The Armewamus Band of New Jersey: Other Clues to Differences Between the Lenopi and Lenape

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THE ARMEWAMUS BAND OF NEW JERSEY: OTHER CLUES TO DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE LENOPi AND LENAPE

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ABSTRACT
During the Contact era, the Lenape and Lenopi occupied southeastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey respectively. The dozen or more bands of Lenape, all living west of the Delaware River in southeastern Pennsylvania, are rarely identified by band name in the colonial records. However, colonial documents often identify band names of the Lenopi, who lived just across the Delaware River from the Lenape in southern New Jersey. Lenopi band names derive from specific locations; for example, the people called Armewamus who lived at Armewomink, an area north of Big Timber Creek. Collating the evidence relating to this single band of Lenopi provides a basis for understanding their identity and for interpreting native sites in that area dating from the 17th century.

INTRODUCTION
Differentiation among the distinct aboriginal cultures of the Delaware Valley and Bay (Fig. 1) as they were during the Contact era has been of interest to scholars for more than 200 years. These peoples, the Lenape, Lenopi, “Munsee,” and the Sekonese (Ciconincin) had distinct histories prior to 1700, and remained four distinct peoples long after many of them left their homelands (Becker 1986). The separate identity of the Munsee of the upper Delaware Valley (Becker 1983) is evident from linguistic differences as well as a completely distinct history of colonial interactions. At least two observers on the post-1750 frontier, David Zeisberger (1910, also 2005) and John Heckewelder (1819), recognized the separate identities of the Munsee, Lenape, and Lenopi, but like some modern historians (e.g. Grumet 2008), they did not have an understanding of kinship systems or of anthropological concepts concerning cultural identities to enable them to narrate a clear picture of their insights. Historians and archaeologists alike have incorrectly used the collective English name “Delaware” for these people. In recent papers (e.g., Becker 2006a, 2010b), I have repeatedly tried to clarify the record by describing the unique backgrounds and lifeways of these distinct peoples, based largely on information contained in the Colonial records.

Recent identification of a 1661 document noting a specific individual visiting in Pennsylvania from one of the Lenopi bands led me to wonder why the bands from southern New Jersey are so commonly noted by name in these early records (cf. Hunter 1978), while the bands of the Lenape are rarely specified. My prior papers in this journal have discussed the Lenape, but this 1661 document focused attention on yet another difference between the two tribes living on opposite sides of the Delaware River.

THE LENOPi
The Lenopi people lived south of the Raritan River in the area now known as the state of New Jersey. The English colonists commonly referred to these people as “Jerseys,” but they referred to themselves as Lenopi (pronounced Leh-No-pee: Becker 2008b). Attempts made by researchers to identify the specific locations of various bands of Lenopi, as described in the documents, began many years ago (Weslager 1954; Dunlap and Weslager 1958). In an anthropologically based effort to delineate the cultural borders of the peoples of the Delaware River and Bay area I began by tracing individual natives and their families to demonstrate specific group affiliations (Becker 1976). More recently, review of the actual land sales made by native peoples on each side of the river has helped...
to delineate their territories (Becker 1998, also see Kent 1979). Review of deeds from a specific area enables us to trace the names of individuals within a specific band as well as to delineate the territory used by the group.

Figure 1. Map of the Lower Delaware River Valley and surrounding areas showing Contact era tribal names and territories (see Becker 2006a, 2010a, and 2010b for more information).

During the course of this research I recognized, as have many scholars before me, that the Lenape of the southeastern Pennsylvania region were distinct from the Lenopi, although they had a common origin in the Middle Woodland period, or prior to ca. 1000 CE (Becker 2010b). Both tribes
developed foraging strategies specific to the regions that they came to occupy during the Late Woodland period (ca. 1000-1740 CE). The Lenape centered their foraging strategy on the “harvesting” of eight species of anadromous fish in a region closely delineated by the spawning behavior of these species (Becker 2006a). In southern New Jersey, the Lenopi had access to these same fish, but only within a limited portion of their ecologically varied territory. The Atlantic shores provided a very different set of marine resources to the Lenopi, leading to a distinct and more varied economic strategy.

The earliest clues to the separate and distinct cultural identities of the Lenape and the Lenopi was the discovery of their very different rates of acculturation. Many Lenopi were identified by Christian names as early as the 1650s—as many as 75 years before any Lenape were identified by Christian names. Nelson (1899:505, 513, 639) offers three early examples of English names used by Indians in New Jersey, as they appear on deeds: “Master Thomas, Indian King” (10 July 1694), “Mahomecum alias King Charles” (11 April 1697), and “Awisham alias Capt. John” (16 June 1703). Another indication of the earlier acculturation of natives in southern New Jersey is revealed by the 1754 allotment of £4/3/4 “for taking care of an old Indian” in Deerfield Township of Cumberland County (Elmer 1869:7). The earliest subscription providing provision for a native woman in Pennsylvania took place nearly 50 years later (Becker 1990).

The documents reveal that the seven decades between 1660 and 1730 were a significant turning point for the native peoples in the Delaware Valley, as they were for the colonists. For the native peoples this period represented an era of major land sales and important adjustments to new foraging patterns. For colonists this period saw a major population expansion, largely through natural increase, and an expansion in the amount of land brought under cultivation—the economic basis for colonial success in this region.

The percentages of their members who migrated as compared with those who remained behind also varied between the Lenape and Lenopi. After the sales of their lands in the 1600s, most Lenopi simply withdrew to areas in their collective territory, such as swamps, that were less attractive or useful to colonial immigrants. Only one Lenopi is known to have left before 1733 (Becker 2010d), and most Lenopi never left their homeland. Conversely, some Lenape can be documented as leaving their homeland as early as 1660. During the pivotal years between 1730 and 1740 the traditionalist bands of Lenape that were still fishing in southeastern Pennsylvania decided to shift their residence areas to central and western Pennsylvania and to take up the foraging strategy that many of their kin had adopted as early as 1660 (Becker 2008a, 2010b).

The 1734 land sale made by a band of Lenopi living in the Toms River area of New Jersey preceded their relocation into a former buffer zone (shared resource area) in the forks of the Delaware River in Pennsylvania (Becker 1988). This collective decision by one band of Lenopi to relocate into an abandoned buffer zone reflects their awareness of the varied arrangements made by each of several other native cultures, such as the Susquehannock, Esopus, and Lenape, that had shared this resource area before 1733. Of note here is that the Toms River band, and the various other Lenopi groups known to have operated along the Atlantic shore, were not identified by band names in the early documents. Whether these Atlantic shore groups were separate bands or simply made up of southwestern New Jersey bands who also claimed and/or utilized territories bordering the Atlantic coastal area of New Jersey south of the Raritan River remains an unanswered question.

**Lenopi Bands**

Research on the Lenopi over the past four decades has enabled the reconstruction of native genealogies and the ability to trace specific kin groups through time and space. Examples include that of Teedyuscung (Wallace 1949; Becker 1992, 2004a), Mehoxy of the Cohansey area band (Becker 1998), and Mahamickwon from north of Big Timber Creek (Becker 2010e). Through these studies cultures and cultural borders can then be depicted with greater clarity, enabling the recognition not only of the cultural affiliation of individual Lenopi during the colonial period, but also their specific band affiliation at specific points in time (Becker 2008b). For example, recognition of Teedyuscung’s membership in the Toms River band of Lenopi (Becker 1987, 1992) and the construction of his genealogy provide the basis for understanding the activities of that
specific band during the period of their residence in Pennsylvania, after 1733-1734, with greater precision.

A study of Mehoxy of the band of Lenopi (Becker 1998) resident in the Cohansy Creek region documents how this specific Lenopi interacted in unusual ways with his kin throughout much of the region that formed this tribal area. Now we note that all of Mehoxy's land sales interactions involved efforts on behalf of his kin who lived (foraged) in areas south of Big Timber Creek (Fig. 1). Why this was the case has only recently been revealed (Becker 2010e). Many of the deeds relating to the Lenopi bands living north of Big Timber Creek and up towards the Rancocus Creek drainage have now been identified and reviewed. Some of these documents provide significant evidence relevant to why Mehoxy's interactions did not extend north of Big Timber Creek. The presence of a sachem named Mahamickwon operating in the Rancocus River drainage suggests that a separate extended family band foraged in that area. The band operating between the range of these two sachems may have been the one called the Armewamus (discussed later in this report).

Lenopi Visitors to Pennsylvania

Somewhat related to the migration of the Toms River band into Pennsylvania are the activities of several Lenopi who visited colonists, but not Indians, on the western side of the Delaware. Several colonial records from the South (Delaware) River prior to 1730 include a number of accounts in which a single "Jersey" (Lenopi), or more rarely two or three, crossed from their home territory in southern New Jersey to visit the western shore, for various reasons. Some of these trips were to conduct fraudulent or specious land sales (see Becker 1998), but no specific reason is known for most crossings. These visits often are revealed by documents on which a Lenopi made his mark as witness to a land sale or other legal instrument, with the scribe adding the individual's name near or around the mark. Native women's marks (signatures) appear infrequently as grantors on land sales, and are completely unknown as witnesses to land sale agreements. Colonial women are likewise unknown as witnesses to legal documents. In most cases the names of natives witnessing these documents are easily read, but tribal or band affiliations are not specified. On some documents, such as minutes of meetings, we find that an individual's name is not noted, but his tribe or band affiliation is given.

A Murder Mystery in 1661

As Dutch hegemony in the area from the North (Hudson) River down to the South River was eroding during the years 1660 and 1661, a climate of violence emerged throughout the region (Becker 2008a). Attacks against the Dutch settlements on the North River threatened the territorial rights of these colonists, if not the existence of several Dutch hamlets. Natives used the precarious Dutch position to negotiate higher prices for peltry, carrying the mail, and other services. This period is best characterized by sporadic killings of colonists, which heightened tension when natives were the perpetrators or even were suspected of the deeds.

Although the death in 1660 of Jacob Alrichs, Director at Fort Altena (old Fortress Christina), was by natural causes, his passing was a factor in heightening regional tensions. Alrichs was replaced by the choleric Alexander d'Hinojossa. Native groups in the territory remaining under Dutch influence took advantage of the difficulties among the colonials; and the appointment of a new and rather unpleasant Dutch leader on the South River may have emboldened local Indians.

Early in 1661 the murder of four colonials traveling south from Fort Altena (Wilmington) raised concern among the Dutch and English. The victims were a Dutchman and three Englishmen from Maryland and the killers were thought to be Lenape. At that time the Maryland colony was pressing Dutch interests from the south, just as various English groups in New England were impinging on Dutch interests along the Fresh (Connecticut) and North (Hudson) Rivers.

Details relating to these murders attracted much attention because the Dutch feared that the Marylanders would use the event as an excuse to invade Lenape territory and to threaten Dutch control. The matter was never resolved (see Becker 2008a) but the Dutch were particularly eager to maintain "normal" relations, including trade, with the Marylanders during this stressful period. By the end of September of 1661, d'Hinojossa sent out a request to the Lenape bands then still at their warm weather fishing station at Passajongh (the present Passyunk area in southeastern Philadelphia)
and elsewhere along the western side of the Delaware River. The Lenape were avoiding the Dutch at that time as a result of being accused of the murders. The new Governor wished to have some natives come to Fort Altena (Wilmington, Delaware) to serve in their usual capacities as mail carriers, guides, and diplomatic representatives. At least one native was needed immediately as a guide for an overland expedition to meet with Governor Calvert of Maryland.

"Jacob", from the Armewamus Band, Joins the Expedition

The following paragraph describes the 1661 expedition, which included both Swedish and Dutch magistrates from the South River described in the English documents as members of a “Committee” representing a Dutch peace delegation sent to the present Appoquenemink Creek (Fernow 1877, XII:356). These delegates had been summoned by d’Hinojossa.

“When the aforesaid magistrates arrived [at Fort Altena], Mr. d’Hinojosse invited the Indian chiefs at Passajongh and elsewhere [on the west side of the river] to come down; however, only one [native] appeared and he lives on the east side of this river. He and d’Hinojosse conducted the magistrates on 27 September to Apoquenemigh, where there is another stream which empties into the English river. Here they met Governor Calvert who made peace with the aforesaid chief and made merry with d’Hinojosse... [and the English will transport] 2 or 3000 hogsheads of tobacco to our stream or Apoquenenimingh” (26 Oct. 1661; from Gehring 1981:243; see also Linn and Egle 1890, VII:714).

The deaths of the four colonists some months earlier had made the Lenape reluctant to go among the Dutch, but a single native from among the Lenopi on the eastern side of the Delaware had crossed the river (for reasons unknown) and was available to join the Dutch on this trip. This lone Lenopi is identified as “Jacob” in only one known document (Gehring 1981:320-321). Hudde states that this native came from the band resident, in 1661, at Armewomink (Linn and Egle 1890, VII:747). As yet no related information recording this 1661 meeting in Maryland or to the Lenopi identified as Jacob has been found in the Maryland Archives or other collections of documents. A specific New Jersey band name, or the location of native bands situated far from Maryland, was unlikely to be noted. For us, identifying the location of Armewomink and the various members of that band, with their individual stories, provides a focus from which we can explore a number of questions relating to band structure among the Lenopi.

The identification of specific individuals among the Armewamus band, or the names of the people resident at Armewomink, will require a detailed exploration of land sale and other documents. In an early note on the group called Armewamus, Brinton (1885:41-42) correctly observed that the spelling of the name “Eriwoneck” comes from Robert Evelyn, ca. 1635, and is reported in this way by Smith (1857). The “Eriwoneck” spelling is limited to the Evelyn listing. Brinton (1885:41-42) uses Evelyn to identify the “Eriwoneck” as one of nine groups, and as having 40 men. Brinton lists only the groups in New Jersey, and provides no map. Brinton also makes note of a contribution, apparently not his own, that he lists as appearing on pages 75-76 in Volume I (second series) of the “American Historical Magazine”; this is the name that Brinton (1885:41-42) used to identify The Historical Magazine. I secured a copy of this 1857 publication and found no such reference. Brinton also equated the “Eriwoneck” with the “Ermomex” who appear on the Van der Donck map (see Van der Donck 1656). Van Gastel (1990) also offers a clue to the “group” being identified as the Armewamus. Hodge (1910:1028) equated the “Arnewamen, Armewamus = Eriwonec” but provides no references to sources for these spellings. Hodges offers these two variations in “Armewamus” that both differ from the four later provided by Goddard (see below).

Armewomink

The early maps and land sale documents indicate that the Armewamus were but one of the several Lenopi bands resident along the Delaware River north of Big Timber Creek (Fig. 1). The lands immediately north of Big Timber Creek were occupied by the band identified as the Armewamus (also Armewonek, variously spelled), and that the area or some location within it was
identified as "armewomink" (variously spelled) as early as the 1633. This Algonquian locative (native term ending in ink or unk, depending on the language) refers to the area in southwestern New Jersey around and/or to the north of Big Timber Creek.

The Adrien van der Donck map of 1656, which has been copied for the New York Historical Society, lists a stream identified as "Armewomek" that appears to be Big Timber Creek. The same map, which is certainly derivative, places the "Armewamex" in the area that appears to be the location of present Big Timber Creek and the position generally used for this native group. Van der Donck, however, placed a second and separate group, identified as "Ermomex," directly to the northeast of that stream and approximately in the center of southern New Jersey. Clearly Van der Donck had used multiple sources and, using two different spellings, made two groups out of one. Van der Donck noted that the Armewamus band included the drainages of Big and Little Timber Creeks, and included modern Newton Creek. Weslager's (1954:1) examination of five early appearances of some variant in the name "Eriwoneck" curiously omitted the De Vries reference from 1633 and ignored the 1638 and 1648 documents. Similarly only four appearances of the term "Armewamex" or some variant are noted by Goddard (1978:238), who similarly ignores these three appearances of the name and ignores the names of the individual members where they appear. The four appearances noted by Goddard are as follow: 1) Armeomecks (1625); De Laet (1909:53); 2) Arnewamex (1629); Dunlap and Weslager (1958); 3) Ermomex (1630); De Laet (1909:52); 4) Armewamus (1663): O'Callaghan [see Fernow 1877], (XII: 430).

While each of these many previous forays into band identities may have been less than complete, they served the limited purposes of their authors. The more complete listing of appearances of the name and location of the Armewamus band assembled here would not be as significant without the inclusion of data from the land sales and other documents, and the new concerns with identifying individual members of the many Lenopi bands.

The specific location of the territory of the Armewamus is included among the data contained in land sales. Their sale of 10 Sept. 1677 describes the band's territory, or that portion that they then sold, as along and to the north of Big Timber Creek (Fig. 1). This agrees with de Laet's 1625 compilation of data on the New World (in De Laet 1841), which he never visited. As a patroon (founder) and later director of the Dutch West India Company, he was well informed about many matters, but his listing of native groups relied on sources of varied accuracy. De Laet's placements for the "various nations of savages" include a number of errors including equating bands with tribes, but some of the information appears accurate. In the narration of names and locations along the South (Delaware) River he notes that "higher up are the Naraticongy, Mantaesy, Armevvamexy, all of whom in the order of which we have mentioned them, inhabit the right [here meaning the eastern] bank and are situated near the smaller streams that empty into the larger river" (De Laet [1625] 1841:315). As R. Alan Mounier (personal communication 2010) notes, the modern convention identifies the right and left banks of a river when facing downstream. The territories and many members of the first two of these groups, all variously spelled, are easily identified from later documents (Becker 1998).

The importance of at least one native group resident around Big Timber Creek may be indicated by the placement of the Dutch Fort Nassau, ca. 1623, in the area of the mouth of this river (Myers 1912:18, n3). The possibility should be considered that the fort was located at the juncture of the territories of two native bands (but, see Becker 2000). Surprisingly, documents relating to this Dutch outpost rarely note the natives of southern New Jersey.

In 1633 De Vries noted aspects of the trade between the Dutch at Fort Nassau, on the South River, and members of the Mantes (band) who lived nearby (south of the Armewamus). On 7 January 1633 De Vries (1912:20) specifically noted the presence at Fort Nassau of a native named Zee Pentor whom he describes as a sakima (elder) of the "Armewamminge" (cf. Arnewomink). The name Zee Pentor is not known to appear in any later document. Elders, or speakers, representing a specific band or group of bands of Lenopi might be expected to have been 50 or more years of age when they attained that status. The Lenopi name transcribed by the Dutch as "Zee Pentor" could be expected to appear transcribed as "Seapentor" in English documents, had he lived. Most likely it would have
appeared among the many land sale records known from after 1664 but its absence from known documents suggests that Zee Pentor may have died long before the period of English suzerainty.

In summary, most modern writers place the Armewamex (Armewomink) in the area of Big Timber Creek. Weslager (1972:100) stipulates a location near Newton Creek, which lies immediately to the north of Big Timber Creek, but his specificity is not documented and reflects unusual literary license. Whether the territory of this group extended up as far as Mecheckesiou (variously spelled), a location generally associated with the Falls at Trenton, is not yet known (see Becker 1998, 2008b).

The Armewamus as Fraudulent Land Vendors

Donald Kent (1979:471), in his important collation of native treaties and documents from "Pennsylvania," includes two important texts relating to the "Ermewormahi" (Armewamus), but he recognized their area of residence in the 1630s only as western New Jersey. Kent notes an important 1638 reference to the "Ermewormahi" band in a deposition made by four Swedes that speaks of land cessions. This document refers to a supposed land sale, but Kent treats it as representing a legal instrument of sale. The deposition may refer to one of the first of fraudulent sales made by Lenopi in territory to which they had no claim (Becker 2010c). Two pieces of evidence within this deposition provide indications of the fraudulence of the land transfer to which it refers. The first clue is the date of the deposition, 29 December 1638. The Lenape bands, exclusive residents on the western side of the Delaware River, would have left their fishing stations for winter hunting to the interior by December (Becker 2006a, cf. 2006b). This is indicated directly on colonial documents in which meetings are noted as having to be scheduled before the Lenape went on winter hunting, or indirectly by the dates on all valid land sales made to William Penn being in the summer or early fall months. Of course, this 1638 deposition may have referred to that period after 1623 when some Lenape bands had been dislodged by Susquehannock aggression, as noted in contemporary accounts. Regardless of the reason, the true Lenape owners were away when the "Ermewormahi," a Lenopi band, made a fraudulent sale. The second piece of evidence is the claim by these "Ermewormahi" vendors that they held rights to land on both sides of the river.

Five natives are named as vendors in the deposition of 29 December 1638 and they are said to have represented three different groups—none of which are Lenape. The deposition states that "Matthorn, Mitot Schemingh, Eru Packen, Mahamen, and Chiton, some being present [on behalf] of the Ermewormahi, the others in behalf of the Mante and Minqua nations" ceded land on both sides of the river. Tracing these names in other contexts enables us to determine which of these five individuals were Mante (Manta, the Lenopi band resident west-southwest of the Ermewormahi [Armewamus]) and which of these five were Minqua (Susquehannock). We know that "Matthorn" represented the Armewamus because at some time after 1648, at least ten years after the 1638 deposition and perhaps 15 years after the fraudulent sale, Amatthehoorn and seven other named sachems of "Armewenus" are said to have previously "sold" lands around or on the Schuykill (Kent 1979:16-17). This allegation also noted that Mattahorn was a "vendor" of other Lenape lands, those between Christina Kill and Bombay Hook, on 9 July 1651 (Kent 1979:18-21). This fraudulent sale of 9 July 1651 indicated that the land in question apparently belonged at least in part to the Lenape Peminacka and his kin.

The Fate of the Armewamus

The last known appearance of the Armewamus in the documents is in a letter written by A. Hudde at Altena (Wilmington) to Director Stuyvesant, written on 29 May 1663 (Fernow 1877, XII:430). Hudde related that an Indian had reported that the "Sinneces, 1600 men strong, with wives and children, were en route to attack the Minquas." After his signature on this letter Hudde added the following: "The bearer of this must have 1 blanket, 4 handfulls of powder and a stave of lead. These savages have requested me, that I would mention herein, that half of them have already been killed by the Sinneces; they are savages from Armewamus. I let them take care of the truth of it. I request also to inform Hendrick Huygen that Erwetongh will shortly come" (Fernow 1877, XII:430). The same English translation appears in Linn and Egle (1890:747, 1878, second series, VII:700-701).
In a subsequent letter (6 June) Hudde noted that the Minquas had repelled the Seneca attack. Still unknown is who the native named Erwehongh may have been, and from where he came, but he seems to have played an important role in the Second Esopus War (1663). Was he a member of the Armewamus band of Lenopi? The 1663 reference to this band, the last known from a contemporary document, was penned shortly before the period of major land sales by the Lenopi bands of southern New Jersey (Becker 1998). The location or band called Megeecksioow (variously spelled) also does not appear in any record after 1663 (Becker 2008a:33). In the early 1660s various Lenape families across the river, and possibly entire bands, began to shift their residences into the Susquehanna Valley to participate in the pelt trade. The Armewamus band of Lenopi probably shifted its residence zone around this time, and became known by a name reflecting their new area of activity. The Armewamus probably shifted to a different location along or near the Delaware River, perhaps further inland and away from the growing numbers of colonial farmsteads (Becker 2008a, 2009).

Weslager’s (1954:1) discussion of the locations of the “nine Indian communities situated in what is now New Jersey” was based on a letter by Robert Evelyn (1641), later printed by Sir Edmund Plowden (see Plantagenet 1648; cf. Schutt 2007:1-5). Weslager devotes ten paragraphs to the “Eriwoneck” band and without offering specifics regarding the borders of this area or insights into the band’s membership. Four years later Dunlap and Weslager (1958) reviewed native band names in the Delaware Valley that appear on a Dutch map of ca. 1629, the year in which the Dutch made a purchase of land from the Sekonese (Ciconicin) on Delaware Bay (see Kent 1979, Becker 2004b). Of note is the complete absence on that map of any information pertaining to the large area that was Sekonese territory, except for the Dutch name “Swanen Dael.” The focus of information they provided was on the region near the Falls of Delaware, in the general area where the Dutch had established an intermittent trading post in 1623.

CONCLUSIONS

The Armewamus (Armewomex, Armenveruis, etc.) band of Lenopi located in New Jersey was identified by name as early as 1625, only two years after the probable establishment of a Dutch outpost on the South (Delaware) River. Their territorial borders were indicated more than 50 years later, on a land sale of 10 Sept. 1677. This sale of most, if not all, of their lands indicates that they held the land along the northeastern side of Big Timber Creek. On the opposite side of Big Timber Creek was an equally large “Oldmans Creek band,” noted in a land sale of 27 Sept. 1677; now recognized as the Mante (Mantes) band that appears in earlier documents. Each of these bands appears to have had at least 30 adult members, and possibly as many as 60 individuals.

Lenopi bands may have been more visible than Lenape bands in the 17th-century because the absolute sizes of Lenopi bands appear larger. If so, their collecting or fishing stations may have been easily visible to European visitors. In the period ca. 1623 to ca. 1655, Susquehannock intruders on the western side of the Delaware River may have disrupted Lenape summer stations while passing through the region to trade pelts to the Dutch. Susquehannock intrusions may have led the Lenape to shift their fishing stations to less easily detected places, or to alter the dispersal of their individual wigwams to render them less detectable. Across the river the Lenape may have been less subject to attack by the Susquehannock because their band territories lay beyond the “overland” routes used by the Susquehannock to reach the Dutch.

The fate of the Lenopi of New Jersey was similar to that of most of the other native tribes in the region. The processes of change that led to their “disappearance” differ only in the percentages of their populations involved in the different possibilities. Many intermarried with the colonists during the earliest period of contact. Others in New Jersey moved to the interior where they soon lost their language and ethnic identity. Still others migrated to the north or west, to areas where the same processes of intermarriage, loss of language or identity, and out-migration were repeated. For the most part these people seem lost to history, but many of them are now being rediscovered in the old records. While archaeological evidence may one day add more clues to the lifestyles of these people, for the time being, the colonial records provide the best evidence for their daily lives.
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