The Moravian Mission in the Forks of Delaware: Reconstructing the Migration and Settlement Patterns of the Jersey Lenape during the Eighteenth Century through Documents in the Moravian Archives*

by
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Introduction: Identification of a "Culture"

For many years most historians and anthropologists conceptualized all of the aboriginal peoples of eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and even southeastern New York and Long Island as belonging to a single culture called "Delaware".(1) Recent archaeological, historical, and linguistic studies of native populations in the "Eastern Woodlands"(2) have enabled us to move beyond such superficial generalizations(3) and into more refined studies of the specific peoples inhabiting very localized territories. We now recognize that these groups (cultures or ethnic units) which lived along the Delaware River were distinct and separate aggregates already during the early historic period. In addition, archaeological studies may be able to provide means by which these same cultural units can be recognized in the prehistoric period.(4)

The difficulties of identifying discrete subsystems even in "tribal" social networks have been discussed by, for example, Braun and Plog(5) who see each "tribal" social system as useful in the internal transmission of materials and information through rules of reciprocity, shared among individuals and groups, or what would be considered as the basis for delineating membership in a "culture". The macro-view taken in this paper, that members of the same system share language and acknowledge their kin relationships, assumes that the internal dynamics of each system also operate to keep intact the borders of the system. This requires "boundary formation or maintenance" which permits the members of the kin-related group to respond to certain kinds of environmental unpredictability.

Braun and Plog further note that "style" of decoration in material culture provides a form of social communication. Therefore, we should be able to define the borders of each such "group" through their production of items which share elements of form and surface decoration (e.g. pottery). I would suggest that ritual also furthers group cohesion or means of creating group identity (social boundaries), and that such rituals can be seen in details of mortuary behavior.

While historic documents may help to provide the information necessary to the identification of interaction patterns (marriage, co-residence, land transfers, etc.) of a specific group (culture), little of this can be identified archaeologically in the area of our study. Since the people of our study were non-literate, the archaeological record forms the only source of direct information about them. In theory, their cultural units may be recognized by their specific mortuary patterns as well as by ceramics produced, or perhaps even lithic technology.(6) Questions regarding the possibility of recognizing or distinguishing among each of various cultures, as correlated with specific archaeological units, have been answered affirmatively by Shennan,(7) and we believe that this will be the case for the area of the Delaware River valley. This presentation intends to set the stage for such archaeological studies by offering an extensive survey of what we know from documents. A review of the more limited archaeological findings concerning these questions is appended at the end.

The problem of understanding the nature of the relationships of kinship among the many historically named units, or bands, or groups of Native Americans, poses a major difficulty.(8) This has been the case with the 3 cultures originally occupying the Delaware Valley who after 1740 often are referred to in the documents as "Delaware". Gradually we have come to be able to distinguish clearly between these various groups of "Delawarean" peoples, often by tracking specific genealogies and family kin networks.(9) A recent study of one part of eastern Pennsylvania(10) demonstrates the separate cultural identities of the Lenape and the Munsee, two of the "groups" often conjoined by historians under the title "Delaware". In distinguishing between the Lenape and Munsee as two discrete socio-political entities, something recognized by several provious observers,(11) I also noted the existence of a "buffer zone" which had separated these people: The Forks of Delaware. The occupation, only after 1700, of this unclaimed and formely uninhabited region by natives from southern New Jersey, but not by Lenape from adjacent parts of southeastern Pennsylvania, suggests that these people from the Jerseys were culturally distinct from the Lenape, and also that both were distinct from the Munsee of the upper Delaware River. This point

had been made already by an unknown observer nearly 100 years ago(12) but never previously considered as an issue worthy of study.

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Research over several fronts in the past three years is beginning to bring out the existence of a wide range of cultural differences between the Lenape and the people of southern New Jersey whom I will call the "Jerseys".(13) These distinctive characteristics probably correlate with differences within the Delaware language family, as suggested by Goddard(14) who recognized(15) that the supposed "dialects" of "Delaware" were mutually unintelligible and had been so since "long before" these various people had left their homelands, or about 1740 A.D. In 1974 Goddard posed the basic question which we are attempting to answer here, "what were their aboriginal locations"? Not only do we need to know this in order to understand the linguistic data, but also to bring order to the patterns of movement, affiliation, and interaction of the several groups whose separate cultural traditions have for so long been erroneously lumped together as "Delaware".

Recent research has shown that the differences in language use noted, also were reflected in other mutually independent activities of the Lenape of Pennsylvania and their neighbors in southern New Jersey. These two cultures, among those grouped under the term "River Indians" by the colonists, were believed by Wallace(16) to be a single unit. Until recently I assumed this to be true.(17) But recognition of their separateness enables us to understand how the buffer zone at the Forks came to be marginally utilized after 1730 by a specific group of people from New Jersey as part of a general pattern of migration away from traditional homelands. It is now clear that despite extensive movement on the part of numerous Native American groups their respective cultural identities and integrity remained intact. The existence of cultural distinctions, discerned among the descendants of the Lenape and their neighbors throughout the 18th and 19th centuries,(18) appear to have continued into the 20th century. Therefore, the geographic boundaries which previously separated these people do not seem to have been a requirement to their maintenance of cultural boundaries after migration from their homelands.

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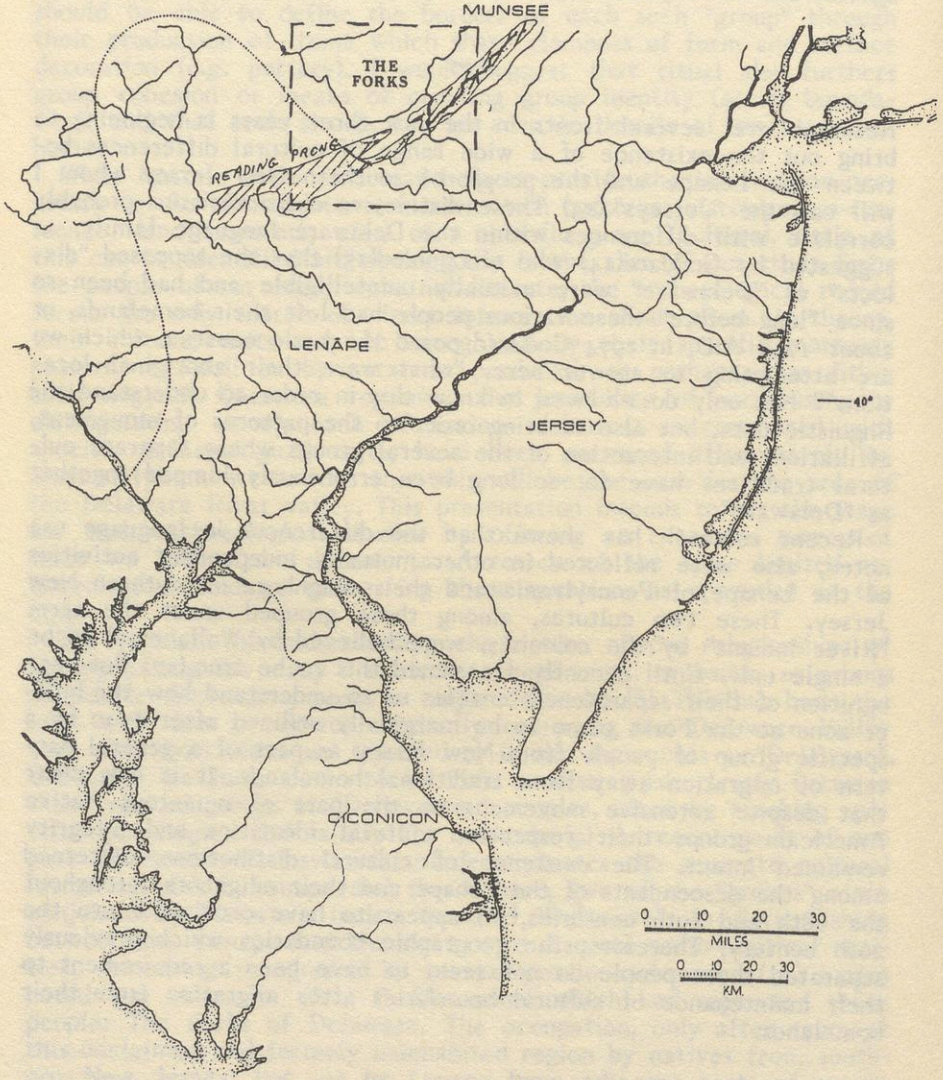
The "Forks of Delaware", the area central to our concern, denotes the area between the Lehigh and Delaware Rivers above Easton,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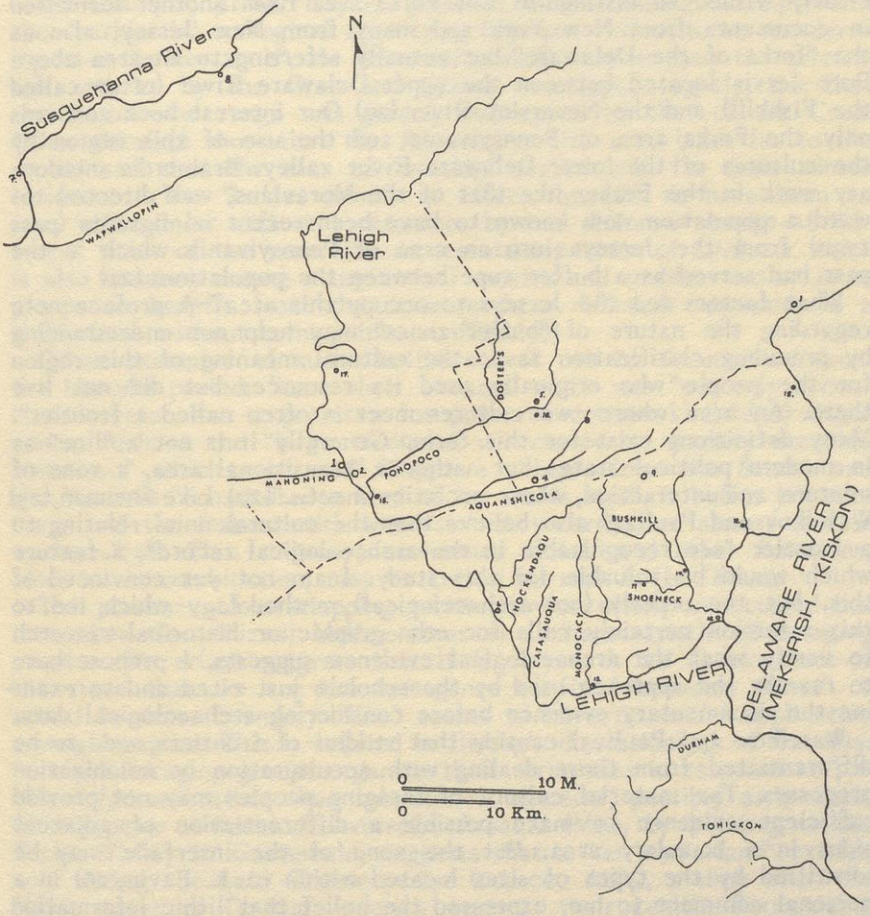
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AQUANSHICOLA
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CATASAUQUA
HONOCACY
LEHIGH RIVER
DELAWARE RIVER
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Pennsylvania. The "Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania..." was recognized and distinguished as a specific geographic area by Brainerd in 1744(19) during the period of missionary activity in that region. He clearly wished to distinguish this Forks area from another identified in documents from New York and many from New Jersey, also as the "forks of the Delaware" but actually referring to an area above Port Jervis located between the upper Delaware River (often called the Fishkill) and the Neversink River.(20) Our interest here concerns only the Forks area of Pennsylvania and the use of this region by the cultures of the lower Delaware River valley. Brainerd's missionary work in the Forks, like that of the Moravians, was directed toward a population now known to have been recent immigrants (post 1730) from the Jerseys into an area of Pennsylvania which in the past had served as a buffer zone between the populations.(21)

What factors led the Jerseys to occupy this area? A preface note regarding the nature of "buffer zones" may help our understanding by providing clarification as to the cultural meaning of this region for the people who originally used its resources but did not live there. An area where two cultures meet is often called a frontier". Many definitions exist for this term. Generally it is not a "line" as in modern political states but rather a "transitional area, a zone of mixture and interaction, where societies meet..."(22) Like Shennan,(23) Waselkov and Paul(24) also believe that the cultural units relating to a frontier "are recognizable in the archaeological record", a feature which would be valuable for this study. I am not yet convinced of this, but the orderly (non-archaeological) methodology which led to this assertion certainly calls for ethnographic or historical research to verify what the archaeological evidence suggests. I propose here to reverse the approach used by the scholars just cited and to examine the documentary evidence before considering archaeological data.

Waselkov and Paul(25) caution that studies of frontiers need to be differentiated from those dealing with acculturation or colonization processes. The material culture of foraging peoples may not provide sufficient evidence to make possible a differentiation of adjacent sides in a boundary area. But the zone of the interface may be identified by the types of sites located within it. L. Lavin,(26) in a personal comment to me, expressed the belief that lithic information from archaeological sites can be used to recognize cultural spheres, thus enabling us to infer the locations of boundaries which had existed between foraging peoples.

The archaeological aspects of determining boundaries between foraging peoples need not concern us at this time. We possess sufficient historical information to be able to identify and distinguish between individual members of the Lenape and Jersey bands. We can also trace the movement patterns of these individuals within and beyond the Delaware Valley and are therefore able to test Lavin's theories

in application to the pre-contact Lenape where ethnographic data are available, and the problem of defining buffer zones is made simple.

For example, Arthur Ray(27) provides an outstanding description of the "parklands" ecological zone lying between two cultures and serving as a "buffer zone". He demonstrates(28) that in 1765 the territories utilized by the Cree and Ojibwa overlapped slightly, but that the Assiniboine range was greatly overlapped by that of the Cree. Other data(29) show that the Assiniboine also used lands far to the south, and that the area of "overlap" served only for their winter residences. The "buffer zone", in effect, appears to have been an area utilized for different resources by two different groups at different times of the year. This represents a pattern of land use which is also common among many animal species and enables two or more groups to benefit from the same or from different resources in a single area without coming into conflict.(30)

Other examples of such "buffer zones" can be documented from the historic period. Some show an area which was "not only a contested sector, but a preserve for game of certain kinds".(31) Other zones, such as the "large tracts of unoccupied or sparsely occupied country..." which separated Chippewa villages from the Santee and the Yankton "constituted a kind of 'no man's land', a buffer between them and the Dakota with who <sic> they carried on almost endless warfare."(32) Thus military, economic, social, and other functions, alone or in combination, may be served by such buffer areas.

The presence of overlapping territories (or wholly unoccupied but intermittently utilized) buffer areas is a characteristic of foraging peoples. Sharer(33) suggests that it is only with the development of the state that we see the emergence of fixed boundary "lines" or actual borders. Boundary "line" seems to have no useful application among foragers. This is implied in Bishop's discussion(34) of the ways in which foraging groups organize their territories in response to political factors rather than subsistence concerns, possibly as a result of European contacts. Conversely, Arnauld (Ms.), by pointing to the Tactic Valley in Guatemala, suggests that a "no man's land" existed *only* during the Late Classic period (600-900 A.D.), a time when the Maya states of Central America were at their zenith. Recognizing and understanding what interaction existed between territorial use and socio-economic concerns in a given buffer zone provides clues on how a culture was organized, how its members interacted with their neighbors, and how or why changes in their relationships took place.

The Forks Buffer Zone: Its Economic Basis

Recent studies have pinpointed for us in detail the locations of jas-

per deposits throughout the Lehigh hills south of the Lehigh River, along the northern margin of Lenape territory. These famous geological resources, a variety of chert, were important to the tool kits of the native Americans who occupied this region.(35) At the proto-Lenape Overpeck Site in nearby Bucks County(36) the material from Zone 5 (which I data to about 1550 A.C.) shows that black flint was the preferred stone, with jasper the second most common stone used for tools.(37) Material from Zone 3, which I believe dates from about 1600 A.C., suggests that the preferred lithics were "jasper, followed by argillite and black flint".(38) Hatch and Miller(39) describe the course of the jasper bearing "Reading Prong", as it is called, through nothern New Jersey and to the west along the Lehigh Valley and continuing to the southwest along the Hardyston Formation to the town of Macungie in Pennsylvania.(40) The town of Durham lies along the southern margin of this area, near the center of this line of geological deposits. This strip lies adjacent to the northern edge of Lenape territory, which we know to have extended up tu Tohiccon Creek, the next stream feeding the Delaware River to the south of the confluence of the Delaware with the Lehigh. Lenape territory does not appear to have extended north of Tohiccon Creek, which was the most northerly boundary noted when they sold lands to William Penn.

Geologically we find that the many outcrops of chert (jasper) along this strip appear to be distinguishable by various analytical techniques. Of potential cultural significance is the demonstration of some geographic and temporal differences in chert acquisition patterns by Native American groups.(41) Lavin has distinguished at least twenty-seven separate chert formations in this region, and others may exist. Note also should be made of the presence of a rhyolite procurement area to the east of the town of Macungie. This hard stone was important in making the tools which were necessary for the manufacture of other artifacts, as in the quarrying and shaping of soapstone bowls.

This important resource zone(42) was too valuable to allow this area to be incorporated into the territory of any single culture. This area was not within territory of any one group, but included places where people of 2 or more cultures had free access to all of the valuable items available within that zone. By allowing the jasper rich strip of land just south of the Lehigh River to remain a free access zone, the peoples of this region reduced poential sources of conflict among themselves.

Another important function of this kind of area is its role in forming a social boundary through the mutual avoidance of a territory where the boundaries are delineated by naturally occuring resources. Barnard(43) has describes such areas for the Kalahari Bushman. Bishop(44) says that this way of maintaining boundaries was

typical of foraging people because "perimeter defense never existed among pristine egalitarian foragers". Eyman(45) offers us an example of both shared resources and lack of perimeter defense, and how these were altered after contact. The Minnesota catlinite (pipestone) quarries, prior to 1800, "had been a sacred area to which all tribes had peaceable access." This resource area was seized about 1800 A.C. by the Dakota, who took exclusive control and then used the pipestone which they quarried to begin direct commerce with all other tribes in the area. The Dakota had taken advantage of their power to exclude their neighbors from access to this resource in order to become wealthy and further increase their power.

Cashdan(46) views "social boundary defense" as a form of territoriality. The uses which areas such as the Forks served gave them the function of a spatial separating mechanism making possible identification and preservation of social groups. They were not merely a "buffer" area for defending territories. I had formerly held the view(47) that the Forks had been used *only* as a social boundary. I even searched for a similar boundary to the south of the Lenape area. I realize now that this northern buffer ares served primarily economic purposes. The social factors, if any were quite secondary. To be sure, the Forks region helped the Lenape, Jerseys, Munsee, Susquehannock, and perhaps others to maintain socio-cultural segregation, but probably as an indrect result of the understanding that all were to have equal access to its vital resources. The main point to be made is probably that such boundaries were not established by random chance but reflect recognition of particular resource zones vital to more than one group. In our case, it made possible for the people of this region the utilization of the many jasper outcrops without "trespassing" on each other's hunting areas.

With the replacement of indigenous lithic tools by European metal tools, around 1650 for the Forks region, its resources became decreasingly important. By 1725, some seventy-five years later, stone tools had become obsolete among the local native American peoples. The Forks region became for all proctical purposes an empty territory into which members of one specific culture could move following the sale of their lands in the Jerseys without arousing opposition.

The use of the Forks area involved at least four different cultures prior to 1700 and probably reflects different periods of the year and the schedules followed to collect different resources (jasper, rhyolite, meat, plants). That conflict appears to have been absent in this zone suggests that the sharing of resources precluded conflicts at least until after the increasing importance of the fur trade wrought various changes in socio-economic patterns.

This approach to sharing resources is paralleled by another lithic access method described by Gramly(48) for New Hampshire. In application to the Forks area, its occupation after 1730 by Jerseys may

reflect also two complementary native perceptions of the Forks. First, those cultures (Lenape, Munsee, etc.) using this zone intermittently may have perceived the use by other groups as constituting sufficient reason to avoid any attempt to occupy the land on a permanent basis. After 1700, and the end of stone tool use by these peoples, the Jerseys may have perceived the region as unoccupied and available for settlement. The Lenape, on the other hand, were at that time moving directly west into territory formerly held by the Susquehannock. After the dispersal of the Susquehannock (1674/75), the Lenape moved into their lands and also replaced the Susquehannock as brokers in the fur trade. This lucrative opportunity left the relatively resource-poor Forks area entirely available to the Jerseys.

These data regarding buffer zones may be significant with regard to present theories of culture change, as well as to archaeological interpretations of the past. The ideas of several scholars interested in how frontiers and boundaries relate to social systems and social change are of general interest here.(49) The evidence which I presented in 1983 established the presence of the Forks area as a boundary. The data just discussed identified the purposes it served. What remains to be done now is to demonstrate how the Forks region was used following its decline as a lithic resource area. An understanding of the new uses to which this region was put will also help us to reconstruct and understand the cultural boundaries and the history which marked both the Delaware Valley and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

In 1981 a program was launched specifically designed to locate new documents and to reanalyze those already known about the Lenape in preparation for renewed archaeological research. The information which as a result was gleaned from the historical records suggests that the linguistic and cultural distances between the Jerseys and Lenape were greater than their spatial separation by the Delaware River. That the river served a such an important boundary carries profound implications for anthropological theory and the interpretation of evidence recovered from excavations as well as for the archaeological research strategies to be pursued in the future. Even the historic claims which the Jerseys made to lands on the west side of the Delaware River can now be judged with greater validity.

That some cultural "merging" through intermarriage may have taken place between Lenape and Jerseys during and after the late Colonial period may be assumed but does not negate what the evidence suggests, namely, that these two populations remained distinct in the maintenance of their cultural traditions. Both cultures were matrilineal at that time. A child born of a marriage between members from each group belonged by definition, to the kin group and culture

of the mother. After 1740 the "core" members of the Lenape bands moved west,(50) the majority of the Jerseys found their way to Canada. Those who remained behind turned to agricultural pursuits and often accepted Christianity or affiliated with European-derived society in other ways. They appear to have gradually merged with the colonial population, becoming part of the multi-ethnic American society without ties to their "native" identity.

The Lenape Bands of Pennsylvania

In examining the various histories of Lenape bands we must note that not all behaved in the same way, nor did they change at the same rate, nor did all individuals in one group act in concert in all events.(51) The term "core", as used above, refers to those members of the culture who maintained the old traditions and attempted to sustain a way of life which was hard-pressed to survive in the areas along the westward moving colonial frontier. Those people adhering to the traditional life used their native languages to transmit the ceremonials, the mortuary rituals and other cultural elements which were necessary to maintain group integrity and personal identification.

Since the Lenape people never maintained a single cohesive residential unit, their cultural integrity can be understood only by examining the dynamics of their several bands (of kin-related individuals) and the interaction of each band with the land resources available to their collective use. The traditional Lenape lived in a series of small foraging bands, each of which utilized the resources of one or more of the river valleys leading into the Delaware River. Although we can identify many of these bands at verious points in time, the actual number of them and the size of their specfic territories (extended family foraging zones) varied greatly though time.

In the earliest Contact Period, individual Lenape bands, represented by the adult male members, sold, by deed, sections of their lands to various European traders and colonists. Ultimately, William Penn, over a period of 20 years (1681-1701), systematically purchased all Lenape owned land(52). After the sales to Penn many Lenape individuals, and perhaps some entire bands, left the area, but most of the core members continued to live within the limits of their former territories. There were considerable variations in the ways in which each band, and even specific members within any band, acted after these sales.(53) Those Lenape who left the Delaware Valley generally settled to the west in the area controlled by the Susquehannock prior to their dispersal. We know, for example, that at least some of the Lenape (perhaps only a few families) were living along the Susquehanna River already by the end of the seventeenth century,(54) and that their numbers continued to grow rapidly.

Evidence fot this Lenape presence there comes from several sources. The Markham report of 1696 refers to "our" Indians (Lenape) now on the Susquehanna. A Lenape named Sasoonan was settled at Peshtang above Conestago by 1709.(55) Where he lived thereafter is less certain, possibly on Tulpehocken Creek or perhaps to the west of the Susquehanna where other Lenape were settling as part of their westward movement. By 1717 Lenape were noted as being among the many cultures which had relocated to the Susquehanna.(56)

By 1725, when Sasoonan was resident at Shamokin, some of his fellow Lenape already had moved even further west to "Kittanning" in the Ohio River drainage. By the time Sassoonan died (1747) some former members of his group were living on the west branch of the Susquehanna River while others had relocated to the Ohio country. Sasoonan was but one individual belonging to an "associated" small group, whose members by no means always acted in concert. How many such Lenape bands lived in Pennsylvania at any one time we still do not know, and the several Jersey bands had a completely independent and very different history of interaction with the colonists.

Recent progress made in ethnohistory and a new trend toward archival research as "above ground" archaeology has produced evidence that enables us to differentiate between the Lenape and the Jerseys. On the northern periphery of the Lenape territory was an area of considerable size which provided lithic resources and a foraging area as well as a buffer zone between members of proximal cultures.(57) The boundaries between cultures need not have been well defined.(58) But between the Jerseys and the Lenape clear demarcation was provided by the Delaware River. Intermittent and overlapping utilization of interterritorial areas by proximal populations is common, and in the case of this river border mutual use of its resources would be expected.

Before 1750 the combined total population of the Lenape and Jerseys probably never exceeded 1,000. Their numbers actually may have increased after European contact.(59) The interdependence which developed between the natives and Colonial farmers provided these foragers with new sources of food as well as with access to reserves during winter famines. Colonial land clearing also opened large areas to brush, which provided better forage for deer. If the deer population increased, the native population also may have increased. Regardless of these early (1630-1680) responses to contact, we can also demonstrate the later (post 1700) aggregation of Lenape bands. This "coalescence", however, appears to be indicated only through the Colonial records reflecting interaction with the larger bands operating well to the west of their original territory. Those bands still functioning in the Delaware Valley after 1700, such as the Okehocking(60) and the neighboring and better documented Bran-

dywine band, are rarely mentioned in official records. Beyond a few documents referring to the unusual grant of land (by title) made to the Okehocking, they never appear as a unit in the known documents. How many such small bands existed we may never know, but we do know that their numbers cannot have been very great.

Distinguishing between Lenape and Jerseys

In order to demonstrate the cultural distinctions between the Lenape and the Jerseys in the early historic period we must demonstrate that they maintained spatial separation, a negligible rate of intermarriage, and an independent pattern of migration away from their homeland. Different rates of acculturation of the Lenape as distinct from the Jerseys, e.g. in adopting European names,(61) have been noted, but these could be a result of differing economic circumstances (ecological) or simply a reflection of independent response modes common throughout this region.(62)

The focal point of this paper will be native migration into the buffer zone which was known as the Forks of Delaware. We can demonstrate that the "settlers" came from New Jersey and not from the adjacent area which was Lenape territory. What follows on these pages, therefore, is an historic reconstruction utilizing all of the appropriate evidence now available for the Forks area and adjacent territory. The analysis of these data also shed light on problems regarding shifting colonial frontiers, the manor system in Pennsylvania, and other matters relating to local native populations and why each of these small groups responded to European contact as they did.

If the Forks of Delaware was largely an uninhabited buffer area during the period 1500-1730, then we should expect to find no evidence for consistent native occupation and few colonial references to native use of the area of Lehigh (Lechay) prior to 1730. Conversely, when the earliest known documents mentioning this area are studied we would expect that all native persons cited as being resident or active in this territory would be individuals whom we can demonstrate as not having been born nor raised in the area of the Forks.

The Forks as an Uninhabited Buffer Zone

During the first European contacts in the early sixteenth century the development of the fur trade must have intensified utilization of all buffer areas in eastern North America. This increased interest in fur resources may have created true and specific family hunting territories from the larger land units collectively shared by a band.(63) The

fur trade led to the rapid increase in Susquehannock power between 1525 and 1550.(64) this enabled these people of the lower Susquehanna drainage to expand their influence into the lower Delaware River Valley, territory occupied by the pre-contact Lenape. The Susquehannock probably had forced the Lenape out of part of their range by 1600, and certainly out of the area of the Christina and Schuylkill drainage by 1620 to 1630.

The Forks area buffer zone was a common resource area as well as a region separating the proto-Susquehannock from the proto-Lenape before 1600. Growing Susquehannock power after 1600, based on trade-wealth, led to their domination of the entire southeastern part of Pennsylvania. During this time both the Lenape and the Jersey, like other Native Americans, worked to maximize their gains from what resources they had available and maneuvered to keep both their neighbors and various Europeans at bay.

Only one reference from this early contact period serves to indicate the extent of Lenape territory. Yong's report of 1634(65) includes an interview with an old "king" living in the area of the falls (near present Trenton). This elder (Lenape?) reported that he was familiar with the area "at the head of the River" (Delaware). A long time before he and his people had hunted there, but since the war with the Susquehannock his people did not go beyond the mountains. The hunting area described in this narrative may have been in the Forks, and the mountains noted may refer to the Blue Mountains which lie to the south of the junction of the Lehigh with the Delaware River. These mountains were at the northern margin of Lenape territory.

This report suggests that the Forks hunting area lay beyond the lands held by the Lenape in the period prior to 1600, and is consistent with land sale data from the 17th century.(66)

The complex events of the years from 1600 to 1700 have yet to be documented fully. The evidence available which relates to the Forks of Delaware has been interpreted to indicate that the area had no early claimants, but this may be an artifact of other circumstandes. A brief review of what is known will help put our subsequent elaborations in perspective.

By 1670 colonial expansion in New England and Virginia, and native maneuvering in the fur trade had led to wars of extermination between native groups as well as between colonists, with their native allies, and still other aboriginal peoples. The foraging Jerseys, like the Lenape, kept low profiles during this period, probably due to low population densities and considerable territorial flexibility. Their homeland also happened to be located in an area marginal to the interests of both the British and the Dutch. Clever political maneuvering also allowed the Munsee to survive despite their involvement in several conflicts with the Dutch.(67) On 23 April 1660 a

report reachied New Amsterdam of fighting up the Hudson River at Esopus:(68) "Elevèn Minissingh <Munsee> savages had been killed among those of the Esopus." This indicates that the Munsee were at that time allied with the Esopus, one of the groups living along the Hudson River. These Hudson River groups, like their Delaware River counterparts, were known collectively as the "River Indians".

The term "Minisink", with its locative ending, refers to an area or location pertaining to the Munsee.(69) The term "Munsee ... meaning 'person from Minisink'",(70) often was used interchangeably with Minisink in European documents. Quite possible the area called "Minisink" had changed through time(71) reflecting changes in the location of the primary village of the Munsee. Like each of the Five Nations of central New York, the Munsee may have had a large village and possible small satellite settlements. Neither the Lenape nor the Jerseys ever had a village-centered settlement.

The Esopus and Munsee alliance did not concern the Susquehannock (Minquas) and certainly did not interfere with their trade. Although prior to 1655 some Susquehannock furs were brought overland to be traded in New Amsterdam (because the Dutch offered better princes for these goods than the impoverished Swedes), after this date the Susquehannock carried their goods to Altena (formerly Fort Christina, and now Wilmington). The Susquehannock also carried messages between the colonial cities and otherwise enjoyed good relations with the Dutch. This successful interaction of the 1650's, however, was to come to an abrupt end as the English conquest of the Dutch colony altered the political structure and military alliances of the region.

English control of this entire region shifted political antagonisms from a national to a religious basis. The Catholic Marylanders now saw an opportunity to incorporate the former Dutch territory along their nothern border by the traditional "right of conquest". The Maryland colony, which formerly had been an ally of the Susquehannock nation, turned on them in 1674 and joined forces with the Five Nations.(72) This new coalition rapidly achieved a successful dismemberment of Susquehannock power, giving the Five Nations as well as the Marylanders claims, by right of conquest, to the lands held by the Susquehannock along the Susquehanna River, as well as areas to the west which had been under Susquehannock suzerainty. Neither group, however, had the power to occupy these lands. Soon after, the English Crown settled a religiously neutral colony in the contested area: The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers).

For the allied Esopus and Munsee,(73) as well as the Lenape, the demise of the Susquehannock made available an enormous territory and all of its resources. The ability to move into these lands, no longer opposed by the Susquehannock, enabled the Lenape and others

to develop new territorial and political strategies which were to serve them well over the next seventy-five years.

The Lenape were skilled at manipulating invading native peoples and also the Europeans who came to their land. In 1638 Peter Minuyt, leading a Swedish expedition, built Fort Christina, where Wilmington, Delaware now stands. Minuyt wished to profit from trade with the Susquehannock, who had recently taken control of this area from the Lenape. Formerly the Susquehannock had taken most of their furs into the Chesapeake area, but disruptions in 1622, and possible other reasons at an earlier date, led them to use the Elk River and a portage to Minquas Creek to take their furs to the lower Delaware River.(74) The Dutch have been known to have begun trading along the Delaware River as early as 1623, before Fort Nassau was established. This new trade route obviated the need to carry furs on a long overland route to Fort Amsterdam.

The locations along the Delaware River of the Swedish Fort Christina and the Dutch forts Nassau and later Beversreede clearly indicate that furs, by 1638, were coming primarily from the west and not from the Lehigh or Upper Delaware River, beyond the Forks of Delaware. Either the Forks area was a poor producer of furs, possibly having been hunted out, or furs from the Forks area were carried out toward the east and not downstream. This point regarding sources of furs is made clear in a document of 28 January 1656 in which the Dutch note that they built Fort Nassau in 1626 at a distance 16 leagues up the Delaware river, this "...being their southern frontier...", and that "...Bevers reede, down the river on the west bank, about the lands of the Schuylkill; a place wonderfully convenient and so called on account of the Beaver trade which was prosecuted there to a considerable amount with the natives and Indians."(75) The locations of these forts, both being near the mouth of the Schuylkill River, clearly indicate that furs were then coming from the west, and probably not from the Forks area to the north. Our understanding of why the Forks of Delaware was not an area often mentioned in the fur trade of that time is not increased. Hunters in the Forks most easily could have brought their furs down river for sale, as they did at a later date after the settlement at the Falls of Delaware (now Trenton) had been developed.

The end of Susquehannock power by 1675 also correlates with the decline in the importance of the fur trade, for reasons which remain unclear. Certainly the postulated near-extinction of beaver and other valuable fur-bearing animals throughout this region would have reduced the local supply, but this assumption has not been documented. The complex and lengthy trading network to the west, controlled previously by the Susquehannock, may have been severely discrupted by their dispersion and this may have affected the supply of available furs. Reestablishing this network may have taken some time.

However, furs continued to be a valuable commodity and many Lenape (by now consistently called "Delaware" by the Europeans) increasingly became involved as middlemen in fur trading from the west. The land sales by the Lenape to William Penn after 1681 probably were based on several distinctively different assumptions, foremost among which must have been the availability of the lands formerly held by the Susquehannock. Second, many Lenape may have assumed that English population expansion after 1681 would not be at a rate greater than that of the Swedish or Dutch in prior years. This false idea was contradicted by natives visiting from their homes in English dominated areas in New England, but these warnings were not of interest to, or were ignored by, the Lenape.

English expansion after 1681 certainly stimulated the general withdrawal of the Lenape bands to the west, into lands formerly controlled by the now scattered Susquehannock. As early as 1683 Penn attempted to purchase title to these lands along the Susquehannah River as part of securing clear title to all lands for which he had a claim through the Crown. He was thwarted(76) until 13 January 1696, when he negotiated purchase of this territory from Governor Dongan of New York,(77) who had recently purchased the rights from the "conquering" Seneca. Penn later(78) reconfirmed this 1696 purchase from Dongan through a separate agreement with the "Susquehanna Indians", which by that time described a collection of displaced native groups led by remnants of the Susquehannock Nation who had returned to a location near their former principal village along the river. By the 1690's this region had become a haven for various groups displaced from their own native territories, including a few Lenape who no longer wished to tolerate the growing European influences on the daily life of Native Americans then resident in the Delaware Valley.

The more distantly situated territory of the Munsee(79) was above the Water Gap and extended south and westward toward the Forks of Delaware, but did not reach it. Only after the 1730's do we find a few Munsee actually resident in the Forks, along with the recently relocating Jerseys. The first European colonists settling in the Munsee realm on the Upper Delaware River came into that area via New York. the aboriginal inhabitants of this area had maintained a focus and cultural interaction pattern with the people of the lower Hudson River drainage both in the pre-contact period and on into the colonial era.(80) Munsee cultural connections clearly were with the Mahican, Esopus, and other of the Hudson (or North) "River Indians". These various groups also later affiliated in the face of colonial expansion.(81)

Of greatest importance to our subject is the nearly total absence of references to the Forks in any of the numerous accounts of Native American activities or colonial interactions during these years

of complex social and political history. As well shall see in the following section, the few references to this region which now are known, all indicate just how peripheral it was to developments in this period.

The Forks of Delaware: Early Occupants

Lechauwitank(82) was the Lenape locative term which referred to one part of the area in the "Forks of Delaware" bounded by the Lehigh River. The English abbreviated the word, and the river and the area above it (to the north) came to be known as "Lechay" (Lehigh). That portion which lies to the south and west of the Water Gap, down to the junction of the Lehigh and the Delaware River, is now Northampton County, Pennsylvania. Surprisingly, this region played no prominent part in the early years of Pennsylvania's colonial history.(83) The Colonial settlement along the lower Delaware, concentrating at Philadelphia after 1680, generally expanded toward the west rather than moving north up the river. What limited movement upstream there was, was interrupted at the Falls (Trenton). In contrast, the rich lands of modern Bucks County were settled quite early.

Of equal note is the observation that the area of the Forks of Delaware was not important to the Munsee at any time in colonial history despite its proximity to their traditional territory. The extensive document search in the Philadelphia records noted earlier produced almost nothing that would shed light concerning the native American population occupying the area of the Forks of the Delaware prior to 1700.(84) This absence of information characterized also the searches made through the records pertaining to the areas of New York and northern New Jersey.(85) The lack of colonial interest, because of the area's negligible value to early Pennsylvanians and New Yorkers, may explain the scarcity of pertinent documentation.

Grumet's extensive search for documents relating to the Munsee, whom he at first believed to occupy the area of the Forks, produced only the two relevant discussions of European activities around 1700, regarding John Hans Steelman and James Letort, analyzed below. Such absence of documentation, may, of course, also reflect the loss of records or simply an inability to locate them. However, my extensive review of the references to the Forks which do exist, leads me to conclude that documents are scarce because there was so little native or colonial interest in the area. To make a clear case for my assertion that the Forks area was peripheral in nature, indirect evidence must be reviewed, which is to say, we must establish just what it was that was important then to the various groups surrounding the Forks in the 17th and early 18th centuries.

During the late 1600's Governor Thomas Dongan of New York had been concerned with the activities of various French traders then working on the Schuylkill River.(86) As noted earlier, the Schuylkill river route from the Delaware River to the Susquehanna appears to have developed as a major trade artery in the early seventeenth century and continued in use for over 100 years.(87) Thus traders tended to locate along this waterway or at positions along the Susquehanna River which led to this route. Dongan's concern with the Schuylkill area rather than for waterways closer to New York, such as the huge Lehigh River, reflects the importance of the Schuylkill route in native trade from the West. Obviously, these French (Canadian) traders were funneling furs along a route which, in bypassing New York, was depriving Dongan's native and colonial subjects of the economic advantages to be gained from these activities. Dongan's concerns also indicate for us the routes used in that trade.

Foremost among those French traders, who often lived with their clients, married among them, and otherwise achieved considerable success as agents in the fur trade, was the family Letort.(88) The elder Letorts did considerable business in Pennsylvania but were not operating as agents for William Penn. They had routed their private goods to the north of Philadelphia and then through Burlington, New Jersey(89) to avoid payments of taxes or duty on their trade. They continued to enjoy moderate success in the last quarter of the seventeenth century even though this was a slack period in the fur trade. Toward the end of this period Shawnee and other remnant groups, including some Lenape, were settling along the Susquehanna frontier and were participating in the fur trade. Despite Dongan's interest in controlling this trade and routing it through New York, records of these mercantile activities are rare. Similarly, records for the process of Colonial expansion into the area of the Forks, so central to all of these events being discussed clearly reflect an absence of any Native American population in the Forks at the date.

The peripheral nature of the Forks also is suggested by the brevity of the few early references to it as well as the specific content of these notes. The very interesting and well-known interpreter to the Lenape, Lasse Cock,(90) provides one such item. After Cock's death, which seems to have been about 1699, his estate billed William Penn's estate (?) for a series of Lenape related activities, including "To Journey by Order of Govr Markham to Lahhai ...".(91) The nature of this uspecified mission to the "Indians" has not been determined, nor has it been explained through the reading of any other known documents. Quite probably Markham wanted to know the extent of Lenape territory or occupation, since he was negotiating land purchases for Penn, or if any other native people living in that area were potential claimants. Markham also may have been interested in the fur trade. Elsewhere in this document natives are noted as being

at three other locations: Schuylkill, Fall <Trenton> and Christiana <Wilmington area?>. Certainly the goals of my investigation would be more easily reached, if we had a record of Markham's orders of Cock's report on the 1682(?) trip to Lehigh and could date these events with precision. Even the date "1682" which appears on the reference cited may not be the correct date of his journey, although it seems consistent with Penn's immediate concern for information about native land owners in relation to his planned land purchases. I assume that Cock found the Forks area to be uninhabited by any permanent occupants, and therefore unowned. Penn and his agents, therefore, had no need to pursue land owners beyond the Tohiccon or Durham Creek area, which was the farthest nothern area which was claimed as property by any Lenape band. Between the year 1681 and 1701 Penn or his agents secured deeds to all Lenape territory.(92) The absence of native-owned land beyond Tohiccon Creek meant that no claimants would come forward to contest title. But later events were to create some interesting situations concerning this odd piece of territory.

In 1701 the proprietors moved to prohibit all trade with the native inhabitants of the Commonwealth except by license. In particular they wished to restrain the Maryland trader, John Hans Steelman,(93) from doing business with the native people "at Lechay or ye forks of Delaware"(94). Penn himself wrote to "Jno. Hans." on 12 April 1701 to remind Steelman that he had promised to visit with Penn to discuss this trade, but had failed to do so. Now, since Steelman was acting "contrary to our Laws, I have ye fore Stopt thy Goods intended for Lechay, till..." such time as Steelman should present himself and give satisfaction.(95) Since Steelman was a signatory to the treaty of 23 April 1701, made with the various Native American groups then resident along the Susquehanna, we may infer that at least some resolution of his trading problems had been achieved.

Although the area of Lechay is mentioned, the reference is not to a town or to inhabitants of the region. The ethnic identity of the natives trading at "Lechay" is not stated, but they must have, at that time, respresented several different cultures.

Also concerned with trade in that region during the early years of the eighteenth century was young James Letort of Pennsylvania.(96) Letort, like Steelman, spoke Lenape and possibly other native languages and often acted as an interpreter or translator in treaties with the Lenape people. Both Letort and Steelman were signatories to the confirmation treaty of 23 April 1701 with the several remnant groups of "Indians" on the Susquehannah.(97) Penn's attempt to restrain Steelman's economic activities suggest that in 1701 Letort may have had gained official sanction to trade with native peoples at Lechay (and possibly elsewhere?) and that Steelman was encroaching upon him.(98) Since no further mention has been found of

trade in the Forks area one may infer that the value of such activity rapidly declined after 1701, becoming so low as to make it unprofitable. Participation in the thriving trade with western fur trappers via outposts on the Allegheny river must have become the goal of all aspiring traders during the first years of the 18th century.

The few other early references to Lechay reflect the peripheral nature of the area as well as indicating that the Proprietor's primary concern with the Forks was its position on the frontier of the colony and for maintaining security against the Five nations. At a Council at Philadelphia 21 May 1701, pursuant to a "Resolution made by this Board on the 17th Instant" regarding reports concerning the Indians, "the Govr informed the council that after the Sessions a Certain Young Swede arriving from Lechay brought advice That on 5th Day last some Young men of that place going out a hunting, being a little while gone..." thought they heard Senecas shooting. The report later was proved groundless,(99) but the anxiety about such matters reflects continual problems along the frontier.(100) For our study it is notable that Lechay was then a "place" with which young men could be associated, but we do not know if they were residents or transient hunters. The latter case is more probable. A month later, at the meeting of 26 July 1701, concern with the sale of rum to the Lenape led the Council to summon to Philadelphia for consultation five Lenape elders.(101) These includes three elders from Christina, Indian Harry of Conestoga, and "Oppemenyhook at Lechay". Note that this last named Lenape was cited as being "at" Lechay, rather than "from" Lechay, possibly suggesting a temporary residence there. Heckewelder(102) presents a slightly garbled listing of these five individuals. The reference to Oppemenyhook, as it appears in the Colonial Records, is different in form from those references which speak of the "Schuylkill Indians" or the "Indians on Brandywine" as collective groups. Oppemenyhook may have been an isolate, perhaps along with his nuclear family, temporarily living at Lechay. No record is known of the actual gathering of Oppemenyhook and the other four elders summoned to Philadelphia. These two references (the false alarm about the Senecas and the call for a consultation of elders) suggest that some Lenape may have been resident in the Forks at the beginning of the 18th century, but I suspect that at best these were only a few trappers using this buffer region in a very traditional and intermittent fashion and maintaining more permanent summer residences elsewhere.

In 1704 Oppemenyhook, noted earlier as having thought to have been at Lechay in July of 1701, together with eight other "kings" (none of whom are named) visited William Penn, Jr. at Pennsbury.(103) This group must have represented some of the various Lenape bands then operating in their homeland, but this 1704 account makes no reference to "Lechay". Heckewelder(104) completely

garbles this account but correctly notes that Oppemenyhook was among the visitors. Where Oppemenyhook was resident (summering) in 1704 remains unknown.

Although locational or regional (river) designations for Lenape bands, such as Schuylkill or Brandywine, continued to be used, the actual settlement zones of the various Lenape groups continued to shift.(105) As noted earlier, by 1704 some Lenape also were located in formerly unoccupied regions along the Susquehanna and even further west, often close by other displaced peoples. By 1704 groups of Shawnee had come from the west to settle at both Conestoga "town" along the Susquehanna River as well as at Pechoquealing on the upper Delaware, where they became important negotiators in what was left of the Local fur trade. The occupants of these two widely separated locations are known because they are among many mentioned in October of 1704 when James Letort (1704) submitted a petition for compensation for "Indian Debts" incurred in his trading with the Shawnee at "Canishtoga" and "Pachoqualmah".(106) The Shawnee are believed to have occupied that latter "town" from 1694 to 1728,(107) and also to have had an equally long period of residence in their separate enclave at "Canishtoga".

Letort's petition, covering six sheets of manuscript, provide references to fifty-eight different natives (fifty-six directly named, two indirectly noted), but no indication as to which of six or more possible cultures each of these individuals might have belonged (Lenape, Munsee, Jersey, Shawnee, Susquehannock remnants, or any of the Five Nations). Nor do we know where specific individuals were trading with Letort. I presume that the majority of these fifty-eight people, some of whom are women, were Shawnee. However, the name Lappeweinsoe (a Jersey) is the first listed on the fourth sheet of this document. Since Lappeweinsoe was a Jersey who sold his own land rights there on 18 August 1713,(108) we can infer that he probably traded with Letort at Pechoquealing or at some other point along the Delaware. Since Letort was based at Burlington, and Lappeweinsoe lived nearby in West Jersey, their interaction could have been anywhere in that region.

One of the few other people on the Letort list who now can be identified is Ohpimnomhook (Oppemenyhook), whose name is the last to appear on sheet five.(109) First on that same page is an indirectly identified person noted as Oppimemook's (Opimemock's?) son-in-law. William Hunter(110) suggests that this may be the Lenape named Opemanachum who was with Sasoonan in 1738.(111)

Why is it that we know so little of the remaining fifty-three individuals noted? Different spellings of these names do not ease our task, but most likely most of these people were Shawnee, who as individuals are not well known from that period. Since the Shawnee did not have land rights at these settlements they were not involved

in making land sales, which would have resulted in the writing of documents with numerous native signatories. Although some Shawnee may appear as witnesses on various Pennsylvania land transfers, at present we do not have clear records for them and most of these names on Letort's list remain unknown from other documents. Some of the people mentioned by Letort are Lenape, and others are probably Munsee, and I would speculate that the latter culture is better represented. If many of these people trading with Letort were Munsee from the north of the Forks one can easily understand why at present we have no records for them after this period. On the whole the Munsee moved north in the 18th century, into New York and Canada. Since these areas are not in our research zone, individuals going in that direction are lost from our view and will be located only by studies in other areas which parallel the work done by the late William Hunter.(112)

We do know that a least one Munsee group, resident in New York in 1728, lived relatively near some Lenape then also living along the upper Susquehanna. At a Council held in Philadelphia on 5 June 1728, more than three months before the Confirmation Treaty of that year,(113) note was made that an Englishman had been killed in Snake Town. The governor demanded that the guilty persons from "that Nation to which they belonged..." be punished, and wanted to know who was their chief. The attending Lenape said that killers were the "Menysineks <who> live at the Forks of Sasquehannah above Meehayomy, and their Kings name is Kindassowa". This is a clear reference to Munsee movements in the direction of the area of the Five Nations, but only reflects a pattern of relocation into an area as yet not clearly known.(114) This leaves incomplete our knowledge of these important people, as well as our understanding of the activities of those Lenape who were living in that area at that time.

Shawnee in the Area: Further Events in the Forks Region

To this day the origins of the Shawnee have not been determined.(115) They may be the displaced Monongahela people, archaeologically known from sourthwestern Pennsylvania(116) who "vanished" around 1600, and who may have become the "Black Minquas" often noted in the 1600's. In 1694 a group of Shawnee, whose origins are unknown, settled at the town of Pechoquealing (now Shawnee On Delaware) in Berks County, Pennsylvania some distance above the Delaware Water Gap and on the eastern margin of the Forks. They may have gone there at the invitation of the Munsee as suggested by Witthoft and Hunter,(117) or as a result of movements brought about by the dispersonal of the Susquehannock in 1674-75. These Shawnee, like those who settled at Conestoga, were on the periphery of traditional

Lenape lands as well as on the periphery of the Forks buffer zone. At Pechoquealing they also were at the fringe of the area of direct interest to the Munsee. Geographical concerns, such as a desire for flood plain land on which to grow corn, may have been a factor in their decision regarding a settlement location. Why they did not settle within the Forks of Delaware, which had formerly been used by various bands for hunting and may still have been an open resource zone for several groups, is not known. No individuals can be identified in the general area of the Forks or its periphery at that time as permanent occupants and such an unoccupied buffer zone would have been the ideal place to locate these displaced Shawnee. Their presence anywhere in this area added security, or at least the potential for warnings against raiders going in either direction across this region.

The very sudden departure of the Shawnee from Pechoquealing in the summer of 1728(118) may relate to the political events which are associated with the 1728 confirmation treaty. Witthoft and Hunter(119) believe that about 1727 the Five Nations claimed that the Shawnee had become "women" (landless people who had become their dependents) and ordered the relocation of these Shawnee from "peahohquelloman" to "Meheahoaming" (Wioming now Wilkes-Barre on the Susquehanna River.(129) Their actual and sudden departure to Wyoming in 1728, when their maize was still in thr ground, remains unexplained. The relocation to the Susquehanna seems to have been achieved under the direction of the Shawnee leader Kakow-watchy (also Kakowatcheky). A Shawnee town town called Malson is noted,(121) and may be the name given to the specific Shawnee encampment within the disrict (series of settlements) generally called "Wioming". Chapman(122) believed that these Shawnee settled on the west bank of the Susquehanna at the lower end of the valley, in an area still known as Shawnee Flats. Chapman also suggests that this was the first native settlement at Wyoming. A group of Shawnee, still under Kakowatcheky, left Wyoming in 1744 and went to Chiningue or Logstown (Ambridge), Pennsylvania on the Ohio River; but many remained at Wyoming under Paxinosa until 1755, when the group broke up during the beginnings of the French and Indian War. The Shawnee at Logstown were joined by Shingas and his "Delaware" followers in 1754, when this settlement became known as Fort Duquesne.

An explanation of this Shawnee relocation in 1728 might provide insights into the events involved in other relocations throughout this region, particularly those which followed the 1728 confirmation treaty. The locations of Shawnee encampments were always outside the area of the Forks, but that may have been as much for ecological as political reasons. In any case, during the period from 1704 to 1733 we cannot locate a single direct mention of the Forks area in

the documents. The confirmation deed of 1718, on which various Lenape reaffirmed the validity of their earlier land sales to Penn, reinforces the idea that the Forks had been a vacant area well beyond the traditional Lenape home range. Before going on the review this important document, a summary should be made of the earlier activities in the regions adjacent to the Forks.

Munsee: The People North of the Forks

As noted earlier, the Munsee were another population whose traditional lands were near the Forks, but who did not relocate in that direction. They occupied the lands north of Kittatinnunk (the Blue Mountain), according to Chapman,(123) and probably controlled the entire upper reaches of the Delaware River up to the southern reaches of Five Nations territory.(124) Despite status reduction and colonial pressures after 1670, and despite distant activities such as their participation with the Mahican in raids into Virginia after 1680,(125) Munsee rarely appeared in the Forks. Wallace(126) believes that Teedyuscung's wife and her mother were Munsee, and that all three lived at Meniolagomeka. Most of the Munsee later affiliated with the Mahican, but some lived near Lenape in settlements on the upper reaches of the Susquehanna, as well as in the more westerly areas during later years.(127)

Many of the Munsee probably remained in their homeland and merged with Europeans. In what years the conservative bands left the area is not known, but some Munsee were on the Allegheny River by 1724.(128) At least one group was living above (upstream) from Meehayomy at the Forks of Susquehanna in 1728, when a reference was made to them the year after the murder of an Englishman at Snake Town. Both the "Delaware" (Lenape?)and Conestoga people claimed that the "Menysinek" had committed the crime, and that the guilty people lived at the Forks of Susquehanna under the "king" named Kindassowa.(129) A Munsee village at Hazirok on the Susquehanna was noted in 1733.(139) By the 1750's several clusters of these people can be identified as resident to the west, and other groups may have moved further north into Five Nations' territory.

Minutes of the Pennsylvania Council meeting of 27 March 1756 provide lists of native towns along the Susquehanna, most of which were inhabited by "Delawares". The area of Chinkanning is noted, as well as the 50 mile (80 km) strip along the river from Wyomink (Wyoming) to Diahoga which was dotted with Native American hamlets.(131) The "Delaware" always are noted as living in separate settlements. Therefore, the last page of these minutes, which notes that "Four Strings <of wampum came> with the Answer of the Delawares and Munses that liveed at Diahoga, ..." may be interpreted

to indicate that the only Munsee encampment was at Diahoga, with all the others in the area being "Delaware".(132) Although the numbers of Munsee moving west, as opposed to north, may have been small, their presence was always significant.

Like the Lenape migration, the Munsee movement west had begun before 1730. That some Munsee held on in their homeland until much later is suggested by a letter from the "Inhabitants of the Menesincks" received in Philadelphia on 19 May 1740(133) and certainly many of these people never left the area.

The Extent of Lenape Territory

William Penn assiduously bought all Lenape land holdings in a systematic pattern. Working his way up the river, Penn purchased Lenape lands claimed by any Lenape. These lands extended no further than the area around Durham (or Tohiccon) Creek. Subsequent dealings with the Governor of New York and the Five Nations in order to establish a northern border for the Commonwealth were made without mention to any other native population between Durham Creek and the New York border. Similarly, the early traders in the Forks area (around 1700) were dealing with members of several populations, primarily immigrant Shawnee, all of whom lived in well defined areas beyond and not including the Forks.

The Lenape confirmation deed of 17 September 1718 (later reaffirmed on 5 June 1728) verifies the earlier release to Penn of all Lenape land between the "Rivers of Delaware and Susquehanna, from Duck Creek to the Mountains on this side Lechay".(134) Hunter(135) and I believe these "Mountains" to be the low Lehigh hills along the present northwestern boundary of Bucks county, and not the higher range bounding present Allentown and Bethlehem. Since the Lehigh valley and the Forks area were not included in this release of 1718 we may infer that they were not believed by the Lenape to be part of their territorial range. Therefore, these lands could not have been sold to Penn or anyone by those Lenape involved in this confirmation treaty. Since no Lenape group (band) has been identified to the north of Durham Creek we must infer that the various "grantors" who gathered in 1718 included the northernmost residents of the Lenape people. Various Lenape bands were still resident on their traditional waterways (e.g. Brandywine band and the Okehocking), but perhaps the largest group was then active on the upper Schuylkill Valley.

One of these relocated Lenape was Sasoonan who had lived in the Peshtang area since 1709.(136) In 1728 Sasoonan (also known as Allumapees) showed no concern for the Forks area in his petition alleging recent land infringements, leading to a further reconfirmation treaty in that year. When Sasoonan(137) claimed that Lenape

lands beyond the area covered by the 1718 confirmation treaty had not been paid for, he was referring to the area of the upper Shuylkill drainage and westerly between the Lehigh hills and the Blue Mountains. Sasoonan's mention of the "Lechay hills" concerned only the extension of this mountain range to the southwest and not their course on the southern margin of the Forks. In the ensuing discussion of these particular boundaries,(138) James Logan incorrectly stated that the Lechay hills run from below Lechay (Forks of Delaware) to the Hills on Susquehanna that lie about 10 miles (16 km) above Pextan, an observation which clearly was in error. Mr. Farmer, a participant in these discussions, corrected Logan by noting that these hills pass from Lechay to a few miles (ca. 5 km) above Oley. Beyond the Lechay hills lay the lands of the Tulephocken, where in 1728 Sasoonan and his kin maintained their summer residences. This geographical problem obviously was resolved in favor of the Lenape at this meeting. The Forks of Delaware was never a consideration in any of the land claims of the Lenape; but, as we shall see below, by 1728 a few Jersey already had located into the Forks. How much the Jersey used of this area was a result of Lenape westerly migration and how much was a function of mounting colonial pressures in East and West Jersey, we do not know. We do know, however, that as the Lenape presence in their homeland became less, the Jersey presence in the Forks (although never great) increased.

In 1732, a few years after the 1728 reconfirmation of the 1718 agreement, Sasoonan and six other Lenape elders sold any remaining rights they had to the "Lands lying on or near the River Schuylkill ... being between those Hills called Lechaig Hills and those called Keekachtanemin Hills, which cross the said River Schuylkill about Thirty Miles <8 km> above the said Lechaig Hills, ..." and all lands east and west between the Delaware and Susquehanna.(139) The Lenape in this sale of 7 September 1732 considered their land to include only the Schuylkill drainage out to the Keekachtanemin Hills (Kittochtinny Hills, also called the Endless or Blue Mountains),(149) and northeast to the Lehigh River, which obviously excludes the Forks. However, this territorial delineation was not intended to reserve out the Forks area for these Lenape, because none of the Lenape bands considered the Forks as their land and subject to their use or sale. The vague wording of the 1732 deed(141) leaves the Proprietor's point of view regarding the northern boundaries in doubt, perhaps because they deliberately wanted to leave the borders uncertain. However, a more likely explanation is that these documents often failed to provide specific borders since the Native American concepts of borders were general and also because cartographic details of the frontier often were unclearly defined. This purchase of 1732 provedes the basis for the map of 25 May 1738(142) which shows this "part" of Pennsylvania extending up to the Kittochtinny Hills (Endless or Blue Mountains).

The principal Lenape encampment area in the upper Schuylkill drainage appears to have been at Tulpehocken. Quite probably this is where Sasoonan and his kin spent their summers in the years before 1732. At some time after this sale Sasoonan and many other Lenape left for Shamokin, but some Lenape (as usual) simply stayed behind. Several years later they appear to have been joined at Tulpehocken by members of the Okehocking.(143)

When years later Sasoonan and others left Shamokin they moved to the West Branch of the Susquehanna. In those years of the 1740's the Jersey "Forks Indians" went mostly to Wyoming, and thereafter to the points along the North Branch of the Susquehanna.(144) Now we can turn our attention to this group who came to be called the "Forks Indians" and from where they had come.

The Jerseys Move into the Forks: The Moravian Records

The early migration of some Jerseys westward into the Forks had been noted 50 years ago,(145) but most recent authors believe that some indigenous population must have occupied the area before these arrivals came from the East. As our review has already indicated, this does not appear to have been the case.

Probably the first Jersey to relocate to the Forks area was Keposh, who was born about 1672 near the Cranburys in New Jersey.(146) He may have become a permanent settler in Penn's colony as early as 1700, after which he received the name "Tammekapi". His name, spelled Tameckapa, is on the list of twelve "natives" who witnessed the Walking Purchase confirmation deed of 25 August 1737.(147) His listing as a "witness" clearly demonstrates his presence at this treaty plus the fact that he was not then a claimant to land in Pennsylvania, despite a possibly long period of residence in the Forks. As "To-wegh-kapy", he is the third of the four named "DELAWARES, from the Forks" noted as attending the Treaty at Philadelphia of July 1742, in which all native land claims in Pennsylvania were extinguished. Despite the considerable evidence which we have for the life and activities of Keposh (Tammekapi), derived from various deeds and treaties, much of what we know about him and all of the Native American inhabitants of the Forks derives from the records kept by the Moravians. Their detailed and reliable records not only allow us to reconstruct the lives of these true Americans, but to reconstruct the culture history of this entire region and all the areas in which the "Moravian Brotherhood" was active.

The year 1742 is critical in the history of natives who had become residents in the Forks not only because of relevant land treaties but because that was the year of the beginning of Moravian activity in the area. The reasons for the Moravians initiating mis-

sionary work in the Forks may relate to the fur trade and the interesting, if limited, economic niche which it provided to these business-minded missionaries. Like their equally active brethren in the Caribbean and Labrador, these hardy servants of the Lord who were working in the Forks found the stimulation of native economics as important as the production of converts to their religion. Their desire to start these projects also may have correlated with the government's concerns for security in this zone, and the government's willingness to allow trade in a marginally profitable area. The story of the Moravian Mission and its work is interesting by itself, but for us the detailed records which they kept provide the principal source of information regarding the activities of the native people in the Forks after the year 1742, as well as giving biographical and historical data relating to their converts. Their historical records extend the record of native life back in time into the 17th century.

Using the detailed accounts left by the Moravians we can develop our understanding of the lives and goals of many of the residents of the Forks. Beginning with Keposh, we find that during a period of illness around 1 January 1749 he was nursed by the Moravians at Nazareth.(148) During this period of infirmity he was baptized, and the brethren then recorded his age at 77 years, noting that he had lived most of his life at the Forks.(149) This suggests that he had come from the Jerseys early in the century. The Moravian Archives(150) also note that at one time he lived on the Raritan River. The Moravians usually referred to Tammekapi, whom they baptized as "Salomo", as "der DELAWAR Koenig in den FORKS".

Among the many things recorded by the Moravians about Tammekapi was mention of several of his kin. Among these kin were a wife, Ogehemochque, and her (but not his) grandson, Nolematwenat (also called Henrich or Jacob) born in 1727. Since Nolematwenat may have been living along the Delaware River in 1749, in a (native?) settlement on the Jersey side, continued interaction between the Forks people and their kin in southern New Jersey is suggested, and certainly would be expected.

An indirect, and possibly erroneous reference to occupants in the Forks around 1716 derives from a Moravian account recorded in 1777. This information comes from Welapachtschicken, who was born ca. 1716 in the area of the Forks which became Nazareth (later Gnadenthal). We do not know his cultural affiliation, but he does not appear to have been related to Keposh. Welapachtschicken's mother must have been a Lenape and may only have been visiting (hunting) in the Forks when she gave birth. We do not know where Welapachtschicken grew up, but he went west, probably from Lenape Territory in 1735 at the age of nineteen, to go to the Ohio River. The few years around 1735 were those of the period of major Lenape emigration from their homeland, and Welapachtschicken may have been

among those emigrants. He was still living on the Ohio River when he visited the Moravians in 1777 and they recorded this information.(151) Welapachtschicken had succeeded "King" Beaver in 1769 and was an important person among the people on the Ohio. "King" Beaver was a brother to both Shingas and Pisquitomen, and all were nephews to the Schuylkill Lenape named Sasoonan.(152)

Welapachtschicken's place of birth is the principal point of interest here since the events relating to it and to his family would help us to understand better the use of the Forks during those early years of the 18th century.

The earliest known document actually noting a permanent native settler in the Forks dates from 1733, and it does not refer to Keposh. In that year, when most of the traditional Lenape bands were beginning to leave the Delaware River area to settle in the west, the person noted as "Tattemy an Indian" applied to the Proprietors of Pennsylvania for a grant of 300 acres "on Forks of Delaware".(153) Minute Book "K", page 266 of the Records of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania,(154) indicates that at the signing of warrants on 28 December 1736, provision was made "... to provide a Warr's and Patent for the Land where Fundy Tetamy dwells in the Forks of Delaware". On 11 11mo 1736 (11 Jan. 1737?) a warrant was signed "to Tetamy Fundy 300 Acres Ditto" in old Bucks County.(155) Hunter(156) believes that the actual patent was received in 1738 and that the land was regranted to Tatamy in 1742 in fee simple.

Moses (Tunda) Tatamy was born ca. 1695, but the place of his birth remains unknown. His claims (1758) to land rights, discussed below, offer us a clue. Wallace(157) believes that Tatamy brought his family to the Forks from Minisink, or the Munsee area,(158) but I believe that Tatamy was a Jersey. His wife may have been Munsee, as remotely suggested by Tatamy's participation in the Crosswicks Treaty of 1758. Tatamy must have lived in a cabin or wigwam on this homestead in the Forks since at least 1733, and the warrant to his land clearly notes that he was resident there by 1736. Tatamy was actively involved in numerous dealings with various Jerseys,(159) but no clear kin relationship has yet been established. In February 1758, Tatamy is listed as one of the two natives representing the band of "Mountain Indians" at the Crosswicks Treaty. In this treaty note is made of six "bands" of Native Americans in the Jersey area. These must refer to extended family groups, and Tatamy may been representing his own or his wife's band's claims. Since there are no "mountains" in southern New Jersey, this delegation from the "Mountain Indians" probably represented a northerly or Munsee band. Hunter(160) says that in 1758 Tatamy claimed rights to lands just east of Allentown, N.J.(161) and that this is the same piece of land which was claimed by Teedyuscung. This shared claim also suggests that these two people were related, as would be expected by their exten-

sive interactions in the Forks. However, we know from a land sale in 1734 that Teedyuscung held land rights near Toms River, New Jersey, far from Tatamy's claim; and we have no direct evidence that the two men were related in any way.(162) I suspect that Teedyuscung was falsely claiming rights to lands near Tatamy's, possibly in support of Tatamy's legitimate claims. In 1758 Tatamy also made a journey to Minisinks in the Munsee area together with Isaac Still,(163) but this may reflect Tatamy's skill as a guide and interpreter rather than familiarity with the region.

The highly acculturated Tatamy, whose widow and son later are listed as "White" in United States census documents (1790), "settled" and farmed this area in the Forks which he, at least in 1733, considered to be land available directly from the Proprietors and not subject to claims by any native population. Ths is important because this petition of Tatamy precedes the Walking Purchase Confirmation Treaty by four years.

Tatamy was the first Native American to become a private landowner in Pennsylvania using the English system of land purchase and tenure. Tatamy's house in the Forks must have been built by much more than one year before the construction in 1739 of the first European descent colonist's house in the area of Easton. Although Europeans may have "owned" land in the Forks prior to 1733, none actually lived there until 1739.(164)

J. Lopresti(165) reports the following information from his archival research into the history of the Forks area. He believes that in 1682(?) William Penn granted "a just proportion" of 5,000 acres of land, about 8 kilometers (5 miles) above present Easton, Pennsylvania to Adrian Vroesen, a merchant from Rotterdam.(166) Lopresti says that Vroesen transferred this land to Benjamin Furley in 1704.(167) In 1735 a warrant for survey for Furley's heirs was issued in the area of Lefevre Creek. Some 151 acres of the 5,000 were warranted to Richard Peters, who in 1755 claimed the land around Meniolagomekah.(168) In 1745 this 151 acre tract went to Simon Heller (according to J. Lopresti).(169) Jacob Hubler, Charles Saudt(?), and William Boyer also were involved with this tract of land after 1745. However, the first European house at Easton is reputed to have been built by David Martin in 1739,(170) and other colonists rapidly began to occupy this entire area.

Other Jerseys moved into and through the Forks, including Teedyuscung,(171) and Meskikonant. The general movement followed a route through the Lehigh Gap on the North Branch of Susquehanna. Except for the Lenape Welapachtschicken, not one adult in the years around 1740 is known to have been born in the Forks. In those years, all of the natives resident in the Forks came from the Jerseys, further suggesting that aside from Keposh and possibly his family no other people permanently inhabited the region prior to 1730.

Teedyuscung (1707?-1763), who was to become a representative of the Jerseys resident in the Forks as well as several other native groups, was called their "king" by the English. He was a culturally marginal person who came from among the more acculturated Jersey natives.(172) When he first actually arrived in the Forks is unknown, but he and his kin had sold their land rights near Toms River, New Jersey in 1734,(173) perhaps in conjunction with their departure for the Forks. Certainly Teedyuscung and his relatives, Captain Harris and Captain John, arrived in the Forks after 1730.(174) Most subsequent arrivals can be identified as their kin, and the remainder also are presumed to have been related.(175) Capt. John settled at Welagameka, near present Nazareth, where he remained until 1742 (see below), and others were scattered throughout the region.

The native land claims which led to the Walking Purchase Confirmation Treaty (1737) appear to have originated with these squatters who came from the Jerseys. The actual treaty settlement of 1737 granted compensation to all of the occupants of the area, but only four of the natives actually are named in the document and two of these can be identified with ease as Jerseys. The clarification of the history and settlement of the Forks of Delaware is important in understanding the "validity" of the claims made by these Jerseys to lands in Pennsylvania on which they recently had settled. That more of the Jersey squatters did not participate in this specious, if not fraudulent claim against the Proprietors is a tribute to the basic honesty of these people.

There are several earlier examples of individual Jerseys making claims to land on the western side of the Delaware River, but all appear to have been made to uninhabited areas or to buffer areas where notes native inhabitant would have contested the allegations of ownership. For example, in the early 1600's the Jersey named Wappanghzewan(176) alleged that he owned land on the west bank of the Delaware River and then he "presented" these lands to Peter Stuyvesant. Wappanghzewan's claim apparently involved lands which recently had been vacated by Lenape,(177) or which temporarily were out of use due to Susquehannock incursions along the Delaware River. Either the Lenape owners had been killed and their relatives had not been able to utilize the area, or the rightful owners had simply been displaced by the Susqhehannock intrusion. Quite possibly Wappanghzewan was married to a woman of the owning lineage, but this would confer rights of ownership only on his wife's children. These specific questions remain to be resolved, but this is another example of a Jersey making a claim of ownership to lands which were not bought nor had been inherited as a birthright. What is also of interest is that these specious land claims take place during periods of

uncertainty: the era of the Susquehannock invasion (ca. 1600-1630) and the period after the Lenape had entirely abandoned their homeland (1733-1737).

In the 1737 transaction mention is made of three "Kings of the Northern Indians", as signatories to a Penn purchase some fifty years before (28 August 1686).(178) The point being made is that these three Lenape, Mayhkeerickkishosho, Sayhoppy, and Taughhaughsey, were true owners and that only their descendants could have any claims to the disputed area. This reference in 1737 suggests that these three Lenape had lived at the northernmost edge of Lenape territory, which was still some distance south of the Forks. However, after their sale of land to William Penn we have no evidence that they moved into the Forks, and may assume that they moved west with the true Lenape. The mention of these three Lenape and their legitimate sale of land appears to reflect the colonist's awareness that the Jerseys living in the Forks in 1737 had no claim to the lands on which they lived other than their rights as squatters. Years later, one of these squatters, Nutimus, astutely observed that his claimants came merely from across the Delaware River while the English claimants had come from across the ocean. In their quest for benefits these Jerseys chose to ignore any greater political realities, and their success is a clear demonstration of frontier "realpolitik".

What do we know of actual early Jersey settlement in the Forks? Despite all of their claims, the transient nature of their residence(179) and the paucity of early references to anyone actually living in the Forks reflects the peripheral nature of this area before 1700. Marginal as this area may have become by 1700, the jasper resources which it contained must have been too important in the period prior to 1650 to allow any one group to claim them. However, by 1734, in addition to Tatamy a fair number of Jerseys had taken up residence in this vacant area on the west side of the Delaware River above the Lehigh.(180) Among them may have been Killbuck, Sr. His son, Gelelemend (Killbuck Jr.) was born in 1737 near Pochapuchkug, a small Jersey "settlement" at the Lehigh Water Gap.(181) This was one of the earliest dates at which a Jersey was actually born in the Forks.

In the year 1734 a delegation from this group of Jerseys resident in the Forks was summoned to Durham for a treaty, and the young Jersey named Teedyuscung attended as one of their representatives.(182) The construction of Durham Furnace by James Logan and the subsequent settlement of the region by workers, and then farmers, accelerated the colonial occupation of the entire area. This, plus the rapid and recent arrival of Jersey in the Forks, set the stage for the subsequent confirmation treaty of 1737, the "Walking Purchase", by which the squatters in the Forks exacted payment from the

Proprietors for lands which the Jerseys only recently had occupied. The natives who were then resident in the Forks included a large number of Teedyuscung's relatives, including Captain Harris, who was Teedyuscung's mother's sister's husband.(183) Captain Harris became an important person at Pohopoko,(184) a little hamlet on the Lehigh just below present Weissport.(185) Liebert(186) says that old Captain Harris lived at Wechquetank prior to 1742, and that he had six "sons" (among whom was included Teedyuscung). Wechquetank and Pohopoco both may refer to the same hamlet. Pohopoco, on the far western periphery of the Forks,(187) appears to have been typical of these new "settlements", each of which included a number of scattered hamlets or perhaps only household clusters. Except for the Shawnee village that was defunct by 1730 no other native hamlet can be identified in this area before 1730. This indicates that the Jersey hamlets developed rapidly after that date, as a result of considerable movement which paralleled the contemporary movement of Lenape to the west.(188)

Prior to 1700 the Proprietors of Pennsylvania had been extremely interested in the shifting groups of natives and in attracting these remnant populations into the Colonial sphere because the fur trade depended upon the efforts of these hunters.(189) The Shawnee villages appear to reflect this policy. By 1710, however, the frontier and the fur trade were shifting to the Susquehanna Valley and even further west along the Allegheny(190) and the remnant populations of natives, particularly those who had become the most acculturated like the Conestoga (formerly the Susquehannock), were of less interest to the Proprietors. Perhaps this was because the Conestoga were poor hunters or because they were becoming sedentary and occupying farm land which was of interest to their non-native neighbors. In fact, the presence of native farmers on the land created certain problems because previously Penn had allowed the lenape bands *de facto* rights wherever they were "settled".(191) This was fine in the case of foraging groups so long as they actually occupied only small areas, and generally moved away from the spreading colonial population. Those Lenape who had taken up residence in western Pennsylvania were beyond the area in which they could claim *de facto* rights to the land. Like the Europeans, these Lenape purchased title to native lands wherever they settled, reversing the process by which they had sold their original lands to William Penn.

The Jerseys who had taken up farming in the Forks presented a different problem: Were these Jersey, native speakers of their own language but many of whom had become agriculturalists and nominal Christians as well, to be treated in the same ways as the foraging Lenape?

Hunter(192) believes that a manor in Lehigh Township may have been established to protect the people at Hockendauqua, which he

calls "the chief Indian settlement in the Forks". Indian Tract Manor, established for the Proprietors(193) occupied the area between the West Branch of the Delaware (the Lehigh) and Hocqueondocy Creek.(194) The earlier survey (7 June) for a proximal tract(195) notes "Indian Cabbins" scattered throughout the area between the Lehigh River and Hockendauqua Creek,(196) but no such indications of native habitation appear in the manor area.(197) Furthermore, all of the land at the junction of the Lehigh and the Hocqueondocy is believed to have become the property of William Allen, and the relationship between his rights and the manor lands is not clear.

Hunter believes that the establishment of this proprietory manor (Indian Tract) in the Forks (1735) and the confirmation treaty or purchase of 1737 may be related, but in a way distinct from the way I interpret the suquence of events. If the manors were intended to serve as preserves, then the natives relocating after various sales could use the manors, or at least untill such time as the manor owners chose to sell their holdings. If the Proprietors in 1735 had chosen to protect native holdings they could have located the manor around existing native hamlets(198) onto which natives would have to move. The "manors as preserves" thesis also fails to take into account the desire of the Five Nations to exert hegemony over native groups, and to resettle such people within their sphere. The Five Nations wished to sustain their ever decreasing numbers (due to warfare with other native groups that had become ritualized rather than utilitarian) and to provide protective outflankers to absorb some of the losses of these intertribal raids. The movement of colonists into the Forks and the land sales and schemes of the Proprietors required that claims to this unusual piece of territory be settled, and the treaty of 1737 was as simple a solution as could be found.

Lenape in the Forks

One of the clearest indications of the cultural distinctions between the Lenape and the Jersey can be seen in their differential use of the Forks of Delaware. This area, separated from the Lenape homeland by the Lehigh River valley and the Reading Prong area to its south, and from the Jersey territory by the upper Delaware River, appears equally accessible to members of both cultures. However, the true Lenape tended to relocate to the west and northwest of their homeland and not due north into the Forks. The Jerseys, on the other hand, moved to the north and northwest of their home. Many took advantage of the uninhabited but hospitable area available in the Forks to establish residences after selling titles to their home territories within the New Jersey colony. Both the pattern and the timing of these moves were remarkably similar, but the destination of the members of these two cultures were quite different.

Perhaps these same factors of land availability led the Moravian missionaries to establish their mission in the Forks. While we have seen that whole families of Jerseys established themselves in the Forks, and subsequently great numbers of them became affiliated with the Moravians, only four Lenape ever chose to go into this region after 1730. At least three of these Lenape appear to have gone to join the Moravians rather than to establish independent residences. Furthermore, research indicates that two were either elderly or infirm when they moved to the Forks, and neither lived more than a year after being baptized by the Moravians. This suggests a possible pattern. A few examples(199) should suffice to provide evidence for this theory.

a) Theodora was born on the Schuylkill and came into the Forks at an unknown date. She was baptized 12/23 October 1749 and died on 24 November 1749, only a month later.

b) Meskikonant(200) was born on Neshaminy Creek (?) ca. 1713, and was living in the Forks about 1740. In 1748 he left the Forks for the Juniata River, and afterwards relocated along the Potomac. Meskikonant had returned to the Forks by August 1749. On 9 January 1751 he died, age ca. 38.

c) Louisa, a sister of Meskikonant, was married to the Moravian convert. known as Boas. She is assumed to have been born in the area where her brother had been born, possibly between 1710 and 1720.

Lenape such as Theodora who chose to relocate in the Forks and their brief lives thereafter suggest that some of these people were consciously joining the mission as a means by which they could receive care (food and shelter) while infirm; care which their foraging kin could not possibly provide. This use of religious affiliation with the colonists as a means of survival for individuals was analogous to other native cases found throughout the eastern seaboard. For example, the first convert made by the dominie(201) Godfridius Delius in Albany after he had arrived from the Netherlands in 1683 was "Blind Payulus".(202) Certainly this pattern of "conversion" must be as consistent theme in colonial-native relations. In the case of the very independent Lenape it appears to be an infrequent activity, generally sparked by extreme need. The vastly higher rate of conversion from among the Jerseys, whom the Moravians called "Delaware", clearly reflects an entirely different cultural interaction pattern, but one might infer that proximity was a significant factor. However, the Jerseys apparently acculturated more rapidly as compared with the Lenape. This is based on the rate of adoption of European names, which provide a good indication that the Jerseys as a whole were more rapidly merging into colonial society during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than were the Lenape across the river.

In the period 1700 to 1720 trade from Philadelphia focused toward the west. Land speculation in those regions also was of importance to the Government as well as to specific individuals. The great interval of time between the establishment of manors along the Susquehanna (the western frontier) and their establishment at a later date to the north at "Lechay" appears to reflect the lesser quality of the land and a lower level of trading activity in the Forks. If we could secure more data on the licensing of traders after 1712,(202) we might be able to determine the pattern of these acitivities and if they were largely concentrated in the western areas, as I believe.

The Land Records and other documents noted above demonstrate that by 1735 the population of Jerseys, and possibly other displaced native peoples, in the Forks may have numbered only 50 people. The great influx of Jerseys about this time may have raised their number only to about 100. Despite the concern of Logan and others for the size of the native population and the possibility that they would interfere with the sale of land in this area, the actual native numbers seem small. To date, only two possible areas of occupation at that time are identifiable. In 1737 the "walkers", who were engaged in establishing the boundary of lands claimed by the Proprietary government, met "one called Captain Harrison, a noted Man among the Indians", at Pohopoco on the Lehigh. This undoubtedly was the Captain Harris noted above. Later depositions concerning the "Walking Purchase" mention the native villages of Hockendauqua and Pohopoco on the Lehigh River.(204) We know less about any white squatters in the area. These notes suggest that the area of the "Cabbins" located along Hockendauqua creek was settled by Jerseys and that the region took its name from the creek. In 1742, as the "Walking Purchase" arrangements were being settled, Count Zinzendorf noted two "villages" in the area of the Forks, but both may have been formed after 1737 and both may have been little more than hamlets.(205) After 1742 many of these people left the area (see below), but some population growth in the Forks appears to have resulted from post 1742 missionary activity,(206) which attracted natives from New England as well as New Jersey. Nevertheless, even twenty years later (1763) the two main villages included fewer than 150 people.(207)

Two comparative notes should be offered. Lenape on the western frontier seem to have been much more numerous than were Jerseys at Lehigh (the Forks) at any time.(208) Partly this may reflect the always low population of Jerseys, and also that most of them relocated to the north rather than to the northwest. Oddly, at this time the Lenape who were moving west appear to have been using traditional foraging plus fur trapping as an economic base, rather than

shifting to agriculture, as was the case with many Jerseys. These Lenape groups became major purveyors of furs to the Pennsylvania colony and formed a very important part of colonial society. Also, many groups or clusters ("towns") of "Delaware" (actually Lenape) in the west after the 1740's were named for a specific leader, a practice which became increasingly common into the Ohio and Indiana periods of Lenape history. This supersedes the use of the place name and may reflect developing use of a formalized "leader" in native affairs.

The populations at the Forks of Delaware after 1735 were "clustered" in a few small areas and included very few people. The establishment of a forge to the south, at Durham, and continuing colonial population growth made land in the entire area of the Forks more valuable. Any land cleared by the Jerseys, and their paths through the forest, became resources of even greater importance.(209)

The complex sequence of events surrounding the "Walking Purchase" of 1737(210) is extremely well described by Wallace,(211) with details clarified by Hunter.(212) This treaty, or land sale, secured the Forks area as well as other lands which had been unoccupied by any native population at the time when Penn was making his major purchases, from 1681 to about 1701. As Hunter (213) pointed out, the native "grantors" in 1737 actually were Jersey squatters who not only were not living in Pennsylvania prior to 1730, but most had not even been born when Penn made his purchases. Nor were they related to any of the Lenape grantors of these lands. In fact, most of these Jerseys seem to have had no idea of the boundaries of this territory which they were claiming as their own. The grant of 1737 called for the transfer of all land as far as a men could "go" inland from the Delaware river in one-and-a-half days. This distance was derived from those previous grants from the Lenape, all of which had noted the "distance" inland of the tracts being sold by such notations as, "as far as man can ride a horse for two days" (or walk in one-and-a-half days, etc.). This form of reckoning borders was meant only to denote the approximate distance to the furthermost boundaries inland of the tract in question, and was *not* meant to limit or restrict the area being sold.(214)

The land sale of 1737 between native occupants in the Forks and the Proprietary government was paralleled on a smaller scale between individual members of both societies. For example, on 29 May 1737, Nicholas Depue was involved in a claim for a small tract in the Forks,(215) which reads as follows:

> "N: Depue having sometime since prevailed with Lapowingo one of the Delaware Indian Kings to preferr a Petition in his own name and several other Indians to the Prop'r setting forth that D: Broadhead had obtained a Warrant for a Tract of Land which they deired might be recall'd because the said

Daniel had done them much wrong and Cheated them very Grosly &c. vide the Petition."

Depue claimed the Lapowingo (also Lappeweinsoe, see above, or Lappawinza) had given him a tract of land for favors rendered and for protection against Daniel Broadhead. Lapowingo and five others (not identified) were said to have signed the petition. Depue came to Philadelphia with Lapowingo, and also with "Corse Urum"(216) to act as interpreter. In Philadelphia Lapowingo testified that:

"Depue had sent for him Mawkcomy and Show'd him the Paper or Petition & told him that he must sign it, which he did, but the other Indians whose names are also to the Petition were not there except one which he called his Cousin..."

This testimony suggests that Depue had lied. The Proprietor, always wishing to be fair, wanted to walk out proper boundaries for these claims.

"To which Lapowingo answered that it was his desire it should be done but that some other Indians were against doing of it meaning Nudimus and the Jersey Indians lately come over and settled near Durham Iron Works."

How long Lapowingo himself had been in the Forks is not clear, but he had sold his land rights in New Jersey on 18 August 1713, and may have, at that time, been in Pennsylvania for many years. The Governor of Pennsylvania, however, was glad to see him and to gain an ally in dealing with the recent Jersey squatters. The Governor gave Lapowingo lots of goods, clearly listed,(217) to develop this friendship. The "cousin" of Lapowingo may have been Tishcohan, and this visit in 1737 may have benn the occasion at which these two Jerseys had their portraits painted, as a further compliment to them. These two portraits, now in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, are important documents of native culture in the early eighteenth century. The evidence presented herein clearly identified these two people as Jerseys, and may enable us to determine what different modes of dress, tatooing, and ornamentation were used by the Jerseys and their neighbors.

The general Proprietary confirmation treaty ("purchase") of 1737 included all of the Forks area.(218) Subsequent events led most of the "Forks Indians" to move to Wyoming (now Wilkes-Barre), where many Shawnee had been settled since at least 1728.(219) The continued use of the Forks after 1737 by Jerseys, and the increasing sales of lands in the Forks by the Proprietary Government created some stressful situations. Some Jerseys in the Forks were relatively acculturated and appear to have adopted agriculture, as had Moses Tatamy. They had learned to use the land in much the same way as the colonials. Although these Jerseys made many accommodations to the colonial government, the Proprietors wanted the land and the money it would bring and were not as knowledgeable nor as accommodating

as William Penn had been. Besides, these migrants into the Forks were not the Lenape, and Old Onas, as the Lenape called William Penn, had been dead for twenty-four years.

The Treaty of 1742: Expulsion from the Forks

The treaty (council meeting) in Philadelphia of July 1742 primarily reviewed the terms of the 1736 agreement in which the Six Nations released lands on both sides of the Susquehanna River. In 1722 the Five Nations had been joined by the Tuscarora, and thereafter tended to be termed the "Six Nations". These six "Nations" were among the ten Native American cultures represented at this council meeting of 1742. Other present included the "Delawares of Shamokin" (Lenape) and the "Delawares from the Forks" (Jerseys). All were to witness the extermination of all Jersey land claims in Pennsylvana.(220) The Six Nations in 1736 had sold to Pennsylvania all the lands along the Susquehanna River from the southern border of Pennsylvania north to the Endless Mountains (Kittochtenny Hills); lands which they held by right of conquest since 1675. In 1736 the Six Nations took payment only for lands on the east side, but had deferred acceptance of an equal payment for the western portion.(221) The specific goods accepted in this earlier exchange were listed(222) but the principal speaker for the Six Nations, the Onondaga named Canassatego, told the British to hold these items as the Six Nations wanted even more before they would "release" the land. Canassetogo stated:

> "We know our Lands are now become more Valuable; the white People think we don't know their Value, but we are sensible that the Land is Everlasting, and the few Goods we receive for it are soon Worn out and Gone..."

They also wanted the English to get the white settlers out of these western lands as the whites were spoiling the hunting and "damage our Cousins the Delawares".

In the Listing of those present at the Treaty of 1742(223) the representatives of the Six Nations are listed first, followed by the Shawnee, then people from Conestoga, then the Delaware of Shamokin (Lenape), and lastly "DELAWARES, from the Forks". The Forks people who are noted, presumably in order of seniority, are Onutpe, Lawye-Quohwon alias Nudimus, To-Wegh-Kapy, Cornelius Spring, and several others.

The Lenape named Pisquetoman, here referred to as a "Shamokin Delaware", Cornelius Spring (a Jersey), and Nicholas Scull specifically are cited as "Interpreters to the ffork Indians". Clearly the Proprietors recognized the cultural and linguistic differences between these Jerseys in the Forks and the Lenape who then were living at

Shamokin and other places,(224) and the presence of three "Interpreters to the ffork Indians"(225) indicates that their language was not intelligible to a Lenape speaker.

During the treaty, mention was made of many recent letters from the Jersey squatters petitioning Governor Thomas for the right to continue to occupy the land in the Forks. However, the Governor told the "ffork Indians" (9 July 1742) to get off this land, and he said it in the most insulting fashion.(226) To indicate the petty nature of the native claims Governor Thomas used one meager "String of Wampum" to call for Six Nations' enforcement of the government's order directed at those Jerseys still living in the Forks. When the Six Nations sold the lands north of the "Walking Purchase" tract to Pennsylvania in 1742 they also considered the Jerseys occupying this territory to be nothing more than squatters.(227) At this time the Six Nations were viewed as a separate, "international" power with control of all lands in this region not purchased or held by the colonists, and control over the people as well.

The extent of Six Nations' power is reflected by a minor matter which was brought up during this conference. The Proprietors wished to determine who had assaulted William Webb in the Forks of Delaware some time prior to this gathering in 1742. Canassatego had the matter investigated and determined that the assailant was a native living near "Osopus" (Esopus?). His findings in the matter, and his course of action, were accepted by the Proprietors as conclusive.

On the next day of the treaty (10 July 1742) lavish gifts were respectfully given to the representatives of the Six Nations.(228) Was this one of the best recorded and most blatant political payoffs in Pennsylvania history or merely an appropriate contrast to the single string of wampum used the previous day to dismiss the claims of the Jerseys? By 12 July 1742, the principal oration from Canassatego was ready to be delivered. Canassatego accepted the "String of Wampum" offered to the Six Nations by Governor Thomas to order the Jerseys from the Forks and returned a string to verify his acceptance of the validity of the land purchases by the Proprietors(229). In his speech Canassatego lumped the Jerseys with the Lenape as peoples without their own lands, but at least he had the grace to give his "Cousins the Delaware" a belt of wampum when he delivered the famous speech claiming that the "Delaware" had been conquered by the Six Nations and made into women with no right to sell land and thereby indirectly ordering them to do his bidding. In one sense Canassatego diplomatically upgraded the Jerseys' petition by presenting them with a belt of wampum rather than a single string. However, Canassatego's claim that the Forks and other areas which the Six Nations held had been taken by right of conquest provides clear indication that he was making false statements. Also implied by this speech was a negation of the validity of all of the ear-

lier Proprietary purchases from the Lenape. That legal detail was lost within the rhetoric of the treaty, but could have created a bargaining wedge for the Six Nations to claim the land, if their power then had not been in decline. The important point, however, is that everyone recognized the nature of the claim of the recent immigrants from the Jersey colony to the Forks, and all were united in dismissing it.

Canassatego used the right of conquest as a basis for ordering the "fork Indians" in 1742 to relocate either to "wyomin or Shamokin".(230) In addition, a string of wampum then was given to these Jerseys with the warning that they were never again to meddle in land affairs. In fact, Hunter points out that many of the Lenape present at this treaty had been living at Shamokin for some years. Sasoonan had been there at least since 1731.(231) Back in 1732 Sasoonan and his people had confirmed their still earlier land sales to Penn (noted above), and like most of the Lenape they had moved west soon after. Clearly Canassatego meant his directive to apply only to those Jerseys still resident in the Forks, but the use of the term "Delaware" by the scribe has led to some confusion as to what was meant by this speech.

Nutimus and his group of Jerseys in 1737 had sold or settled claims for all of the land in the Forks which they "held", and probably many had moved west soon after. Chapman(232) believes that the Jerseys sent to Wyoming in 1742 may have joined other groups there in the "town" of Maughwauwame, which was on the east bank of Susquehanna on the lower flat below the mouth of Toby's Creek (just below present Wilkes-Barre). Thus Nutimus may have been at Wyoming for several years when directed to go there in 1742 by Canassatego. As Jennings(233) pointed out, the myth of Lenape (and Jersey) subordination to the Six Nations by right of conquest was formulated by Canassatego, whose directive in 1742 reflected earlier land sales and movements of these people and not Six Nation domination. What cannot be denied is that many Lenape and Jerseys (now called "Delaware") had become "guests" on lands along the Susquehanna claimed by the Six Nations by right of conquest; but these had been taken from the Susquehannock.

By 1742 none of the intact Lenape bands occupied any of the area of southeastern Pennsylvania, which had been their homeland for hundreds of years. They had sold all their traditional lands and now were reduced to the status of dependents (in a "residential" sense) of the Six Nations. What should be remembered, however, is that these Lenape and Jersey groups were only minor clusters of much larger populations. The majority of the members of both of these cultures had moved far beyond this colonial frontier and were living more traditional and perhaps more successful lives.

The treaty of July 1742 guaranteed the Six Nations' claims to all

lands west of the Kittochtinny Mountains. On 5 October 1742 a proclamation was issued directing all squatters to remove from those lands(234). Although the Jerseys were recent immigrants into the Forks, expulsion obviously was traumatic, On 20 November 1742 Governor Thomas presented to the Board a petition which he "had lately received from Titami, Cptn. John, and sundry other Delaware Indians". These Jersey petitioners still resident in the Forks claimed to have "embraced the Christian Religion..." and wished to have allotted to them a place to live under the same laws as the English.(235) The political problems of leaving any "Delaware" in this area were evident, and the Proprietors wanted all of them removed despite Tatamy's legitimate land rights dating back to 1733. These petitioners, having sold their land rights as "Indians", were making a major effort to play the game according to thr rules of the Colonial government.

In response to the requests of these Jerseys and to "the Letters of the fork Indians to the Governor & Mr. Langhorne, ..." the Governor sent a statement reflecting concern only for colonial expansion and land sales in that area and the Six Nations' desires to have new dependents located within their immediate territory. The recipient of this message is not specified but the orders are quite clear. "We now expect from you that you will cause these Indians to remove from the Lands of the fforks of Delaware, and not give any further Disturbance to the Persons who are now in Possession."(236)

This directive did not take into account the fact that Moses Tatamy held a valid 1738 patent for 300 acres in the eastern part of the Forks area, secured by all the proper laws of the colony.(237) Another petitioner, Captain John,(238) lived at Welagamika (present Nazareth) only a short distance from Tatamy's land holding. Neither Captain John nor any of the remaining petitioners held formal title to lands in the Forks, but they had long been resident there and had wrested farms from the wilderness. In recognition of these facts the council decreed that Tatamy and Captain John, with their immediate families, could remain in the Forks if they could secure permission to stay there from the Six Nations. We do not know if this permission was requested, but Tatamy remained on the lands on which he had been living and to which he had secured clear title. Tatamy later traveled extensively as a guide and interpreter,(239) but his family remained at home on their homestead. They were there long after his death, and their many descendants still inhabit the area.

Although Captain John stayed on in the Forks he was ordered to leave Welagamika(240) because it was in an area purchased from the Proprietors the year before by the Moravians. Captain John refused to leave, and late in 1742 the Moravians "bought" his claim to the lands which he occupied. He then retired to lands along nearby Bushkill Creek where he died in 1747.(241)

The land claims of Tatamy and other Jerseys, coupled with their affirmations that they had become Christians, were quite legitimate. Their claim to being Christian may have referred more to their agrarian food production system and housing style than to their ritual beliefs, but no outside observer would have noticed any difference between their churchly behaviors and those of their neighbors. As if their petition had brought divine intervention, the Forks soon became a mission field, cultivated by both the Moravians and the Presbyterian David Brainerd.

Brainerd had spent a year preaching at Kaunaumeek, about twenty miles (thirty-four km) east of Albany, New York, but was instructed by his church to relocate the fous of his activities to the Forks of Delaware. On his way south he stopped (6 April 1744) at "Miunissinks", which he estimated to be 140 miles (235 km) from Kaunaumeek "and directly in my way to Delaware river". After being rebuffed in his missionary activities at Minisink, Brainerd continued south on his "Journey toward Delaware. And May 13th, I arrived at a place called by the Indians *Sakhauwotung*, within the Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania."(242) His congregation here was never larger than forty people, suggesting a small regional settlement but also demonstrating that Jerseys (and possibly others) continued to inhabit the Forks. In July, Brainerd noted in his journal a place which he called *"Kauksesauchung*, more than thirty miles (50 km) westward from the place where I usually preach."(243) Kauksesauchung probably lay on the fringe of, or just outside the area of the Forks. There Brainerd found about thirty people who were originally from the Susquehanna region, and who soon after this visit of 1744 returned there. On a subsequent visit to the people along the Susqhehanna Brainerd visited Opeholhauping (now Wapwallopin), a community of twelve houses and seventy people who may have been Lenape, but possibly they were Jerseys who had come from the Forks. The house count suggests that the buildings were clustered, a pattern not at all common among the Lenape, but possibly a pattern which existed among the Jerseys. The cemetery of this settlement has been excavated(244) and the analysis of those results may provide evidence which allows us to infer a cultural identity for these people.(245)

Writing to the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton on November 5, 1744, Brainerd described his "congregation at Sakhauwotung" as follows:(246)

> "The number of Indians in this place is but small; most of those that formerly belonged here, are dispersed, and removed to places farther back in the country. There are not more than ten houses hereabouts, that continue to be inhabited; and some of these are several miles distant from others, which

makes it difficult for the Indians to meet together so frequently as could be desired."

This description seems to reflect a traditional dispersed settlement pattern and does not reflect a departure from the area of the squatters in accordance with the Governor's 1742 ruling. Quite probably the Council's order had little effect on those Jerseys living in the Forks. In 1750-1751 some thirty or forty "Indians", baptized and unbaptized came from Meniolagomekah to Gnadenhuetten for Sundays and festivals, and during the same period most of the Baptized (only) people moved from Wechquatnack (Wechquatank?) to Gnadenhuetten.(247) These populations in the Forks never grew very large nor did these people cluster in towns. The area remained "frontier"(248) until after the American Revolution.

Moses (Tunda) Tatamy continued to occupy land in the F ·ks.(249) His life has been well documented by Hunter,(250) and h family became both Christian and "white" during the next half century. Hunter's clear presentation of this process serves as a model for future studies concerning the merger of Native Americans into the "American mainstream". Whether or not Tatamy's tract of 300 acres was used by others than his single family remains uncertain. We know that Welagamika supported a small community of Jerseys, as indicated by later Moravian records which identify some of the residents who were resident there when the Moravians arrived. Among these occupants around 1740 were the people known to white settlers as the Evans family, all of whom were related to Teedyuscung.(251)

The Moravian town of Nazareth was later established on the site of a Jersey settlement, as others appear to have been. Although most of the adults in these "towns" appear to have been born in New Jersey, as we have noted, the Moravian missions also attracted Mahican and Long Island Indians. One of these immigrants was Awiulschashuak (Always in Joy), who was baptized as "Elisabeth".(252)

The People of Meniolagomeka and other "towns" in the Forks

One cluster of Jerseys who appear to have stayed in this region after 1742 lived at Meniolagomeka, north of Aquanshicola Creek.(253) The people of this hamlet were oriented toward the larger settlement at Gnadenhuetten. Their leader was Young George Rex (baptised in 1749 by the Moravians as Augustus), whose followers must have included his extended kin group and their wives, including two of his own. Hark(254) believes that Rex's 100-year-old grandfather also lived with them. Few if any of these people were not kin. By the spring of 1755 this town had been abandoned.

Various members of this group were among the people removed to Philadelphia during the French and Indian War and who afterwards

went to Wyalusing and then Friedenshuetten. These moves indicate that they were oriented to the Moravian missions and no longer acted as independent agents in traditional Jersey foraging patterns. Quite possibly few, if any, of the Jerseys who moved into the Forks were wholly foragers, but many seem to have become increasingly sedentary despite the frequent disruptions in their lives. Few were as clearly agrarian as Moses Tatamy. Most of them probably had used an economic system largely based on foraging and to some extent involved in food production and storage. Those associated with the Moravians certainly became rather sedentary. Unlike the Lenape, whose moves to the west seem to have been in search of a traditional foraging lifestyle, the Jerseys appear to have begun the acculturation process quite early, and continud it even while moving westerly with the frontier.

The Moravian settlement at Gnadenhuetten was located above the water gap at the confluence of the Mahoning and Lehigh River (opposite Fort Allen). This community began in 1746 as a refugee town, and remained the central Moravian outpost for nearly ten years. In the fall of 1755, at the beginning of the French and Indian War, "Indians" attacked the town, massacred many of the colonials, and burned all the buildings.(255)

Moses Tatamy stated that on 22 November 1755 Isaac Still(256) and others had told him that an "...Indian Lad named Jemmy, came down from Queycake to the Forks of Delaware, where his Mother and one Joe Peepy and wife, and some other Indians then resided ... the Gap of the Mountain was then open..." to warn them that there was danger and that all could return to "Friends at Neskopecka, but that if they refused this Invitation, they would meet with the same, nay worse Usage than the white People." The message also alleged that all of the Native American people of the Allegheny (Shawnee, Mohawk, Tuscarora, and "Delaware") were threatening, and that all of these tribes were then gathering at Nescopeka. Jemmy, according to Tatamy,(257) returned to Nescopeka taking with him his mother and father-in-law Amos (mother's husband), as well as Joe Peepy. Two other Native Americans then resident at the Forks went to the thickly settled areas of Pennsylvania to escape, while Moses Tatamy, along with most of the other native-descent people, left the area. Tatamy went to Trenton, where he filed an affidavit in which he is described as "...an Indian Convert to the Christian religion ... sober, honest and conscientious Person, <sworn> before Mr. Justice Anderson of New Jersey..."

This general relocation of people along the frontier in the years 1755-1763, mostly of the native population, creates difficulties in following their histories. The 300 "Delaware", allied to the English, who went to Otseningo (near present Binghampton, New York) in 1756 appear to have been Jerseys, but they may have included Len-

ape and even Munsee.(258) By this time those groups of Lenape and presumably Jerseys who wished to follow the old ways had moved far beyond the frontier. These people about whom we know the most are also the most acculturated. Their lives, as well as their stories and cultures, were becoming increasingly merged with those of the record keeping colonials.(259) Tracing the lives of the traditionalists(260) is another kind of problem for which we will be more dependent on the archaeological record. For the Jerseys, movement into the Forks provided them with an area relatively free from cultural threats, although the expansion of Pennsylvania and the war of 1755 rapidly created even more complex problems. However, the westward movement of the Moravian communities, the growing numbers of colonial farms in the Forks, and the entire process of acculturation led those Jerseys who remained to become parts of the settled communities which rapidly developed around the years of the American Revolution. By the first Federal census in 1790 a great many of the "White" people identified in the area of the Forks must have been descended, at least in part, from the Jerseys who had arrived more than fifty years before.

Some mutually satisfying interactions between Munsee and Jerseys also can be documented clearly in the Moravian records, within the context of their religious community. However, as independent cultural units these groups rarely operated in concert. In fact, even within these groups unified action was rare. We do not know the overall effects of this missionary activity in the Forks, but soon after 1742 there developed the additional problems generated by military conflicts, which led *individuals* to make new decisions regarding their affiliations. Thus the letter written on 17 October 1757 by Gov. James Delancey of New York to Governor William Denney noted that a number of Seneca were joining with "Delawares or River Indians and fall on the Southern Provinces <of New York>, Minisink and Esopus".(261) Apparently Seneca raiders were being supported, probably by Jerseys moving into the upper Delaware Valley, in raids against the Munsee and Esopus at a time when the English colonies were in the middle of a major conflict with the French and their Indian allies.

Seneca raiding of the Munsee seems to have had a long history, and easily can be documented back to 1663.(262) The fact that this hostility continued even during the French and Indian War reflects the complexity of native behaviors, with our confusion resulting from the unexpectedly high degree of autonomy possessed by individuals in each of these cultures. As Hunter(263) has shown, native interaction continued to follow traditional patterns. They did not care which Europeans were their trading partners or their enemies so long as they had lands on which to operate and markets for their furs.

These raids *within* the sphere of English influence led Joseph

Spangenberg to suggest, on 31 July 1758, that the Moravians and their Indian brethren should quit the Forks, "For Bethlehem was become a Frontier Place, and in continual Danger of being set on Fire and cut off cruelly by their very Guests."(264) The responses to this plea were not uniform by any means. The French and Indian War ultimately led many of the Jerseys to move out of the Forks, and many of these people were located on the orders of the Proprietary government. The last "native community" in the Forks was located at Nain (1757-1763), situated about two miles (three km) north of Bethlehem. This Moravian mission colony was made up almost entirely of converted Munsee and Mahican,(265) but some must have been Jerseys.(266)

After the Forks

The maintenance of cultural integrity (social boundaries), once these people left their traditional homelands, is of considerable interest. Several historians and archaeologists, perhaps applying the "melting pot" theory of recent American immigrant history, believe that these cultures "merged" physically and socially soon after they relocated from their homelands. This is by no means true. Although some groups appear to have been merging, in most cases the members of each culture maintained distinct traditions for considerable periods of time; in some cases for hundreds of years and in other cases down to the present day. The historical data presented here will note only the most common technique which was used to identify cultural integrity - the maintenance of spacial separation. Social boundaries also are sustained through the use of distinctive material culture,(267) and these differences ultimately may be of importance in the interpretation of the archaeological record. For the Lenape and the Jersey the distinctions are less easily demonstrated through the use of documentary studies since both of these cultures have been called "Delaware" by the colonials. Their cultural differences may be evident in the archaeological record through the study of mortuary ritual,(268) but these studies have yet to be developed due to the lack of archaeological material.

Through the study of the lives of specific individuals identified in these documents, and by reconstructing their genealogies, we can use the data in the manuscripts which now are available as a way to demonstrate that Lenape and Jersey relocations during the 18th century followed different paths - each representing the separate identity of the specific group. A clear indication of the continued existence of different social groups can be found in the list of fifteen native groups attending the discussions for the Treaty at Easton, Pennsylvania which began on 7 October 1756.(269) Five of the Six

Nations were represented by delegates. These Nations are listed first, followed by eight other cultures (or ten, depending on how the list is read). These groups reflected relocated peoples who in 1756 were within the Six Nations' sphere of influence. These groups, in order of their appearance,(270) are summarized as follows:

A. "Nanticokes and Conys, now one Nation..."
B. Tuteloes
C. Chugnuts
D. "Chehohoches, alias Delawares and Unamies. - Teedyuscung with Sundry Men, Women and Children."
E. "Munsies or Minisinks"
F. Mohickons
G. "Wapings or Pumptons"

Beneath this list appear the names of three Jerseys: Stephen Calvin, Isaac Still, and Moses Tetamy, all called "Delaware Indians. - Interpreter in the Delaware language." This long and well-documented session ended on 26 October 1756. One of the results of the deliberations was that New Jersey paid 1,000 Spanish dollars to end all native land claims in their colony.

This list is important in that it reflects some apparent cultural fusion, but only as seen from the English point of view. The Nanticoke and Conoys (Piscataway?) are identified as "one Nation" and at that time they may have been living in a single community. The designation "Chehohoches" is perhaps the most interesting since it is unknown from any other context. Here the term includes Teedyuscung and members of his group (?), but it is said to be an "alias" for both the "Delawares and Unamies". In this context the term "Unami" always refers to the Lenape, who would have been located downriver from the Forks area while they were resident in their traditional area.

The war also influenced those remaining Jersey and Lenape who still were living far from the western frontier.(271) In New Jersey the legal ability which Europeans had to buy land directly from the English Proprietors, after which they were supposed to clear their titles with the native residents, led to complex situations distinct from those involving land sales in Pennsylvania.(272) These New Jersey purchases created numerous disputes which were brought to a climax after the outbreak of hostilities on the frontier. In 1758 (21-24 February) native land claims in New Jersey were settled at the Treaty at Crosswicks, which included the establishment of a native reserve (the Brotherton tract) 25 miles (forty km) southeast of Philadelphia, for the use of remnant members of the several Jersey bands.(273)

Hunter(274) notes that by 1763 "The Delaware population on the Susquehanna was now essentially Jersey or Forks Indian." Certainly not all of the Jerseys had migrated to the northwest. Some had gone

north, while others resident in the Forks had become acculturated and were gradually being absorbed into the European descent population.

These acculturated residents, like many of their Lenape kin, ignored Newcomer's attempt (1765) to attract Lenape and related people to the "Delaware Nation" on the Muskingum River in Ohio. To some extent their resistance to going to Ohio must have derived from a desire to maintain intact the evolving Jersey traditions and to avoid the stresses of relocation and the revitalizing efforts of Newcomer and others.

Over the years most of these groups maintained their own cultural identities as well as their traditional hostilities to the groups which at one time had been their "neighbors". For example, hostilities between the Munsee and other groups, including the Lenape, increased as parties from all of these cultures moved west. On 1 March 1778 the Moravians reported, from Lichtenau on the Muskingum (Ohio river), that a delegation of chiefs from the Munsee had gone to vist the Wyandot. When the Munsee reached the Wyandot encampment the Munsee claimed that the "Indians in Goschachging" were waiting for an army from Virginia and then they would all join forces to root out the Wyandots. The Wyandots were told that they could join forces with the Munsee to save themselves. The Moravians also noted that the Munsee had made the same kind of threat at the Mission at Lichtenau a year before (1777) in an effort to incite various nations against the "Delawares" and the neighboring Mission Indians. In that earlier attempt the Munsee claimed that they had come to Lichtenau to take away all those natives who were their friends, so that these allies would not be killed when the alleged hostilities broke out. No one appears to have paid any attention to these Munsee on either occasion.(275)

Cultural distinctions between the Lenape and the Munsee continued to be quite clear throughout the nineteenth century. In the years 1823-1824, while resident along the White River in Indiana, Lenape groups interacted with Munsee, Oaponoos (Wapings?), and Nanticokes (Oanaahteekoa), but were not co-resident with them.(276) The cultural differences and distinct locations in the form of separate settlements of "Delaware" and Munsee, were observed by Morgan(277) when he visited Kansas in 1855. Munsee interaction with Lenape or with the Jerseys needs to be studied in detail.(278) At this time we can only speculate about those Munsee who in the twentieth century became conjoined with the Lenape. Apparently they were only then losing some of their cultural identity, but their separateness was still recognized by the Lenape of Dewey, Oklahoma into the 1900's.(279) While most of the Munsee may have moved from their homeland up toward the Six Nations area, and then on into Canada,(280) quite

obviously many moved west in a pattern which to some degree parallels the movement of many of the Jerseys.

The Myths of "Cultural Merging" and the "Delaware Nation"

Although most colonials and many historians have erroneously lumped the Lenape, Munsee, and other groups into one unit called, at first the "River Indians" and later the "Delaware", we have no evidence that these groups ever perceived themselves as a single culture or even as related peoples. Some indication of the process which generated this artificial "merger" and some of the reasons for it, can be seen in the various meetings and agreements between the colonists and natives during the period of the French and Indian War (ca. 1755-1763). The listing of native "Nations" on the documents from these gatherings provides valuable clues to their distinct identities as well as to where each group had been resident. For example, as noted earlier the Treaty at Crosswicks (1756) led New Jersey to pass an Act of Legislation in which 1600 pounds sterling were issued to resolve native land claims. Half went to purchase a tract of land (Reservation) for natives still living in the colony *south* of the Raritan River (the people who in this paper have been called "Jerseys"). The other half was designated for settling land claims of the "back" Indians, who in 1756 were no longer resident in the province. These "back" Indians also were involved in the treaties of June 1758 and 7-8 August 1758, where they were represented by a member of the Cayuga Nation, one of the Six Nations. This "proxy" reflects the fact that these relocated Jerseys were politically subordinated to the Six Nations, on whose land they had become resident by that time. The fact that they were represented by a Cayuga may indicate more precisely where in New York they had taken up residence.

To some extent the myth of a "Delaware nation" had its origins in the claims made at the Treaty of Easton (Nov. 1756). During an earlier meeting at Easton in this series of "treaties" (25-30 July 1756) the Jersey named Teedyuscung had begun to assume self importance in making negotiations with the English.(281) Having perceived that the English needed an intermediary to act in the negotiations with the egalitarian native people during this period of military stress, Treedyuscung stepped forward to act as a "culture broker". He soon after began to complain about debts owed by the English to him and to "his" people (8 November 1756). By the time of the Council Meeting of 6 January 1758, Teedyuscung, who was one of the Jersey squatters signing the "Walking Purchase" some 21 years before, now claimed that all lands between Tohiccon Creek and Wioming (what had been a vacant mutual resource zone) was "his land and inheritance" and had been taken by fraud. These alle-

gations appear to have become the basis for the myth that the "Walking Purchase" was a land fraud perpetrated by the colonials, when the reverse is more nearly the case.

Teedyuscung's land claims and his pretense to being the representative of many nations had no basis in reality and had no effect on the day-to-day cultural interactions of these native peoples. As these many groups withdrew from these conflicts and moved west or north, most managed to maintain their cultural integrity as well as their traditional rivalries. These difficulties emphasize the observation that cultural differences manage to persist through time.

In making his various claims, Teedyuscung, the self-appointed "King" simply ignored the 1737 Confirmation Treaty and the 1686 deed to lands along Tohiccon Creek. After this early example of "Mau Mauing" (achieving ends by combined threat and implying guilt on the part of the alledged aggressors) Teedyuscung claimed that he was the representative of "Ten" nations, as noted earlier. He later merged the four non-Iroquois groups into the "Delaware" when he claimed that "One of the Delaware Nations, meaning the Minisink Indians <Munsee>, now about Fort Allen, <in the Forks> gave me this Belt..."(282) Teedyuscung displayed a large belt, or ten rows of beads, which he claimed gave him authority the speak for Munsee then (1756) living in the Forks. No record of such a group exists, but many Munsee were with the Moravians and others may have been scattered throughout the Forks. We do know that on 15 December 1756 a report came to say that after this treaty many of the native participants at a Minsink (Munsee) town on the Susquehanna went on a rampage, presumably as a post-treaty celebration.(283) However, this "kingdom" which Teedyuscung claimd as well as its component nations existed largely in the mind of the "King" and in its image mirrored in the fancies of colonial negotiators.

Due to the frontier disturbances created by the French and Indian War, the colonial English needed to negotiate with the native peoples, and Teesyuscung took advantage of that need to advance his own position.(284) Tunda Tatamy told the English(285) that he doubted that Teedyuscung had authority from anyone to represent or to serve as their speaker. But the English needed and wished to have someone to represent the natives and Teedyuscung created for them both a speaker as well as a "nation" to represent.

Perhaps the most clear definition of the peoples native to New Jersey is provided by a letter from Governor Bernard to the Lords of Trade, dated at Perth Amboy 31 October 1758.(286) This message, referring to the conference held at Easton the previous August, notes that:

> When I came into the Province, I found it subject to two general Indian claims: the one being from the Delawares <Jerseys> & several other Indians on the Southern parts of the

Province; the other of the Minissinks & Opings or Pumptons on the Northern parts.

This statement reflects clearly the different cultural groups, and their boundaries are even better defined in the settlement of these claims. The "Southern" Indians provided five attorneys to act for them. They accepted a tract of 3000 acres in lieu of cash for their release of all claims of the land *south* of the Raritan. *All* of the native claimants who wished to continue to reside in New Jersey, about 270 individuals, were supposed to take up residence on this tract. The northern natives, "Minissinks" (Munsee) and Opings (also known as Wawpings, Wapings, or Pumptons) appeared to be less easily satisfied. Perhaps this is because most of these people had left the colony and were therefore dependents of other nations. The Seneca and Cayuga sent messages to Bernard who ultimately paid $1,000.00 to secure the release of all Munsee claims.(287)

At the treaty of August 1758 the Munsee (see above) were termed "women", reflecting their loss of lands and therefore their inability to make land settlements for themselves. The Munsee, like the Lenape and Jerseys, had been moving north and west since early in the century, but cultural independence was maintained by speacial segregation. This was evident in May of 1733 when David Zeisberger and Henry Frey were on route to Onondaga along the Susquehanna river route. As they passed Wyoming (Wajomik) Fall, below where the Susquehanna curves to the west and northwest, they reached a Nanticoke village. The next day (Tuesday) they continued upstream and on Wednesday evening they reached Hazirok, where a Minissing (Munsee) town was located.(288) Tioga and the principal Six Nation villages were still further up the river. In each case the members of a single culture were more or less coresident, but separated by some distance from the residential zone of every other culture. This also is reflected in the settlement pattern at Otsiningo (near present Binghamton, N.Y.) as described by Elliott(289) (1977) for the period after 1750. Residents there were refugees from several nations, plus representatives of the Oneida, Cayuga and others of the Six Nations, but each of these groups maintained a distinct area of occupation.(290)

By 1763(291) some people believed that there were no "Delaware" resident in the "northern" areas (New York), although groups of Naticoke, Conoy (once again listed as an independent culture despite the Treaty of Easton record of 7 October 1756), "Tutecoes", and Saponeys were present among the Six Nations. The same account notes that in the area from central Pennsylvania out to the Ohio, all under Seneca influence, there were 300 Shawanese and 600 "Delawares" living "In several villages on and about the Susquehanna, Muskingham, ettc. and thence to Lake Erie". these people were the descendants of the groups reported to have been in that region in the 1730's.(292)

Surely many more had left the area and continued west while others had settled down among the colonists.

These cultural distinctions, maintained into the twentieth century, had been blurred in the minds of many historians until recent research demonstrated the varied culture history of the people who today have come to call themselves "Delaware". How these people themselves came to use this term as a self-referent only now is being learned. Thurman,(293) using evidence from the period when the "Delaware" occupied the Ohio Valley and Missouri, provides further evidence that the supposed three-fold division of the "Delawarean peoples" is specious. His research provides evidence that during this period the people called "Wolf Delawares" actually were descendants of the Munsee.

The process by which the cultural boundaries of these peoples were maintained, despite some "boundary exchanges", from the seventeenth century up to 1867 is reviewed by Roark-Calnek.(294) She suggests that those "Ethnic Delaware" who came to the Cooweescoowee District of the Cherokee Nation in 1867 (now Washington County, Oklahoma) and their many descendants who still live there, show traits which can be traced directly back to the seventeenth century. What we are examining in this paper is the direct evidence for a small group of Jerseys during a period when they were resident in eastern Pennsylvania. These data provide a means by which we can study in detail the changes in their lives as well as their individual genealogies to trace with precision those processes described by Roark-Calnek.

Actual Cultural Merging: "Natives" in the Forks after 1770

By the period of the American Revolution most of the Pennsylvania Lenape were living beyond the frontier,(295) with few if any members of other cultures resident among them except as spouses. The importance to the European colonists of the Lenape and other native peoples in times of conflict such as the American Revolution can always be seen by treaties negotiated at these times. The Lenape and Jersey who attended the treaty (meeting at Easton in 1777 had come from Wyoming or beyond, although some individuals may have been resident closer to the meeting site.(296)

The more traditional Jerseys in the Forks, who were somewhat acculturated before they arrived, also appear to have left by 1777. No documents indicate that any traditional groups of Jerseys were living in or near the Forks in 1777. A few remnant individuals who identified themselves as "Indian" continued to live among the colonials, but in the area of the Forks the remaining Jerseys must have been farming or following trades which masked their native origins.

Most of the native people remaining in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jerseys were strongly acculturated by 1780 and their native identities are rarely noted in the records. Today, in most cases we infer Native American origins among these people by their use of surnames which are known from the early eighteenth century. Names such as Tatamy and Still, among the Jerseys, and Journeycake among the Lenape are quite clear indicators of origin. Where common English surnames were adopted (Evans, Bull) we will have more difficulty in recognizing this phase of cultural merging.

In New Jersey many individuals from the remnant bands had gathered on the Brotherton tract after 1758, but other native (Jersey) hamlets continued to function. All of these settlements were in decline, leading to the sale in 1802 of the Brotherton property. After 1802 the few remaining residents of this tract moved north. As in Pennsylvania, those natives who remained were not numerous and rapidly were blending into the European or African descent populations. After the Indian Wars of the 1860's being an "Indian" became anathema, and for more than a century the native heritage of which we should be proud was kept hidden from many people whose ancestors were here before the Europeans.

Archaeology and Culture History

The archaeological section of most ethnographic reports generally precedes the text since the subject matter generally pertains to events which took place in prehistory. In this review we have looked at the historical evidence and come to realize that many facets of these documents relate to, and can be demonstrated by, archaeological research. Yet only the most elaborate theories and complex (and expensive) field studies could hope to describe the resource zone - buffer area - which existed around the Forks of Delaware through excavations alone. The survey of these documents even helps to explain the origins of the route through this area taken in 1745 by Reverend Spangenberg.(297) Nearly 100 years after the local jasper had ceased to be important to the economy of the native population, the native trail from Bethlehem still followed a torturous route right along the major outcrops in this area, through Macungie, Maxetawny, Heidelberg(?), and Tulpehocken (near Myerstown). This reflects the power of cultural persistence and suggests that we might be able to use this information to verify hypotheses derived from archaeological data.

The archaeology of this area provides interesting insights into the use of these stone resources.(298) However, the paucity of archaeological data now available for the proto-Lenape of the lower Delaware Valley prevents comparisons from being made with the more

plentiful data available from excavations in New Jersey, as well as from Munsee area excavations along the Upper Delaware.(299) The geological data discussed earlier in this paper have numerous implications for the archaeology of this region. As noted earlier, Shennan(300) suggests that ethnic units might be differentiated through study of their archaeological remains, and L.M. Lavin(301) claims to have achieved this in New England using ceramic analysis.

The potential for differentiating among the ceramic styles of the upper Delaware drainage (Munsee area) and each side of the lower Delaware River (Lenape and Jersey areas) seems to be quite good. R. Alan Mounier(302) believes that the boundary between the Munsee and the Jerseys is reflected in ceramic differences, which also correlate with physiographic provinces. The differences in ceramics perceived by John Witthoft(303) led him to define the Munsee area as including that portion of the Delaware River drainage north and west of the Lehigh River. Witthoft(304) describes the ceramics from two sites (Overpeck and Diehl) at the northern edge of the Lenape range, both of which he sees as distinct from Munsee pottery. The Overpeck site, at Kitnersville in Bucks County,(305) is equated in time to C.S. Smith's(306) East River Complex in New York. Smith believes this to be historic in date, relating to Owasco in New York. Wallace(307) believes the Overpeck site to date from before 1660, and probably from before 1623, and I suspect that a date of 1550-1600 is probable. The Diehl Site at Monroe in Bucks County has "mixed" ceramics and Witthoft considered it to be a 17th century "Delaware" (Lenape) town. Wallace(308) points out that the Diehl site is near where the "Indian Town" of Nockamixon stood.(309) Wallace believes that the Diehl site dates from before 1700 (I suggest 1625-1650), or at a time long before the Jersey namad Nutimus moved into the Forks.

The results of recent efforts to demonstrate ceramic variation within this region have not proven to be as clear as one migt have hoped. Griffith and Custer(310) addressed just this problem in a study of the Late Woodland (ca. 1100-1600 A.C.) ceramics made by aboriginal peoples in the regions which now include the state of Delaware and surrounding area. They determined that stylistic characteristics (design) of pottery from the Chesapeake regions all the way up to the lower Hudson River drainage share elements which are not (at least at this time) capable of being subdivided. This region corresponds, they point out, to the Central Coastal Algonkian Culture Area delineated by Flannery.(311)

However, the study of ceramic types such as Lavin suggests, rather than attempts to evalute only surface decoration, should produce more useful results. Witthoft's(312) subjective division of the Delaware Valley region into ten "ceramic areas" reaches conclusions supposedly based on clay bodies, temper and surface decoration, but the basic evidence is nowhere presented. All of these considerations must

be examined in detail to determine if ceramic zones, and perhaps culture areas, can be recognized by independent observers.

Today we cannot provide a means by which to subdivide the Delaware Valley area into individual ethnic regions on the basis of any type of achaeological evidence. Perhaps a statistical review of the basic information used by Griffith and Custer(313) would point out some possible leads. Programs involving locating clay sources using neutron activation analysis (NAA) and cluster analysis programs such as those used by S.S. Lukesh and S. Howe(314) have been useful in other parts of the world and might be applied to this region as well.

Certainly Griffith and Custer(315) have modified their original inference that there existed similar forms of social organization in the Upper and Lower Delaware River Valley. Just as these regions differ ecologically, so do the patterns of social organization in these areas of the Delaware Valley.(316) The social organization of the Ciconicins, to the south of the Lenape realm, differs from that of the Lenape(317) and appears to be more similar to that of the chiefdoms in the lower Chesapeake Bay area. However, what we can document historically is not necessarily reflected in our ability to locate confirming evidence in the archaeological record.(318)

The demonstration that cultural elements continue in use into the historic period among the conservative members of various cultures may not be reflected in pottery styles, since native pottery soon ceased to be made, but should be seen in certain aspects of archaeologically observed ritual behavior such as mortuary programs. Although elements of material culture (tools, clothing, ornaments) had changed dramatically by 1650, reflecting the introduction of European technology,(319) the basic value systems and the ways in which these components were treated were slow to change. Thus we should be able to identify the archaeological analogues to this ethnographic data by using the evidence for demonstrated differences between the Jersey and the Lenape. By recognizing historic cultural boundaries from the documents we should be able to "upstream" these cultural traditions and predict that the archaeological record of the Late Woodland period is likely to be as distinct as that for which we have evidence during the period after contact.

J.N. Woodall(320) has tested such theories concerning ancient social boundaries using data from a series of late prehistoric Caddoan sites along the Naches River of Texas. Woodall assumed that there would have been lower social interaction between "autonomous sociopolitical groups" than within them, a pattern now demonstrated for the relations between the Lenape and Jerseys. In comparing geographic distance with ceramic variability Woodall distinguished between two "tribes" of the Caddoan Hasinai confederacy. He documented two distinct social groups in his archaeological test area and suggested that there existed two "tribes" which would be found to be

distinct in the diaries, journals and other documents relating to the test region during the early period of European contact. We have done the opposite, in identifying two social units in the documents and suggesting that the archaeological evidence will confirm these findings.

The differences noted earlier plus the river separation between the Lenape and Jersey lead us to predict that there should be found various indications, similar to those seen by Woodall,(321) in the archaeological findings along the Delaware River. Furthermore, if the Forks area, north of the Lehigh River, was a buffer zone, then the archaeological evidence during the Late Woodland Period should be limited to findings of transient or superficial sites. We would expect the Late Woodland period to be represented primarily by intermittent encampments of foragers (hunting stations of the Lenape, Munsee, and others) and perhaps some Susquehannock resource gathering stations. Such sites should be characterized by small scatterings of lithics (temporary sites) and low incidence of ceramics (except, perhaps, among the Susquehannock-derived sites). Sites should be concentrated near resource areas, and possibly densities would decline with distance from their respective core areas. After 1550, Susquehannock hunting stations geared toward trapping should become the dominant archaeological assemblage in the Forks, reflecting the basis of their political and economic ascendence during this period.(322) Mixed assemblages, reflecting the ebb and flow of several cultures, also might be expected. One may consider as a caution that as of this date ethnoarchaeology has not demonstrated that any foraging of temporary encampments of any culture can be distinguished from those of another.

At this time we have but one test of these theories for the Forks area, and that limited evidence is in agreement with this hypothesis. A single test strip twenty-three m. (twenty-five yards) wide and seventeen-and-a-half km (ten-and-a-half miles) long was surveyed through a portion of the Forks.(323) This tiny sample confirmed expectations of low site and low artifact density in this region. In fact, most of what was discovered was Late Archaic in date. If and when we do locate Late Woodland hunting stations in this zone, we hope to be able to determine the cultural origins of these lithic materials using discriminant analysis, a technique successfully employed in the Ohio Valley.(324)

If such archaeological tests in the Forks area are successful, then similar procedures may be applied in other border areas surrounding the Lenape realm. The location of the southern margin of Lenape territory has been considered, although no buffer zone now is thought to have existed there in the Terminal Woodland Period as previously I had expected.(325) As we collect further archaeological evidence

from all of these areas, we should be able to test our several hypotheses in each of them.

By 1650 non-perishable native technology throughout this region had become nearly completely superceded by Colonial-made goods. Lenape, Jersey and other sites of the eighteenth century may be distinguishable from one another only on the basis of patterning of mortuary materials, and possibly on household organization and artifact inventories. Detecting these differences in the archaeological record remains a complex task which we have hardly begun to solve. Since we now know that each culture ("ethnic unit") maintained its own area of residence (spatial segregation) dispite leaving their respective homelands, and that these distinct residences existed right into the twentieth century, this spatial separation offers us some potential for archaeologically identifying the cultural distinctions which we have elicited from the historical record.

Conclusions

Historic documents provide evidence indicating that the area of the "Forks of Delaware" was a shared resource area and buffer zone between the Lenape, Jerseys, and Munsee prior to the contact period. Numerous Jerseys, from south of the Raritan River in New Jersey, migrated into the Forks during the first half of the eighteenth century, becoming entwined in the events critical to the history of colonial Pennsylvania. The nearby Lenape had traditions which not only differed from those of the Jersey, but kept members of these groups apart. Both groups appear to have maintained cultural integrity throughout this period and into the twentieth century.

Despite early changes in material culture and later alterations in subsistence economy, the Lenape appear to have held their basic system intact. This suggests that much of the data from later periods in many cases is an adequate reflection of Lenape culture as it was at the time of contact. The process of acculturation among the Jersey appears to have been more rapid, possibly as a result of their cultural dynamics and possibly resulting from chance events of geography and history.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century until nearly 1740 the Lenape consistently and effectively defended themselves against their militarily powerful neighbors to the north and west and against the inexorable march of European colonists. For 140 years the Lenape deferred the inevitable changes in their culture while continuing to live in the area which they had called home prior to the arrival of Columbus. Only now are we beginning to recognize the specific boundaries of their homeland and to know more about a style of life which is nearly gone. Many of the people, who left this area over

250 years ago, maintained an important and successful set of cultural values and traditions which were not seriously altered until well into the twentieth century.

The cultural history of the Jerseys in many ways parallels that of the Lenape. Conservative members of Jersey society appear to have moved north and northwest into New York, and many continued on the Canada. Those who moved into the Forks of Delaware appear to respresent but one small faction who chose an unusual means by which to deal with European contact. Their descendants maintained cultural integrity for a considerable length of time, but most - like many Lenape as well as members of other cultures - slowly merged with other peoples along the frontier to become Americans.

Endnotes

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1) Herbert C. Kraft (editor). *A Delaware Indian Symposium*. Anthropological Series, No. 4. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission: Harrisburg, Pa., 1974.

2) A.L. Kroeber. *Anthropology*. Harcourt, Brace and Company: New York, 1948, pp. 788-9.

3) Gordon R. Willey. *An Introduction to American Archaeology*, Vol. 1: *North and Middle America*. Prentice-Hall, Inc.: Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966, pp. 247-51; cf. also James B. Griffin, "The Midlands and Northeastern United States" *Ancient Native Americans*, edited by Jesse D. Jennings. Freeman: San Francisco, 1978, pp. 221-279. Here pp. 221-6; cf. also Ives Goddard, "Delaware", *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 15, Northeast. Edited by Bruce G. Trigger. Smithsonian Institution: Washington, D.C., 1978, pp. 213-239. Here, p. 213; Robert Steven Grumet. "We are not so great fools." *Changes in Upper Dela-*

warean Socio-Political Life 1630-1758. A 1979 doctoral dissertation in Anthropology at Rutgers University accessible through University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

4) Jay Custer (editor). *Late Woodland Cultural Diversity in the Middle Atlantic Region.* The University of Delaware Press: Newark, Delaware, 1986.

5) David P. Braun and Stephen Plog. "Evolution of 'Tribal' Social Networks: Theory and Prehistoric North American Evidence", *American Antiquity,* Vol. 47, 1982, pp. 504-525.

6) Lucianne Marie Lavin. Personal communication. Cf. also *Patterns of Chert Acquisition Among Woodland Groups within the Delaware Watershed: A Lithologic Approach,* Lavin's doctoral dissertation in Anthropology at New York University, 1983.

7) S.J. Shennan. "Archaeological 'Cultures': An Empirical Investigation", *The Spatial Organization of Culture,* edited by Ian Hodder. Duckworth: London, 1978, pp. 113-139; but cf. also Daniel R. Griffith and Jay Custer, "Late Woodland Ceramics of Delaware: Implications for the Late Prehistoric Archaeology of Northeastern North America", *Pennsylvania Archaeologist,* Vol. 55(3), 1985, pp. 5-20.

8) Marshall J. Becker. "The Okehocking: A Remnant Band of Delaware Indians in Chester County, Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist,* Vol. 46, 1976, pp. 25-63. Here p. 25.

9) Marshall J. Becker. Cf. my MS "Teedyuscung and His Kin: Reconstruction of the Relationships of a Family of Jersey Indians Known from Colonial Documents."

10) Marshall J. Becker. "The Boundary Between the Lenape and the Munsee: The Forks of the Delaware as a Buffer Zone", *Man in the Northeast,* Vol. 26 (Fall 1983), pp. 1-20.

11) Samuel Smith. *The History of the Colony of Nova Caesaria or New Jersey.* James Parker: Burlington, 1765, pp. 455-483.

12) Anonymous. "An Indian Family Record", *Notes and Queries: Historical and Genealogical.* Series 4, Vol. I, 1895, pp. 86-87.

13) The use of the term "Jerseys" for the native people of southern New Jersey is a temporary appelation until their specific self-reference term can be identified. As of this time we have no term from the literature which demonstrates clearly what these people called themselves before 1750. Since they spoke a dialect of Lenape, or a language closely related to Lenape, their self-reference must be something close to "Lenape", as was used on the west side of the Delaware River. Roberta Miskokomon, a Munsee from Canada, recently provided an indication of the relationship between the languages of the modern Lenape and the Munsee now living in Canada, and more importantly of the similarity in the pronunciation of the terms which they now use to refer to themselves.

Ives Goddard (In: "The Delaware Language, Past and Present", *A Delaware Indian Symposium,* edited by Herbert C. Kraft, *Anthropological Series* No. 4. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission: Harrisburg, 1974, pp. 103-100. Here p. 103) has noted that the languages which comprise the "Delawarean group" (as I call them) were mutually unintelligble and "must have been distinct for many hundreds of years, since long before the Delawares left their homelands along the Atlantic coast." This certainly pertains to Munsee as distinct from Lenape (Marshall J. Becker, "The Boundary Between the Lenape and the Munsee: The Forks of the Delaware as a Buffer Zone", *Man in the Northeast,* Vol. 26 (Fall, 1986), 1983, pp. 1-20). But the Lenape and Jerseys also could not understand each other's language. Note should be made that at the Council held at the Proprietors of Penna. on 12 July 1742, at which ten Nations were present, Sasoonan and the "Delawares" (Lenape) were identified by the Colonial scribe as distinct from Nutimus and the ffork Indians. More significantly, three interpreters "to the ffork Indians" were specifically noted (Colonial Records <binder's title>, *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania,* Vols. 1-16. Joseph Severns and Company: Philadelphia. Here Vol. 4, pp. 578-583), reinforcing my belief that these two languages were mutually unintelligible in 1742 (Cf. also C.F. Voegelin, "The Lenape and Munsee Dialects of Delaware, An Algonkian Language", *Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science,* Vol. 49, 1939, pp. 34-47) and, as Goddard *loc. cit.)* suggests, had been separate for hundreds of years before that date.

Note also should be made that there exists an example of a single "culturally homogeneous" population which actually includes two group subsets, each speaking a different language: the Bantoid speaking Bulibuli and the Bantu speaking Bwezi (E. Winter, "The Aboriginal Political Structure of Bwemba", in J. Middleton and D. Tait (editors), *Tribes Without Rulers,* London 1958, pp. 136-166). These who two peoples even refer to themselves collectively as "Amba". The Bwezi are known to be immigrants; suggesting a cultural conflation. This is not the case with the Lenape and the Jerseys since they cannot be demonstrated to have worked in concert, with one possible exception which has yet to be documented: the limited political context of 1696.

The area at the Falls of the Delaware River (modern Trenton) seems to have been a prehistoric meeting ground for all of the people of this region, serving them as a "port of trade". The Sankikans, the principal group described as being resident in that area during the historic period, may have been one of the bands of Jerseys, or perhaps part of the Munsee nation. Peter

Lindestroem ("*Geographia Americae*. With an account of the Delaware Indians (1654-1656)." Translated and edited by Amandus Johnson. *The Swedish Colonial Society*, Philadelphia, 1925, pp. 156-157) clearly locates the area known as "Sanckikans" below the Falls of the Delaware, which he caled Asinpinck Fall. We infer that "Sanckikans" was on the east side of the river which suggests that the occupants of the area were a group of Jerseys. The band living in that area was also called Sankikans or Santhickan, or some variation of this locative. While trading at Ft. Nassau on 5 January 1633 with a band of Mantes, David De Vries was warned by a woman of Sankikans that the Mantes planned to attack the Europeans. The Mantes were a Jersey band from the Red Hook (now Mantua) Creek) area of New Jersey, only one-half league (ca. 2 km) south of Fort Nassau. Robert Steven Grumet, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 and 193, suggests that the Sanhican may have been a Munsee band.

The southern boundary of the Lenape was at Duck Creek just south of the Christina River in Delaware (Cf. my MS: "The Lenape Southern Border." A paper presented at the Laurier II Conference, Ontario Canada. Also, Daniel R. Griffith, "Townsend Ceramics and the Late Woodland (of) Southern Delaware", *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 75(1), 1980, pp. 23-41. Here pp. 37-40). Others would place it farther to the south, below Indian River (A.R. Dunlap, "Dutch and Swedish Land Records Relating to Delaware: Some New Documents and a Checklist", *Delaware History*, Vol. 6, 1954, pp. 25-52) and A.R. Dunlap and C.A. Weslager, "Toponymy of the Delaware Valley as Revealed by an Early Seventeenth-Century Dutch Map", *Bulletin* (of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey), Vols. 15-16, 1958, pp. 1-13). The data from the Lenape land sales indicate that their territory ended at Duck Creek. The southern Lenape bands are not well known, possibly having been among the first to have left their homelands. Possibly they moved to the nearby Susquehanna River even before 1690, or moved into Conoy (Piscataway) territory quite early. To the south of the Duck Creek the area of central Delaware may have been a buffer or resource zone held by the Ciconicin and sporadically inhabited by members of several cultures, a situation which Griffith (*loc. cit.*) suggests had existed during the Late Woodland period.

14) Ives Goddard, *loc. cit.*, pp. 224, 236; "The Historical Phonology of Munsee." *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. 48, 1982, pp. 16-48. Table 2.

15) Ives Goddard. "The Ethnohistorical Implications of Early Delaware Linguistic Materials." *Man in the Northeast*, Vol. 1, 1971, pp. 14-26.

Ives Goddard: "The Delaware Language, Past and Present." *A*

Delaware Indian Symposium, edited by Herbert C. Kraft. Cf. - *Anthropological Series* No. 4. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission: Harrisburg, 1974, pp. 103-110. Here p. 103.

16) Anthony F.C. Wallace. "The Indian Occupation of the Delaware River Valley in Historic and Protohistoric Times." Manuscript (1948) on file at Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg.

17) Marshall J. Becker. "The Boundary Between the Lenape and the Munsee: the Forks of the Delaware as a Buffer Zone." *Man in the Northeast*, 26, (Fall 1983), pp. 1-20.

18) Melburn D. Thurman. "The Delawarean Social Organization in the Ohio Valley and Missouri." A paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American Society for Ethnohistory, 10 November 1985 in Chicago, Illinois.

19) Sereno Edwards Dwight (editor). *Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd; Missionary to the Indians...* S. Converse: New Haven, 1822, p. 175.

20) On this subject cf. also Richmond C. Holcomb. "The Early Dutch Maps of the Upper Delaware Valley." *Proceeding of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. 11, 1926, pp. 18-45.

21) Marshall J. Becker, "The Boundary Between the Lenape and the Munsee: The Forks of the Delaware as a Buffer Zone." *Man in the Northeast*, 26 (Fall 1983), pp. 1-20.

22) Gregory A. Waselkov and R. Eli Paul. "Frontiers and Archaeology." *North American Archaeologist*, Vol. 2(4), 1980, pp. 309-329. Here, pp. 309, 311.

23) S.J. Shennan. "Archaeological 'Cultures': An Empirical Investigation", *The Spatial Organization of Culture*, edited by Ian Hodder. Duckworth: London, 1978, pp. 113-139.

24) Gregory A. Waselkov and R. Eli Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

25) *Ibid.*, p. 316.

26) Lucianne Marie Lavin. (Personal comment to me; cf. also endnote 6.)

27) Arthur J. Ray. *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role ... in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay 1660-1870.* University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1974, pp. 22, 97.

28) *Ibid.*, p. 22, Fig. 9.

29) *Ibid.*, p. 97, Fig. 31.

30) For example, E. Coues (editor). *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry...* Reprinted edition by Ross and Haines: Minneapolis, 1965, who provides data on the Assiniboin.

31) Harold Hickerson. *The Chippewa and Their Neighbors: A Study in Ethnohistory.* Holt, Rinehart and Winston: New York, 1970, p. 105.

32) *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10; cf. also these works by this author: *Sioux Indi-*

ans I: *Mdewakanton Band of Sioux Indians*. Garland Publishing: New York, 1974; *Chippewa Indians* II: *Ethnohistory of Mississippi Bands and Pillager and Winnebigoshish Bands of Chippewa*. Garland Publishing: New York, 1974; *Chippewa Indians* IV: *Ethnohistory of Chippewa in Central Minnesota*. Garland Publishing: New York, 1974; and Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin and Harold Hickerson. *Chippewa Indians* I. *The Red Lake and Pembina Chippewa*. Garland Publishing: New York, 1974.

33) Robert J. Sharer. "The Prehistory of the Southeastern Maya Periphery." *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 15, 1974, pp. 165-186.

34) Charles Bishop. "Aboriginal Northeastern Algonkian Land Tenure." A paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Society for Ethnohistory at Colorado Springs, Colorado, 1981.

35) Henry C. Mercer. "Indian Jasper Mines in the Lehigh Hills." American Anthropologist, Vol. 7, 1894, pp. 80-92.

36) Chapter 14 "Forks of the Delaware", <The Overpeck Site (36BU5)>. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, Vol. 50(3), 1980, pp. 1-46.

37) *Loc. cit.*, p. 41.

38) *Loc. cit.*, p. 45.

39) James W. Hatch and Patricia E. Miller. "Procurement, Tool Production, and Sourcing Research at the Vera Cruz Jasper Quarry in Pennsylvania." *Journal of Field Archaeology*, Vol. 12, 1985, pp. 219-230.

40) *Loc. cit.*, Fig. 1.

41) Lavin, *op. cit.*

42) Bernard G. Hoffmann. "Ancient Tribes Revisited: A Summary of Indian Distribution and Movement in the Northeastern United States from 1534-1779", *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 14(1-2), 1967, pp. 1-46. Here p. 8.

43) A. Barnard. "Kalahari Bushman Settlement Patterns", *Social and Ecological Systems*, edited by P. Burnham and R. Ellen. Academic Press: New York, 1979, pp. 131-144. Here p. 138.

44) Elizabeth Cashdan. "Territoriality Among Human Foragers: Ecological Models and an Application to Four Bushman Groups", *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 24, 1983, pp. 47-66. Here p. 57.

45) Frances Eyman. "A Grizzly Bear Carving from the Missouri Valley," *Expedition*, Vol. 8(3), 1966, pp. 33-40. Here p. 35.

46) Cashdan, *loc. cit.*

47) Marshall J. Becker. "The Boundary Between the Lenape and the Munsee: The Forks of the Delaware as a Buffer Zone," *Man in the Northeast*, Vol. 26, (Fall 1983), pp. 1-20.

48) R.M. Gramley. "Mount Jasper: A Direct-Access Lithic Source Area in the White Mountains of New Hampshire," *Prehistoric Quarries and Lithic Production*. Edited by Jonathon E. Ericson and Barbara A. Purdy. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1984, pp. 11-22.

49) Suzanne P. De Atley and Frank J. Findlow (editors). "Exploring the Limits. Frontiers and Boundaries in Prehistory," *British Archaeological Reports* (B.A.R. International Series, S223), Oxford, 1984; cf. also Stanton W. Green and Stephen M. Perlman, "Frontiers, Boundaries and Open Social Systems," *The Archaeology of Frontiers and Boundaries*, edited by S.W. Green and S.M. Perlman, Academic Press: New York, 1985; cf. also J. Justeson and S. Hampson, "Closed Models of Open Systems: Boundary Considerations," *The Archaeology of Frontiers and Boundaries*, edited by S.W. Green and S.M. Perlman, Academic Press: New York, 1985.

50) Marshall J. Becker. "The Okehocking Band of Lenape: Cultural Continuities and Accommodations of Colonial Expansion in Southeastern Pennsylvania in the Early 18th Century," in Frank Porter III, editor, *Cultural Survivals: American Indians in the Eastern United States*, Greenwood Press: Westport, Connecticut, 1986, pp. 43-83.

51) Marshall J. Becker. "Cultural Diversity in the Lower Delaware River Valley, 1550-1750: An Ethnohistorical Perspective," in *Late Woodland Cultural Diversity in the Middle Atlantic Region*, edited by Jay Custer, The University of Delaware Press: Newark, Delaware, 1986, pp. 90-101.

52) Marshall J. Becker. "Lenape Land Sales, Treaties, and Wampum Belts," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 108, 1984, pp. 351-356.

53) Marshall J. Becker. "Cultural Diversity in the Lower Delaware River Valley, 1550-1750: An Ethnohistorical Perspective," in *Late Woodland Cultural Diversity in the Middle Atlantic Region*, edited by Jay Custer. The University of Delaware Press: Newark, Delaware, 1986, pp. 90-101.

54) Marshall J. Becker. "The Lenape Bands Prior to 1740: The Identification of Boundaries and Processes of Culture Change Leading to the Formation of the 'Delawares,'" in *The Lenape Indian:* A Symposium, edited by H.C. Kraft, Archaeological Research Center, Seton Hall University, Publication No. 7, 1984, pp. 19-32.

55) Colonial Records <Binder's title>, *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, Vols. 1-16. Joseph Severns and Company: Philadelphia. Here Vol. 2, p. 469.

56) *Ibid.* Vol. 3, p. 19.

57) Warren R. DeBoer. "Buffer Zones in the Cultural Ecology of Aboriginal Amazonia: An Ethnohistorical Approach," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 46, 1981, pp. 364-377.

58) Robert C. Dunnell. "Americanist Archaeological Literature: 1981," *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 86, 1982, pp. 509-529. Here p. 520.

59) Marshall J. Becker. "Cash Cropping Among the Lenape in the Early Contact Period: An Episode of Pseudo-Agriculture by a Foraging People." Paper presented at the 6 December 1985 meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Washington, DC; cf. also L. Ceci, *The Effect of European Contact and Trade on the Settlement Pattern of Indians in Coastal New York, 1524-1665: The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence.* University Microfilms: Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1977.

60) Marshall J. Becker. "The Okehocking Band of Lenape: Cultural Continuities and Accommodations to Colonial Expansion in Southeastern Pennsylvania in the Early 18th Century," *Cultural Survivals: American Indians in the Eastern United States,* Frank Porter III, editor. Greenwood Press: Westport, Connecticut, 1986, pp. 43-83.

61) Marshall J. Becker. "English Names Used by the Lenape: Acculturation Rates and Culture Change in the Delaware Valley" (Manuscript).

62) Marshall J. Becker. "Cultural Diversity in the Lower Delaware River Valley, 1550-1750: An Ethnohistorical Perspective," *Late Woodland Cultural Diversity in the Middle Atlantic Region,* edited by Jay Custer. The University of Delaware Press: Newark, Delaware, 1986, pp. 90-101.

63) William Christie MacLeod. "The Family Hunting Territory and Lenape Political Organization," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 24, 1922, pp. 448-463; cf. also Dean R. Snow, "Wabanaki 'Family Hunting Territories,'" American Anthropologist, Vol. 70, 1968, pp. 1143-1151; and Eleanor Leacock, *The Montagnais "Hunting Territory" and Fur Trade,* American Anthropological Association Memoir, Vol. 78, 1954.

64) Deborah Swartz. "A Reevaluation of the Late Woodland Cultural Relationships in the Susquehanna Valley in Pennsylvania, *Man in the Northeast,* Vol. 29 (Spring, 1985), pp. 29-54; also Barry C. Kent. *Susquhanna's Indians,* Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission: Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1984.

65) Thomas Young. "Relation of Captain Thomas Young, 1634," *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware,* A.C. Myers, editor. Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1912, pp. 31-50. Here p. 41.

66) Marshall J. Becker. "The Northern Boundary of Lenape Teritory as Inferred from a Land Transaction (deed) of 28 August 1686. (Manuscript draft)

67) Minisink (also Minnesinks, etc.), which has a locative ending, is the "place" of the Munsee (also called Minsi, Minses, or Monsey). On the Nikolass J. Visscher map, made between 1651 and 1656 according to the Historical Society of New York, the term is spelled "Minnessinck." Philhower (Charles A. Philhower, "Minisink

- Its Use and Significance", *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. 11, 1926, pp. 186-190) locates these people in the Delaware Valley north of the Musconetcong River and the Matchung Mountains, but his report generally is a useless and unreferenced jumble. Philower "refers" to a Dutch map of 1651 which he claims denotes the region as "Minnes-sincksche," but this map is unknown and the observation cannot be verified.

On this subject cf. also Richmond C. Holmcomb, "The Early Dutch Maps of the Upper Delaware Valley," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. 11, 1926, pp. 18-45; here p. 23, where he focuses on the Visscher map, which he dates to about 1655/56, and also reviews some of the land purchases in northern New Jersey during the period 1664 to 1684. Mecharienkoneck, he identifies as being at the "northern" Forks of Delaware (at Port Jervis, New York), on the south side of the river (*loc. cit.*, p. 21), This is important because this site is at 41°40' north latitude, or at the present northern border of New Jersey. On the visscher map the Lehigh River does not appear to be noted, nor is the Schuylkill River drawn sufficiently large, and the "Meoech konck" shown on the Delaware may be misplaced from the Lehigh. The details suggest that Visscher was unfamiliar with the topography of the lower Delaware Valley.

68) John B. Linn and William H. Egle (editors). *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series (reprinted from 1878 edition). Clarence M. Bush (and others): Harrisburg, Vol. 7, 1896, pp. 674-5.

69) William A. Ritchie. *The Bell-Philhower Site*, Sussex County, New Jersey. Prehistoric Research Series, Vol. III(2). Indiana Historical Society: Indianapolis, 1949, p. 155.

70) Ives Goddard, *loc. cit.*, p. 236.

71) William A. Hunter. "John Hays' Diary and Journal of 1760," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, Vol. 24(2), 1954, pp. 62-83.

72) Francis Jennings. "The Indian Trade of the Susquehanna Valley," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 110, 1966, pp. 406-424.

73) Robert Steven Grumet. "We are not so great fools," *Changes in Upper Delawaran Socio-political Life 1630-1758*. A 1979 doctoral dissertation in Anthropology at Rutgers University accessible through University Microfilms: Ann Arbor, Michigan, pp. 50-2.

74) Marshall J. Becker. "European Trade in the Delaware Valley in the Seventeenth Century: A Note on Routes from the Susquehanna River to the Delaware River." *Northeast Historical Archaeology* (in review).

75) E.B. O'Callaghan (editor). *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. I. Weed, Parsons and Company: Albany, 1856, p. 588.

76) Francis Jennings. "The Indian Trade of the Susquehanna Valley," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 110, 1966, pp. 406-424. Here p. 408.
77) Samuel Hazard (editor). *Pennsylvania Archives:* First Series, Vols. 1-12. Joseph Severns and Company: Philadelphia, 1852-53. Here Vol. I, pp. 116-7.
78) *Ibid.*, pp. 144-7.
79) Robert Steven Grumet, *loc. cit.*
80) Ted J. Brasser. "Mahican," *Handbook of North American Indians*, edited by Bruce G. Trigger, Vol. 15, Northeast. Smithsonian Institution: Washington, DC, 1978, pp. 198-212. Also cf. Robert Steven Grumet, *loc. cit.*
81) Ted J. Brasser, *loc. cit.*
82) Henry Martyn Kieffer (translator). *Some of the First Settlers of the Forks of the Delaware*, First Reformed Church: Easton, Pennsylvania, 1902, p. 23.
83) William A. Hunter. "Indian Occupation of the Forks of the Delaware in the Historic Period," manuscript copy on file, Anthropology Section, West Chester University of Pennsylvania (April 1981).
84) Marshall J. Becker, *loc. cit.*
85) Robert Steven Grumet, *loc. cit.*
86) Francis Jennings. "The Indian Trade of the Susquehanna Valley," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 110, 1966, pp. 406-424. Here 408.
87) Marshall J. Becker. "European Trade in the Delaware Valley in the Seventeenth Century: A Note on Routes from the Susquehanna River to the Delaware River." *Northeast Historical Archaeology* (in review).
88) James Letort (also Le Tort), the son of famous traders, (cf. Evelyn A. Benson, "The Huguenot Le Torts: First Christian Family on the Conestoga," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society*, Vol. 65(2), 1961, pp. 92-105) became active on his own in 1697 and continued in his parents' tradition as a trader and translator for many years. He probably became approved by Penn to trade with the natives on the Susquehanna River according to the treaty of 23 April 1701 in which Penn confirmed with the "susquehanna Indians" his recent purchase of the Susquehanna lands from Governor Dongan. During the frontier difficulties of the 1720's Letort's services became extremely important.
In 1728 James Letort and John Scull were sent to Chenastry (somewhere on the Upper Susquehanna) purportedly to give gifts to Alamachpee (Alumapees?), M. Montour, and Manawhyickon, but probably his principal goal was to reconnoiter the region.

On 18 April 1728 the Proprietary Council then held at Philadelphia noted that:

> James Letort, an Indian Trader, was lately come to town from Chenastry or the upper parts of the River Susquehanna to acquaint this Government with a matter he had been informed of by Mistress Montour, who had married the Indian called Robert Hunter, & was here with her said husband last summer in company with those of the Five Nations who had visited us then... (Colonial Records <binders title>, here Vol. 2, p. 295)

Letort had then planned to travel to the west end of Lake Erie, ostensibly to trade with the Miamis (Twechtweys). Mistress Montour, wife of Carondowana (Robert Hunter), had a sister who had married a Miami (Colonial Records, here Vol. 3, p. 274). On 12 May 1728 Letort sent a letter, dated at Catawasse (Cattawissy Creek enters the northeast branch of the Susquehanna, on the south side, 29 km. from the forks and about 32 km. from Shamokon-Sunbury), to Governor Patrick Gordon (Samuel Hazard, editor, *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series. Vols. 1-12, Joseph Severns and Company: Philadelphia, 1852-53. Here Vol. I, p. 216). Letort clearly was involved in trying to settle the growing conflicts with Native Americans living along the frontier. During these years of turmoil Carundowana and his wife also were involved with Shikellamy (Hazard, *loc. cit.*, pp. 227-232), who was known for his skillfull military acitivities during this period.

James Letort was still acting as a translator for the Proprietary Government in 1730 (Hazard, *loc. cit.*, p. 255) and later he was a witness to the Walking Purchase confirmation treaty (1737). A detailed biography of Letort would provide insights into many interesting aspects of the early history of Pennsylvania (cf. Charles Augustus Hanna, *Wilderness Trail; or, the Ventures and Adventures of the Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path*, 2 Volumes, G.P. Putnam's Sons: New York, 1911. Here Vol. 1, pp. 166-168).

89) Francis Jennings. "The Indian Trade of the Susquehanna Valley," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 110, 1966, pp. 406-424. Here pp. 409-11.

90) The name of Lasse Cock (a Swedish-American?) and his own mark appear (as a witness) on the first deed transferring Lenape land to William Penn, 15 July 1682. The deed of 1 August 1682 was written, or at least signed, "att ye house of Capt. Lasse Cock," and he was present and set his mark to nearly every succeeding deed in this series, including that of 30 July 1685 transferring all of the land to the northwest of Philaselphia to William Penn (Hazard, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 48-49, 62-4, 67,

92-3, 95). Quite often his name was written in an anglicized version such as "Laurence Cox" (Cf. Marshall J. Becker, "Pre-Penn Settlements of the Delaware Valley," *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine*, Vol 32(3), 1982, pp. 227-234. Here p. 229.

91) M.J. Becker. "Native Settlements ...". *Penna. Archaeologist* 1987.

92) Marshall J. Becker. "Lenape Land Sales, Treaties, and Wampum Belts," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 108, 1984, pp. 351-356.

93) Steelman's name appears in many variations and transliterations such as Tilghman and Jno. Hans Stellman, as on the treaty of 23 April 1701 with the Indians of the Susquehanna. The name "John Hans" appears as the 11th of the 12 "native" witnesses to the Walking Purchase confirmation (1737), suggesting that Steelman enjoyed either Lenape ancestry, non-colonial status, or both.

94) Colonial Records <Binders title>, here Vol. 2, pp. 16-17, also John Heckewelder, "Names Which the Lenni or Delaware Indians Gave to Rivers, Streams, and Localities,..." *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, Series I, Part 5, 1872 (fn., p. 250).

95) John B. Linn and William H. Egle (editors). *Pennsylvania Archives*. Second series (reprinted from 1878 edition), Vol. 7, Clarence M. Bush (and others): Harrisburg, pp. 143-4.

96) James Letort. "Petition with his Acct., October 1704. Debts Among Indians ... at Pachoqualmah & Canishtoga," *Logan Papers, Vol. XI: Indian Affairs*. Historical Society of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, p. 4.

97) Samuel Hazard (editor), *loc. cit.*, 1852, Vol. 1, pp. 144-7.

98) At the Treaty of Conestoga in 1705, Logan went to welcome members of the Conoy tribe and, according to Francis Jennings ("The Indian Trade of the Susquehanna Valley," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 110, 1966, pp. 406-424. Here pp. 411-412), to make efforts to keep Steelman out of the local Indian trade. Logan's report (Cf. Hazard, *loc. cit.* 1852. Here Vol. 2, pp. 244-6) of 6 June 1706 indicates that James Letort was operating as an agent for the Proprietors, but also reveals that Logan saw trade as only one aspect of his development plans for this area along the Susquehanna. Jennings (*loc. cit.*, here p. 411) interprets the Letort report (1704) to indicate that Philadelphia gained entry into the lucrative fur trade through the efforts of two Shawnee, but who these people are Jennings does not reveal and we have over fifty names on this document from among which to select. The residence or base of operations for any of these people is unknown, but might indicate where furs were being traded. The Shawnee town on the Delaware, Pechoqueling (1694-1728), lies just beyond the Forks and obviously was one base for Shawnee fur traders. I believe

that these Shawnee were one of the populations from the west, such as the archaeologically known Monongahela, who moved *east* after the dispersal of the Susquehannock to take part in the fur trade.

On May 18, 1704 Peter Bezalion made reference to the Shawnee living at Conestoga as well as at Pechoquealing (Colonial Records, *loc. cit.* Here Vol. 2, p. 145), reflecting Five Nations interest in controlling these people and the fur trade as well as in keeping their borders guarded by other Native Americans.

99) Colonial Records <Binders title>, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 20-21.
100) John Heckewelder, *loc. cit.*
101) Colonial Records <Binders title>, Vol. 2, p. 26.
102) John Heckewelder, *loc. cit.*
103) James Logan. "Letter to William Penn, 14 1st mo. 1703/4," *Logan Papers,* letter book 1701-09, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1704.
104) John Heckewelder, *loc. cit.*
105) Marshall J. Becker. "The Okehocking: A Remnant Band of Delaware Indians in Chester County, Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist,* Vol. 46, 1976, pp. 25-63; cf. also "The Okehocking Band of Lenape: Cultural Continuities and Accommodations to Colonial Expansion in Southeastern Pennsylvania in the Early 18th Century," *Centural Survivals: American Indians in the Eastern United States,* Frank Porter III, editor. Greenwood Press: Westport, Connecticut, 1986, pp. 43-83, and "The Brandywine Band of Lenape: Cultural Change and Movements as Indicated by Their Encampments During the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries." On file with the Anthropology Section of West Chester University of Pennsylvania.
106) M.J. Becker. "Native Settlements ..." 1987 *loc. cit.*
107) Barry Kent, Janet Rice and Kakuko Ota. "A Map of 18th Century Indian Towns in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist,* Vol. 5(4), No. 87, 1981, pp. 1-18; cf. also Stewart Pearce, *Annals of Luzerne County; ... From the First Settlement in Wyoming Valley to 1866,* Second Edition. J.B. Lippincott: Philadelphia, 1866, p. 24.
108) Marshall J. Becker. "An Onomasticon of Lenape of Pennsylvania and Natives of Southern New Jersey in the 17th and 18th Centuries." (Manuscript draft)
109) *Ibid.*
110) Personal Communication.
111) Colonial Records <Binders title>, here Vol. 4, p. 307.
112) William A. Hunter. Cf. also Marshall J. Becker, "An Onomasticon of Lenape of Pennsylvania and Natives of Southern New Jersey in the 17th and 18th Centuries." (Manuscript draft)
113) Colonial Records <binders title>, here Vol. 3, pp. 318-326.

114) Dolores Elliott. "Otsiningo, an Example of an Eighteenth Century Settlement Pattern," *Current Perspectives in Northeastern Archaeology*, Vol. 17(1). New York State Archaeological Association, Researches and Transactions: 1977, pp. 93-105.
115) John Witthoft and William A. Hunter. "The Seventeenth-Century Origins of the Shawnee," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 2, 1955, pp. 42-57.
116) Source: Personal communication with J. Herbstritt, Field Archaeologist, University of Pittsburgh, Office of Cultural Resource Management and Consultant in Archaeology, Pennsylvania State Museum.
117) John Witthoft and William A. Hunter, *loc. cit.*, here p. 48.
118) Colonial Records <Binders title>, Vol. 3, pp. 329-330 and Vol. 8, pp. 126-127, 749.
119) John Witthoft and William A. Hunter, *loc. cit.*, here p. 49.
120) William A. Hunter. *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753-1758*. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission: Harrisburg, 1960.
121) Samuel Hazard (editor), *loc. cit.*, Vol. 3, 1853, pp. 309, 329-331.
122) Isaac A. Chapman. *A Sketch of the History of Wyoming*. S.D. Lewis: Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, 1830, p. 14.
123) *Ibid.*, p. 12.
124) Barry C. Kent. *Susquehanna's Indians*, Cf. especially chapter 7; also Ives Goddard, *loc. cit.*, 1978, p. 219.
125) Ted J. Brasser. "Mahican," *Handbook of North American Indians*, edited by Bruce G. Trigger, Vol. 15, Northeast. Smithsonian Institution: Washington, D.C., 1978, pp. 198-212. Here pp. 204-5.
126) Anthony F.C. Wallace. *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700-1763*, University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, Pa., 1949.
127) M.H. Deardorff. "Zeisberger's Allegheny River Indian Towns: 1767-1770," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, Vol. 16(1), 1946, pp. 2-19. Here pp. 5-6; Cf. also Dolores Elliott, *loc. cit.*
128) George G. Heye and George H. Pepper. "Exploration of a Munsee Cemetery Near Montague, New Jersey," *Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian*, Vol. II. Heye Foundation, New York Museum of the American Indian: 1915-1916. Here 1915.
129) Samuel Hazard (editor), *loc. cit.*, Vol. 3, 1853, p. 326.
130) William M. Beauchamp, editor. *Moravian Journals Relating to Central New York, 1745-1766*. Dehler Press: Syracuse, 1916, p. 157.
131) Colonial Records <Binders title>, Vol. 7, pp. 64-69.
132) William A. Hunter. "Documented Subdivisions of the Delaware Indians," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey*, No. 35, 1978, pp. 20-40. Here p. 30.
133) Samuel Hazard (editor). Vol. 1, 1852, pp. 413 and 420.

134) Colonial Records <Binders title>, Vol. 3, pp. 317-326.
135) William A. Hunter. "Indian Occupation of the Forks of the Delaware in the Historic Period." Manuscript copy on file, Anthropology Section, West Chester University of Pennsylvania (April 1981).
136) Colonial Records <Binders title>, Vol. 2, p. 469.
137) Colonial Records <Binders title>, Vol. 3, p. 321.
138) Colonial Records <Binders title>, Vol. 3, p. 322.
139) Samuel Hazard (editor), *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, 1852, pp. 344-7.
140) *Ibid.*, here p. 629.
141) Samuel Hazard (editor), *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, 1852, p. 345.
142) Samuel Hazard (editor), *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, 1852, facing p. 594.
143) Marshall J. Becker. "The Okehocking Band of Lenape: Cultural Continuities and Accommodations to Colonial Expansion in Southeastern Pennsylvania in the Early 18th Century," *Cultural Survivals: American Indians in the Eastern United States*, edited by Frank Porter III. Greenwood Press: Westport, Connecticut, 1986, pp. 43-83.
144) William A. Hunter. "Documented Subdivisions of the Delaware Indians," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey*, No. 35, 1978, pp. 20-40. Here p. 27.
145) Julian P. Boyd (editor). *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1736-1762.* Historical Society of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, 1938.
146) William A. Hunter, *loc. cit.*
147) Samuel Hazard (editor), *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1, 1852, p. 543.
148) Boravian Archives *(Indian Mission Records:* Bethlehem, PA). - *Tauff-Register der Erwachsenen* (11/22 Feb. 1742 - 12/23 July 1752) (Baptismal Register of Adults, Box 313, Folder I: Item 3.)
149) Moravian Archives MSS in *loc. cit.;* Folder 1, Item 3 (1749). These Moravian data note that in 1749 Tammekapi's older brother, who then would have been over seventy-seven years of age, still lived at Cranbury, with various other relatives scattered across the entire area. Tammekapi's original name, "Keposh," is not to be confused with that of Schebosh (John Joseph Bull), who also lived in this region ("Meniolagomeka. Annals of a Moravian Indian Village...," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, 1874, p. 139).
150) Moravian Archives, here 24 Jan. 1749.
151) Moravian Archives. *Diarium von Lichtenau am Muskingum*, (Box 147, Folder 2 and Folder 6, Item 1. Cf. 1777).
152) William A. Hunter, *loc. cit.*, 1978, pp. 29-34.
153) William A. Hunter. "Moses (Tunda) Tatemy, Delaware Indian Diplomat," *A Delaware Indian Symposium*, edited by Herbert C. Kraft, Anthropological Series No. 4. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission: Harrisburg, 1974, pp. 71-88.

154) William Henry Egle (editor). "Draughts of the Proprietary Manors in the Province of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, Vol. 4. Clarence M. Busch: Harrisburg, 1894, p. 82.

155) The location of Tatamy's tract is known precisely, being on Bushkill Creek near present Stockertown, Pennsylvania. Bushkill Creek was also called Tatamy's Creek as well as Lehicton Creek (Uzal W. Condit, *The History of Easton, Pennsylvania, 1779-1885*. George W. West: Easton, 1885, p. 14). Condit notes that Tatamy lived one mile (1.6 km.) from the early colonial settler in this area, John Lefebre.

Anthony F.C. Wallace (*King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700-1763*. University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, PA, 1949, p. 20) thought that the Tatamy family had come to the Forks from the Munsee country, perhaps mistaking the Forks for an area claimed by the Lenape. More likely Tatamy was a part of the Jersey migration into this region, but his wife may have been Munsee. However, clear evidence that Tatamy could not speak Munsee comes from an account of 1758 when Moses Tatamy and Isaac Still (Hill?) journeyd up to Minisinks, on the southwestern border of Munsee country. There they found both "Delaware" (Jerseys?) and Munsees, and in particular met Toongakuness, "a Delaware, who speaks the Munsey language well, in behalf of the Munseys spoke as follows..." (Hazard, *loc. cit.*, here Vol. 3, 1852, pp. 504-8). The linguistic differences between the languages of the Lenape and Jerseys, and between those two and that of the Munsee have been reviewed earlier (Cf. Becker, "The Boundary Between the Lenape and the Munsee: The Forks of the Delaware as a Buffer Zone," *Man in the Northeast*, Vol. 26 (Fall 1983), pp. 1-20); also C.A. Weslager, *the Delaware Indian Westward Migration*. Middle Atlantic Press: Wallingord, PA, 1978, p. 85).

The Indian Path noted by Uzal W. Condit (*The History of Easton Pennsylvania, 1779-1885*. George W. West: Easton, 1885, p. 16) as being in this area probably dated from before the period of its intensive use in the fur trade. This region must have been hunted over for furs long before 1650.

156) William A. Hunter, *loc. cit.*, 1974, pp. 72-73.

157) Anthony F.C. Wallace, *loc. cit.*, 1949, p. 23.

158) Cf. endnote 67.

159) Samuel Smith, *loc. cit.*, pp. 443.

160) William A. Hunter, *loc. cit.*, 1974, p. 71.

161) Samuel Hazard (editor), *loc. cit.*, Vol. 2, 1852, p. 344.

162) Cf. my MS "Teedyuscung's Land Rights Near Toms River, New Jersey: The Cultural Boundaries of the Jersey Lenape and Their Movement into Pennsylvania as Related to a Land Sale in 1734."

A paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory (October 1981).

163) Samuel Hazard (editor), *loc cit.*, Vol. 3, 1852, pp. 504-8.

164) John Lopresti (personal communication). John Lopresti is now retired. He was a past president of the "Forks of Delaware" chapter of the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology.

165) John Lopresti (personal communication).

166) Philadelphia City Archives. MS 334, Deed Book G-5. Philadelphia City Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

167) *Ibid.*, MS 341.

168) *Penna. Archives*, series 3, Vol. 4 (1894).

169) John Lopresti (personal communication).

170) Uzal W. Condit. *The History of Easton, Pennsylvania, 1779-1885*, George W. West: Easton, 1885, p. 13.

171) Cf. my MS "Teedyuscung and His Kin: Reconstruction of the Relationships of a Family of Jersey Indians Known from Colonial Documents."

172) Anthony F.C. Wallace, *loc. cit.*, 1949, p. 19.

173) Cf. my MS "Teedyuscung's Land Rights Near Toms River, New Jersey: The Cultural Boundaries of the Jersey Lenape and Their Movement into Pennsylvania as Related to a Land Sale in 1734." A paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory (October 1981).

174) Anthony F.C. Wallace, *loc. cit.*, 1949, pp. 19-23.

175) Cf. my MS "Teedyuscung and His Kin: Reconstruction of the Relationships of a Family of Jersey Indians Known from Colonial Documents."

176) Cf. my MS "An Onomasticon of Lenape of Pennsylvania and Natives of Southern New Jersey in the 17th and 18th Centuries." (Manuscript draft)

177) E.B. O'Callaghan (editor). *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. 1. Weed, Parsons and Company: Albany, p. 596.

178) Cf. my MS "The Northern Boundary of Lenape Territory as Inferred from a Land Transaction (Deed) of 28 August 1686." (Manuscript draft)

179) Robert Steven Grumet, *loc. cit.*, pp. 193-4.

180) William A. Hunter, *loc. cit.*, 1974.

181) Marshall J. Becker. "Native Settlements in the Forks of Delaware, Pennsylvania in the 18th Century: Archaeological Implications." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* <in press> 1987.

182) Anthony F.C. Wallace (*op. cit.*, p. 20) presents the data involved in this meeting in detail, citing as his reference the *Historical Society of Pennsylvania Board of Trade Papers:* Proprieties XXI-1, p. 179, a copy of the Treaty of 1734. A less accurate Source noted by Wallace is in the *Historical Society of Penn-*

sylvania, Johnson Papers, III, p. 779. It contains the comewhat colored testimony given by Teedyuscung in 1760.

183) Cf. my MSS "Teedyuscung and His Kin: Reconstruction of the Relationships of a Family of Jersey Indians Known from Colonial Documents" and "Teedyuscung's Land Rights Near Toms River, New Jersey: The Cultural Boundaries of the Jersey Lenape and Their Movement into Pennsylvania As Related to a Land Sale in 1734," the latter a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory (October 1981).

184) Colonial Records, <Binder's title>, Vol. 7, p. 400.

185) William A. Hunter. "Indian Occupation of the Forks of the Delaware in the Historic Period." Mansucript copy on file, Anthropology Section, West Chester University of Pennsylvania (April 1981).

186) Eugene Liebert. "Wechquetank," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society,* Vol. 7(2), pp. 57-82; here pp. 57-58.

187) Marshall J. Becker, *loc. cit.,* 1987 and Figure 2 included with this manuscript.

188) Marshall J. Becker. "The Okehocking Band of Lenape: Cultural Continuities and Accommodations to Colonial Expansion in Southeastern Pennsylvania in the Early 18th Century," *Cultural Survivals: American Indians in the Eastern United States,* Frank Porter III, editor. Greenwood Press: Westport, Connecticut, 1986, pp. 43-83.

189) Francis Jennings. "The Indian Trade of the Susquehanna Valley," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* Vol. 110, 1966, pp. 406-424. Here p. 406.

190) Gary B. Nash. *Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania 1681-1726.* Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1968.

191) Cf. my MS "Native Land Rights in Pennsylvania and the Manor System: William Penn's Attempts to Protect 'Seated' Lenape Areas."

192) William A. Hunter, "Indian Occupation of the Forks of the Delaware in the Historic Period." Manuscript copy on file, Anthropology Section, West Chester University of Pennsylvania (April 1981).

193) *Ibid.,* Warrant 31 December 1733; Survey 24 June 1735.

194) Pennsylvania Bureau of Land Records, Survey of John Simpson, June 7 (1735), Old Rights, D81, p. 232. Cf. also William Henry Egle (editor), *Pennsylvania Archives,* Third Series, Vol. I, No. 29. Clarence M. Busch: Harrisburg.

195) Pennsylvania Bureau of Land Records, Survey of John Simpson, June 7 (1735), Old Rights, D81, p. 232.

196) See Figure 2, *loc. cit.*

197) A number of the other Proprietary manors also have survey

maps which include information about resident natives in the bounded areas. See endnote 168.

198) Pennsylvania Bureau of Land Records, Survey of Indian Tract, June 24 (1735), Old Rights, D80, p. 237.

199) Cf. my MS "An Onomasticon of Lenape of Pennsylvania and Natives of Southern New Jersey in the 17th and 18th Centuries." (Manuscript draft)

200) *Ibid.*

201) A clergyman, pastor or parson. Used as a title chiefly in the Reformed Church.

202) Lois M. Feister. "Indian-Dutch Relations in the Upper Hudson Valley: A Study of Baptism Records in the Dutch Reformed Church, Albany, New York," *Man in the Northeast,* Vol. 24, 1982, pp. 89-113.

203) Francis Jennings, *loc. cit.,* p. 413.

204) *Etting Collections,* Vol. I, Historical Society of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, pp. 95-98.

205) William C. Reichel (editor). *Memorials of the Moravian Church,* Vol. I (Only volume published), Philadelphia, PA, 1870, pp. 23-28.

206) August C. Mahr. *A Brief History of Moravian Missionary Activity,* p. 214.

207) Marshall J. Becker, *loc. cit.,* 1987: Nazareth.

208) *Ibid.*

209) Francis Jennings. "The Indian Trade of the Susquehanna Valley," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* Vol. 110, 1966, pp. 406-424. Here pp. 407, 418-420.

210) Samuel Hazard (editor), *loc. cit.,* 1852, Vol. 1, pp. 541-3.

211) Anthony F.C. Wallace. *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700-1763.* University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, PA.

212) William A. Hunter. "Documented Subdivisions of the Delaware Indians," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey,* No. 35, 1978, pp. 20-40. Here p. 25.

213) William A. Hunter. Here 1974, p. 72.

214) Marshall J. Becker. "Lenape Land Sales, Treaties, and Wampum Belts," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* Vol. 108, 1984, pp. 351-356.

215) William Henry Egle (editor). *Pennsylvania Archives:* Third Series, Vol. I, Clarence M. Busch: Harrisburg, pp. 86-87.

216) Is this Cornelius Spring or possibly Tishcohan?

217) William Henry Egle (editor), *op. cit.,* p. 84.

218) Cf. my MS "The Northern Boundary of Lenape Territory as Inferred from a Land Transaction (Deed) of 28 August 1686." (Manuscript draft)

219) The maintenance of cultural integrity among these various nations, despite numerous physical relocations, can be shown by

noting some of the groups who were relocating along the Susquehanna. The Shawnee who left Pechoquealin in 1728 under Kakow-watchy went to Wyoming where they occupied wigwams deserted by other Indians (unknown) on the west side of the river, where Plymouth now stands. That is where Zinzendorf and Martin Mack and his wife found them in the autumn of 1742. This "Mrs. Mack" spoke Shawnee (Stewart Pearce, *Annals of Luzerne County; ... From the First Settlement in Wyoming Valley to 1866*, Second Edition. J.B. Lippincott: Philadelphia, PA, 1866, pp. 24-25). In 1719 John Reading noted a number of distinct Shawnee "towns" which had been established in the Munsee area (John Reading, "Journal of John Reading (continued)," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, third Series, 1915, Vol. 10(2): pp. 90-110; (3): pp. 128-133. Here p. 94). What became of the Shawnee in these hamlets generally is not known.

Hunter (*loc. cit.* for 1978, here p. 30) believes that by 1763 most of the "Delaware" on the Susquehanna River were actually Jerseys. These people tended to be on the upper reaches of the river. Perhaps most of the Lenape had moved west by that date. In 1742 some "Delaware" (possibly Jersey?) had built a village on the flats below the present town of Wilkes-Barre. Mohican and four other cultures were locating in distinct places, but all of them were in this general area. Pearce (*op. cit.*, p. 29) also says that eighty Nanticoke under Ullanckquam (Robert White) came upriver in 1748 and settled on the east side of the Susquehanna in Wyoming, near the present village of Nanticoke. Crissey (1845:36) believes that the Nanticoke were divided into two groups, with one settling in the lower Wyoming Valley and the other stopping near the Shawnee who were near present Plymouth.

220) Samuel Hazard (editor), *loc. cit.*, 1852, Vol. 4, pp. 583-6
221) Colonial Records, <Binder's title> Vol. 4, pp. 559-571.
222) *Ibid.*, pp. 566-567.
223) *Ibid.*, pp. 583-586.
224) Julian P. Boyd (editor), *loc. cit.*
225) Colonial Records, <Binder's title> Vol. 4, pp. 578-583.
226) *Ibid.*, pp. 583-586.
227) Anthony F.C. Wallace, *loc. cit.*, 1949, p. 39.
228) Colonial Records, <Binder's title> Vol. 4, pp. 577-578.
229) Marshall J. Becker. "Wampum: The Development of an Early American Currency," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey*, Vol. 36, 1980, pp. 1-11.
230) Colonial Records, <Binder's title> Vol. 4, p. 580.
231) *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 469.

232) Isaac A. Chapman. *A Sketch of the History of Wyoming*, S.D. Lewis: Wilkes-Barre, PA, 1830, p. 19.
233) Francis Jennings. "Brother Miquon: Good Lord!" Paper presented at the Conference "The World of William Penn," *Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies*, Philadelphia, 21 March 1981.
234) Samuel Hazard (editor), *loc. cit.*, 1852, Vol. 1, pp. 629-630.
235) Colonial Records, <Binder's title> Vol. 4, p. 624.
236) *Ibid.*, pp. 575-576, 585.
237) William A. Hunter, 1974, pp. 73-74.
238) Cf. my MS "Teedyuscung and His Kin: Reconstruction of the Relationships of a Family of Jersey Indians Known from Colonial Documents."
239) e.g. with Brainerd to Wapwallopin in October of 1744: cf. Hunter, *loc. cit.*, for 1974, p. 74; with Isaac Still to Minisinks in 1758 and cf. Hazard (editor), *loc. cit.* Vol. 3, 1852, p. 504, etc.
240) Colonial Records, <Binder's title> Vol. 4, p. 625.
241) William A. Hunter. "Indian Occupation of the Forks of the Delaware in the Historic Period." Manuscript copy on file, Anthropologiy Section, West Chester University of Pennsylvania (April 1981).
242) Sereno Edwards Dwight (editor). *Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd; Missionary to the Indians...* S. Converse: New Haven, 1822, p. 175.
243) *Ibid.*, p. 176.
244) Report on file at the State Museum of Pennsylvania.
245) Cf. my MS "Lenape Mortuary Programs as an Indication of Cultural Stability in the Contact Period." Paper presented to the Philadelphia Anthropological Society (15 November 1985), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
246) Sereno Edwards Dwight (editor), *op. cit.*, p. 175.
247) George Henry Loskiel. *History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians in North America*, translated by C.I. LaTrobe, Vol. II. The Brethrens Socienty for the Furtherance of the Gospel: London, LAC 14030, 1794, pp. 123-124.
248) Robin F. Wells. "Frontier Systems as a Sociocultural Type," *Papers in Anthropology*, Vol. 14, 1973, pp. 6-15; also Stephen I. Thompson, "The Frontier Revisited: The Current State of the Art," *Papers in Anthropology*, Vol. 22(1), 1981, pp. 1-9.
249) Sereno Edwards Dwight (editor), *op. cit.*, p. 210.
250) William A. Hunter, *loc. cit.* for 1974.
251) Assuming that these Jerseys continued to use matrilineal descent to reckon kinship, then full siblings and half siblings via the same mother would be terminologically identified as "brother." Matrilateral parallel cousins (a man's mother's sister's sons) also would be addressed by the same term as "brother." Thus, the Jersey terms of address would not make a distinction be-

tween those people called in English "brother" and (male matrilateral) "cousin." Without a precise genealogy the exact relationships are difficult to determine, but a compilation of all possible kin of a family and the terms used to identify specific individuals permits exact genealogical lines (European style, or "bilaterally") to be drawn (cf. my MS "Teedyuscung and His Kin: Reconstruction of the Relationships of a Family of Jersey Indians Known from Colonial Documents).

252) Moravian Archives *(Indian Mission Records:* Bethlehem, PA): - *Tauff-Register der Erwachsenen* (11/22 Feb. 1742 - 12/23 July 1752) (Baptismal Register of Adults, Box 313, Folder 1): Item 2; also cf. my MS "An Onomasticon of Lenape of Pennsylvania and Natives of Southern New Jersey in the 17th and 18th Centuries" (Mansucript draft).

253) Marshall J. Becker, *loc. cit.*, 1987.

254) J. Max Hark. "Meniolagomeka. Annals of a Moravian Indian Village...," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, 1877.

255) *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 4 December 1755 (in *New Jersey Archives)*, Vol. 19, pp. 560-562.

256) Isaac Still, whose name appears as "Hill" in the published account of a 1756 journey to the upper Susquehanna settlements, was a "Jersey Delaware" from "Cranberry" (cf. Government of New Jersey, "A Treaty between the Government of *New Jersey* and the Indians", Inhabiting the Several Parts of Said Province, Held at Croswicks,... William Bradford: Philadelphia, PA, 1756; William A. Hunter, "John Hays' Diary and Journal of 1760," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, Vol. 24(2), 1954, pp. 62-83, here p. 63; William C. Reichel (editor), *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, Vol. I (only volume published), Philadelphia, PA, 1870, p. 235 fn.). A later expedition, led by Teedyuscung, was made in 1760 by Still and another "Christian Delaware" back to Aghsinsing (Asinsing) and beyond to Canisteo (or Secaughcung, cf. my MS "Teedyuscung and His Kin: Reconstruction of the Relationships of a Family of Jersey Indians Known from Colonial Documents." The 1760 expedition had been sent by the Provincial Government, and John Hays' journal of this trip (Hazard, *loc. cit.*, Vol. 3, 1852, pp. 735-741; Hunter, *loc. cit.)* provides valuable information regarding the route and the people met along the way. The cultural integrity of the various groups they encountered reflects the ability of these native people to maintain traditions despite all of their movements and the various "disturbances" in their lives. On the other hand, Moravian affiliated natives may have lost their basic traditions at a relatively rapid rate (see Endnote 259).

257) *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 4 December 1755 (in *New Jersey Archives)*, Vol. 19, p. 562).

258) Colonial Records, <Binder's title> Vol. 7, p. 68; cf. also Dolores Elliott, "Otsiningo, An Example of an Eighteenth Century Settlement Pattern," *Current Perspectives in Northeastern Archaeology*. New York State Archaeological Association: Research and Transactions, Vol. 17(1), 1977, pp. 93-105, here p. 96.

259) The Nain diaries are found in two Moravian sources, with most being part of the Indian Mission Records (cf. Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA: *Indian Mission Records*, Box 125, which includes diaries for 1758-1765). Some other relevant diaries which antedate these are the monthly *Diarium des Indianer-Gemeinleins in Bethlehem*, which are attached to the *Bethlehem Diary*. The Nain related pieces of information begin with the segment for March 1756 and continue through to 1757, recording information about the Mission Indians who returned to Bethlehem after the Gnadenhuetten massacre.

The multiethnic composition of the Nain community reflects the relocation of Mahicans and other Native Americans from earlier Moravian Indian missions in the areas of the Hudson River and the Connecticut River valleys (records on microfilm). When these missions closed, the converts moved to the Forks area, and to the Gnadenhuetten mission in particular. An invitation to these people by the Six Nations to settle at Wyoming attracted some Mahicans who took up residence there, supposedly under the "Delaware" (Jersey) leader Teedyuscung. Baptismal records show that the "Delaware" (Jersey) converts at that time were intermarrying with Moravian converts from among the Wampanoag, Mahican, Hoogland, Sopus, and other cultures.

260) Marshall J. Becker, "The Okehocking Band of Lenape: Cultural Continuities and Accommodations to Colonial Expansion in Southeastern Pennsylvania in the Early 18th Century," *Cultural Survivals: American Indians in the Eastern United States*, Frank Porter III, editor. Greenwood Press: Westport, Connecticut, 1986, pp. 43-83.

261) Colonial Records, <Binder's title> Vol. 7, pp. 762-764.

262) On this subject cf. also Richmond C. Holcomb, "The Early Dutch Maps of the Upper Delaware Valley," *Proceeding of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. 11, 1926, pp. 18-45, here p. 24; "Journal of John Reading (continued)," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Third Series, Vol. 10(2): pp. 90-110, (3): pp. 128-133, here p. 95; Robert Steven Grumet, *loc. cit.*, p. 50.

263) William A. Hunter. "John Hays' Diary and Journal of 1760," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, Vol. 24(2), 1954, pp. 62-83.

264) Samuel Hazard (editor), *loc. cit.*, 1853, Vol. 3, p. 501.

265) Ted J. Brasser, *loc. cit.*, p. 208, and William A. Hunter, "Indian Occupation of the Forks of the Delaware in the Historic Peri-

od." Manuscript copy on file, A Anthropology Section, West Chester University of Pennsylvania (april 1981).

266) Cf. endnote 219.

267) Ian Hodder. "Economic and Social Stress and Material Culture Patterning," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 44, 1979, pp. 446-454, and "Reply to Davis," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 46, 1981, pp. 668-670; Dave D. Davis, "Some Problems in Applying Hodder's Hypothesis," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 46, 1981, pp. 665-667

268) Cf. my MS "Lenape Mortuary Programs as an Indication of Cultural Stability in the Contact Period." A Paper presented to the Philadelphia Anthropological Society (15 November 1985), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

269) Colonial Records, <Binder's title> Vol. 8, pp. 174-259.

270) Colonial Records, <Binder's title> Vol. 7, p. 328; Vol. 8, p. 176.

271) Cf. my MS "Hannah Freeman or 'Indian Hannah' (1730?-1802): The Last Identified Lenape Resident in Chester County, Pennsylvania." A paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Society for Ethnohistory, Syracuse (1983).

272) William A. Hunter, *loc. cit.*, for 1978, pp. 25-26.

273) Samuel Hazard (editor), *loc. cit.*, Vol. 3, 1852, pp. 341-346.

274) William A. Hunter, *loc. cit.*, p. 30.

275) Moravian Archives, *Diarium von Lichtenau am Muskingum*, Box 147, Folder 2 and Folder 6, Item 1.

276) Charles C. Trowbridge. "Account of Some of the Traditions, Manners and Customs of the Lenee Lenaupaa or Delaware Indians," Appendix 3 of *The Delaware Indians: A History*, C.A. Weslager. Rutgers University Press: New Brusnwick, New Jersey, 1972, pp. 473-498; here pp. 473-481.

277) Lewis Henry Morgan. *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family. Smithonian Contributions to Knowledge*, No. 218, Antropological Publications. Reissued by Oosterhout N.B.: The Netherlands, 1970, pp. 220-221; 291.

278) Melburn D. Thurman, *loc. cit.*

279) Ives Goddard, personal communication.

280) Ives Goddard, "The Historical Phonology of Munsee," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. 48, pp. 16-48. Table 2.

281) Samuel Hazard (editor), *loc. cit.*, 1852, Vol. 2, pp. 722-730.

282) Colonial Records, <Binder's title> Vol. 7, p. 323.

283) *Ibid.*, p. 358.

284) Anthony F.C. Wallace, *loc. cit.*, 1949.

285) Colonial Records, <Binder's title> *loc cit.*, p. 358.

286) Frederick W. Ricord and William Nelson (editors). *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey* (Archives of New Jersey), Vol. 9: 1757-1767. Daily Advertiser: Newark, 1885, pp. 138-142

287) *Ibid.*, p. 141.
288) William M. Beauchamp (editor), *loc. cit.*
289) Dolores Elliott, *loc. cit.*
290) Cf. also endnote 219.
291) E.B. O'Callaghan. *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, Vols. 1-3. Weed Parsons and Co.: Albany, 1850. Here vol. 1, p. 24.
292) Marshall J. Becker, *loc. cit.*, 1981.
293) Melburn D. Thurman, *loc. cit.*
294) Susan N. Roark-Calnek. "Interethnic Relations in Northeastern Oklahoma: Antecedents of Contemporary Delaware Ethnicity." Papers presented at the Annual Conference of the American Society for Ethnohistory, 10 November 1985, Chicago, Illinois.
295) Cf. E.B. O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*; C.A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indian Westward Migration*. Atlantic Press: Walligford, PA, 1978, pp. 31-32.
296) On 30 January 1777, in Philadelphia, "An order was sent to Hayman Levy, to make up an assortment of articles fit for a Treaty with 70 Indians, (exclusive of women & children,) he accordingly pack'd up the following Goods ... 9,600 White Wampum, 20,500 Black Wampum, 30 Moons & 30 Hair Pipes of Conk shell, 6 Pair arm Bands, 12 Gordiots, 100 Broaches, 37 Pair Ear bobs, all of Silver, which w'th 15 Camp Kettles, were this day forwarded to Cols. Bull & Dean, ... at Easton." (Colonial Records, <Binder's title> *loc. cit.*, 1853, vol. XI, pp. 108-109; cf. also Henry Martyn Kieffer (translator), *Some of the First Settlers of The Forks of the Delaware*, First Reformed Church: Easton, Pennsylvania, 1902, p. 23).
On 8 March Colonel John Bull and Colonel Dean were reimbursed over 273 pounds sterling for sundries bought by them for the Indian Treaty held at Easton (Colonial Records, <Binder's title> *loc. cit.*, (Vol. XI), p. 142). Three days later Col. Bull was paid over forty-four pounds sterling "for Guard of Stores at Nortington, & Sundries supplied by Col. Butler at Wyoming, to the Indians returning from the treaty at Easton, ..." (Colonial Recores, <Binder's title> *loc. cit.*, (Vol. XI), p. 143.
297) John W. Jordan. "Spangenberg's Notes of Travel to Onondaga in 1745," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vo. 2, 1878, pp. 424-432, here p. 424; Vol. 3, 1879, pp. 56-64.
298) Daniel R. Roberts, Robert F. Hoffmann, Richard Meyer, and Betty J. Cosans. "A Phase I and II Cultural Resource Survey of Two Proposed Alignments for Interstate 78, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania." A report prepared for Betz, Converse, Murdoch, Inc., and the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation. John Milner Associates, Inc.: West Chester, PA, 1982, G-6.
299) George G. Heye and George H. Pepper. "Exploration of a Mun-

see Cemetery Near Montague, New Jersey," *Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian*, Vol. 2. Heye Foundation, Museum of the American Indian: New York, 1915-1916; W. Fred Kinsey, III, *Archaeology in the Upper Delaware Valley*, Anthropological Series, Vol. 2. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission: Harrisburg, 1973; also Robert C. Kraft, *The Minisink Settlements: An Investigation Into a Prehistoric and Early Historic Site in Sussex County, New Jersey*. Archaeological Research Center, Seton Hall University Museum: South Orange, New Jersey, 1977, and *the Minisink Site: A Reevaluation of a Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Contact Site in Sussex County, New Jersey*. Archaeological Research Center, Seton Hall University Museum: South Orange, New Jersey, 1978.

300) S.J. Shennan. "Archaeological 'Cultures': An Empirical Investigation," *The Spatial Organization of Culture*, edited by Ian Hodder. Duckworth: London, 1978, pp. 113-139.

301) L.M. Lavin (personal communication).

302) R. Alan Mounier (personal communication, 24 October 1980).

303) John Witthoft, "Ceramic Sequences in Eastern Pennsylvania." Manuscript on file, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg (1980).

304) John Witthoft, "Ceramic Areas in Terms of Pottery Series (the Coastal Algonkian region)." Manuscript on file, West Chester University of Pennsylvania, 1980, p. 18.

305) Cf. also "Forks of the Delaware," chapter 14, The Overpeck Site (36BU5). *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, Vol. 50(3), 1980, pp. 1-46.

306) C.S. Smith. "The Archaeology of Coastal New York," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. 34(2), 1950, p. 155.

307) Anthony F.C. Wallace. "The Indian Occupation of the Delaware River Valley in Historic and Protohistoric Times." Manuscript on file at Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1948, p. 25.

308) *Ibid.*

309) Historical Society of Pennsylvania, "Properties," *Board of Trade Papers*, Vol. 21 (Part 1). Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, p. 181.

310) Daniel R. Griffith and Jay F. Custer. "Late Woodland Ceramics of Delaware: Inplications for the Late Prehistoric Archaeology of Northeastern North America," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, Vol. 55(3), 1985, pp. 5-20.

311) Regina Flannery. "An Analysis of Coastal Algonkian Culture," *Catholic University of America Anthropological Series No. 7*, 1939.

312) John Witthoft. "The American Indian Population of Pennsylvania

at the Time of the Arrival of Europeans," *Ninth Rose Hill Seminar*, held at Waynesboro, Pa. (28 June 1980). Manuscript.

313) Daniel R. Griffith and Jay F. Custer, *loc. cit.*

314) Susan Snow Lukesh and Sally Howe. "Protoapennine vs. Subapennine: Mathematical Distinction Between Two Ceramic Phases," *Journal of Field Archaeology*, Vol. 5, 1978, pp. 339-347.

315) Daniel R. Griffith and Jay F. Custer, *loc. cit.*, p. 17.

316) Jay Custer (editor). *Late Woodland Cultural Diversity in the Middle Atlantic Region.* The University of Delaware Press: Newark, Delaware, 1986.

317) Cf. my MS "The Lenape Southern Border." A paper presented at the Laurier II Converence, Ontario, Canada.

318) Randolph Turner, "The Archaeological Identification of Chiefdom Societies in Southwestern Virginia." A paper presented at the symposium, Upland Archaeology in the East, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, Virginia, 1981.

319) Cf. my MS "The Printzhof (36DE3) Excavations of 1985, Final Report," a manuscript filed with the Pennsylvania State Museum, Department of Museums and Historic Sites, Harrisburg.

320) J. Ned Woodall. "Prehistoric Social Boundaries: An Archaeological Model and Test," *Bulletin of the Texas Archaeological Society*, Vol. 41, 1971, pp. 101-120.

321) *Ibid.*

322) Barry C. Kent. *Susquehanna's Indians.* Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission: Harrisburg, Pa., 1984.

323) Robert F. Hoffman, Daniel G. Roberts and Thomas L. Stuthers, "A Cultural Resources Survey of Selected Segments of a Natural Gas Transmission Line, Berks, Montgomery, Lehigh and Bucks Counties, Pennsylvania." John Milner Associates: West Chester, Pa. (Manuscript on file, Anthropology Program, West Chester University)

324) Mark F. Seeman and Cheryl A. Munson. "Determining the Cultural Affiliation of Terminal Late Woodland - Mississippian Hunting Stations: A Lower Ohio Valley Example," *North American Archaeologist*, Vol. 2(1), 1980, pp. 53-64.

325) Cf. my MS "The Lenape Southern Border," a paper presented at the Laurier II Conference, Ontario, Canada.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Herrnhuter Mission in den Forks of Delaware: Eine Rekonstruktion der Wanderbewegung und Siedlungsstrukturen der Jersey Lenape während des 18. Jahrhunderts anhand von Dokumenten in den Moravian Archives

Die Unterscheidung zwischen den einzelnen eingesessenen nordamerikanischen Kulturen, d.h. einheimischer amerikanischer Gruppen, ist eine Voraussetzung für unser besseres Verständnis ihrer traditionellen Beziehungen zueinander vor der Ankunft der Europäer wie auch ihrer Beziehungen zu den Europäern. Ein Haupthindernis, die vielfältigen Fähigkeiten und Fertigkeiten dieser einheimischen Amerikaner, die sich beim Handel mit den Europäern zeigten, zu bemerken, lag in der fehlenden Unterscheidung zwischen ihren unterschiedlichen Kulturen und die mangelnden Kenntnis ihner getrennten und unabhängigen sozio-politischen Systeme. Die früheren Irrtümer beim Erkennen dieser Differenzen haben viele Forscher zu dem Schluß geführt, daß die einheimischen amerikanischen Völker angesichts der europäischen Technologie und politischen Organisation in Auflösung und Zerrüttung gerieten. Einige Forscher betrachteten sogar diese einheimischen Einwohner der neuen Welt als schlechthin biologisch und intellektuell minderwertig.

Neuere Forschungen in verschiedenen Gebieten im Osten und Nordosten der Vereinigten Staaten haben uns klarere Erkenntnisse über die Unterschiede bei der ursprünglichen Bevölkerung gebracht, die in diesen Gebieten lange vor der Ankunft der Europäer lebte. Die neuen Forschungsergebnisse verdanken wir verschiedenen methodischen Ansätzen. Einer davon ist die Erforschung besonderer Landstriche, die offenbar die Grenzgebiete waren, welche die verschiedenen Kulturen trennten. Die Vorstellung von einer Grenze als einer festgelegten, markierten Linie ist eine neuere Entwicklung, die mit dem Aufkommen moderner und komplizierter politischer Staatsgebilde zusammenhängt. Bei Gruppen und Stämmen, die auf Nahrungssuche umherziehen, sind die Gebiete, die sich im Besitz der Angehörigen einer Kultur oder einer Gruppe von Stammesverwandten mit gleichartigen Verhaltensweisen befinden, häufig von einem "Grenzgebiet" umgeben, das von den Angehörigen der Kulturen, die die umliegenden Landstriche bewohnen, nicht als Eigentum beansprucht wird. Diese Zonen, auf die niemand Anspruch erhebt, oft "Pufferzonen" genannt, dienten dazu, unmittelbar benachbarte Gruppen getrennt zu halten, und wurden oft von allen Gruppen aus der Nachbarschaft genutzt. So konnten die Angehörigen von zwei oder mehr angrenzenden Kulturen zu verschiedenen Zeiten des Jahres die Pufferzone betreten und sich hier z.B. mit Nahrung oder Steinmaterial versorgen. Andere Gruppen,

die dieses Gebiet gleichfalls in Anspruch nahmen, brauchten dort nicht dieselben Güter zu gewinnen noch sich in ihrem Gebrauch von Teilen des Puffers zu überschneiden, den jede Gruppe ja nur zeitweise beanspruchte.

Die Beschreibung der Grenzgebiete, welche die verschiedenen einheimischen amerikanischen Kulturen trennte, setzt uns in die Lage, die Angehörigen dieser besonderen Gruppen deutlicher zu bestimmen. Die Beziehungsgeflechte der Angehörigen verschiedener Kulturen (Eheschließungen, Landkäufe und -verkäufe, Jagdzüge usw.) bestätigen, daß die Angehörigen jeder einzelnen Gruppe sich ihrer eigenen kulturellen Identität bewußt waren und sich von anderen Kulturen unterschieden. Diese beiden Forschungsansätze (der Aufweis von Grenzgebieten und die Besonderheiten von kulturellen Verbindungen) sind kombiniert worden, um verschiedene Probleme zu erforschen, die aus der früheren fälschlichen Zusammenfassung von drei unterschiedenen Kulturen im Delaware-Valley unter dem Einheitsbegriff "Delawaren" herrührte. Dieser Begriff, der keine ursprüngliche Selbstbezeichnung irgendeines dieser Völker war, leitet sich davon her, daß die Europäer drei ursprüngliche Gruppen am Delaware-River unter der Kategorie Fluß-Indianer zusammenwarfen. So wurden alle am Fluß lebenden Indianer mit einem einzigen Begriff bezeichnet, und als der Fluß dann Delaware genannt wurde, wurde der Name auf alle dort lebenden Indianer angewendet. Dieses Problem wurde noch komplizierter durch die politischen Ereignisse nach 1730, als der Häuptling Teedyuscung und andere Jerseys den Anspruch erhoben, die Angehörigen von allen drei Kulturen zu vertreten. (Teedyuscung war ein um 1700 geborener Jersey-Indianerhäuptling, der manchmal als Häuptling oder "König" der Delawaren bezeichnet wird. Um 1730 kam er in das Gebiet, wo später Bethlehem, Pa., gegründet werden sollte. Er entwikkelte Kontakte mit Herrnhuter Siedlern in der Zeit des "Walking Purchase".) Dabei übertrieben sie den Grad der sozio-politischen Verwandtschaft zwischen den Angehörigen der drei Kulturen. Erst jetzt können wir die Einzelheiten der Landnutzung und die sozialen Wechselbeziehungen (oder deren Fehlen) untersuchen, um deutlich aufzuzeigen, wie verschieden diese Gruppen in der ersten Periode des Kontaktes waren, aber auch wie sie ihre kulturellen Verschiedenheiten und ihre kulturelle Eigenart noch hunderte von Jahren nach Beginn der Kontakte mit den Europäern bewahrten.

Das Gebiet, das die verschiedenen einheimischen Gruppen als Lechay (Lehigh) kennen und die Europäer dann als die Forks of Delaware bezeichneten, ist ein vorzügliches Beispiel einer Pufferzone. Es läßt sich zeigen, daß diese Region eine Pufferzone gewesen ist, die vier ganz verschiedene einheimische Kulturen trennte, jedoch auch von ihnen zugleich genutzt wurde: Lenape, Jerseys, Munsee und Susquehannock. Diese zerklüftete Zone scheint von Angehörigen dieser vier einheimischen amerikanischen Gruppen zum Jagen genutzt wor-

den zu sein, und während der ersten Periode des Kontaktes zu den Europäern holte man hier die Pelze, die man für den Handel benötigte. Vor allem aber gab es hier größere Jaspis-Vorkommen entlang des südlichen Ufers des Lehigh-River - und das scheint der Hauptgrund dafür gewesen zu sein, daß dieses Gebiet für die verschiedenen Gruppen zugänglich war, aber von keiner besessen wurde. Die geologische Formation des Reading Prong, die reich an Jaspis ist und für diese Menschen in der Zeit vor der Einführung der Metalltechnologie wichtig war, bildete den Hauptgrund für die gemeinsame Nutzung dieses Gebietes. Weil diese Region abwechselnd zur Verfügung stand, war dieses wichtige Steinmaterial den verschiedenen Gruppen gleichermaßen zugänglich, ohne daß sie die Ursache für Konflikte oder Spannungen zu bilden brauchte, die leicht entstanden wären, wenn eine einzelne Kultur Besitzansprüche gestellt und versucht hätte, den Handel mit diesem Material zu kontrollieren.

Nach der Zeit um 1650 n.Chr., als die meisten einheimischen Steinwerkzeuge durch Geräte verdrängt wurden, die aus europäischen Metall hergestellt wurden, verlor das Steinvorkommen im Gebiet der Forks seine Bedeutung für die einheimischen Bewohner der Region. Die Pufferzone der Forks blieb aber weiter nützlich für die Jagd (Nahrungsquelle für den Winter; Pelze) und blieb ein wechselseitig genutztes Gebiet und von dem Land unterschieden, auf das die benachbarten Völkerschaften als Teil ihrer traditionellen Lebensräume Anspruch erhoben.

1674-1675 wurden die Susquehannock im Westen von ihren Feinden, den Seneca, versprengt und wieder von den Kolonisten von Maryland unterstützt. Ab 1700 scheinen die Munsee nach Norden und Westen in Gebiete unter der Oberherrschaft der Fünf Nationen gewandert zu sein. Zu dieser Zeit waren einige Lenape in das früher von den Susquehannock bewohnte Land gewandert, wahrscheinlich um deren freigewordene Rolle im Pelzhandel zu übernehmen und auch um ihre traditionellen Lebensgewohnheiten fern von den sich ausbreitenden Farmen der Kolonisten zu bewahren. Die einheimische Bevölkerung des südlichen New Jersey, die ich jetzt als die "Jerseys" bezeichne, waren von Landbesitz der Kolonisten umgeben. Die einzige ihnen zur Verfügung stehende Route führte nordwestlich in das Gebiet der Forks, eine Region, die früher ohne eine ständige Bevölkerung gewesen war.

Um 1720 siedelte sich eine kleine Anzahl von Jerseys im Gebiet der Forks an, in der offenkundigen Absicht, hier dauerhaft zu wohnen. Durch das Studium der Landverkaufsurkunden im südlichen New Jersey und mehr noch der ausgiebigen und wertvollen Herrnhuter Quellen sind wir in der Lage, den Zug von Einzelpersonen von ihren angestammten Gebieten in New Jersey in das Gebiet der Forks aufzuspüren. Wir können jetzt erkennen, daß dies eine späte Bevölkerungsbewegung ist, die den Bedeutungsverfall des Gebietes der Forks

sowohl als Raum für die Nahrungs- und Werkzeugbeschaffung wie auch als einer kulturellen Pufferzone widerspiegelt. Noch bedeutender ist, daß wir beweisen können, daß die ursprüngliche Bevölkerung, die das Gebiet des südlichen New Jersey, südlich des Raritan River, bewohnte, zu einer Kultur gehörte, die von der der Lenape des südöstlichen Pennsylvanien verschieden war. Noch wichtiger ist unsere Erkenntnis, daß diese beiden Kulturen, die sich in vielen Zügen so ähnlich waren und sprachlich so eng verwandt sind, völlig verschiedene Wanderungs-Muster aufweisen, die ihnen räumliche Trennung und kulturelle Integrität erhielten. Die Angehörigen dieser beiden Gruppen scheinen untereinander nicht in höherem Maße geheiratet zu haben als irgend zwei andere Gruppen unterschiedlicher einheimischer Stämme. Diese Erkenntnis läßt uns besser verstehen, wie die Kontakte mit den Europäern auf diese unterschiedenen einheimischen Amerikanischen Völkerschaften während der frühen historischen Periode wirkten. Viele der ursprünglichen Kulturen bewahrten angesichts der sich ausbreitenden Zahl von Kolonisten ihre Integrität durch strategischen Rückzug von der unmittelbaren Konfrontation mit möglicherweise zersetzend wirkenden Gruppen. Dadurch konnten Gruppen wie die Lenape und die Jerseys ihre Sprache und Kultur völlig intakt bis in das 20. Jahrhundert bewahren. Erst die vergangenen Jahrzehnte zeigen die schrittweise Absorbierung dieser Menschen durch die euro-amerikanische Kultur.