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The Dutch and the Wiechquaeskeck: Shifting Allliances in the Seventeenth Century

Marshall Joseph Becker

DUTCH AND INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NORTHEASTERN NORTH AMERICA

What Archaeology, History, and Indigenous Oral Traditions Teach Us about Their Intercultural Relationships

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Abbreviations

ASG	Archive of the States-General (in *NA*).
DRCHNY	John Brodhead, Edmund O'Callaghan, and Berthold Fernow, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols. Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1853–83.
FOCM	Charles T. Gehring, trans. and ed., *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652–1660.* Syracuse, NY: New Netherland Document Series, vol. 16, part 2, 1990.
HNAI	Bruce Trigger, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15, *Northeast.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978.
JMOC	Charles T. Gehring and William A. Starna, trans. and ed., *A Journey into Mohawk and Oneida Country, 1634–1635: The Journal of Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1988.
NNN	John Franklin Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609–1664.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.
NYCM	New York Colonial Manuscripts (in NYSA).
NYHM	Arnold J. F. van Laer, trans. and ed., *Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1638–1642.* New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch, vol. 1. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974. Arnold J. F. van Laer, trans. and ed., *Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1642–1647.* New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch, vol. 2. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974.

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The Dutch and the Wiechquaeskeck

Shifting Alliances in the Seventeenth Century

Marshall Joseph Becker

Individual Dutch colonists often had extremely good relationships with nearby Native communities in the 1620s, especially with the Manhatan band of the Wiechquaeskeck tribe who continued to live on the island during parts of the year. After the massacre known as "Kieft's War," in 1642–43, the survivors of the Manhatan band, and others of the Wiechquaeskeck, relocated to the Raritan Valley and into the adjacent highlands of present-day New Jersey. Most of the other Wiechquaeskeck remained in their home territory (present-day Westchester County, New York and southwestern Connecticut) until the late 1700s. Over time, some Wiechquaeskeck, some Waping, and many Esopus of southeastern New Jersey also relocated into the Jersey "highlands," forming an amalgamated group called "Munsee." Other Wiechquaeskeck merged with colonists.

When Hendrick Hudson made his famous 1609 trip up the river that came to bear his name, the Indians living on Manhattan Island and along the next twenty miles on the eastern bank were members of the Wiechquaeskeck tribe (figure 6.1). The earliest history of the Dutch colony on Manhattan Island is little known, but after the Dutch West India Company formed in 1621 the extent of Dutch life and trading activities, from Maine down to the Delaware Bay, became better recorded. The many Native tribes

in this extensive region, and how each of them interacted with the traders and colonists from Holland and England, are only now being worked out.

The early European arrivals in this region carried important commodities valued by all of the Native populations. Woolen cloth was the most important of the high demand goods, followed by metals, and then a long list of other products that were produced in early industrial Europe. The Native product in greatest demand by European trading groups was pelts. Skins and hair were actually the by-products left over from animals that were hunted for meat by the several tribes living along the Hudson River[1] as well as those interior tribes such as the Five Nations Iroquois.

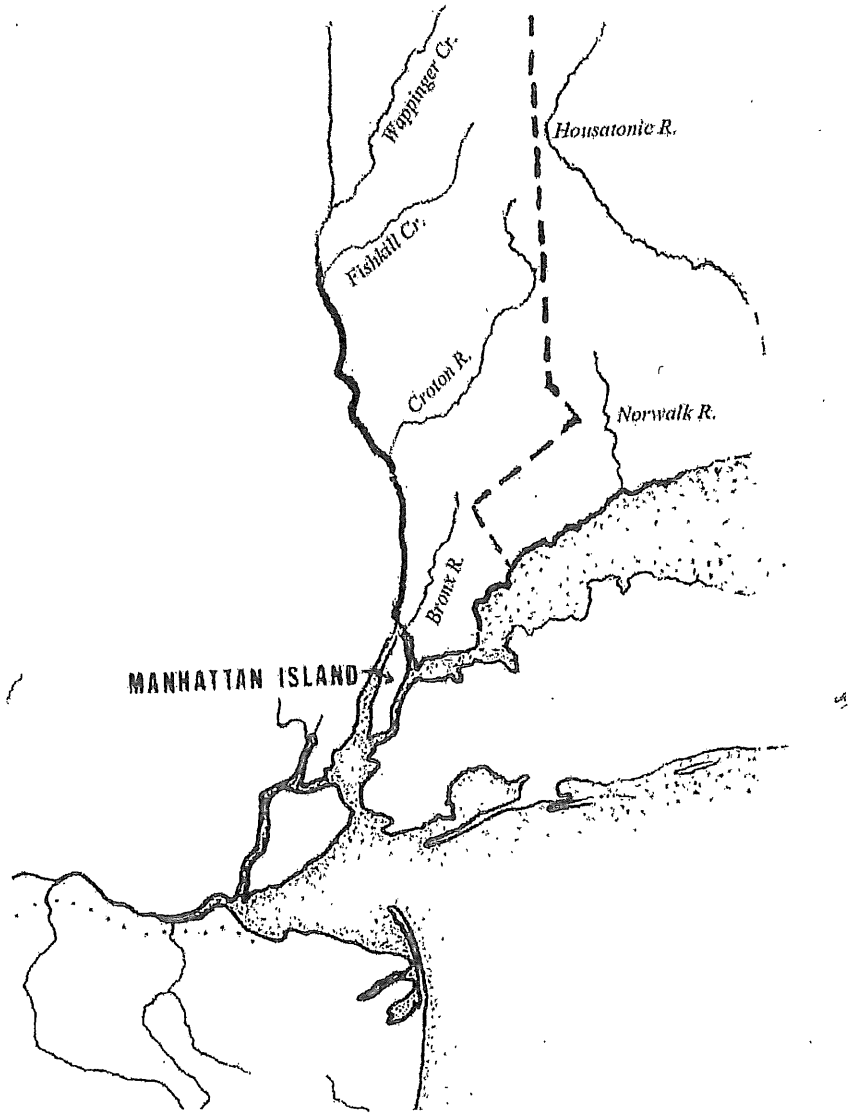

Figure 6.1. The Wiechquaeskeck territory and its rivers, being on the east side of the Hudson River and including Manhattan Island; map by Julie B. Wiest (courtesy of the Archaeological Society of Connecticut).

In 1624 Cornelius Jacobsen May, the first director of the Dutch West India Company's New Netherland expedition, arrived at the mouth of the North (later Hudson) River with a number of colonists to establish an outpost. The earliest settlers encamped on Nut Island (now Governor's Island) in the same year that an outpost was built on Burlington Island in the South (later Delaware) River. Both were focused on the pelt trade.

The following director, Willem Verhulst, also lasted only a year in this position. Verhulst identified the important elders of the different tribal groups, enabling him to develop elaborate and mutually productive interchanges. Most significantly, Verhulst understood the relatively small sizes of these Native populations and their complex tribal antagonisms. He determined that he could safely relocate his people from Nut Island to the extreme southern tip of the much larger Manhattan Island, where there were ample lands to develop an agrarian support system while expanding the regional pelt trade. Verhulst erected Fort New Amsterdam to defend against European competitors, not the local Natives. It was not until 1653 that a "wall" (wooden palisade) was set up to separate the early farmsteads from the large expanse of forested Manhattan that continued to be foraged by their Native neighbors. The wall, now the path of Wall Street in southern Manhattan, also kept free-ranging livestock within a defined area. There was never any instance of this palisade serving as a defensive construction against the neighboring Wiechquaeskeck or any other Native group.

The extensive records of early Dutch business dealings with the Natives are far from ideal ethnographic records. On the other hand, there are some impressive early documents relating to various Native people throughout the Northeast, and more emerge every year. Among the primary tasks are to use these records to identify each specific tribe and to understand their locations in aboriginal times. This often can be done by using those documents and deeds that relate to the earliest purchases of land from the Indians.[2]

The Wiechquaeskeck

The Wiechquaeskeck tribe occupied the entire eastern side of the lower Hudson River Valley, from Annsville Creek and its major feeder, Peekskill Hollow Creek (just above present-day Peekskill, New York) on the north, all the way south to the tip of Manhattan Island. Their lands also extended from the Hudson River on the west to the present New York–Connecticut border area and possibly beyond.[3] The neighbors of the Wiechquaeskeck to the north were the Waping (Wappinger). To the east, we know of the

Paugussett in present-day Connecticut, but are less certain about other tribes along the eastern margins of Wiechquaeskeck territory.[4]

My studies lead me to conclude that the Wiechquaeskeck were a hunting and gathering tribe. All of the evidence now available supports this interpretation, although other nearby tribes, with fewer fish and other resources, may have used other systems. The Wiechquaeskeck tribe was composed of a number of separate and independent bands (extended families), each with as few as a dozen members, but rarely more than fifty. Based on the signatures on land transactions, average band size is estimated to have been about twenty-five to thirty members. I propose that they were primarily hunting and gathering, perhaps as late as the late 1600s, although tribes further up the river and certainly in the interior may have been progressively more dependent on supplementary maize production. This would conform to optimal foraging theory models in which the Wiechquaeskeck had the resources of the ocean as well as the Hudson River available to them.[5] Each band used a distinct portion of the entire tribal area, and drew its name from that specific location. If a band decided to sell part or all of its land, all the adult males, and sometimes one or more adult females, signed the agreement of sale (deed).[6]

The problem with delineating the Wiechquaeskeck tribe, and identifying the Manhatan band within it, is that there is no known deed of sale for Manhattan Island. There may never have been one. All we have to indicate that any purchase was made of Manhattan Island is an indirect reference to the transaction found within a document penned by P. Schagen. Schagen's inventory of various goods brought to Amsterdam on the *Arms of Amsterdam* is mostly a count of animal pelts and reference to timber, dated November 5, 1626. This document now is in the Rijksarchief in The Hague. A translation of a portion of this brief record follows:

> High and Mighty Lords,
>
> Yesterday the ship the Arms of Amsterdam arrived here. It sailed from New Netherland out of the River Mauritius on the 23d of September. They report that our people are in good spirit and live in peace. The women also have borne some children there. They have purchased the Island Manhattes from the Indians for the value of 60 guilders. It is 11,000 morgens in size [about 22,000 acres].[7]

The "purchase" must have been made before the sailing of the *Arms of Amsterdam* from North America, on September 23, 1626, suggesting that the "purchaser" was Peter Minuit, director general of the colony from May 1626 until 1631. The brief two lines in Schagen's text name no vendors or purchaser, and no terms of sale are given. The agreement may have been a type of "handshake deal" such as are implied in many of the very earliest colonial arrangements made with Native people. The probable date of this transaction, during the fall of 1626, is similar to many well-documented sales; they usually take place in late summer or fall, before the vendors went out for winter hunting.

The format of early land transactions in the Northeast rapidly evolved into carefully worded indentures, providing the names and signatures (or marks) of all the vendors, as well as all Native and colonial witnesses plus the metes and bounds of the lands purchased. These deeds of sale, carefully preserved as legal documents, allow us to delineate the entire territory of many tribes, such as the Lenape in southeastern Pennsylvania and the Lenopi of southern New Jersey. At present we have only a small sample of Wiechquaeskeck deeds, many of which may have been lost in a fire at the archives in Albany.[8]

A Theory of Boundaries and Buffers

A century ago, several diligent historians made efforts to reconstruct the complex Native past in the area of and around Manhattan, based on their readings of some of these early records.[9] Their efforts revealed the abundant land sale records, but they made no effort to use these documents to understand cultural borders.

The modern idea that "boundaries" between properties, territories, and nations can be traced as linear dividers has a history of only a few hundred years. Our perception of modern property "lines" derives from ideas that emerged with the development of modern surveying instruments and the desire of modern states to delineate their frontiers.[10] Archaeologists and ethnohistorians now recognize that tribal areas are often surrounded by extensive buffer zones.[11] Buffer zones, also called "shared-resource-areas" or "no-man's lands," are neutral territories that lie between and separate the home territories of two or more tribes. The resources of a buffer zone can be extracted by the peoples living adjacent to it, but the land itself is not

claimed nor occupied on a long-term basis. By the 1630s, Five Nations' policies of extermination, Mahican raiding of the Waping (Wappinger, and so forth) and others, and colonial expansion all combined to displace some or all members of a number of tribes.[12] Displacement led individuals or entire bands within a targeted tribe to pursue one of several possible options to maintain most aspects of traditional culture:

1. Remain scattered within their home territory, but avoid summer aggregation.
2. Maintain cultural ways, but relocate into buffer lands.
3. Join Praying Indian communities, and be subject to significant cultural change.

All of above options were used by some members of almost every tribe.

Pelt Trade and Opportunities on the Raritan

The Wiechquaeskeck, as the Native tribe operating around the center of the new Dutch colony, had minimal access to pelts from outside their own territory. Wiechquaeskeck hunters had to travel great distances to enter lands where they could compete for game and peltry with all the tribes in the area. Following a series of attacks by the Mahican in the 1630s,[13] possibly stimulated by competition for peltry, some Wiechquaeskeck relocated from their homeland into the Raritan River Valley, immediately west of lower Manhattan (figure 6.2).[14]

After 1630 one of the more prominent Native place names found in the New Netherland documents is "Raretangh," a locative referring to the place of residence of a Native group whose original identity was Wiechquaeskeck. By occupying the Raritan buffer strip, some members of this tribe took control of the game in that area and also gained influence over traders bringing peltry down the river from hunting grounds in the Jersey highlands. Whether these relocators were all the members of a single band, as was the case with one Lenopi band that moved into Pennsylvania in 1733, or a collection of families from among the many bands of the tribe, is not known.

The buffer zones that separated relatively stable traditional cultures before 1600 soon became new homelands for displaced members of various

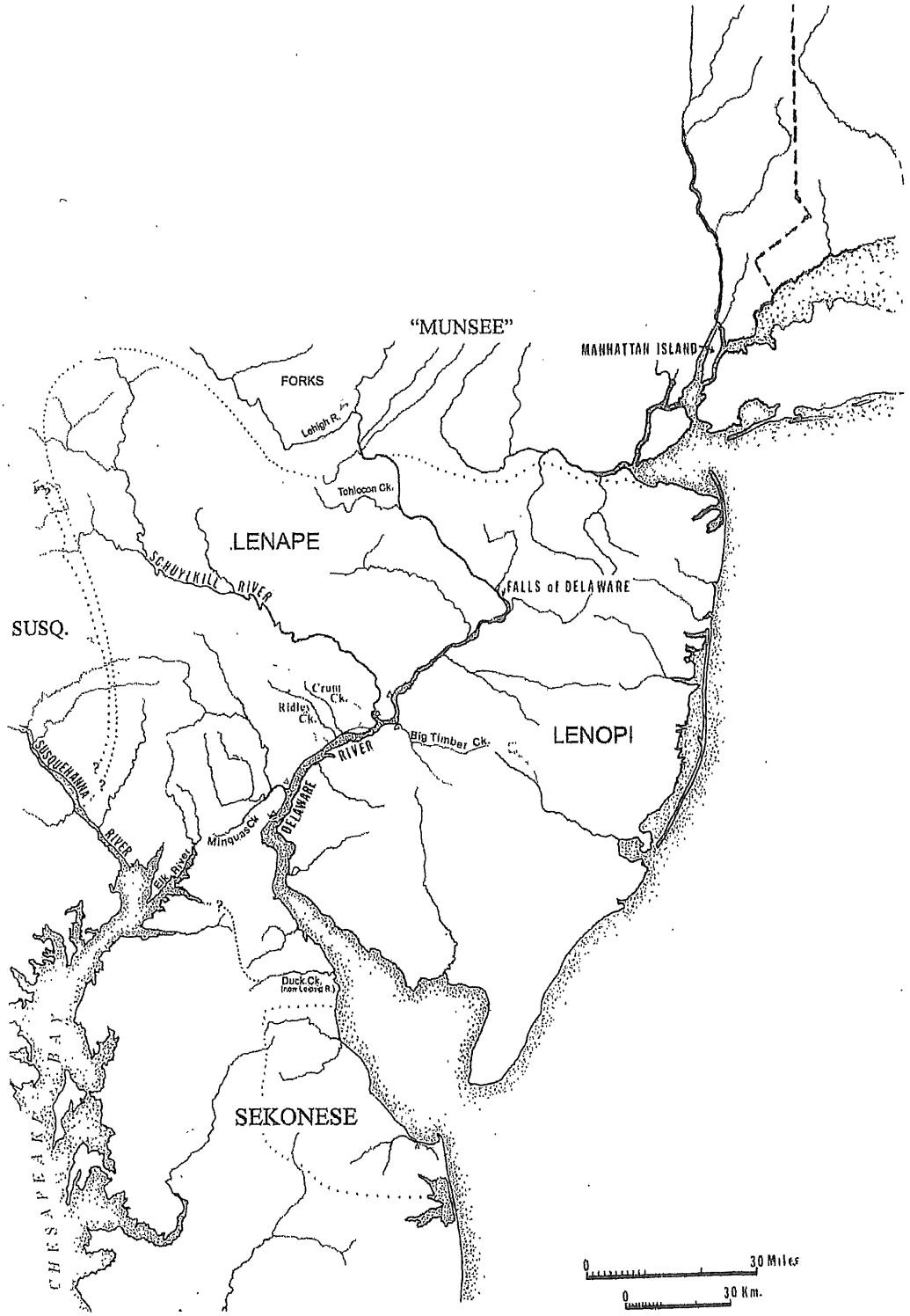

Figure 6.2. Map showing the Raritan drainage (west of Manhattan Island and east of "Munsee") and identifying the locations of the tribes south of the Wiechquaeskeck region of the lower Hudson River Valley (courtesy of the Archaeological Society of Connecticut).

tribes.[15] In the Northeast, these buffers rapidly diminished in size as fewer locations were available to groups stressed by colonial settlement.[16]

The Raritan River basin itself is an enormously rich area, with anadromous fish available for much of the year[17] and easy access to the western uplands via the tributaries forming the river. The entire valley of the Raritan River, which flows into Raritan Bay immediately south of Staten Island, long served as a buffer zone between the Lenopi of southern New Jersey and the Esopus.[18] The territory of the Esopus is difficult to determine from the colonial documents, but in 1677 a full description was provided to the governor.[19]

At the eastern end of the Raritan River, where it enters Raritan Bay and the Atlantic, is a large island that provided an extension of the Raritan Valley buffer zone. In effect, the Raritan resource area included Staten Island. Even the Dutch colonists recognized that the Raritan Valley long had served as a passageway for Native movement between the New Jersey highlands in the west to Manhattan Island and the area surrounding Staten Island.[20] My suggestion that Staten Island was part of this buffer strip is based on the many land sale documents for this island alone, each of which has some peculiar aspects suggesting that they were not valid "deeds."

These many "sales" of the island, or sometimes just parts of it, were opportunistic dealings that generated what I term "buffer deeds,"[21] a land sale document drawn up between Native "vendor/s" and colonial purchaser/s that purports to sell a tract of land lying within a buffer zone, or land that, as a shared resource area, had no legitimate claimants. These dealings were not quite Native "scams," but rather represent a generic category of sales involving lands not owned by the Native vendors nor by any other Natives.

Barbara Graymont comments on her interesting finding that Staten Island, either in its entirety or as parcels, had been sold and resold several times by various individuals over a period of several decades, not only to the Dutch and later to the English, but to a wide range of purchasers. She does not recognize that the various "vendors" of Staten Island were not all from the same tribe, an observation confirming that no one tribe actually owned it.[22] The seven distinct known "sales" of Staten Island during the 1600s and other related documents have been reviewed by the author.[23] One of these "deeds" to Staten Island, in which it is identified as "Eghquaons," provides a particularly egregious example of nearby people selling land they did not own. The text of this document lists fourteen "vendors," all Esopus from the area immediately to the north, each with their Esopus band name.[24] The famous Oratam signs as one of the seven witnesses. While sales of Native

lands to several different European buyers were not uncommon, legitimate vendors were always from the owner tribe.

The Wiechquaeskeck as Described after 1632

While we know that Mohawk aggression against the Mahican was increasing during this period, and that the Mahican (or possibly the Mohawk) were regularly attacking the Waping, there do not appear to have been any significant effects on Dutch life and trade in Manhattan. While the competition among Native tribes called the "Beaver Wars" are commonly believed to have begun in the 1640s, the evidence indicates that various tribes of the Five Nations were raiding their neighbors long before that decade.[25]

In 1632 Sebastiaen Jansen Krol, who had been commander at the important Dutch outpost of Fort Orange (now Albany), was assigned to Fort New Netherland to succeed Peter Minuit as its director. Krol acted as director until a replacement was sent to take over. This was achieved within the year and Krol returned to his command at Fort Orange.[26] Unfortunately, the records of Krol and even of his successor, Wouter van Twiller, regarding their dealings with local Indians are minimally represented among the known documents.

As noted above, the Wiechquaeskeck who took up residence in the Raritan Valley, becoming known as "Raritan," arrived in the early 1630s and became part of Native realignments involved with the pelt trade. In addition to the emergence of this "Raritan" group, a group of Waping had shifted their area of operation into the Pompton Plains region of northern New Jersey and became known as the "Pompton." An important source of the deeds and other information allowing us to reconstruct buffer zones and to identify the Native groups who moved into them has been published in the form of the colonial records of the various states. The three tribal entities of New Jersey, as they were known in the 1750s, are delineated in New Jersey treaties of 1756 and 1758 in which the elders of three tribes are identified: the Lenopi, the Esopus, and the newly formed "Pompton."

By 1634 the immigrant Wiechquaeskeck were recognized by the Dutch as a population newly arrived along the Raritan River. The good relations maintained by Wouter van Twiller with the several local tribes during his term as director of New Netherland (1633–38) are evident in those few records that we have. These positive interactions were even recognized in the comic history of New York written by Washington Irving, who refers to the "golden reign" of Wouter van Twiller.[27] His skills in this office are best

understood by contrasting the historical record for his tenure and leadership with that of his successor, Willem Kieft, who took over in 1638. The last part of van Twiller's tenure saw the emergence of Native hostilities among the English settlements to the east of New Amsterdam. The outbreak of the Pequot War, 1636–37, and the extensive disruptions within various English villages, had no immediate and obvious effects on the Dutch and their Native neighbors. That part of the Dutch realm that is now Connecticut had been increasingly invaded by growing numbers of English trading stations and colonial outposts. The disruptive effects of the Pequot War and tribal realignments during this period had social and political effects that are still playing out in Connecticut.[28]

Enter Willem Kieft: A Decade of Conflict

Willem Kieft's appointment as the fifth director general of New Netherland (1638–47) immediately followed the end of the Pequot-English War. His governance was a disaster for Dutch-Native relations in the area of Manhattan Island. General living conditions for the Dutch and other colonists under Kieft's command deteriorated and he was ultimately fired, concluding a decade of disastrous leadership. His problems with the citizenry and many conflicts with neighboring tribes have led the editors of the New Netherland Institute to state that "his governmental career was probably the stormiest of all" of the company's governors.[29] Kieft came to the directorship with his own set of personal problems, exacerbated by his paranoid concern for his Wiechquaeskeck neighbors taking in refugees displaced from other tribes, perhaps even some Pequot.

The effects of southern New England's Pequot War should be considered as a backdrop to Kieft's paranoia. The Pequot War led many Native families to relocate into the buffer zone at the western margins of Wiechquaeskeck territory. After 1639, increasing English settlement all along the Connecticut coast led more Natives to relocate into the buffer zones surrounding the Dutch. Displaced Pequot may have joined the Wiechquaeskeck, who themselves were adjusting to the effects of increasing numbers of Dutch farmsteads. However, there is good reason to believe that hostile activities on the part of some Natives in the years following 1639 were a direct consequence of nasty actions taken by Willem Kieft, whom Irving parodied with the name "William the Testy."[30] This epithet greatly understates the many disasters of Kieft's tenure.

The problems that the Wiechquaeskeck faced ten years earlier, when Mahican raids from the north led many Wiechquaeskeck to relocate to the Raritan Valley, were now exaggerated by the Pequot War and colonial population pressures along all of their territory.[31] The arrival in New Jersey of at least some of these Wiechquaeskeck immigrants from various parts of their home area was the result of events that also were stressful to those colonists who were trying to establish farmsteads in unprotected areas beyond Fort Amsterdam.

Dutch immigrant farmers generally had excellent relations with their Native neighbors. Peltry, wild game, and a wide array of goods and services were exchanged through informal trade between these groups.[32] However, Kieft perceived the Native population, and his fellow colonists, as hostile and problematical to his authority. His continuing mismanagement led Cornelis Melyn to seek release from his contract to purchase rights to Staten Island from the West India Company, citing the farmers that had been killed there by Natives as a result of Kieft's antagonistic policies. A release was granted to him on August 15, 1640.[33]

The earliest record specifically stating that Indians were resident in the Raritan Valley before 1634 appears in the Council minutes that were drafted on July 16, 1640. This important document, suggesting that these same Natives there had initiated trade some years before 1634, reads as follows:

> Whereas the Indians, living in the Raretangh have before now shown themselves very hostile, even to the shedding of our blood, notwithstanding a treaty of peace made with them Ao [Anno] 1634, under which we continued to trade with them by sending a sloop there every spring and whereas in the spring of this year 1640 they have tried to capture our sloop, manned by only three men . . . [who escaped] . . . with the loss of a canoe only then they came to Staten Island and killed the Company's pigs and plundered "the negro's house."[34]

Of interest here is the mention of a sloop trading somewhere along the Raritan River every spring since 1634, and reference to a treaty made in 1634, for which no record now is known.[35] Such a treaty would suggest that in 1640 or 1641, only a few years after Kieft's arrival, the company leadership had created a conflict situation with the Natives along the Raritan for which the cause is not evident. There is a discrepancy between a supposed Native invitation to trade and the Natives' supposed actions, after

several peaceful years of interactions, when a possible trading party arrived, possibly during the winter of 1640–41. Part of this encounter is confirmed in a Dutch deposition of July 17, 1647 signed by Harman M. Bogardus, Harman Downer, and Cors Pitersen: "we, being in the Company's service in the year 1640, were at the request of the savages, called the Raritans, sent by the Honorable Director Kieft to trade. Arrived at the usual trading place in the yacht 'de Vreede' [The Peace] these Raritans in stead of showing the customary friendship . . . began to scoff" and otherwise treated the traders very badly, threatening them and stealing the ship's canoe.[36] (The 1640 date cited in the 1647 deposition above is clarified by David De Vries in his *Korte Historiael.*[37]) On July 4, 1641 a resolution that was presented at the Council meeting of New Amsterdam was passed, indicating the colonists' perception of the situation:

> The Indians of the Raretangh are daily exhibiting more and more hostility, notwithstanding they have solicited of us peace, which we consented to, permitting him [an emissary?] to depart unmolested on his promise to advise us within twelve days of the resolution of his chief, which has not been done; and whereas the aforesaid Indians, who experienced every friendship at our hands, have in the meantime on the plantation of Mr. de Vries and Davit Pietersen . . . partners, situated on Staten Island, murdered four tobacco planters and set fire to the dwelling and tobacco house, . . . we have therefore considered it most expedient and advisable to induce the Indians, our allies hereabout, to take up arms, in order to cut off stray parties who must pass through their territory, so they can not reach our farms and plantations . . . and in order to encourage them the more, we have promised them ten fathoms of seawan for each head, and if they succeed in capturing any of the Indians who have most barbarously murdered our people on Staten Island we have promised them 20 fathoms of seawan for each head.[38]

Presumably any Natives brought in alive could be sold as slaves. These various accounts suggest that trade on the Raritan River had been going on for some years, but Natives coming to trade at Manhattan Island may have been from among any of a number of tribes in this area, including the Wiechquaeskecks who were related to the people identified as the Raritans.

The specifics of the Native-Dutch interaction on the Raritan in 1639 and just after are few but de Vries provides an important source for these data, and for other data about the various Native groups around Fort Amsterdam. De Vries was strongly opposed to the Indian policies of Governor Willem Kieft. I believe the documents speak for themselves, and here offer portions of several relevant passages in chronological order as taken from Graymont's translated versions of De Vries's *Korte Historiael.*[39]

De Vries's memoirs first mention the people called "Raritanghe" on July 16, 1639, but his recall may refer to the above-noted event that took place between 1639 and July 1641. De Vries states that after these events Cornelis van Thienhoven led one hundred armed men to seek out "the Raritanghe, a nation of savages who live where a little stream runs up about five leagues behind Staten Island" to punish them for "killing my swine and those of the Company, which a negro watched."[40] De Vries states that the troopers, acting on their own, killed several Natives and took the brother of the chief as hostage. Details of the attack followed De Vries's presentation of information regarding their location in what now is northern New Jersey. These Native peoples living in northern New Jersey who were attacked by these colonists in 1639 or 1640 probably were a group of relocated Wiechquaeskeck, but possibly they were marauding traders from another tribe. That attack on the Natives living on the Raritan led to reprisals prior to July 4, 1641, during which the Indians killed four of De Vries's men and burned his buildings.[41]

De Vries's *Korte Historiael* offers no further comment on what he believed was a 1639 expedition, but recounts Indian information from his own journey up the Hudson three months later, on October 20, 1639, "to Tapaen in order to trade for maize or Indian corn." When De Vries arrived at Tapaen he found the Company sloop there and the representatives trying to extract a "contribution" from the Indians.[42] Once again De Vries is reporting on the less charming behaviors of Kieft, acting as the representative of the Dutch West India Company.

Since the entire Raritan River Valley had once formed a traditional buffer zone,[43] unclaimed by any specific tribe, any group of Natives moving into it and establishing foraging patterns there might be seen by previous users as a potential threat to free trade along that waterway. The Raritan River formed a significant conduit to the New Jersey highlands and the vast area beyond to the west that was part of the Five Nations foraging (and pelt collecting) region. Despite the 1640 Dutch resolution to attack these Natives,

nothing more now is known about the "Indians living in the *Raretangh*" until a year later. On July 4, 1641 the record indicates that the "Indians of the Raretangh are daily exhibiting more and more hostility" including burning the Staten Island house and tobacco facilities belonging to the partners "*Mr. de Vries and Davit Pietersen.*"[44] Not surprisingly an "Ordnance offering a reward for the heads of Raritan Indians passed" that same day.[45]

The Native attack was confirmed by De Vries who reported, on September 1, 1641, that "my men on Staten Island were killed by the Indians and the Raritans told an Indian . . . that we [Dutch] might now come to fight them [the unnamed Indians] on account [of the power of] our men."[46] De Vries appears to indicate that the Indians along the Raritan as well as another group, perhaps one or more bands of Lenopi, or perhaps Esopus, were involved (see below). Another report, dated September 12, 1641, confirms that a short time before "some of our people on *Staten-Island* have been murdered by the savages."[47]

The Dutch erected "a small redoubt" (fortification) on Staten Island in response, presumably near the location of that attack, which led Kieft to orchestrate the massacre of two groups of Native American peoples—Esopus and Wiechquaeskeck (and their guests?), who were long-time residents on Manhattan Island or who had recently taken refuge at Corlaer's Hook, in the immediate area to the east of the fort in New Amsterdam. These dreadful events took place during one night in the winter of 1642–43. Two documents dated February 25, 1643 describe these bizarre attacks.[48] These massacres, called by some "Kieft's War," victimized groups who usually are described in the literature either as Esopus or "Wappingers" (Waping). Now we can specifically identify one of these groups as Esopus (in New Jersey) and the other as the Wiechquaeskeck still living on Manhattan Island, among whom may have been some Waping or other refugees.[49] These needless assaults on Indian allies were generally seen by the Dutch colonists as part of Kieft's failings, yet it took another four years for the Company to get rid of him.

In general, the marauding Natives had remained respectful of De Vries and his staff; people who had maintained good relations with these tribes throughout these difficult times. The Wiechquaeskeck bands along the Hudson suffered from Mahican raiding, were stressed by the Pequot War, and then by the continuing power struggles between the Dutch and the westward expanding English colonies taking over the Connecticut River trade.[50] During the Pequot War some Wiechquaeskeck sought neutral ground on which to relocate. Their problem was where to go.

The option of joining New England Native groups living in what are identified as "praying towns" was not yet available. The Puritans began to develop these communities during the 1640s, and after that date some Wiechquaeskeck *may* have joined them. This strategy involved the Natives placing themselves under the limited protection of the colonists, but it required a significant alteration in their foraging lifestyle. These Native religious communities also tended to include members of several different tribes, thereby accelerating culture change and a drift toward European economic and linguistic systems. These praying towns also tended to be on the fringe of colonial settlement, possibly in former buffer zones where they were subject to raiding by the Iroquois Confederacy as well as from colonists seeking "open" land along the frontier.

Following the firing of Willem Kieft in 1647, Peter Stuyvesant was appointed as director general of New Netherland and served in that capacity until the English conquest in 1664.[51] Stuyvesant's seventeen-year tenure is marked by a number of positive events, but toward the end of Dutch rule the various tribes under Dutch hegemony became increasingly hostile.[52] The reasons for this dynamic are left to others to investigate. Here the primary concern is with what the records reveal about those Wiechquaeskeck then living along the Raritan River and their main bands still in their traditional range north and east of Manhattan.

A Wiechquaeskeck origin for this group along the Raritan is specifically indicated in July 1649 when one of the chiefs assembled for a meeting, named Pennekeck and identified as a chief from "achter Col," is quoted as follows: "*Pennekeck* said the tribe called *Raritanoos*, formerly living at *Wiquaeskeck* had no chief, therefore he spoke for them."[53] That is, they had no elder among them and deferred to Pennekeck, identified in this document as their neighbor, to represent them.

The Wiechquaeskeck: 1650

The earliest document that most clearly offers the name and location of the Wiechquaeskeck was issued by the Dutch in 1650. Review of this Dutch description allows us to reconsider what now can be interpreted from the earliest records of these people and their interactions with the Dutch. On March 4, 1650 the Dutch West India Company, in an effort to stimulate settlement of towns and farms throughout New Netherland, issued a listing

of several areas within their jurisdiction that might be particularly attractive to prospective farmers.[54] The merits of each location were described, including mention of the presence or absence of Native inhabitants. The New Netherland colonists' recent confrontations with several of the tribes in and around the sparse settlements that constituted this Dutch colonial venture may have remained as fresh memories, but they were not mentioned in this brochure.

This 1650 brochure was issued just after the end of the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), during which period life in the Netherlands was far worse than life in New Amsterdam.[55] The West India Company brochure was intended to dispel thoughts regarding the dangers of life in America. The various "areas" listed in this 1650 document provide us with some clues to the locations inhabited by various groups of Natives, allowing us to infer the tribal units to which each belonged. The area identified as "Wiequaeskeck, on the North river, five leagues above New Amsterdam, is very good and suitable land for agriculture, very extensive maize land on which the Indians have planted—proceeding from the shore and inland 'tis flat and mostly level, well watered by small streams and running springs. It lies between the East and North Rivers and is situate between a rivulet of Sintinck and Armonck1."[56]

O'Callaghan's editorial note "1," appearing after the word "Armonck," reads as follows: "This tract extends across the county of Westchester, from Sing Sing [Ossining?] to the Byram river."[57] O'Callaghan identified the Byram River as the eastern border of Wiechquaeskeck land from a 1685 sale of land at Ossin Sing that was signed by only six vendors, all identified as "Sintsink," one of the Wiechquaeskeck bands.[58] The original of this 1685 document now is unknown, and nothing similar to it appears in Graymont.[59] Graymont does provide a transcription of a deed from the Wiechquaeskeck to what is now the eastern half of Westchester County, also giving its eastern margin at Seweyruc (Byram River).[60]

Today the Byram River forms the most southerly section of the New York–Connecticut state line. The actual presence in 1650 of Indians at the location called "*Wiequaeskeck*" is not emphasized in the Dutch brochure of March 4, 1650, suggesting a benign presence of any Natives who happened to be resident there. These few probably were there only during a portion of the year. An absence of Natives is made more explicit at the end of the second entry in this 1650 Dutch account, which also provides a description of the nearby area of the Raritan Valley, into which some Wiechquaeskeck had been relocating since around 1630:

> The district inhabited by a nation called Raritangs, is situate on a fresh water river that flows through the centre of the low

> land which the Indians cultivated. This vacant territory lies between two high mountains, fair distant out one from the other. It is the handsomest and pleasantest country that man can behold, and furnished the Indians with abundance of maize, beans, pumpkins, and other fruits. This district was abandoned by the natives for two reasons; the first and principal is that finding themselves unable to resist the Southern Indians, they migrated further inland; the second, because this country was flooded every spring like Rensalaer's colonie, frequently spoiling and destroying their supplies of maize which were stored in holes underground.
>
> Throughout this valley pass large numbers of all sorts of tribes, on their way north or east; this land is therefore not only adapted for raising grain and rearing all description of cattle, but also very convenient for trade with the Indians.[61]

In 1652, twelve years after he had abandoned his hopes for developing a plantation on Staten Island, Melyn renewed his efforts to develop his land. He returned having "strengthened himself upon Staten Island, where he resides with 117 or 118 Raritans and Southern Indians [Lenopi] each armed with a musket, to defend him against the Director" of the West India Company.[62] Following his horrid experience with Kieft, Melyn may have been wary of the recently appointed Stuyvesant. These "Raritans" in 1652 were mostly if not all Wiechquaeskeck who relocated to this area, but who maintained close contacts with the other bands of their tribe. The people here identified as "Southern Indians" were from one or more of the northern bands of Lenopi, then living in the area immediately south of the Raritan buffer zone.[63]

Unfortunately, we do not know how many of these 117 or 118 adult males represented each tribe but I infer that more than half were Raritan-Wiechquaeskeck. If at least sixty or seventy adult male "Raritans" were employed by Melyn, their population at that time would have been at least 240, if not more. A population of this size would have represented quite a substantial group.

The Esopus Wars

Although Governor Stuyvesant tried to maintain good relations with his Native neighbors, continued aggression and terrible treatment of local Indians

by individual colonists led the Esopus to conduct raids on Dutch farmsteads in two brief "wars." Dutch policies managed to maintain an uneasy peace with their Long Island Native allies, with relatively few "incidences" of open conflict on that front. Only the Esopus undertook direct confrontation with the Dutch, who were receiving little actual support from home or from their Native allies.

While we cannot know the extent to which the Wiechquaeskeck and their Native neighbors were aware of the status of New Netherland on the world stage, by 1659 the Esopus recognized the fragile state of Dutch power, leading these Natives to be less tolerant of Dutch abuses.[64] A period of stress began on September 20, 1659 with a series of clashes between the Dutch and the Esopus who then were resident in present-day New Jersey. This "First Esopus War" continued until a truce was signed on July 15, 1660. On March 6, 1660, "*Achkhongh*, one of the chiefs councilors of *Wiechquaskeck*" (emphasis in original) was consulted by the Dutch along with the Wiechquaeskeck elder named Sauwenar and others.[65] On May 18, 1660, prior to signing a treaty with the Esopus, the Dutch arranged peace treaties with many of their other neighbors to limit the spread of the Esopus war. At this May 18 gathering "Sauwenaro" of the Wiechquaeskeck is listed third among the elders representing the various tribes, demonstrating that the Wiechquaeskeck elders continued to maintain tribal integrity as well as relatively peaceful interactions with the Dutch.

Relations between the Dutch and the Esopus, however, continued to be strained. In early June 1663 the "Second Esopus War" erupted. This time the Dutch called in their traditional Mohawk allies as mercenaries to do the dirty work, and all hostilities ended by September 1663. On December 28, 1663 an armistice was arranged between the Dutch and the Esopus, and afterwards various Dutch treaties or alliances were arranged, involving Oratamy of Hackingkesack and others.[66] Almost immediately, in March 1664, a delegation of Esopus and Waping traveled to Westchester to plot with the English.[67] Most likely the Wiechquaeskeck also were involved as the meeting location was within their territory.

In the spring of 1664, while the Esopus and others were conspiring with the English, the Dutch drew up Articles of Peace for the region that were signed on May 15, 1664, formally ending the conflict with the Esopus and their allies. The names of fourteen Natives appear on this treaty but, unfortunately for my effort to delineate individual tribes, many of the signatories are identified only with their band name, leaving their tribal affiliations to be worked out.[68] Six Esopus are listed by name on this 1664

peace document. The name of many of these same Natives that appear on the treaty of May 18, 1660 also appear here. The May 15, 1664 treaty reads in part as follows:

> Council Chamber at Fort Amsterdam.
> Seweckenamo, Onagkotin, Powsawagh, chiefs of the Esopus,
> T'Sees-Sagh-Gauw, chief of the Wappinghs,
> Meeght Sewakes, chief of Kightewangh,
> Ses-Segh-Hout, chief of Rewechnongh or Haverstraw,
> Sauwenarocque, chief of Wiechquaskeck,
> Oratamy, chief of Hackingkesacky and Tappaen, [is he an Esopus?]
> Matteno, chief of the Staten-Island and Nyack savages,"
> [originally from Long Island?]
> Siejpekenouw, brother of Tapusagh, chief of the Marsepingh
> etcetera [Long Island] with about twenty other savages of
> that tribe.

The Dutch asked why other "chiefs of the Esopus had not come, to wit: *Keercep, Pamyrawech,* and *Niskahewan.*"[69] One was said to be too old to attend, and the others were excused. Seweckenamo acted as speaker for the assembled Indians. He was particularly pleased that this treaty included groups that extended as far north as Maquas (Mohawk) territory, and that the Marsepingh of Long Island also were included. This document was signed only by Seweckenamo and Powsawagh, both Esopus, on behalf of all the Natives, as well as by a Dutch contingent along with their translator. The last signature is that of Maerhinnie Tuwee, whose role is not identified. In what appears to be a separate signing, "Otatam" (Oratamy) and Matteno sign, along with "Hans alias Pieweserenves" who is not among the Natives listed in the document. Probably unknown to the Dutch at the time of the signing of this treaty (May 16, 1664) was that three months earlier, in March 1664, Charles II had presented this entire region to his brother, the Duke of York, in advance of an English invasion.

The significant English fleet arrived in the fall, and on September 8, 1664 the Dutch surrendered the actual colony. Richard Nicolls, as the military governor under the Duke of York, then took command of Fort Amsterdam and renamed it Fort James of the colony of New York. Nicholls immediately began negotiation with the local Indians and by 1665 he had reached an agreement concerning this new group of Christians: the English (figure 6.3).

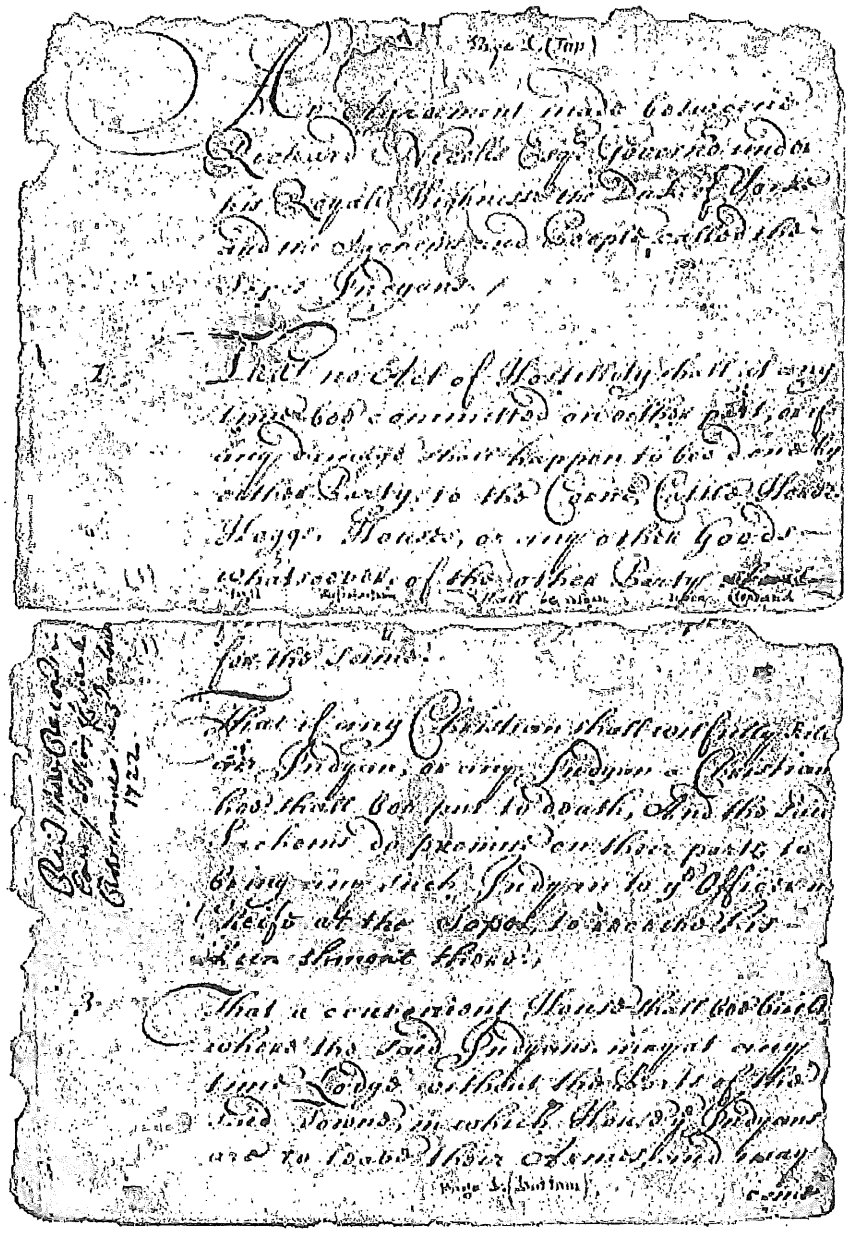

Figure 6.3. "An Agreement made between Richard Nicolls Esq.r Governor under his Royall Highnesse the Duke of Yorke and the [Indians] and Poeple [*sic*] called the Sopes Indyans" (Wikipedia, public domain).

Nicolls served admirably until Francis Lovelace took charge in 1668. Lovelace served until 1673 when the Third Anglo-Dutch War in this area resulted in the reconquest of New York. The peace treaty of 1674 returned New Amsterdam to the English, but allowed the Dutch to retain Dutch Guiana, now known as Surinam. That colonial outpost was deemed to be more profitable at that time.[70]

Tribes of New Jersey

Only two aboriginal tribes are consistently identified as resident in New Jersey prior to 1630, the Esopus along the Hudson in the north and the Lenopi, commonly identified as "Jerseys" in contemporary documents, south of the Raritan Valley.[71] Both are extensively documented in the New Jersey archives as well as in New York's colonial records.[72] The buffer lands between these two tribes have been roughly delineated.[73] Many early documents suggest that the Hackensack and other groups were separate tribal entities, but further study is needed to identify tribal and band territories. For now, "*Sauwenarocque*, chief of *Wiechquaskeck*" is of primary interest. Several New Jersey scholars had culled the early documents for specific and direct evidence relating to the many named aboriginal individuals and the names of the specific bands to which they belonged.[74] These efforts began with the investigations of William Nelson[75] and were later continued with studies made by Frank H. Stewart[76] and others.

Stewart largely focused his work on the southern part of the state, among the people now identified as Lenopi. Until the 1980s many historians and linguists had conjoined both of the now identified Native tribes of New Jersey into an undefined group of "Indians," commonly using the name "Delaware" to identify them. By the 1980s the term "Lenape" became substituted for "Delaware" for questionable reasons.

The relocation of some Wiechquaeskeck into the Raritan Valley reflected a shift in their residence in hope of making a more successful adaptation to prevailing political and economic conditions. These immigrants to the Raritan buffer zone, then known as "Raritans," and their immigrant neighbors from among the Waping, who became identified as Pomptons, were relocated peoples from not far away. After many decades of residence along the lower Raritan River, both groups moved farther up the Raritan Valley, reflecting continuing changes in the world around them. At some point various families relocated even farther to the west, being invited into the southeast section of Five Nations' buffer territory. This removed the stresses suffered by Iroquoian raiding. The upland region called the Minnisincks extended west to the Delaware River. It attracted the "Raritan" as well as members of the Esopus tribe; all became "Munsee." These extensive buffer lands, surrounding the several tributaries of the Raritan, were sold at later dates by various Natives claiming to be "owners."[77] The boundaries of these tracts have rectilinear borders, very different from the boundaries of traditional Native land holdings, usually waterways (figure 6.4). These rectilinear boundaries reveal that the lands being "sold" were not traditional hunting

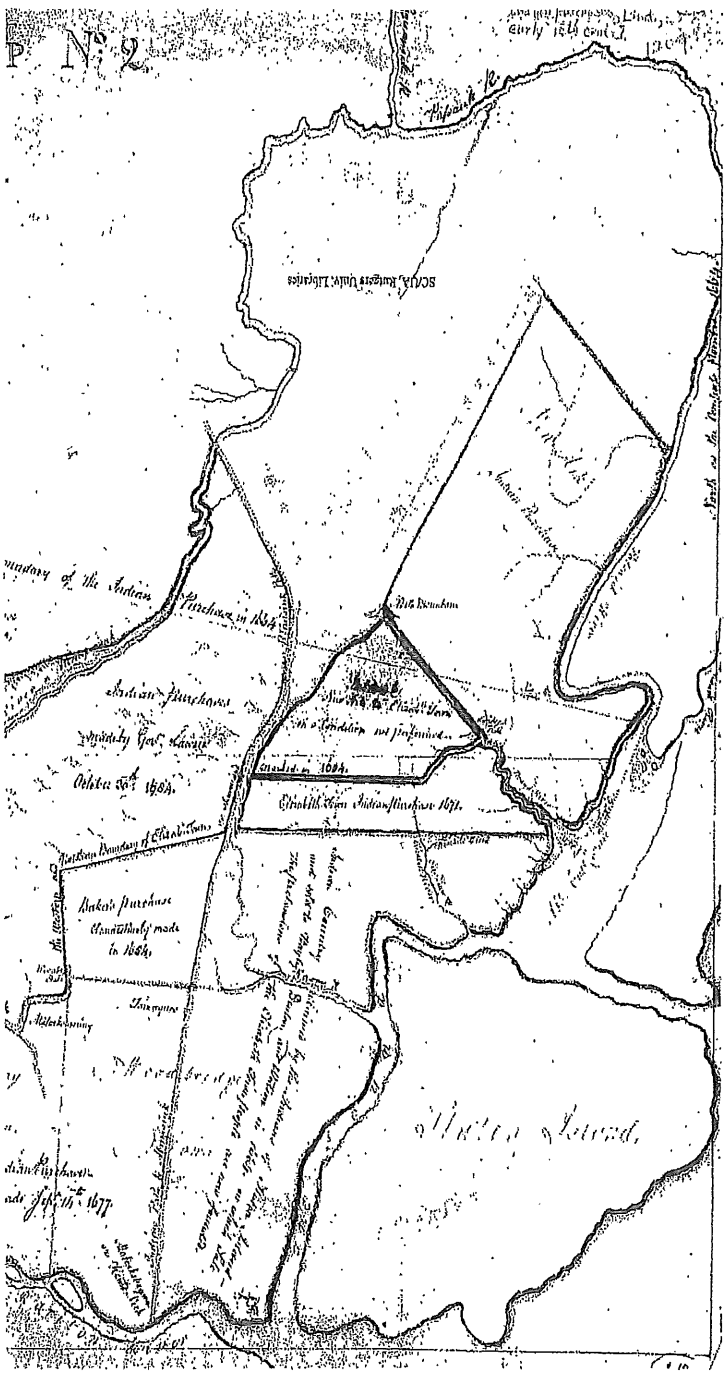

Figure 6.4. Copy of the eastern portion of "Indian Land Sales North of Raritan" from the Philhower Collection, Rutgers University Library Archives (from Becker 2016a, 70, fig. 3). Bolton (1922: map XI, following page 202) published this map (on which is written "Map No. 2") and indicates that it is "Courtesy of the New York Historical Society." Bolton suggests that it was "Drawn probably about 1750 as an exhibit in the Elizabeth boundary dispute." Note that none of the many "sales" of land on Staten Island are indicated, suggesting that the compiler may have recognized the questionable nature of those transactions (cf. Becker 1998).

territories. Graymont provides excellent transcriptions of a number of these sales of land in the Raritan Valley, often for tracts on both sides of the river, with straight line boundaries similar to those used by colonials. For example, Cornelius Longfield bought a tract on the south side of the Raritan on November 29, 1683, for which the metes and bounds in no way resemble traditional Native land holdings as revealed by countless Native deeds.[78]

The "vendors" in these many land sales of the Raritan Valley and uplands were opportunistic individuals taking advantage of the colonists' desire, or possibly need, for Native land sales documents bearing Native signatures. Since the lands of the Raritan Valley had been a shared buffer zone, the vendors "claimed" them simply by stating that they owned that area. At least they were willing to "sell" the land in question, without making reference to possible owners.[79] Lands previously used as shared resource areas had no "owners" to dispute these sales. A few of the same Natives selling tracts of buffer lands in New Jersey were later involved in specious land sales in Pennsylvania, in effect becoming specialists in the process of selling buffer lands.[80]

At a council held at Fort James on Manhattan Island, April 9, 1684, with "The Indians of Minisinck being present" there was a discussion of the purchase from the Natives of all the lands between the Hudson and the Delaware River.[81] These lands included the Raritan Valley and Raritan River headwaters plus a narrow zone along the upper Delaware River. The most interesting feature of this document is the absence of all Native names, confirming that the Indians present at this Council in 1684 had moved west from their earlier areas of activity along the Hudson, suggesting Esopus, Wiechquaeskeck, and others. Not until June 6, 1695 does a deed support the idea that the Wiechquaeskeck who had immigrated to the Raritan had "assumed" a legal claim to the valley.[82]

Edward Manning Ruttenber recognized that several groups among "the *Minsis* or Esopus living upon the east branch of the Delaware River" had relocated from their Hudson Valley homeland.[83] All Natives resident at the Minisinck, the New Jersey highlands, regardless of their cultural origins or affiliation (e.g., the Wiechquaeskeck), were identified as "Munsee."[84] Graymont's efforts to decode the cultural origins of the peoples in the Minisink area, all of them identified as "Munsee," were unsuccessful.[85]

However, a complaint by a sachem called Ankerap in 1722 identifies him as an Esopus.[86] Some people identified as "Esopus" continue to appear in the Pennsylvania colony literature into the 1770s, but gradually that aboriginal identification disappears. The large numbers of Native land sales and other documents enable us to reconstruct life histories for some individuals and extended families, and to suggest some cultural boundaries.[87]

The Waping Known as the Pompton in New Jersey: 1695 and After

The homeland of the Waping lay along the eastern side of the Hudson River, north of Wiechquaeskeck territory, extending up to the middle of present Columbia County: an area to the south of the Mahican range as it existed after 1630.[88] In addition to describing a June 6, 1695 sale of land to Arent Schuyler, Philhower documents Waping participation in two other land agreements in New Jersey that took place fifty years apart.[89]

The earlier of these texts, dated August 13, 1708, is a deed for the Morristown area, twenty-five miles (forty km) due west of Manhattan Island and thirty-five miles (forty-eight km) southwest of the Pompton-Poquaneck area, of which Philhower presents a transcription of only a part of the text.[90] In 1758 the Esopus were represented at an important treaty at Easton in Pennsylvania, at which the Lenopi named Teedyuscung presented himself as "King of the Delaware."[91]

Teedyuscung (1709–63) was a young man of the Toms River band of Lenopi when they relocated into the Forks of Delaware buffer zone in 1733–34.[92] Teedyuscung's rise to "power" led to his false claim that he led ten Native tribes. This created some interesting problems for the New Jersey and Pennsylvania colonial governments.[93] Prior to the treaty of October 1758, Governor Francis Bernard had delegated Teedyuscung to go to the "Indians of Minisink and Pompton" (as the two northern groups in New Jersey were then identified) to invite them to the conference.[94] Bernard's effort to settle any and all land claims in the New Jersey colony caused the Five Nations to assert their hegemony over these various Indian groups, who at that time were all resident in regions under Five Nations aegis, including the Minnisincks and the vast buffer lands along the present New York–Pennsylvania border.

At meetings held on August 7–8, 1758, "John Hudson, the Cayuga" asserted Five Nations' suzerainty over these displaced peoples, stating that "I, who am the Mingoian, am by this belt to inform you, that the Munseys are women, and cannot hold treaties for themselves."[95] His declaration reveals that the people then called "Munsee" were immigrants living on former buffer lands, not their own "property," and thereby under the control of the Five Nations. To affirm this statement, John Hudson presented a belt of white wampum on which there were woven seven "figures of men in black wampum," four of whom he said represented the Five Nations, collectively, and the other three represented the subordinate peoples—the "Munseys"

and any others resident in the area in question.[96] In August 1758 "the chief man of the Munseys, is Egohohoun." Land rights for "the *Delaware Indians* [Lenopi], now inhabiting near *Cranbury*, and to the Southward of *Raritan River*"[97] had been already clarified, with the upcoming treaty at Easton aimed at resolving land rights north of the Raritan.

An important document regarding early Waping activities in Morris County, New Jersey,[98] records their presence there some fifty years after the 1695 land sale noted above; as reported in the minutes of the crucial October 1758 Treaty at Easton.[99] This treaty finalized the release of all remaining Native claims to lands in New Jersey while also delineating the Native cultures of New Jersey as they were *at that time.* The people in New Jersey who in 1758 were identified in the documents as the "Wapings or Pumptons" were then considered to be a Native population. They were, however, a group that had relocated into New Jersey and were allied to, or had joined with, the Indigenous people called Esopus—the tribe that had fought two brief wars against the Dutch only a century earlier.

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

The Treaty at Easton in October 1758 was a major gathering at which the government of Pennsylvania met with all of their regional Native allies as well as with Sir Francis Bernard, the new governor of New Jersey. Several Native American populations continued to live there in traditional fashion.[100] This marathon "treaty" (meeting), in the midst of the Seven Years' War, began on October 7, as the first participants arrived at Easton.[101] The meeting continued as a public discourse, ending nearly three weeks later, on October 26, 1758. The manuscript proceedings of this important event are preserved in Newark, New Jersey[102] and have been published in *The Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania.*[103] The nearly fifty pages of published text from the minutes of this treaty provide a wealth of information concerning the Native American peoples of the region who were allied with the English in 1758.

At Easton, the Pennsylvania government and their colonial neighbors sought a guarantee from the Five Nations Iroquois regarding their amicable intent during this period of conflict. Much of what was discussed related to the attacks of certain "Delaware" on the English settlers, many of whom were illegally intruding into areas reserved by treaty for the Five

Nations and their allies. The marauders were a small group of Lenopi and others, led by Teedyuscung, living along the frontier. The English wished to consolidate their alliance with the Native American peoples with whom they had long interacted, and assure their support in the war against the French and their allies.

The roster of attending Five Nations in 1758, using the standard protocol, lists the most powerful nations at the beginning: Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and so forth, but no Cayuga had yet arrived (see above for John Hudson's presentation on August 7–8, 1758). The list descends to the least powerful of the thirteen tribes attending. Near the bottom are the "landless" groups, or peoples who had sold all of their *traditional* territory and in 1758 were mostly scattered over buffer lands under the suzerainty of the Six Nations. The group third from last are identified as the "Munsies or Minnisinks—[represented by] Egohohowen," then the "Mohickons" and very last listed are the "Wapings or Pumptons," represented by "Nimhaon, Aquaywochta, with Sundry Men, Women and Children."[104] The Waping are noted in the 1758 treaty as having sold their lands in New Jersey along the Hudson, and the "Mohickons" are obviously immigrants.

At this treaty Teedyuscung spoke of the "Waping Tribes, or Goshen Indians,"[105] also as "Wapings or Pumptons" from New Jersey, as being descended from earlier Waping immigrants. The Waping who relocated to northern New Jersey after the 1630s, however, left numerous members of their tribe in their homeland. This "stay at home" population may not have included Daniel Nimham (Young Nimhan), the son of "One Shake" Nimhan. In 1758 most of these Waping were still resident in southeastern New York. "Nimhaon," the first representative of the "Wapings or Pumptons," must be "One Shake" Nimhan (also identified as Nimhan II, who died in 1762), of the famous Nimhan line of Waping from east of the Hudson.[106] Daniel Nimhan (1726–78) was the third in his line identified as a leader of the Waping.[107] The published version of this readily available 1758 treaty has been documented as a reliable transcription.[108]

Discussion

The impressive series *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789* (general editor, Alden T. Vaughan) offers an excellent means by which scholars can examine the interactions among tribes and colonial immigrants from Europe. The vast numbers of documents relating to the

many Native tribes presented a significant challenge to the many editors who contributed to this effort. The resulting collection is nearly complete for early Pennsylvania[109] but less inclusive in the several volumes for New York, combined with New Jersey, reflecting their political history during and after the Dutch period.[110] Delineating the home range of any Native population using land sale documents remains the best route now available to determining the boundaries of aboriginal land holdings.

The present study began with an effort to confirm Philhower's hypothesis that the aboriginal people called "Pompton" had originated among the Waping, from southeastern New York and western Connecticut. This is evident in the New Jersey Treaty of 1758. Efforts to decode the borders of the Wiechquaeskeck, and their relationship with the Waping, have clarified the process by which these Hudson River Indians became the "Raritan," as well as the "Pompton," in New Jersey. Various political factors after 1630 resulted in the migration of small groups of Wiechquaeskeck and also of Waping into the Raritan Valley.

Graymont's volumes on *Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789* had to confront the extreme complexity of Native politics involving New York's Five Nations Iroquois, plus the estimated fifteen hundred land transfer documents for New Jersey alone.[111] This plethora of information placed an enormous burden on Graymont, who made a heroic selection for publication.[112] Other New York and New Jersey documents are included in B. Fernow's works,[113] including a transcription of the deed (patent) of July 12, 1630 for the area that includes present-day Hoboken, sold by members of the Hackensack band of Esopus.

The complexity of political and military interactions among the Native tribes, amplified by the Dutch opening the pelt trade, was increased by the development of a Native-produced commodity known as "wampum."[114] This important trade product, first produced by Natives living at the margins of the pelt trade, increasingly influenced every aspect of economics throughout the region and into the world trade system.[115]

The tracing of individual biographies and tribal histories requires that we return to the many basic documents to reconstruct this period in history. For many Natives, European trade and colonization provided opportunity and abundance. Many individuals and entire tribes benefited from the new opportunities offered through trade with Europeans.[116] A major question addressed in this study concerns the matter of *where* a group of Natives *could* move if they wished to leave their traditional territorial area. One possible choice for displaced Native communities involved movement into buffer zones.[117]

Frederic Shonnard and W. W. Spooner, in examining the documents for Westchester County where the Wiechquaeskeck lived, made a simple but extremely important observation regarding Native activities following the sale of their lands: "They always remained on the lands after the sale continuing their former habits of life until forced by the steady extension of white settlement to fall back farther into the wilderness."[118]

For all the Native peoples of the Northeast, remaining in place was an option for some parts of the community. Thus, Wiechquaeskeck land sales to Adolphus Philipse and other Dutch had minimal influence on the first generation of vendors. Gradually, the inexorable population increase among the colonists exerted land pressures on the aboriginal Wiechquaeskeck, who were partly dependent on anadromous fish.[119] Their use of fish resources had facilitated the relocation of some to the Raritan Valley, a nearby coastal zone that shared many of the same fish populations seasonally available in their homeland.[120] Individuals and families made their own decisions on how to respond to changing factors. While a substantial number of the Wiechquaeskeck may have relocated to the Raritan Valley ca. 1630, most of the tribe remained in their traditional range. How many Wiechquaeskeck remained behind or shifted into the Connecticut (eastern) portion of their territory, or went elsewhere, we do not know. Unlike Mahican, Waping, and Esopus, I have yet to find any Wiechquaeskeck or Raritan operating within the Pennsylvania colony in the 1700s.

By the 1750s the Wiechquaeskeck in the area that became Westchester County, New York and southwestern Connecticut were no longer an identifiable people.[121] At least some traditionalist Wiechquaeskeck merged into the colonial population, with most of those families settling into marginal situations. Others may have been attracted to the Native praying communities then being established in several New England locations. Still others may have relocated to the upper Housatonic River Valley. Mandell indicates that by 1723 the Housatonic Valley had become an important center for Indian refugees from the Connecticut River Valley to the east,[122] and presumably also from among the several tribes from the west, including at least some of the Wiechquaeskeck. By 1739 Mahican can be documented among the peoples relocated to, or concentrated along, the Housatonic,[123] although Lavin suggests that the Housatonic Valley of western Massachusetts had always been part of the Mahican homeland, with their eastern border located within the Berkshire Mountain range.[124]

Relocations among this Native population may have shifted to the individual level soon after 1750. In the 1790s at least one individual from a New England tribe is known to have married a Lenopi woman and became

resident with her in central New Jersey, where their common language was English.[125] Despite these occasional marriages and considerable population movement after 1600, the cultural integrity of the core groups of these tribes remained remarkably intact for quite some time, well into the 1800s in some cases. By the middle 1800s, descendants of the Wiechquaeskeck who were still living in the area that became southwestern Connecticut were no longer identified by that tribal name. By the later 1800s all recall or recognition of their tribal origins had vanished, as did most traces of Native traditions, as some of these people developed into an Indian "ethnic group."

Similarly, those Wiechquaeskeck who had moved into the Raritan Valley, and some Waping then in the Pompton Plains area, may have remained there even after most members of these relocated groups moved farther west into the New Jersey highlands. Groups such as the "Ramapo Mountain" people and others claiming Native ancestry may be admixed, biological descendants of early Native immigrants into northern New Jersey, but among these groups, direct descent from any known tribe has never been documented.[126]

We now need to generate standardized methods of recording and referencing data from land sales and other Native-related documents in order to enable scholars to share their databases more effectively. This might allow us to reconstruct the histories of individual Native Americans and the cultures of which they were members. Native American name searches in the many documents may help us to resolve questions concerning the origins and later movements of tribal groups such as the Wiechquaeskeck, and to learn what became of them within or beyond the lower Hudson River Valley after the 1600s.

Conclusion

The evidence indicates that the Manhattan Indians were but one band of the Wiechquaeskeck tribe. A small number of the Wiechquaeskeck people living at the northern edge of their territory moved to the Raritan region during the decades between 1630 and 1650, responding to attacks by the Mohican. Others took refuge among their kin in the Manhattan band who were still resident on Manhattan Island. The members of that band lived close to the palisade or "wall" near the lower end of Manhattan Island, in the area of Corlaer's Hook and quite close to Fort Amsterdam. Other displaced Wiechquaeskeck had taken refuge in present-day New Jersey among the Esopus, at a location just across the Hudson River from lower Manhattan. They were later joined by other kin from their aboriginal homeland.[127]

Those Wiechquaeskeck resident in the Raritan Valley became identified as "Raritan."

As Raritan they continued to move west along that river valley, foraging along with the Esopus and those Waping who had relocated to the Pompton Plains area and became known as Pompton. Whether the Esopus had joined with the Wiechquaeskeck-Raritan or with the Waping, or both, and if all were in the process of becoming the "Munsee" after the 1650s remains unclear. Ultimately, they all became conflated, by colonists and scholars, with other Delawarean language speaking groups collectively identified as the "Delaware." As generic "Delaware" (Delawarean language speakers), the people identified as Munsee lived within the vast buffer territory utilized as the southern foraging range of the Five Nations Iroquois. Some of these "Munsee" Delawarean speakers later moved to Canada while others traced an irregular journey toward the west, dispersing across North America.[128] How many Wiechquaeskeck were among them remains to be determined.

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Notes

1. In recent decades, finds of maize and other features at precolonial Mahican sites have led scholars to apply the term "horticulturalists" to these people whom

I had long believed were hunters and gatherers. Many scholars now interpret this evidence differently, especially Lucianne Lavin, *Connecticut's Indigenous Peoples: What Archaeology, History, and Oral Traditions Teach Us about Their Communities and Cultures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); see also Lucianne Lavin et al., "The Goldkrest Site: An Undisturbed, Multi-Component Woodland Site in the Heart of Mahican Territory," *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 12 (1996): 113–129; Tonya Largy et al., "Corncobs and Buttercups: Plant Remains from the Goldkrest Site," in *Current Northeast Paleoethnobotany*, ed. John P. Hart, Bulletin 494 (Albany: New York State Museum, 1999), 69–84; esp. James W. Bradley, *Before Albany: An Archaeology of Native-Dutch Relations in the Capital Region, 1600–1664* (Albany: State University of New York, State Education Department, 2007). Recently J. P. Hart et al., using the same reasoning, suggest that the Esopus also had been "horticulturalists": "Maize and Pits: Late Prehistoric Occupations of the Hurley Site in the Esopus Creek Valley, Ulster County, New York," *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 45 (2017): 133–160.

In extensive reviews of the ethnohistoric literature for the Lenape, M. J. Becker demonstrates that traditional limited maize gardening in the lower Delaware Valley was amplified during the period 1640–60 to generate a cash crop that provided access to desired European goods: M. J. Becker, "Lenape Maize Sales to the Swedish Colonists: Cultural Stability during the Early Colonial Period," in *New Sweden in America*, ed. Carol E. Hoffecker et al., 121–136 (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995), and M. J. Becker, "Cash Cropping by Lenape Foragers: Preliminary Notes on Native Maize Sales to Swedish Colonists and Cultural Stability during the Early Colonial Period," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey* 54 (1999): 45–68; see also M. J. Becker, "Lenape ('Delaware') in the Early Colonial Economy: Cultural Interactions and the Slow Processes of Culture Change before 1740," *Northeast Anthropology* 81–82 (2014): 109–129. Descriptions of economics within each Native culture merit greater scrutiny.

2. Each colonizing venture in North America had a different system for securing Native lands; see the important series *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789*, 20 vols., general ed., Alden T. Vaughan (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1981–2004). For example, both the earliest Dutch and Swedes along the Delaware River varied considerably in their patterns of negotiating land purchases, usually buying just the amount needed for a fort or plantation; but by the later 1600s land speculation led to huge purchases made from various Native bands. William Penn's policy was to secure title to all the Indian land in his colony, and to clear title from previous purchases made by Swedes and Dutch. The Dutch along the Hudson at first also varied in making purchases of land from the Wiechquaeskeck and others, but later the formats of deeds became more systematic.

3. See Bert Salwen, "Indians of Southern New England and Long Island," in *Connecticut Archaeology: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. Robert E. Dewar, Kenneth L. Feder, and David A. Poirier, Occasional Papers in Anthropology no. 1 (Storrs:

Department of Anthropology, University of Connecticut, 1983). The article includes important material cut from Bert Salwen, "Indians of Southern New England and Long Island," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15: Northeast, general ed. B. Trigger (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), 160, as noted by Dena Dincauze in "Bert Salwen's Prehistory: 1962–1983," *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 21–22 (1992–93): 9. For the Waping, the northern neighbors of the Wiechquaeskeck, see Tom Arne Midtrød, *The Memory of All Ancient Customs: Native American Diplomacy in the Colonial Hudson Valley* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013).

4. Cf. Barbara Graymont, ed., *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789*, general ed. Alden T. Vaughan, vol. 7, New York and New Jersey Treaties, 1609–1682 (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1985), 7:438, n40.

5. Since John P. Hart and Bernard Means published on "Maize and Villages" in the Northeast (2002), a great deal of evidence has accrued regarding maize production in this region (see also Lavin, *Connecticut's Indigenous*, 316). However, the evidence from among the Lenape (Becker, "Cash Cropping"; Becker, "Lenape Maize Sales"), plus suggestions regarding optimum foraging theory. Arthur S. Keene, "Biology, Behavior, and Borrowing: A Critical Examination of Optimal Foraging Theory in Archaeology," in *Archaeological Hammer and Theories*, edited by James A. Moore and Arthur S. Keene, 137–155 (New York: Academic Press, 1983), suggests that the Wiechquaeskeck sustained their predominantly hunting and gathering economy into the late 1600s, if not beyond. These data conform with evidence now available for population size. During the 1950s and 1960s ethnographic studies among the Dobe Ju/'Hoansi, then identified as the "Dobe !Kung" (Richard Lee, *The Dobe Ju/'Hoansi*, 3rd ed. [Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 2002]), and other hunting-gathering societies found that individual band size usually ranged between twelve and fifty members, with an average of about twenty-five. The total population for a tribe usually numbered about five hundred. These data are reviewed for the Lenape and found to be supported by the evidence from land sale documents: Marshall Joseph Becker, "Lenape Population at the Time of European Contact: Estimating Native Numbers in the Lower Delaware Valley," in "Symposium on the Demographic History of the Philadelphia Region, 1600–1860," ed. Susan E. Klepp, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133, no. 2 (1989). Application of these population data to other hunting-gathering tribes in the region of the Delaware River drainage yield similar results: Marshall Joseph Becker, "The Lenape and Other 'Delawarean' Peoples at the Time of European Contact: Population Estimates Derived from Archaeological and Historical Sources," *Bulletin: Journal of the New York State Archaeological Association* 105 (1993): 16–25. For matters relating to "demographic pressures bearing on hunting and gathering societies, or marginally food producing ones," see Philip E. L. Smith, "Land-use, Settlement Patterns, and Subsistence Agriculture: A Demographic Perspective," in *Man, Settlement, and Urbanism*, ed.

Peter J. Ucko, Ruth Tringham, and G. W. Dimbleby (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing, 1972), 424.

6. See Timothy H. Ives, "Wangunk Ethnohistory: A Case Study of a Connecticut River Indian Community," unpublished MA thesis in anthropology, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, 2001. Ives's studies of documents relating to the Wangunk suggest a higher rate of female participation in land sales then is known in the Delaware Valley.

7. The P. Schagen document now is widely available, with a picture, transcription, and translation, all of which are available from the impressive website of the New Netherland Institute, https://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org/history-and-heritage/additional-resources/dutch-treats/peter-schagen-letter/.

8. For Lenape territory, see Donald H. Kent, ed., *Early American Indian Documents, Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789, Volume I: Pennsylvania and Delaware Treaties, 1629–1737*, general ed. Alden T. Vaughan (Washington, DC: University Publications of America, 1979); M. J. Becker, "Anadromous Fish and the Lenape," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 76 (2) (2006): 28–40; Becker, "Late Woodland (CA. 1000–1740 CE) Foraging Patterns of the Lenape and Their Neighbors in the Delaware Valley," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 80 (1) (2010): 17–31; Becker, "Lenape Culture History: The Transition of 1660 and Its Implications for the Archaeology of the Final Phase of the Late Woodland Period," *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 27 (2011): 53–72. For the Lenopi, see Becker, "Mehoxy of the Cohansey Band of South Jersey Indians: His Life as a Reflection of Symbiotic Relations with Colonists in Southern New Jersey and the Lower Counties of Pennsylvania," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey* 53 (1998): 40–68; Becker, "Mehoxy of the Cohansey Band of Lenopi: A 1684 Document That Offers Clues to the Missing Part of His Biography." *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Delaware* 44, n.s. (2012): 1–29. The territory of the Wiechquaeskeck is worked out in Becker, "The Wiechquaeskeck and Waping of Southeastern New York and Southwestern Connecticut: History and Migrations," unpublished manuscript dated 2017, on file at the Becker Archives, West Chester University of Pennsylvania. Legal land "sales" also can be used to identify fraudulent claims made by Natives who sold lands in buffer zones, to which no one had traditional rights of ownership. Situations such as seen on Staten Island, where seven completely different groups step forward to sell the island, reveal that there was no true owner. Other buffer zone lands are sold by individuals or by only two or three men, suggesting that they are not representing the members of a band that owned the land. As more of the Wiechquaeskeck deeds come to light, we will better understand the full extent of their territory and be able to define the buffer lands surrounding their territory.

9. For example, William Nelson, *The Indians of New Jersey: Their Origin and Development (etc.)* (Paterson: Press Printing and Publishing Company, 1894); Reginald Pelham Bolton, "New York City in Indian Possession," *Indian Notes and Monographs* 2 (7) (1920): 223–397; Frank H. Stewart, *Indians of Southern New Jersey*

(Woodbury, NJ: Gloucester County Historical Society, 1932; repr. 1977); Charles A. Philhower, "Indians of the Morris County [NJ] Area," *New Jersey Historical Society, Proceedings* 54 (4) (1936): 249–267. For the use of these records in archaeology, see Foster H. Saville, "A Montauk Cemetery at Easthampton, Long Island," *Indian Notes and Monographs* 2 (3) (1920): 65–102.

10. Hugh Elton, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1996).

11. William Engelbrecht and J. Brice Jamieson. "St. Lawrence Iroquoian Projectile Points: A Regional Perspective," *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 44 (2016): 81–98. See also Jennifer Birch and John P. Hart. "Social Networks and Northern Iroquoian Confederacy Dynamics," *American Antiquity* 83 (1) (2018): 14, fig. 1.

12. Five Nations' collective policies regarding their neighbors are evident in devastating raids against the Mahican, St. Lawrence Iroquoians, Huron, Erie, Susquehannock, and others. See William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 355, 453. Mahican aggression against the Waping and Wiechquaeskeck is noted in Graymont, *Early American*, 7:212–213; Becker, "The Raritan Valley Buffer Zone: A Refuge Area for Some Wiechquaeskeck and Other Native Americans during the 17th Century," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Connecticut* 78 (2016): 55–93; and Becker, "The Manhatan Band of Wiechquaeskeck Relocate into the Raritan Valley Buffer Zone: A Refuge Area and the Beginning of 'Munsee' Ethnogenesis," paper presented at the 11th Annual Roundtable, Institute of American Indian Studies: "Early Encounters: Dutch-Indigenous Relations in 17th Century Northeastern North America," Washington, Connecticut, November 2016.

13. Summarized in Becker, "The Raritan Valley," and Becker, "The Manhatan Band" (see note 12).

14. I discussed this possibility twenty years ago, suggesting that some Wiechquaeskeck maintained cultural integrity through a move to northern New Jersey and now we have more evidence to confirm this idea. Becker, "Connecticut Origins for Some Native Americans in New Jersey during the Early Historic Period: Strategies for the Use of Native American Names in Research," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey* 48 (1993): 62–64; Becker, "The Raritan Valley"; Becker, "The Manhatan Band of Wiechquaeskeck."

15. Becker, "Lenape Culture History"; M. J. Becker, "Ethnohistory of the Lower Delaware Valley: Addressing Myths in the Archaeological Interpretations of the Late Woodland and Contact Period," *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 30 (2014): 41–54.

16. Heather A. Wholey and Carole L. Nash, eds., *Middle Atlantic Prehistory: Foundations and Practice* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017).

17. Cf. Becker, "Anadromous Fish."

18. M. J. Becker, "Lenopi, or, What's in a Name? Interpreting the Evidence for Cultures and Cultural Boundaries in the Lower Delaware Valley," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey* 63 (2008): 11–32.

19. See Graymont, *Early American*, 7:381, from B. Fernow, trans., comp., and ed., "Documents Relating to the History and Settlement of the Towns along the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers (with the exception of Albany) from 1630 to 1684," *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New-York,* n.s. 2 (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1881), 8:504–506.

20. Edmund B. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York; Procured in Holland, England and France* (Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1856), 1:366–367.

21. Becker, "Mehoxy."

22. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:428, n. 21.

23. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:158–159, 183, 330.

24. Located in the New York State Archives, Albany (Series A1810-78_V12_61).

25. José António Brandão and William A. Starna, "From the Mohawk-Mahican War to the Beaver Wars: Questioning the Pattern," *Ethnohistory* 51 (4) (2004): 725–750.

26. A. Bastiaen Jansz Eekhof, *Krol: Krankenbezoeker, kommies en kommandeur van Nieuw-Nederland (1595–1645)* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1910), 3–5; cf. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History*, 1:45–50.

27. Washington Irving, *A History of New York, from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty*, rev. ed. (New York: Inskeep and Bradford, 1812). First revised edition 1812, from the 1809 first edition.

28. See Laurence M. Hauptman and James D. Wherry, eds., *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an Indian Nation* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); also Lavin, *Connecticut's Indigenous Peoples* (2013).

29. https://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org/history-and-heritage/dutch_americans/willem-kieft/

30. Irving, *A History of New York*, 41.

31. The archaeological evidence for any of this information, largely concentrated within the seventeenth century, is close to zero. All these documented killings, burnings, and other events in the historical record remain unknown from any archaeological evidence. Simply put, there is no archaeological data from the Wiechquaeskeck homeland from the Late Woodland through the early Colonial Period, or into the 1700s. A collation of the limited historical record, and its relevance to this study, will be left to scholars working in that region. Our interest here is to determine what kind of archaeological record might support the belief that the Raritan region, or part of it, served as a buffer zone between the Lenopi and Esopus tribes during the early historic period. We would expect to find very few "residential" archaeological sites of those eras in an area that was, at best, intermittently host to small groups gathering resources. An "absence" of sites, however, might be attributed to survey or other methodological problems. Therefore, we might consider the relative abundance of sites as a better indicator, with activities from earlier time periods being better represented than from the more populous Late Woodland period. In fact, that is what is indicated from the sparse archaeological record.

32. See Stephen T. Staggs, "Declarations of Interdependence: The Nature of Dutch–Native Relations in New Netherland, 1624–1664," chapter 3 in this volume, also for a discussion of this interdependence, and note 24.

33. Fernow, "Documents Relating," 8:8.

34. Fernow, "Documents Relating," 8:7, cf. 22.

35. The annual trade after 1633 or 1634 with a group living along the Raritan River appears to parallel the annual expedition sent from Fort Amsterdam to Burlington Island in the South River beginning around 1623 or 1624. Those expeditions also remain known only from inferences, and not from specific accounts in the documents.

36. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:65–66, from Fernow, "Documents Relating," 8:22–23.

37. David Pietersz. De Vries, from the "Korte Historiael ende Journaels Aenteyckeninge," 1633–1643 (1655), 181–234, in *Narratives of New Netherland 1609–1664* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909 [1655]). David P. De Vries, taken from the section "*near America ende Nieuw-Nederlandt . . .*," in *Korte Historiael Ende Journaels Aenteyckeninge*, ed. H. T. Colenbrander, 227–280 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, [1655] 1911).

38. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:70, from NYCMD, 4:115–116.

39. Graymont, *Early American*, vol. 7.

40. De Vries, "Korte Historiael," 208; Graymont, *Early American*, 7:82.

41. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:65–75.

42. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:83. See also endnote 1, above.

43. Becker, "Lenopi"; Becker, "Lenopi Land Use Patterns in Central New Jersey during the Late Woodland Period as Inferred from a Deed of 1710," *Newsletter of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey*, no. 247 (March 2015): 3–5.

44. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:70.

45. Fernow, "Documents Relating," 8:7.

46. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:83.

47. Fernow, "Documents Relating," 8:9.

48. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:72–75.

49. Becker, "The Wiechquaeskeck and Waping."

50. William A. Starna, *From Homeland to New Land: A History of the Mahican Indians, 1600–1830* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 21–33.

51. Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York City: Oxford University Press, 1999), 41.

52. Discussion of growing conflicts with the Dutch on the South River are reviewed in Becker, "Lenape Culture History."

53. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:119. Italics in original. Achter Col is the area at the mouth of the Hackensack River where it enters Newark Bay, and site of a number of early Dutch farmsteads. The nearest Esopus band resident in that area are generally identified as "Hackensack" Indians in the documents.

54. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History*, 1:365–367.

55. Peter H. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A New History of the Thirty Years' War* (London: Penguin, 2010), 787. Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years' War* (London: Routledge, 1997), 17–18.

56. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History*, 1:366.

57. Robert, Bolton Jr., *The History of the County of Westchester from Its First Settlement to the Present Time*, vols. I and II (New York: Alexander S. Gould, 1848), I:2.

58. Bolton, "New York City in Indian Possession," 339–340.

59. Barbara Graymont, *Early American* 7:7.

60. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:116.

61. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History*, 1:366–367; Becker, "The Raritan Valley."

62. Charles T. Gehring, trans. and ed., "Correspondence, 1647–1653," *New Netherland Documents Series* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 128; Becker, "Lenape ('Delaware')," 120.

63. M. J. Becker, "The Moravian Mission in the Forks of the Delaware: Reconstructing the Migration and Settlement Patterns of the Jersey Lenape during the 18th Century through Documents in the Moravian Archives," *Unitas Fratrum* 21–22 (1987): 83–172; Becker, "Teedyuscung's Youth and Hereditary Land Rights in New Jersey: The Identification of the Unalachtigo," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey* 47 (1992): 37–60.

64. cf. Becker, "Lenape Culture History."

65. Attending the peace treaty between the Dutch and the Waping on May 18, 1660 were Oratam of the "Hackinkesachy" band representing the Waping, followed by "*Mattano*, late chief of *Najack*" and "*Sauweraro*, chief of *Wiechquaeskeck*" and two others, plus an interpreter (Graymont, *Early American*, 7:210–211, from Fernow, "Documents Relating," 8:166–167).

66. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:270–272.

67. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:275, 277–278.

68. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:282–285.

69. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:284.

70. J. J. Hartsinck, *Beschryving van Guiana, op de wilde Kust in Zuid-America* (Amsterdam: Gerrit Tielenburg, 1770), 27–35.

71. Becker, "Lenopi"; Becker, "Late Woodland."

72. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:8, 9: *New York and New Jersey Treaties, 1714–1753* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1996).

73. Becker, "The Raritan Valley."

74. cf. Becker, "The Armewamus Band of New Jersey: Other Clues to Differences between the Lenopi and the Lenape," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 80 (2) (2010): 61–72.

75. William Nelson, *Indians of New Jersey*; Nelson, "Anthropologic Miscellanea. Indian Words, Personal Names, and Place-names in New Jersey," *American Anthro-*

pologist 4 (1902): 183–192; Nelson, *Personal Names of Indians of New Jersey: Being a List of Six Hundred and Fifty . . .* (Paterson, NJ: Paterson History Club, 1904).

76. Stewart, *Indians of Southern New Jersey.*

77. Becker, Ms. A, "Four Specious Indian Deeds from New Jersey, All Dated 18 August 1713: Transcribed in 1990 by Marshall Joseph Becker from West Jersey Deeds [Book] Liber BBB (pages 140–147) in the New Jersey Archives," Trenton, New Jersey (6 pages, April 29, 2015).

78. Graymont, *Early American,* 8:26–27. See also Becker, "Transcriptions of Indian Deeds. Manuscript copy in the Charles A. Philhower Collection, New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, New Jersey," Ms. A, unpublished manuscript of file, Becker Archives, West Chester University of Pennsylvania.

79. cf. Becker "Lenopi Land Use Patterns in Central New Jersey."

80. cf. Becker, "Mehoxy."

81. Graymont, *Early American,* 7:27.

82. Becker, "The Raritan Valley."

83. Edward Manning Ruttenber, *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson's River* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1872), 201.

84. cf. Becker "The Boundary between the Lenape and the Munsee," 1983.

85. Graymont, *Early American,* 9:664, n18.

86. Ruttenber, *History of the Indian Tribes,* 201.

87. For example, Becker, "Teedyuscung's Youth."

88. Starna, *From Homeland;* Ted J. Brasser, "Mahican," in *Handbook of North American Indians,* vol. 15: *Northeast,* ed. B. G. Trigger, 198–212 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1978). See also Tom Arne Midtrød, *The Memory of All Ancient Customs: Native American Diplomacy in the Colonial Hudson Valley* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013).

89. Philhower, *Indians,* 255.

90. Charles A. Philhower, "Transcriptions of Indian Deeds," Ms. A, manuscript copy in the Charles A. Philhower Collection, New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, New Jersey.

91. Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuskung, 1700–1763* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949).

92. Becker, "The Moravian Mission"; Becker, "Teedyuscung's Youth."

93. Becker, "Lenopi, or, What's in a Name?," 11–32.

94. Barbara Graymont, *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789,* general ed. Alden T. Vaughan, vol. 10: *New York and New Jersey Treaties, 1754–1775* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 2001), 299–301.

95. Graymont, *Early American,* 10:302.

96. Graymont, *Early American,* 10:303.

97. Graymont, *Early American,* 10:305.

98. Philhower *Indians,* 251–254.

99. Graymont, *Early American,* 10:309–353. See also Nelson, *The Indians of New Jersey,* 117–119; also claimed by Robert S. Grumet, "Taphow: The Forgotten

'Sakemau' and Commander in Chief of All Those Indians Inhabiting Northern New Jersey,' " *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey* 43 (1988): 27, as from the record in the New Jersey Archives as *Liber I–2*: 89–94.

100. Becker, "Jacob Skickett, Lenopi Elder: Preliminary Notes from before 1750 to after 1802," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 81 (2) (2011): 65–76; Becker, "John Skickett (1823?—after 1870): A Lenopi Descent Basketmaker Working in Connecticut," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Connecticut* 76 (2014): 99–118.

101. Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania,* vol. 8, 13 January 1757—4 October 1762 (Harrisburg: Theo. Fenn & Company, 1852), 174.

102. Located at the New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, New Jersey, where they are catalogued under "L.C. 1 Vault."

103. Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, 8:174–223.

104. Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, 8:175–176; see also Philip Smith, *A General History of Dutchess County from 1609 to 1876, Inclusive* (Pawling, NY: Published by the author, 1877), 479.

105. Graymont, *Early American*, 10:333.

106. For earlier evidence, see Becker, "Cultural History in the Native Northeast" (review essay), *American Anthropologist* 99 (1997): 178–180; also Becker, "The Lenape and other 'Delawarean' Peoples."

107. Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, 8:176.

108. James H. Merrell, " 'I Desire That All I Have Said . . . May Be Taken Down Aright': Revisiting Teedyuscung's 1756 Treaty Council Speeches," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 63 (4) (2006): 777–826.

109. Donald H. Kent, ed., *Early American Indian Documents, Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789. Volume I: Pennsylvania and Delaware Treaties, 1629–1737*, general ed. Alden T. Vaughan (Washington, DC: University Publications of America, 1979); Donald H. Kent, ed., *Early American Indian Documents, Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789, Volume II: Pennsylvania Treaties, 1737–1756*, general ed. Alden T. Vaughan (Washington, DC: University Publications of America, 1981).

110. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:8, 9, 10.

111. Graymont, *Early American*, 7:8, 9, 10.

112. For example, see Becker, "Mehoxy of the Cohansey Band of Lenopi: A 1684 Document That Offers Clues to the Missing Part of His Biography," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Delaware*, n.s., 44 (2012): 1–29.

113. Fernow, "Documents Relating," 8.

114. Jonathan Lainey, *La "Monnaie des Sauvages": Les colliers de wampum d'hier à aujourd'hui* (Quebec: Septentrion, 2004).

115. Lynn Ceci, "The Effect of European Contact and Trade on the Settlement Patterns of Indians," in *Coastal New York, 1524–1665* (New York: Garland Press, 1990); Becker, "Wampum on the Fringe: Explaining the Absence of a Post-1600 CE Native-Produced Commodity in Delaware," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Delaware*, n.s., 45 (2012): 23–36; Becker, "Lenape ('Delaware')."

116. Becker, "Lenape ('Delaware')"; Becker, "Lenape ('Delaware') Mail Carriers and the Origins of the US Postal Service," *American Indian Culture & Research Journal* 39 (3) (2015): 99–121.

117. By the 1700s these buffer zones were no longer sufficient to absorb displaced Natives, leading, in the 1730s, to the formation of refuges such as the Indian town of Stockbridge in western Massachusetts (see Salwen, "Indians," 1978 and 1983).

118. Frederic Shonnard and W. W. Spooner, *History of Westchester County, New York from Its Earliest Settlement to the Year 1900* (New York: New York History Company, 1900), 33.

119. Cf. Becker, "Anadromous Fish."

120. Jan A. Moore, "Quinnipiac Fishes and Fisheries: History and Modern Perspectives on the Fishes and Fisheries in the Quinnipiac Watershed," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 57 (2001): 1–28.

121. Cf. Jason Mancini, " 'In Contempt and Oblivion': Censuses, Ethnogeography, and Hidden Indian Histories in Eighteenth-Century Southern New England," *Ethnohistory* 62 (1) (2015): 61–94.

122. Daniel R. Mandell, ed., *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789*, general ed. Alden T. Vaughan, vol. 20, *New England Treaties, North and West, 1650–1776* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 2003), 10:464–465.

123. Mandell, *Early American Indian Documents*, 10:516.

124. Lucianne Lavin, Institute for American Indian Studies, personal communication to the author, September 2016. See also Lavin, "Dutch-Native American Relationships in Eastern New Netherland (That's Connecticut, Folks!)," chapter 10, this volume.

125. Cf. Becker, "Jacob Skickett."

126. A wide range of popular works review, with varying degrees of scholarly diligence, an assortment of information relating to the peoples variously identifying themselves as the Ramapo (or Ramapough) Indians, or as the Jackson Whites. See David Steven Cohen, *The Ramapo Mountain People* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1974). The information relating to Native ancestry for the Ramapo claimants is so flimsy that none of the claimant groups using that name have even been granted Indigenous recognition by the state of New York. Koenig and Stein specifically state that the "group known as the Ramapough Mountain Indians" were denied recognition in their pursuit of a gaming license: Alexa Koenig and Jonathan Stein, "Federalism and the State Recognition of Native American Tribes: A Survey of State-Recognized Tribes and State Recognition Processes across the United States," *Santa Clara Law Review* 48, no. 1 (2007): 1–153. For related information on the "Pompton Indians," see Kate S. Ahmadi, "Pompotowwut-Muhheakanneau, Part 1: The Pomptons (Pumptons)," paper presented at the 23rd annual Highlands Archaeological and Historical Conference, Tuxedo, New York, October 24, 2009,

copy on file in the Becker Archives, West Chester University of Pennsylvania, and "Chief Towaco," paper presented at the 25rd annual Highlands Archaeological and Historical Conference, Tuxedo, New York, October 15, 2011, copy on file in the Becker Archives, West Chester University of Pennsylvania.

127. Electra F. Jones, *Stockbridge, Past and Present; or, Records of an Old Mission Station* (Springfield, MA: Samuel Bowles & Company, 1854), 13–29. This process was parallel to that of the Lenopi who relocated from New Jersey to New Stockbridge in New York. See Becker, "Jacob Skickett"; also Becker, "John Skickett." The process of a "point person" leaving a tribal area to explore a buffer zone, and then being followed by some kin, is documented in only one known example: Marshall Joseph Becker, "Keposh: First Lenopi Migrant into the Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania," *Newsletter of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey*, no. 230 (January 2011): 1, 3–7.

128. C. A. Weslager, "Enrollment List of Chippewa and Delaware-Munsies Living in Franklin County, Kansas, May 31, 1900," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 40 (2) (1974): 234–240; Earl P. Olmstead, *Blackcoats among the Delaware—David Zeisberger on the Ohio Frontier* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1991); Becker, "The Ganawese: Tracing the Piscataway from Their Entry into Pennsylvania ca. 1700 until They Relocated into Five Nations Territory around 1750 and Became Known as Conoy." Unpublished manuscript on file, Becker Archives, West Chester University of Pennsylvania.

Land sales from within buffer areas, all dating from a later period, reveal how the members of several immigrant Native groups morphed into "groups" with names that today are better known (e.g., Abenaki, Munsee, Delaware) than the names of their actual ancestral, aboriginal groups. Land sales by relocated populations also provide a window through which to view these people. Each document adds important information to their histories.

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