbury) to Governor Patrick Gordon (Hazard 1852:I:216). Letort clearly was involved in trying to settle the growing conflicts with Indians along the frontier. Carundowana and his wife are involved with Shikellamy (Hazard 1852:I:227-232), who was known for his military activities. James Letort was still translating in 1730 (Hazard 1852:I:255) and was even a witness to the Confirmation Treaty of 1737 (Hanna 1911:I:161-168). His biography would provide insights into the early history of Pennsylvania.

3. Lasse Cock's name and his own mark appear on the first deed transferring Lenape land to William Penn, July 15, 1682. The deed of August 1, 1682, is written, or at least signed, "att ye house of Capt. Lasse Cock," and he set his mark to nearly every succeeding deed in this series, including that of July 30, 1685, transferring all of the land to the northwest of Philadelphia to William Penn (Hazard 1852:I:48-49, 62-64, 67, 92-93, 95). Quite often his name was written in an anglicized version such as "Laurence Cox" (Becker 1982a:229).

4. Steelman's name appears in many variations, including Tilghman, and also Jno. Hans Stellman, as on the Treaty of April 23, 1701, with the Indians on the Susquehanna.

5. At the Treaty of Conestoga in 1705 Logan went to welcome the Conoy and to make efforts to keep Steelman out of the local trade (Jennings 1966:411-412). Logan's report (Hazard 1852:II:244-246) of June 6, 1706 indicates that James Letort was operating as an agent for the proprietors, but also reveals that Logan saw trade as only one aspect of his development plans for this area. Jennings (1966:411, from Letort 1704) suggests that Philadelphia gained entry into the lucrative fur trade through the efforts of two Shawnee. The residence or base of operations for these two is unknown, but might indicate where furs were being traded. Peter Bezalion made note of the Shawnee at

Conestoga and at Pechoqueling on May 18, 1704 (Colonial Records II:145), suggesting that the Five Nations were interested in controlling these people and the trade.

6. The location of Tatamy's Tract is known precisely, being on Bushkill Creek near present Stockertown. Bushkill Creek was also called Tatamy's Creek, as well as Lehicton Creek (Condit 1885:14). Condit notes that Tatamy lived about 2 km from John Lefebvre. Wallace (1949:20) thought that the Tatamy family had come to the Forks from the Munsee country, perhaps mistaking the Forks for an area claimed by the Lenape. The "political" affiliation (cultural relations) of the New Jersey Lenape remains unclear, but I presume that it was with the Pennsylvania Lenape and not at all with the Munsee. The Indian Path noted by Condit (1885:16) as being in this area may have dated from before the period of intensive use. This region must have been hunted over for furs long before 1650.

7. Moravian Archives 1770, Folder 1, Item 3 (1749). These Moravian data note that in 1749 Tammekapi's older brother, who would have been over 77 years of age, still lived at Cranbury, with various other relatives scattered across the entire area. Tammekapi had been a witness to the 1737 Walking Purchase (Hazard 1852:I:543) and attended an Indian treaty in Philadelphia in 1742.

8. Wallace (1949:20) presents these data in detail, citing as his reference the H.S.P. Board of Trade Papers: Proprieties XXI-1, 179, which is a copy of the Treaty of 1734. A less accurate source noted by Wallace is in the Johnson Papers III:779, containing testimony given by Teedyuscung in 1760.

9. A number of other manors have surveys which include information about a resident native population, but these data suggest that these manors were land development schemes rather than attempts to aid these people. Native use of manor lands may have been incidental, resulting simply from a search for uncultivated areas. The survey of Indian Landing Manor (Egle 1894: No. 28), established in 1773 on the northeast branch of the Susquehanna, depicts Indian huts on the north side of the river directly opposite where Oswego Creek comes in from the south. In 1766 Nottingham Manor (Egle 1894: No. 43) has an Indian path noted. Stoke Manor (Egle 1894: No. 66) dates from 1768 and has an Old Nanticoke Town listed as well as "Wioming." An old Shawnee Town appears on the 1768 Sunbury Manor survey (Egle 1894: No. 67). One "Indian Cabbin" is in the northwest corner of the Pine Grove Manor, surveyed in 1733 (Egle 1894: No. 46). In 1732 Paxtang Manor was surveyed in Lancaster County to William Penn (Egle 1894: No. 44). Although no mention is made of natives on this survey, a Delaware aggregation is thought to have been living there for years. Except for a consultation with "an Indian" for the Lechawaxsin Manor (1751) no other references to the native population derive from any of the known manor surveys.

10. Assuming that these Lenape continued to use matrilineal descent to reckon kinship, then full siblings and half siblings via the same mother would be terminologically identified in Lenape as "brother." Matrilateral parallel cousins (a man's mother's sister's sons) also would be addressed by the same term as a "brother." Thus, the Lenape terms of address would not make a distinction between those people called in English "brother" and (male matrilateral) "cousin." Without a precise genealogy the exact relationships are difficult to determine, but a correlation of all possible kin of a family and terms used to identify individuals might permit exact genealogical lines (European style) to be drawn (Becker 1983b).

11. Isaac Still, whose name appears as "Hill" in the published account of a 1756 journey to the upper Susquehanna settlements, was a "Jersey Delaware" from "Cranberry" (New Jersey 1756; also Hunter 1954:63). A later journey made in 1760 by these two "Christian" Delaware back to Aghsinsing (Asinsing) and beyond to Canisteo (or Secaughcung) was led by Teedyuscung. The 1760 expedition had been sent by the provincial government and John Hays' journal of this trip (Hazard 1852:III:735-741; Hunter 1954) provides valuable information regarding the route and the people met along the way. The integrity of the various cultures encountered reflects their ability to maintain traditions despite territorial dislocation. The records of both trips also provide direct evidence for the differences between the Lenape and Munsee languages.

12. The Nain diaries are found in two Moravian sources. Most are part of the Indian Mission Records (the Moravian Indian Mission Records, Box 125; Includes diaries for 1758-1765). Some of the relevant diaries antedating these are the monthly *Diarium des Indianer-Gemeinleins* in Bethlehem, which are attached to the Bethlehem Diary. These related pieces begin with the segment for March 1756 and continue through to 1757. These record information about the Mission Indians who returned to Bethlehem after the Gnadenhütten massacre. The multiethnic composition of the Nain community reflects earlier Moravian Indian missions in the areas of the Hudson River and the Connecticut River valleys. When these missions closed, the converts moved to the newer area, and to the Gnadenhütten mission in particular (Moravian Archives 1750). An invitation to these people by the Six Nations to settle at Wyoming attracted some Mahicans who took up residence there under the "Delaware" leader Teedyuscung. Baptismal records show that the Delaware converts at that time were mixing with converts from the Wampanoag, Mahican, Hoogland, Sopus, and other cultures.

13. On January 30, 1777 in Philadelphia "An order was sent to Hayman Levy, to make up an assortment of articles fit for a Treaty with 70 Indians, (exclusive of women & children,) he accordingly pack'd up the following Goods . . . 9,600 White Wampum, 20,500 Black Wampum, 30 Moons & 30 Hair Pipes of Conk Shell, 6 Pair arm Bands, 12 Gordiots, 100 Broaches, 37 Pair Ear Bobs, all of Silver, which w'th 15 Camp Kettles, were this day forwarded to Cols. Bull & Dean, . . . at Easton" (Colonial Records 1852:XI:108-109; Kieffer 1902:23).

On March 8th Colonel John Bull and Colonel Dean were reimbursed over £273 for sundries bought by them for the Indian Treaty held at Easton (Colonial Records 1852:XI:142). Three days later Colonel Bull was paid over £44 "for Guard of Stores at Norrington, & Sundries supplied by Col. Butler at Wyoming, to the Indians returning from the treaty at Easton . . . (Colonial Records 1852:XI:143).

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