

Summary under the Criteria and Evidence for
Proposed Finding
Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc.

Prepared in response to a petition submitted
to the Secretary of the Interior for Federal
Acknowledgment that this group exists as an
Indian tribe.

DEC 2 1993

Approved: _____

Adrian E. Hill
Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs

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INTRODUCTION

This report has been prepared in response to the petition received by the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs from the Ramapough Mountain Indian Tribe seeking Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe under Part 83 of Title 25 of the Code of Federal Regulations (25 C.F.R. 83).

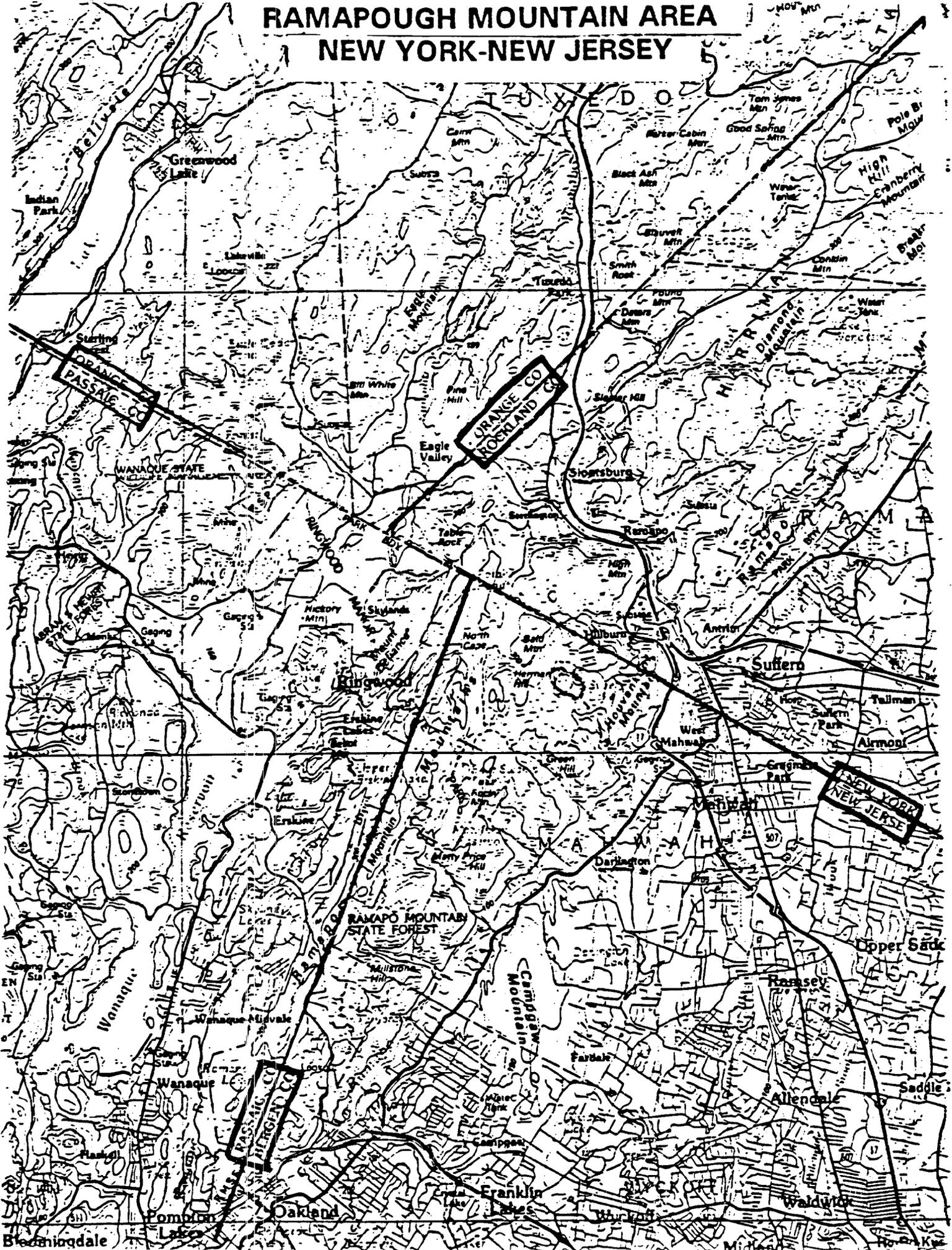
Part 83 establishes procedures by which unrecognized Indian groups may seek Federal acknowledgment of an existing government-to-government relationship with the United States. To be entitled to such a political relationship with the United States, the petitioner must submit documentary evidence that the group meets the seven criteria set forth in Section 83.7 of 25 C.F.R. Failure to meet any one of the seven criteria will result in a determination that the group does not exist as an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law.

Publication of the Assistant Secretary's proposed finding in the Federal Register initiates a 120-day response period during which factual and/or legal arguments and evidence to rebut the evidence relied upon are received from the petitioner and any other interested party. Such evidence should be submitted in writing to the Office of the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs, 1849 C Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20240, Attention: Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, Mail Stop 2611-MIB.

After consideration of all written arguments and evidence received during the 120-day response period, the Assistant Secretary will make a final determination regarding the petitioner's status, a summary of which will be published in the Federal Register within 60 days of the expiration of the 120-day response period. This determination will become effective 60 days from its date of publication unless the Secretary of the Interior requests the Assistant Secretary to reconsider.

If at the expiration of the 120-day response period this proposed finding is confirmed, the Assistant Secretary will analyze and forward to the petitioner other options, if any, under which the petitioner might make application for services or other benefits.

RAMAPOUGH MOUNTAIN AREA NEW YORK-NEW JERSEY



ABBREVIATIONS AND/OR ACRONYMS USED IN REPORT

- BAR = Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, Bureau of Indian Affairs (Evaluator of the Petition)
- Ex. = Documentary Exhibit submitted by the Petitioner
- FD = Field data (research conducted by BAR staff for the purpose of verifying and adding to the information submitted in the petition)
- RMI = Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc. (The Petitioner)
- RMP = Ramapough Mountain People

TERMINOLOGY

Ramapo Township

A township in the southeastern corner of Rockland, County, N.Y. Previously called New Hampstead (1791) and Hampstead (1797), the name was changed to Ramapo in 1828. The towns of Sloatsburg, Ramapo, Ladentown, Spring Valley, and Monsey are in the township.

Ramapough Mountains

Steep and rocky mountains with deep, narrow valleys that run northeast to southwest through the western part of Rockland County, N.Y. into northwestern Bergen County, N.J. and northeastern Passaic, N.J.

Ramapough Mountain Area

A loose geographic designation covering the area where the four counties of Orange and Rockland, N.Y. and Passaic and Bergen, N.J. meet.

Rampough Mountain People

(RMI) Used to designate descendants of the six families in the Ramapough Mountain community of DeFreese, DeGroat, Mann, VanDunk, Castaloni, and Cisco, whether or not they claim Indian ancestry.

STANDARIZED SURNAME SPELLINGS

<u>NAME</u>	<u>VARIATIONS FOUND in DOCUMENTS</u>
Castaloni	Casselony, Castelonie, Castylonia, Castylony
DeFreese	DeFreese, d'freis, DeFries, Defries, DeVries
DeGroat	De Groat, DeGroot, DeGrote, DeGrodt, Degroot
Maguiness	Mac Gennis, Macguiness, McGinnis
Mann	Man, Mayne
VanDunk	Donk, Dunk, VanDonck, VanDunck

SUMMARY UNDER THE CRITERIA 83.7(a-g)

Evidence submitted by the Ramapough Mountain Indians (hereinafter the petitioner) and obtained through other interested parties and independent research by the Acknowledgment staff demonstrates that the petitioner does not meet all seven criteria required for Federal acknowledgment. Specifically, the petitioner does not meet criteria A, B, C, and E. In accordance with the regulations set forth in 25 C.F.R. 83, failure to meet any one of the seven criteria requires a determination that the group does not exist as an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law.

This is a proposed finding based on available evidence, and, as such, does not preclude the submission of other evidence to the contrary during the 120-day comment period which follows publication of this finding. Such new evidence may result in a change in the conclusions reached in the proposed finding. The final determination, which will be published separately after the receipt of the comments, will be based on both the new evidence submitted in response to the proposed finding and the original evidence used in formulating the proposed finding.

In the summary of evidence which follows, each criterion has been reproduced in boldface type as it appears in the regulations. Summary statements of the evidence relied upon follow the respective criteria.

83.7(a) A statement of facts establishing that the petitioner has been identified from historical times until the present on a substantially continuous basis, as "American Indian" or "aboriginal." A petitioner shall not fail to satisfy any criteria herein mentioned merely because of fluctuations of tribal activity during various years.

The RMI petition for Federal recognition claims Munsee tribal ancestry and maintains that "the Ramapough Mountain Indian community and their Munsee tribal ancestors have existed as an American Indian entity from historical times to the present date. Official Federal and State records... document the continuous habitation to the present date of the Ramapough Mountain Indians on their aboriginal homeland in the Ramapo Mountain region"

There is extensive historical evidence, including treaties and deeds, to document the presence of Munsee-speaking Lenape Indian bands such as the Haverstraw, Hackensack, and Tappan in southeastern New York and northeastern New Jersey from first contact with Europeans until as late as the 1740's. By the mid-18th century, the organized tribal groups had moved west into Pennsylvania. The Treaty of Easton in 1758 extinguished the remaining Minisink (Munsee), Wappinger, and Pompton claims to land in northern New Jersey and southern New York.

No evidence was presented by the petitioner to indicate that the Munsee as a whole, individual Munsee-speaking tribes, or other Delawarean groups which moved west, maintained any type of contact with ancestors of the RMI in the later 18th, 19th, or first half of the 20th centuries.

No conclusive documentation has been presented by the petitioner to demonstrate that Munsee-related Indian bands moved into and remained in the Ramapo Mountains after the 1758 Treaty of Easton, by which time the majority of the Munsee groups had resettled in Pennsylvania. The petitioner presented some documentation, none of which was adequate to demonstrate the identity of a historic tribe or continuous existence of a historic tribe.

A description of Indian villages and travel accommodations written in 1765 by Peter Hasenclever, German manager of the mines at Ringwood, New Jersey, did not indicate whether his description pertained to groups residing near Ringwood, or was a more generic description of American Indians.

The next description which possibly indicated continued residence by persons of Indian descent in the general geographical area inhabited by the modern RMI did not appear for more than 50

years. That narrative, written in 1827 by Victor Jacquemont, a French naturalist, mentioned Indians who had lived in the area more than 70 years before, but stated that they were now living more than 300 miles away. Jacquemont then described some individuals with some Indian ancestry, "almost white," in the Ramapo Mountains, who were the descendants of Indian women and non-Indian men. They were described as living in log cabins and having a little livestock and small cornfields. Jacquemont's description did not ascribe tribal origins or indicate tribal organization. Neither did it provide any family names which would permit a linkage to known RMI ancestors.

While some modern scholars have noted the possibility that individual Indian families or families with some Indian ancestry remained in northern New Jersey after 1758 (although none have been specifically documented), no scholar has identified any bands or groups which continued to exist there as identifiable entities. No evidence was presented by the petitioner or located by the BAR to indicate that the RMI have descended from the Brotherton or other central New Jersey Indian groups which are known to have remained after 1758 until the dissolution of the Brotherton reservation in 1802.

No Federal or state documentation has been presented by the petitioner to demonstrate that ancestors of the petitioner have continuously inhabited the Ramapo Mountain region since colonial times. During the 18th-century period when the petition claims that Munsee who were RMI ancestors were living in the Ramapo Mountain area, two of the four specific families who are named by the petitioner as precursors of the RMI can be documented as having lived elsewhere. They participated in the economic and religious (Dutch Reformed and Lutheran) activities of the surrounding colonial society in the region of southeastern New York and northeastern New Jersey. For a third family, the possible Indian ancestor (there is a one- or two-generation gap between the person named as Indian and the first proven RMI ancestor of the name) has no tribal identification in contemporary documents and was working as a shoemaker in Orange County, New York, in 1758-60. For the fourth family, there is no documentation prior to 1800.

No 18th-century documentation identifying any of these families as Indian or Munsee was presented by the petitioner or located by the BAR. By 1800, all four of the specific families claimed by the petitioner as RMI ancestors can be documented in state and local records of southeastern New York and northeastern New Jersey as participating in the surrounding non-Indian society. None of them was identified by contemporary records as American Indian or Munsee.

The coalescence of the RMI ancestral families in the Ramapo Valley area did not take place until after the American

Revolution. It represented a movement into this particular area of individual families who had previously lived in separate locations, who had few demonstrable prior ties to one another, and who had no prior firm identification as American Indian. Before this coalescence, the RMI ancestral families were not a distinct community.

The earliest land purchase by one of these families in the Ramapo Mountains took place in 1825. From this time until the Civil War, RMI ancestral families can be documented as having lived in the Ramapo Valley, working as farm laborers, and to a lesser extent as having lived in the Ringwood, New Jersey, area, working as miners. The full development of the modern tripartite residential pattern of the RMI in Mahwah/Stag Hill and Ringwood in New Jersey and Hillburn in New York did not take place until after 1870.

At no time prior to the RMI's incorporation in 1978 was the group of people who were precursors to and ancestors of the RMI the subject of any separate series of Indian documents in the records of either the States of New York and New Jersey or the Federal government. Early Federal census records recorded the families as "free persons of color," a designation which can include American Indian, but which does not allow the BAR to conclude that persons so designated were necessarily American Indian. In later Federal and State census records, after 1850, the families were designated sometimes as mulatto, sometimes as black, and sometimes as white.

No documentation has been presented by the petitioner or located by BAR researchers to substantiate the existence of a predecessor tribe, predecessor amalgamation of tribes, or predecessor Indian community to the RMI.

No evidence has been found to indicate that the RMI precursor group was identified as Indian--or even as of partly Indian ancestry--by any agency or writer prior to 1872. When a linguist visited the Ringwood community in 1910, the language recalled by its older members and recorded by him was "Jersey Dutch." The same linguist noted that the community in the mountains near Suffern, New York, i.e. the Stag Hill community, spoke the same language but the area was somewhat inaccessible.

Since the third quarter of the 19th century, anthropologists, social workers, journalists, and others have consistently described the RMI precursor community as a distinct group of mixed race, or as an entity whose members were said by tradition to have some Indian ancestry. The petitioner's ancestors were never described as an American Indian group per se. Occasional references which used such terms as "tribe" or "clan" to describe the community were essentially using these words as synonyms for

"a kinship-based, non-white community distinct from the surrounding society."

Since the first newspaper article discussing the petitioner's ancestors was published in 1872, the composition and origins of the RMI precursor community have been extensively discussed by local historians, by journalists, and occasionally by anthropologists, archaeologists, and folklorists. In addition to acknowledging European and African components among the RMI ancestors, such writers have variously attributed the possibilities of Minsi and Hackensack (Delaware), general Algonquin or Munsee, Tuscarora (Iroquoian), and occasionally Creek and Seneca ancestry to the group. These reports attributed a certain amount of Indian ancestry to the RMI based primarily upon the physical appearance of some members of the group and stereotyped character traits. They also took into account, during the later 19th century, their production of handicrafts and significant dependence upon hunting and trapping for subsistence. All these reports lacked consistency as to attribution of tribal origin and citations to contemporary original source material.

During the later 19th and first half of the 20th century, neither the churches nor the schools utilized by the petitioner were identified as "Indian". The oldest church founded for the group is affiliated with the African Methodist Episcopal Zion organization.

Based upon the evolved oral tradition of Indian ancestry, the RMI community revised its identity as presented to outsiders in the 1970's. Only since organizing as the Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc. in 1978, has the petitioner been identified as an American Indian entity. The RMI were recognized as American Indian by resolutions of the New Jersey and New York State legislatures in 1980. Since that time, the RMI have been repeatedly identified as an "Indian" group in newspaper accounts and have received Indian Education funding from the Federal government.

83.7(b) Evidence that a substantial portion of the petitioning group inhabits a specific area or lives in a community viewed as American Indian and distinct from other populations in the area, and that its members are descendants of an Indian tribe which historically inhabited a specific area.

There is no significant evidence that RMI ancestors were living as a separate and distinct community in the Ramapo Mountains, or anywhere else, before the 1850's. The ancestral families were living in Orange County, New York, and neighboring Bergen County, New Jersey, in the 18th century. They were not living in a clearly distinct community or even in the vicinity of each other in the late 1770's. Instead, individual families were part of different communities, associated with Afro-Dutch as well as White families. According to written documentation, individual RMI ancestors (DeGroats, Manns, VanDunks, and DeFreeses) started moving into the Mahwah area after 1770. They moved in as individual families, not as a group, and did not come from distinct communities, Indian or otherwise. They were part of a larger movement of Afro-Dutch and other families that moved in as the area became more densely settled.

By the 1830's, most ancestors of the Ramapough were living in close proximity to each other in the Ramapough Valley, but for the most part among other people, not in distinct areas. These early ancestors were located in the valley, not in the Ramapough Mountains as tradition has held. Some degree of intermarriage among the families was evident in the first two decades of the 19th century.

The first occurrence of a distinct settlement of exclusively RMI families was in the 1850's. Also in the 1850's, the RMI families started a separate, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church at Darlington, New Jersey. This was the first instance of a separate church, and not all RMI families attended it. In 1860, a major portion of the RMI families listed on the census were living next to each other, while others remained scattered in various townships.

The RMI ancestors were first definitely identified and described by outsiders as a separate social community in the 1870's, when they were the object of missionary efforts by the Episcopalian and Reformed denominations. The RMI ancestors living on the Houvenkopf (Stag Hill and Hillburn) were later identified by a missionary who knew them well in the 1870's as a "colored community" with a significant

proportion of Indian blood. By 1872, journalists had started to note the existence of a racially distinct, isolated group of people living in the Ramapo Mountains around Mahwah. The contemporary identifications of the 1870's did not indicate that the group was then thought of as partly of Indian ancestry.

Later, after the Civil War, the majority of RMI ancestors moved northward in the Ramapo Valley and began to reside in three main settlements in the mountains, leaving the settlement that had arisen in the 1850's. These three separate and distinct settlements have continued to exist from that time until now. These are Stag Hill/Mahwah, New Jersey, Ringwood, New Jersey, and Hillburn, New York, located no more than five miles distant from each other. Stag Hill became almost exclusively the domain of RMI ancestors. The towns of Hillburn and Ringwood each had separate areas where the RMI were allowed to live. In Hillburn, the RMI ancestors lived at the foot of Hovenkopf Mountain's north slope, in a distinct settlement across the hollow from the predominantly White community. In Ringwood, RMI ancestors lived in company houses close to the iron ore mines where they worked, outside of the predominantly White town of Ringwood. This area was not exclusively RMI, however, until the 1920's, when other families moved out after the mines closed.

Throughout the 19th century, members of RMI families from all three settlements regularly intermarried with each other. There is reasonably good evidence that the degree of in-group marriage has been high since some time in the 1800's, based on analyses by the petitioner and the BAR. It should be noted that the trends described here are based on only partial marriage data, supplied by the petitioner. Because the data are not complete, it is difficult to completely assess the reliability of these conclusions. It is therefore possible that the degree of in-marriage among the present members and their ancestors is overstated as a result.

In-group marriages between present-day RMI members from different core geographic area towns are common, as they were also among their ancestors. As a consequence of the frequency of marriages within the group, there has been a significant degree of close kinship ties among the membership as a whole. While there was a very high rate of outmarriage, the descendants of these marriages have by and large not remained in the area and are not members of the RMI. Thus a closely intermarried core has remained. The degree of in-marriage has, however, decreased significantly over time.

Community cohesion is established post-1850 by the existence of geographically distinct, exclusive residence areas, and a high degree of marriage within the group. Numerous reports from the 1870's on, both academic and popular, describe the group as a distinct social community. The extent to which there were community institutions such as churches which were exclusively RMI is not entirely clear. Some of the churches attended were not exclusively RMI and some were. Reports between 1900 and 1975 indicate they have maintained a clear social distinction between themselves and Negro or black families, reportedly withdrawing for example, from one of their historic churches when other families began to attend.

Evidence concerning schooling of RMI children before 1880 is limited. In 1880, when a school district was formed at Hillburn, a segregated school was established for the RMI. Initially run by private subscription, it was taken over by the school district and existed until 1943, when segregation was abolished. A similar school existed at Stag Hill between about 1903 and 1945.

There is no evidence that there were significant cultural differences between the RMI and other populations in the area, at any time period, despite petition claims to the contrary. This was true when they first came to the attention of journalists in the 1870's and was also observed by the first social scientists to study them, shortly after 1900. The RMI ancestors lived lives similar to their non-RMI neighbors in the Ramapo Mountains. For example, they lived in log cabins, practiced horticulture and raised a few domesticated animals, hunted and fished, and produced handicrafts like baskets and carved, wooden tools to sell in town. They continue to share many commonalities with other poor non-RMI people who live in the Ramapo Mountains.

The RMI, however, spoke an apparently distinct dialect of Jersey Dutch, the lingua franca of northern New Jersey since colonial times, at least as late as 1910. This is much later than Jersey Dutch was spoken among other populations in the area. This difference reflects their degree of separation as a community.

When social scientists first began to study the RMI ancestors in 1908 their distinctiveness was based on what was perceived as a unique racial identity, but not an identification of them as an Indian community. It also was not based on the existence of cultural differences from non-RMI. While the group was considered distinct, it was not distinguished as Indian; rather, the RMI were distinguished as being part Indian and part non-Indian. Those churches

and schools which were exclusively attended by them were not considered Indian churches and schools.

RMI ancestors had come to be known as "Jackson Whites" by 1878. The label is of unknown origin and was disliked by RMI ancestors. It is still considered an insult to current members of the RMI. Nevertheless, the fact that outsiders used this term to identify them as a separate population is significant in the context of this petition.

Based on known documentation, the first reference to "Jackson Whites" was when it was applied to the DeGroat and Mann families living on and around Houvenkopf Mountain, which is now called Stag Hill. Later, by 1890, the term "Jackson White" came to be used more broadly and less precisely to refer also to other groups. The primary reference was to both RMI ancestors and other people living in the Ramapo Mountains, some of whom were considered to be white. In popular usage, however, it was used for anyone living in the Ramapo Mountains who shared the lifestyle of frontiersmen, whether they were believed to be part-Indian or not.

Most outsiders, including journalists, social scientists, local historians, and state and Federal government workers from 1908 to 1970 consistently identified those "Jackson Whites" who were RMI ancestors, as tri-racial, i.e., as having some Indian ancestry, mixed with other races. Federal censuses in the 1800's identified the RMI ancestors variably as colored, mulatto, white, and Negro, though never as Indian. There are no identifications of the RMI as an Indian entity until they were recognized by the State of New Jersey in 1980.

It was not established that a brief 1827 reference by Jacquemont to a community of mixed-blood Indians living in the mountains in the vicinity of Mahwah was referring to the ancestors of the RMI, which would count as an early identification as a community perceived as American Indian. Land and tax records show the ancestors of the RMI to be living in the valley in the 1820's.

In terms of self-identification, the RMI ancestors in the twentieth century (until the 1970's) referred to themselves as "colored," by which they meant mixed race. It is clear that they have viewed themselves as a separate, distinct community since the late 1800's, since outsiders started reinforcing this identity. It does not appear that they have substantially identified themselves as Indian until recently. Some of the descendants of the RMI ancestors continue to speak of themselves as "colored" in the sense of mixed race, rather than as Indian. Although self-

identification is not a specific requirement of this criterion, or the other criteria, this internal self-identification is consistent with the conclusion that the group has not been distinguished by outsiders as an Indian group, even though Indian ancestry has been recognized.

A substantial portion of the RMI ancestors and their descendants have lived in the three Ramapo Mountain communities of Stag Hill/Mahwah, Hillburn, and Ringwood, from the 1870's to the present. According to the 1992 RMI membership list submitted to BAR, there are about 2,654 members of the group. Slightly over one half of these members (1,333) live in a 10-mile geographical core area that includes the three principal RMI settlements of Stag Hill/Mahwah, New Jersey, Hillburn, New York, and Ringwood, New Jersey, with 44 percent in the settlements themselves.

There are significant social ties between RMI families in the core geographic area, both within and between the three communities. The people in the geographical core area are interrelated by marriage and maintain social contacts across family lines by attending family events such as marriages, funerals, reunions, anniversaries, and birthday parties. They maintain more social relations with each other than they do with outsiders. There is still a high degree of marriage to other RMI rather than outsiders, although this apparently declining.

Evidence concerning the maintenance of social relations with those RMI resident outside the core geographic area is much more limited than that concerning the core geographic area itself. There is anecdotal evidence for the following statements, but the evidence is not sufficient to establish the existence of patterns of significant contact between residents and non-residents. Some of the RMI who live outside the core area continue to visit RMI relatives and friends in the core, and to participate in RMI affairs such as clan meetings and the powwow. Some RMI who have left the core area continue to marry other RMI outside the core area. Some RMI who have left the core area come back to the core area to live after many years of absence, even when they marry outsiders. Because the RMI do not meet the requirements of criterion b on other grounds, it was not necessary to definitively evaluate this question.

There is no primary source of evidence that links the RMI historically as a group to a specific historic Indian tribe, although a variety of tribal origins have been claimed. It also could not be established that there is any Indian ancestry, even from isolated Indian individuals, and there is virtually no documentary evidence from historical records for such ancestry. However, the evidence did not

entirely rule out the possibility that an Indian individual or individuals were among RMI ancestors.

The petition states that the Indian heritage of the Ramapough Mountain Indians is from the Munsee subdivision of the Lenni Lenape. The petition offered no supporting evidence for this contention, aside from the fact that the Munsee Indians were living in this region at the time of first contact with the Europeans. No evidence to support a connection of the RMI ancestors with the Munsee was found during the research to evaluate this petitioner.

There are no primary source documents supporting the existence of Indian tribes or bands residing in the vicinity of Mahwah after the Treaty of Easton (1756), at which time all of the remaining Indian bands in New Jersey went west. Turn-of-the-century journalists, archaeologists, and cultural anthropologists, who used the label "Jackson White" speculated about the possible tribal origins for the RMI ancestors. Creek and Tuscarora were the first to be mentioned, in separate 1890 articles, as the likely sources of RMI Indian ancestry. By 1910, some people were also suggesting the Lenni Lenape had contributed to "Jackson White" heritage (more specifically Munsee and Hackensack). These attributions of tribal identity were based on folk legends regarding the RMI ancestors' origins, or assumed because of inaccurate stereotypes about physical characteristics and lifestyle of Indians.

There are no known primary source documents that establish a historical connection between the RMI and any of these tribes. There is no record that the RMI, as a group or as individuals, petitioned the Federal government for services or redress of grievances as an Indian community, or had any contact with the Federal government as Indians or maintained relations with other Indians in the region.

The RMI do not meet the requirements of criterion b between 1850 and the present, because although there is significant evidence they were socially cohesive and distinct during this period, they were not distinct as Indians, as called for by the criterion. Even though outsiders attributed partial Indian ancestry to them, they were not identified as an Indian group by outsiders. The RMI do not meet the requirements of the regulations for criterion 83.7(b) before 1850 because they did not exist as a separate, distinct community, however identified. Because they have not evolved as a continuously existing social community from a historic Indian tribe, they do not meet the requirement for continuous existence as a community since first contact with Europeans. Even if later evidence demonstrates that there are some individual ancestors who are of Indian ancestry,

this would not in itself demonstrate continuity as a community, specifically as a community which is continuous with a tribe existing at first sustained contact with Europeans.

We conclude therefore that the Ramapough Mountain Indians do not meet the requirements in 25 CFR 83.7(b).

83.7(c) A statement of facts which establishes that the petitioner has maintained tribal political influence of other authority over its members as an autonomous entity throughout history until the present.

The petitioner has offered little evidence concerning political leadership or influence until the 1940's. The evidence that was offered did not demonstrate political influence and evidence for this was not developed in the course of research to evaluate the petitioner. For the period between 1940 and 1978, no single leader with authority over all three communities has been identified. However, there is some evidence for this period of political leaders who only exercised influence in the town in which they resided.

Community cohesion has existed at a high level since around 1850, and there were strong social distinctions from surrounding white population (even though not considered to be a distinct Indian community). Such circumstances make it unnecessary to require as strong evidence as would otherwise be necessary concerning the the particular functions and scope of influence of specifically named leaders in order to be sufficient evidence that they are influential. However, it is still necessary to provide evidence of the existence of such leaders and the scope of membership they influenced.

There was no significant evidence identifying specific leaders or otherwise describing the exercise of political influence between 1850 and 1940. The petition cites the mention of certain prominent individuals in newspaper accounts as patriarchs and matriarchs of RMI families (e.g. William DeFreese and William Mann #2, Ezra VanDunk, RMI Pet., 13-14, 17), but nothing is said concerning how they might have exercised political influence nor the extent of their authority. The petition makes the assumption of tribal leadership in the 1800's by James DeGroat (ca 1790-1860), Richard DeGroat (1802-1894), and Jacob DeGroat (1840-ca 1915) based on their ownership of large plots of land. However, without additional evidence, ownership of land, no matter in what quantity, does not necessarily imply community leadership or political authority, although it might well provide the basis for such leadership. A brief, suggestive mention of the community at one point stated that they "settled their disputes among themselves" rather than having outside authorities come in.

Samuel DeFreese (1818-1893), a member of the group and the revered pastor of Brook Chapel in Hillburn before 1890, may have been a religious leader for the RMI ancestors, but he was not necessarily a political leader. As far as can be determined, he only functioned in a narrow role as pastor and did not exercise influence in other spheres of community activity. There is no evidence offered to support the claim he was a community leader.

The available information concerning Otto Mann, Sr. indicates that from the 1940's to the 1970's he exercised political influence in the Stag Hill community. He was a religious leader, founding and pastoring the Pentecostal Full Gospel Church in Mahwah. He also effectively fought a number of political battles with local governmental authorities to improve civil rights and social services to the RMI ancestors' community on Stag Hill by becoming president of the NAACP in Mahwah and of the Stag Hill Civic Association. In these roles he represented a majority of the Stag Hill community and was respected by most for his work. He is the first well-documented political leader of the RMI ancestors.

In Ringwood, the leadership of William "Pooch" VanDunk of Ringwood was well documented, but only for the 1970's. Van Dunk was instrumental in the How-To Organization, an organization to improve housing conditions. He successfully mustered finances from government and private sources, technicians to train people in renovating their own homes, and manpower from within the community to do the actual renovation work. The available evidence only established Van Dunk's leadership for this one issue, and for a limited period of time. Thus it does not constitute evidence of significant leadership over an extended period of time.

Although the petition claims that there were two organizations in Hillburn that functioned as political bodies before 1978, most of the available information indicated that these were social clubs with no larger functions. The available information was not sufficient to definitively characterize them, however.

The petition states that the current political structure includes a division into three "clans." The "clans" are geographically based groups corresponding to the three settlements, rather than kinship groups. In the contemporary RMI community, individual RMI members interviewed in the core area did have an awareness of their clan affiliation. There was a limited amount of evidence that these have functioned as political units.

The petition states that the clans were "a natural outgrowth of the loosely held political alliances of Ramapo region Munsee in the late 18th century" (RMI Pet. 1992, 3). In actuality, the three clan division is an artifact of the 1978 RMI incorporation. There is no evidence that the RMI ancestors related to each other in terms of clans before that time. Journalistic references to the ancestors of the RMI as "clans" and/or "tribes" were generic references to extended kin living in close proximity and not identification as Indian.

It is clear that this is a reasonably cohesive and distinct group socially, at least in the core geographic community. Thus, only limited direct evidence need be supplied that council members have a significant political connection with the membership and/or with informal leaders of local groups or extended families within the group. To the limited degree that significant informal leadership has been demonstrated for local portions of the group between 1940 and the 1970's, there is supporting evidence that such may exist presently. Clearly establishing the existence of local leaders and/or organizations would also provide supporting evidence for the existence of group-wide exercise of political influence. However, establishing the existence of political influence within separate subgroupings would not by itself establish political influence for the group as a whole.

The present formal governing structure, the RMI council, and associated "clans" established in 1978 are claimed to have exercised significant political influence over the membership since that time. The available evidence did not adequately establish this, although there is some evidence to support it. Attendance at meetings is not high, but this in itself is not evidence that council members do not maintain substantial political contact with members. The council has run social and cultural programs since it came into existence. It has obtained recognition by the State of New Jersey and funding from the Federal Indian Education Program to enhance the learning of their children in public schools in two New Jersey counties. This is not evidence of substantial exercise of political influence, since a small group of individuals can establish and run programs under grants and can negotiate with government officials. Council minutes indicate that not everybody that is on the membership roll evidently knew it, hence the question of notification was discussed. This suggests the council may have been acting without community input, but doesn't prove this or that it doesn't generally have political connection with the membership at large.

The RMI did not exist as a community until the 1850's. The regulations require the exercise of political influence as a distinct, autonomous group, which means that this influence must be exercised within a particular social community. Because there was no RMI community until the 1850's, there could be no exercise of political influence. Therefore, the RMI were not exercising political influence as a distinct group before the 1850's. It was also not established that political influence was exercised within the distinct community that existed after the 1850's, although there is some evidence for this. Even if it is established that political influence was exercised continuously within the group after 1850 until the present, the RMI haven't existed until the present as a political community which has functioned continuously back to, and is derived from, a tribe existing at first sustained contact with Europeans. And therefore they don't meet the requirements of criterion c for continuous exercise of tribal political influence since first sustained contact.

We conclude that the RMI do not meet the requirements of the criterion in 25 CFR 83.7(c) since they have not demonstrated that they have maintained tribal political influence or other authority over their members as an autonomous entity throughout history until the present.

83.7(d) A copy of the group's present governing document, or in the absence of a written document, a statement describing in full the membership criteria and the procedures through which the group currently governs its affairs and its members.

The petitioner submitted copies of its governing documents, beginning with the ByLaws dated June 5, 1979, the amended ByLaws dated March 31, 1990, and an additional ordinance signed by the Chief and Secretary dated Jan. 10, 1992, which expands or clarifies the 1990 ByLaws section on membership.

According to the 1990 Amended ByLaws, the business affairs of the RMI are managed by directors; known as the Principal Chief, the Secretary, the Treasurer, three Sub-Chiefs, and nine Council Members.

Directors are elected to three year terms, with elections taking place during the last week in September. Registered members age sixteen and older are eligible to vote for the chief, for one sub-chief for their clan and for three council members for their clan (the sub-chief being one of the three council members). The petition states that the clan designations are based on geography: Mahwah (Fox), Ringwood (Turtle), and Hillburn (Deer).

According to the ByLaws, there are monthly council meetings, quarterly clan meetings, and quarterly general meetings to manage the business affairs and to report on the problems or needs of the communities.

The 1979 ByLaws stated that the RMI membership was open to Native Americans who showed proof of "American Indian heritage of the Ramapo Mountain Area." There was no explanation in the Bylaws or in the council minutes as to what constituted proof or to describe how membership was determined.

The Amended ByLaws of 1990 and the subsequent clarification paper dated Jan. 10, 1992 state that prospective members must document proof of their American Indian heritage and blood ties to the Ramapough Mountain people to the satisfaction of the Tribal Council and Chief. Three types of records were specified as being acceptable to the council and chief:

1. Any Federal or state census listing the individual or traceable ancestors

- of the individual as Indian.
2. The Vineland Study: a study done of the Ramapough Mountain Indians by the State of New Jersey.
 3. Any church, school, state or local record prior to 1975 showing the individual or traceable ancestors of the individual to be Indians.

It should be noted here that the Vineland Study referred to in the ordinance was not authorized by the State of New Jersey nor was it an objective study of the "Ramapough Mountain Indians." The Vineland Study, entitled "The Jackson-Whites, A Study of Racial Degeneracy," is an unpublished manuscript commonly attributed to Jane Griffiths, a field worker for the New Jersey Training School for Feeble-Minded Children at Vineland. The report perpetuates racial stereotypes and the reputed degeneracy of the Jackson-Whites, who were described by the author as people "...of mixed Negro, Indian and White blood inhabiting the Ramapough Mountains...." The majority of the individuals cited in the Study are not the direct ancestors of the current RMI. The ancestry charts submitted by the petitioner show that while some Vineland Study subjects are related to the RMI ancestors, only in a few instances are current members actually descended from individuals named in the Study. The Vineland Study has questionable merits for establishing Indian ancestry and is of limited value as a genealogical resource.

The 1992 ordinance further states that common knowledge of relationships by the tribal council and tribal chief is acceptable proof of the blood ties.

Observations by the anthropologist during the research process indicate that prospective members complete an application and submit it to the tribal office. However, neither the petition nor the ByLaws address how new members are actually enrolled, or if new members are voted on by the Council.

The petitioner has submitted copies of its governing documents which describe the membership criteria and the procedures by which the petitioner governs its affairs and its members. Although it is not clear how the membership criteria is applied, we conclude that technically the petitioner meets criterion d.

83.7(e) A list of all known current members of the group and a copy of each available former list of members based on the tribe's own defined criteria. The membership must consist of individuals who have established, using evidence acceptable to the Secretary, descendancy from a tribe which existed historically or from historical tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous entity.

Although the Ramapough Mountain Indians incorporated in 1978, the first membership list was compiled in 1987. The petitioner submitted a total of three membership lists dated 1987, 1989, and 1992. None of the lists were signed or certified by the governing body.

The membership list dated November 17, 1992 (with amendments received on November 24, 1992 and January 15, 1993) contains 2,815 names (including 122 names marked as deceased). For acknowledgment purposes, deceased persons have been subtracted from the 1992 list, leaving the petitioner with an estimated membership of 2,693.

The membership lists include the name, address, birthdate and RMI roll number, but not every entry has complete information, making it difficult to properly identify the individual with the families depicted in the five-generation charts. In some cases one member has two RMI roll numbers and in other instances, the same number has been assigned to two different people.

In 1989, 962 (39 percent) of the 2,460 names on the membership roll carried the surnames of the four major ancestral families of DeFreese, DeGroat, Mann and VanDunk. Ninety-eight percent of the 836 five-generation charts submitted by the petitioner show descent from at least two of the four families. Because of a high incidence of endogamy, it is expected that virtually all of the current membership can trace to at least two of these families. In later generations, Cisco, Castaloni, Maguiness, Morgan and Powell surnames marry into the four founding families; however, Indian descent is not claimed by the petitioner through the later names.

Neither the petitioner's researchers nor the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research have been able to find evidence, acceptable under the criteria, that adequately proves Indian

ancestry or tribal identification for any of the four founding families. Because the claims of Indian ancestry for these families are key to the petition, all available evidence was thoroughly examined.

There are several references to men named Jan/John DeFreese (and variant spellings) in the early records of New York and New Jersey, including an Indian in the New York militia in 1760-1762, a Dutch sea captain, and a "free Negro." The Indian Jan DeFries was listed as being 25 in the 1760 Orange County, N.Y. militia. His birth place was given as Tappan, Orange County. There is no tribal identification made, nor is there proof that he lived past the last muster date of June 19, 1762. He was the only man identified as an Indian in the regiment.

The first provable ancestor of the RMI by the name of DeFreese was born about 1790, leaving a 30 year gap between him and the last date that the Indian Jan DeFries was known to be alive. While it is possible that the RMI ancestor born about 1790 was the son or grandson of the Indian in the militia, it is also just as likely that he (RMI DeFreese) descended from the Dutch or "free Negro" families who also resided in lower New York and northeastern New Jersey. Even if it could be proven that Jan DeFries was the progenitor of the current RMI family, there is still no proof of his tribal origins or that there were Indian tribes residing in the area at the time he served in the militia.

Some of the early tax records for New Jersey identify RMI ancestors with the notation "fcp," meaning "free colored person." Later, the census records and vital records of New York and New Jersey either identify the petitioner's ancestors as "mulatto," "colored," or "Black." While the designations "mulatto" and "colored" were often used to distinguish a person who was not white; they do not conclusively prove that an individual was Indian. None of the early primary sources indicate any tribal affiliation for the RMI ancestors.

None of the records prior to 1870, which were utilized for this report, identify an RMI ancestor as Indian. One ancestress in the 1920 census was designated as being Indian; however, neither her siblings or her parents, nor any of her four grandparents were ever identified as being Indian on any of the censuses from 1870 to 1920.

Since 1870, there are sporadic references to some of the RMI as being Indian or having Indian traits; however, the records are either based on self-identification (such as the World War I draft registrations) or on physical descriptions based on observation and stereotype (as in the Vineland

Study) rather than on more reliable proof of Indian ancestry or tribal affiliation. In many cases, the individuals identified as Indian do not have descendants on the current RMI membership roll.

For example, one man who was described as being "a big strong man of Indian type," in the Vineland Study never appears in the census records as Indian, nor does he have any descendants on the current membership roll. The records that cite individuals as Indian are inconsistent and inconclusive, and do not reflect the larger population of the RMI.

None of the documentation submitted by the petitioner or any other records evaluated during the research process prove that the RMI descend from a historic tribe. Many tribes have been mentioned as possible precursors: Brotherton, Seneca, Oneida, Mohawk, Tuscarora, Munsee, Creek, Hackensack, Lenape and Delaware. There is no evidence to connect the RMI with any of these historic tribes.

The RMI do not appear on descendency rolls prepared by the Secretary for distribution of Indian claims or for providing Indian allotments. The State and Federal records do not consistently refer to the residents of the Ramapough Mountains as being Indian or as being of Indian descent.

The RMI's own genealogist prepared descendency charts showing almost 7,500 individuals, past and present, belonging to or related to the RMI families. Approximately one half of the current membership (1,300 of 2,693) are named on these charts. Even using census records, vital records, land records, church records, military and pension records, the Vineland Training School Study, and the reports of the Eugenics Record Office Field Worker, the petitioner's researcher found only 38 instances (for 7,500 individuals) where a record identified the individual as "Indian" or as having "Indian characteristics." None of the citations specified an historic tribal identity.

The petitioner submitted membership rolls dated 1987, 1989, and 1992 which list the membership and are said to be based on the petitioner's own criteria. While there is significant evidence that they descend from or are related to the four major families associated with the RMI, there is no conclusive evidence that these families are Indian, are "of Indian descent," or have any affiliation with the tribes who resided in the New York-New Jersey area at the time of historic contact. We conclude that the petitioner does not meet criterion e.

83.7(f) The membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any other North American Indian tribe.

The petitioner's membership does not include individuals who are members of any federally recognized tribe. Although there was a James DeGroat who bought land in 1806 that was once a part of the Oneida Indian Reservation in Onondaga County, N.Y. and who married a Mohegan/Montauk woman, there is no evidence that identifies him as Indian. Further, although the FMI ancestors named DeGroat were distant cousins of this James DeGroat, there is no evidence that members of the RMI DeGroat family were or are members of a federally recognized tribe. We conclude therefore, that the petitioner meets criterion f.

83.7(g) The petitioning group should submit a statement that they have not been terminated by Congress and that their membership does not belong to terminated tribes.

There is no evidence that the Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc., or its members, have ever been the subject of any Congressional legislation which has expressly forbidden or terminated the Federal relationship. We conclude therefore, that the petitioner meets criterion g.

HISTORICAL REPORT ON THE RAMAPOUGH MOUNTAIN INDIANS, INC.

The petitioner, the Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc., is based in a three-county area: Bergen and Passaic Counties, New Jersey, and Rockland County, New York. The three primary modern residential locations near Mahwah, New Jersey; Ringwood, New Jersey; and Hillburn, New York, are within five miles of one another.

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE.

Identification as an American Indian Tribe. The Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc. (hereafter referred to as RMI) are a group of people whose members have been vaguely identified by journalists, social workers, and local historians as of partially Indian ancestry, of Indian appearance, and/or of Indian lifestyle since the third quarter of the 19th century. At no time prior to the group's incorporation in 1978 was it the subject of any separate series of Indian documents in the records of either the States of New York and New Jersey or the Federal government. Throughout the 20th century, anthropologists consistently described it as a mixed-blood or tri-racial group (Speck 1911; Gilbert 1948; Collins 1972).

Since organizing as the Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc. in 1978, the petitioner has been recognized as Indian by resolutions of the New Jersey and New York State legislatures in 1980. Since that time, it has been repeatedly identified as "Indian" in newspaper accounts and has received Indian Education funding from the Federal government.

The group's petition for Federal recognition states, ". . . the Ramapough Mountain Indian community and their Munsee tribal ancestors have existed as an American Indian entity from historical times to the present date. Official Federal and State records . . . document the continuous habitation to the present date of the Ramapough Mountain Indians on their aboriginal homeland in the Ramapo Mountain region" (Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc. Petition for Federal Acknowledgment 1992 (hereafter RMI Pet.), 1).

No documentation has been located indicating that Munsee-related Indian bands did in fact move into and remain in the Ramapo Mountains after the Treaty of Easton in 1758, by which time the majority of them had settled in Pennsylvania. A journalist writing in 1890 and anthropologist Frank G. Speck in 1908 advanced the suggestion

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that migrating Tuscarora might have contributed to the population mixture of the RMI ancestors, but cited no 18th century documentation to indicate that the Tuscarora ever passed through the Hackensack and Ramapo Valleys, and none has been found. The petition has repudiated this possibility.

As wealthy families from New York City began to purchase estates in the Ramapo Valley in the 1870's, outside interest in the group was aroused. Newspapers and magazines began to publish feature articles on the "picturesque mountaineers." Since the first published article in 1872, the composition of the community has been extensively discussed by local historians, by journalists, and occasionally by anthropologists and folklorists, who have variously attributed the possibilities of Minsi (Delaware), general Algonquin, Tuscarora (Iroquoian), and occasionally Creek and Seneca ancestry to the group. No documentation has been found to substantiate the existence of a historic tribe or predecessor Indian community to the RMI.

The usefulness of the journalistic discussions has been undermined by a persistent tendency to confuse the ancestors of the RMI with another group of unrelated mountaineers residing farther north in Rockland County, New York, bearing the names primarily of Conklin and Pitt, and making their living as wood-carvers and basket-makers. It was from this unrelated group that Frank Speck collected "Indian-like" artifacts circa 1908.

No evidence has been found to indicate that the RMI distinct community was identified as Indian--or even as of partly Indian ancestry--by any agency or writer prior to the last quarter of the 19th century. Some early references claimed in the petition cannot be specifically tied to ancestors of the RMI group (Hasenclever 1765 in Heusser 1923; Chastellux 1963 [1786]; Jacquemont 1959 [1827]). One tangentially related family was identified as Indian on the 1870 Federal census of Rockland County, New York, but the same family was never identified as Indian on any other census. When a linguist visited the community in 1910, the language recalled by its older members and recorded by him was "Jersey Dutch."

Was there Maintenance of an Indian Community? In any case, the concentration of the petitioner's ancestors in the Ramapo Mountains did not occur in the 18th century. The petitioning group does represent a distinct community with significant continuity from the early 19th century to the present, but it is not a community that has resided in the Ramapo Mountains since colonial times. On tax lists of the later 18th and early 19th centuries, ancestors of the RMI (the DeFreese, DeGroat, Mann, and VanDunk families) are found clustered in other localities in Bergen County and Passaic County, New Jersey, and Rockland County, New York, in the valleys rather than in the mountains. Their places of residence are identifiable by the names of

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neighbors when household heads were not themselves landowners, or by such indicators as the residences of the Justices of the Peace who performed civil marriage ceremonies for some of the couples.

By the time of the 1830 Federal census of New Jersey, the 1837 tax list of Bergen County, and similar documents, most ancestors of the RMI were living in close proximity to one another in the Ramapo Valley rather than in the mountains, although some agricultural laborers were residing on scattered farms. After the Civil War, the majority of community members came to reside in three centers no more than five miles distant from one another: the Hillburn settlement in Rockland County, New York; the Hoevenkopf/Stag Hill settlement and its daughter branch in Mahwah, Bergen County, New Jersey; and the Ringwood mine area in Passaic County, New Jersey. Some family members did not remain in the Ramapo Valley area or move into the Ramapo Mountains and were settling in such urban centers as Newark by 1860.

The RMI ancestors, or more precisely the RMI precursor group, can be identified from census and deed records as having earned their living primarily as farmers (several were landowners by 1850) and farm laborers through the Civil War. A shift to more industry-related occupations began by 1850 and accelerated thereafter. Many worked as miners, and in mine-related jobs such as colliers and teamsters, in the second half of the 19th century.

From the earliest references to the petitioner's core family names in 17th-century New Amsterdam and 18th-century New York and New Jersey until 1857, when an [African] Methodist chapel was built in one of the RMI settlements, members of these families attended local white-majority Reformed Dutch and Lutheran churches, where their marriages and baptisms are recorded. The RMI Brook Chapel (Presbyterian) in Hillburn, New York, was not established until 1877. Many RMI couples continued to have their marriages performed in the local Dutch Reformed and Lutheran churches after these dates. An interview with a senior RMI member included a recollection that when he was a child, older people would walk all the way to the Oakland or "Ponds" Dutch Reformed Church.

Maintenance of Tribal Political Influence or Other Authority. There is no indication that the RMI, historically, had any tribal organization of any nature prior to the petitioner's incorporation as the Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc., in 1978. The modern clan structure does not predate the incorporation. It has not been possible to identify any acknowledged leaders or group activities prior to the third quarter of the 19th century. The individuals mentioned by the petition as having been influential during the later 19th century were church leaders or prosperous farmers.

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Ministers and elders provided leadership for their own congregations, but there was not at any time one church attended by a majority of group members.

After World War II, and particularly in the 1960's and 1970's, community groups such as the Stag Hill Civic League or the Ringwood How-To organization became active on behalf of those RMI living in certain locales. These organizations were structured as non-Indian community organizations and exercised authority and political influence over their members as community organizations ordinarily do. Additionally, in such matters as fighting against school segregation, community members in the mid-20th century also worked through external national organizations such as the NAACP.

THE PRE-EASTON TREATY PERIOD, 1624-1758.

Situation at the Time of Contact. At the time of first sustained contact between white colonists and the aboriginal Indian population, southeastern New York and northeastern New Jersey Indians were members of numerous small Algonquin bands whose languages, while belonging to the same general family, differed significantly from one another. Those along the lower Hudson River in New York along a line west to northwestern New Jersey were of the linguistic group since designated as Munsee, but those in northeastern New Jersey were probably speakers of the Unami dialects of central New Jersey (Brawer 1983, 17; see Map No. 1).

Modern authorities designate these Indian groupings at the time of first contact under the general name of "Lenape." However the Lenape as a whole were not "a tribe or group of tribes in any political sense" (Kraft 1986, xvi). This statement means that the political or tribal organization of the cultural American Indian stock termed "Lenape" was at the local level of villages or groups of villages--not at the level of a confederacy of the Lenape peoples as a whole or even of confederacies of the Lenape linguistic subgroups.

European colonists perceived this and distinguished the bands or tribes by individualized names for villages or several allied villages, such as Hackensack, Haverstraw, Tappan, Minisink, etc. (Kraft 1986, xiii; see Map No. 2). When it came to such transactions as land purchases, both Dutch and English colonists dealt with the specific bands (for a collection of the deeds, see Budke BC - 88; for extensive analysis of the transactions, see Grumet 1979).

By the mid-18th century, colonial governments referred to the Lenape groups as "Delaware." Modern ethnologists tend to use "Lenape" while the groups remained in their homelands and "Delaware" after migration to the west. In the later 19th and early 20th century, ethnologists--John Reed Swanton, for example--were describing the Delaware as having been divided into "three major divisions or subtribes, the Munsee in northern New Jersey and adjacent portions of New York west of the Hudson, the Unalachtigo in northern Delaware, southeastern Pennsylvania, and southern New Jersey, and the Unami in the intermediate territory, extending to the western division of Long Island" (Swanton 1952, 49).

However, subsequent research has demonstrated that this neat division of the Lenape or Delaware into three parts like Gaul, each with a distinct geographical location and identified by an animal totem (wolf for the Munsee, tortoise for the Unami, and turkey for the Unalachtigo) was a misunderstanding of some descriptions by early missionaries: the animals represented clans or phratries, families of which lived

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intermixed in the various geographical groupings, which were more linguistic than tribal (Kraft 1986, xv-xvi). Terms such as "Munsee" are descriptions, not organizations.

Even the names now applied to Lenape or Delaware subdivisions were not used by European settlers at the time of first contact or for many years afterwards: "Unami" first appeared in official records in 1757 in Pennsylvania, while "Unalachtigo" was not applied until 1769-73, when that group had already migrated to Ohio (Kraft 1986, xvii). "It is important to note that the terms Munsee and Unami were never used . . . while they resided in their traditional homeland. They were only applied to their descendants living in exile west of the Delaware River valley after the early 1700s" (Brawer 1983, 18).

"Munsee" as a name for Delawarean Indians who originated in northern New Jersey was first recorded in 1727 in Pennsylvania colonial records, when it was applied to the Indians living at the forks of the Susquehanna River (Brawer 1983, 18). Earlier New Jersey documents did not use this terminology. "Munsee" described those Indian bands in Pennsylvania which had formerly lived north of the Raritan River in New Jersey, extending some distance into southeastern New York. "Properly speaking, these were remnant Hackensacks, Esopus, Tappan, and other groups who joined with the Minisinks and later emigrated northwestward into New York State, to Wisconsin, or Ontario, Canada, where their descendants still live today" (Kraft 1986, xvii).

There were undoubtedly Munsee-speaking and Unami-speaking Indian bands in southeastern New York and northeastern New Jersey from first contact until as late as the 1740's. A considerable number of deeds survive (see the following section). Numerous artifacts have been excavated (Bischoff and Kahn 1979, 17-19; Demarest 1975, 81-83). The trails that they followed are known (Wallace 1965, 103-104; see Wacker 1975, Map 2.1). They were not numerically insignificant. In 1643, the Dutch estimated that the population of the Hackensacks was about 1,000, of whom 300 were warriors (Budke BC - 88, 2). The Tappans, residing to the north of the Hackensacks and controlling a territory from the vicinity of the Hackensack River to the New York Highlands, were nearly as numerous in the 17th century (Ruttenber 1872, 91). In 1680, after many epidemics had passed among them, they were still believed to have 150 warriors (Philhower 1930, 1:23; Wacker 1975, 88).

The RMI Petition for Acknowledgment, Section 3, page 3, states: "the modern Ramapough Mountain Indian tribal structure is a natural outgrowth of the loosely held political alliances of Ramapo region Munsee in the late 18th century. This structure consists of three clans representing the primary Ramapough Indian communities in

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Mahwah/Stag Hill, Ringwood, and Hillburn. The Turtle Clan is composed of those families indigenous to Hillburn; the Fox Clan of those from Mahwah/Stag Hill; and the Deer Clan of those from Ringwood." This is a modern artificial structure. In fact, this use of clan, as a localized totem, each associated with a separate residential focus, differs substantially from the wolf/tortoise/turkey subdivisions or phratries of the traditional Munsee at the time of European contact, which were based on lineage. There is no evidence of a clan system of any sort having existed among the RMI prior to the incorporation of the group in 1978.

Emigration. Migration of the Indians out of northeastern New Jersey was a gradual process. In 1900, a local historian wrote that the Pompton and Minsi groups of the Lenape, who had lived in the Lower Hudson and East Jersey country as far south as the Raritan River, had moved out of New Jersey about 1730 (Van Valen 1900, 9-10). However, as late as 1735/37, Jan de Vries, the son of an original shareholder in the Tappan Patent who had recently purchased land in the Pascack, New Jersey, portion of the Kakiat Patent, testified that his property contained 50 or 60 apple and peach trees planted by him and Indians (Budke 1975, 83; Demarest 1975, 79). That de Vries and the Indians worked together on this project, as suggested in the petition, is not a necessary conclusion, as Indian planting of orchards was widespread long before the 1730's (Wacker 1975, 110).

An Indian deed pertained to land on the Passaic River in New Jersey as late as 1737 (Budke BC - 88, 117) and Indians sold a small tract of land near the Ramapo Pass in 1737 as well (Budke BC - 88, 114-116). In surveying near Suffern, New York, in 1739, Charles Clinton noted an Indian cornfield (Pierson 1915, 18), while archeological excavations indicate that there was an Indian encampment at the "wilder mons kerkhoff" [aboriginal cemetery] in the Tappan Patent, near the border of the Kakiat Patent, until approximately 1740. (Demarest 1975, 81-84). While surveying the Cheesecocks Patent in 1742, George Clinton mentioned an "old Indian settlement" near the Ramapo pass and a large village "on the Goshen Road to Sterling" about ten miles farther west (Sessions 1985, 9). In 1744 the Presbyterian missionary to the Indians, David Brainerd, noted that he had visited some Indians while travelling through Goshen on his way from the Hudson River to the Forks of the Delaware (Grumet 1979, 84).

In fact, some Indian bands seem to have moved into northeastern New Jersey during this period rather than migrating out--particularly the Mahican-speaking Wappinger from the east bank of the Hudson River who settled for a time prior to 1745--at least until the Treaty of Easton in 1758--around Pompton in modern Passaic County (18th century Bergen County), New Jersey (Grumet 1979, 83-84; Brawer 1983, 23). Grumet noted that on March 16, 1756, a number of these Indians in Bergen County

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sent three belts of wampum to the New Jersey Council (Grumet 1979, 84-85 citing to NJA 1st Ser 17, 4-7). The actual entry indicates that George Vreelandt Esqr. presented to the council "three Belts of Wampum from Harcop John Keyon and Six Indians in the County of Bergen as A token of their Fidelity to his Majesty & Affection to their Brethren the English & their desire to be included in the Treaty lately held with the Indians at Crosswicks" (NJA 1st Ser 17, 4). This wording would indicate that the reference does apply to the Pomptons.

Nonetheless, most of the Indians of southeastern New York and northeastern New Jersey were migrating out of the settled areas by the mid-18th century. The Minisink, in the upper Delaware River valley and northeastern Pennsylvania, were joined prior to 1730 by many of the Esopus, Hackensack, and Raritan survivors (Kraft 1986, 225). For many years, however, the migrants continued to return upon occasion to their homelands to trade and visit (Brawer 1983, 23). The Minisink path, from Minisink Island in the Delaware River to the shell fisheries on the seacoast by way of Lake Hopatcong, was used by Indians as late as 1820 (Philhower 1930, 1:50-51; Wallace 1965, 102).

Herbert Kraft, director of the Archeological Research Center and Museum at Seton Hall University in South Orange, New Jersey, estimated that under 1,000 Indians were still living in New Jersey at the time of the French and Indian War, most of whom were not in the northeast, but rather in the central part of the State (Kraft 1986, 229; see also Esposito 1976, 220-242 and Grumet 1979, 84-85). James Revey, head of the New Jersey Indian Office, more specifically indicated that by the time of the Treaty of Easton in 1758, "there were about three hundred Indians living in West Jersey and, perhaps, a hundred or more in East Jersey" (Revey 1974, 72-73).

In addition to the central New Jersey settlements at Rabcoocus, Crosswick, Cranbury (on the Brotherton Reservation) and nearby Weekpink, Raritan, and the "southern" Indians, Samuel Smith in 1765 referred to "Mountain" Indians (Samuel Smith, The History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria or New Jersey, referenced in Revey 1984, 72-73). Revey commented:

The Mountain Indians included those Delaware Indians who in Colonial times retreated into the Pohatcong and Schooley Mountains in northwestern New Jersey, and those Minisink, Pompton (Wappingers), Hackensack and Tappan Indians who remained in the mountains of the northeastern part of the State (Revey 1984, 72-73).

However, Moses Tunda Tatamy was the spokesman for the "Mountain Indians" at the Crosswicks Treaty in 1756. His home was in the Raritan River Valley, in the

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Sourland or Cushetunk Hills in the Somerset-Hunterdon County area, south of the Raritan River. It was pinpointed by a 1753 deed as at the junction of the Neshanic and South Branch of the Raritan Rivers in central New Jersey (Grumet 1979, 82). Thus, it does not seem that these references to "Mountain Indians" were to the Ramapo or other mountains in the north of the State.

With the Treaty of Easton, October 8-26, 1758, the Lenape relinquished their claims to lands in New Jersey except for fishing rights south of the Raritan and hunting rights on all enclosed lands. A cash payment of 800 pieces of eight extinguished the Minisink (Munsee), Wappinger, and Pompton claims to land in northern New Jersey and southern New York, finalized by a formal deed to Governor Bernard (Revey 1984, 75; Allinson 1875, 42). About 60 Christian Indians remained on the Brotherton Reservation in Burlington County, but by 1802 the reservation was dissolved, the money from its sale invested in United States securities on behalf of the Indians, and the surviving Brothertons joined the settlement at New Stockbridge near Oneida Lake, New York (Kraft 1986, 232; Van Valen 1900, 10; Westervelt 1923, 46). In 1822, 40 of them moved to Green Bay, Wisconsin, then in Michigan Territory. In 1832, Bartholomew S. Calvin, a member of the group and their representative, spoke to the New Jersey legislature requesting payment for the hunting and fishing rights that had not been part of the settlement ending the reservation in 1801/02. In response, a payment of \$2,000 was appropriated (Kraft 1986, 232).

The surviving Minisink, Pompton, Esopus, Tappan and other Munsee Indians had already moved west--a New Jersey document dated June 15, 1759, stated that "the Indians in the Northern parts of the Province have entirely quitted it & are gone to the Sesquehannah" (NJ 9:74-176). "Here and there, however, a single Indian family or a family of mixed blood remained" (Kraft 1986, 230; for examples, Wacker 1975, 86).

Was there a Historical Ramapough Indian Tribe? Late in the petition process, on September 28, 1993, the petitioner presented the BAR with some supplemental material. This included one page from a Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution published in 1860, which stated:

I passed two days in the romantic valley of the Ramapo, through which the New York and Erie rail-way courses. . . It is a ravine sixteen miles in extent, opening wide toward the fertile fields of Orange county. . . Along the sinuous Ramapo Creek, before the war of the Revolution broke out and while the ancient tribe of the Ramapoughs [sic] yet chased the deer on the rugged hills which skirt the valley,

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iron-forges were established and the hammer-peal of spreading civilization echoed from the neighboring crags (Lossing 1860, 1:778).

This reference to a supposed pre-Revolutionary "Ramapaugh" Indian tribe inhabiting the Ramapo Valley, in a popular, non-scholarly pictorial history of the Revolution, is the only 19th-century reference to such a tribe that has been located. In 1900, the writer of a history of Bergen County referred to "Ramapo Indians" who had visited the white settlements, but indicated his belief that they were of Hackensack ancestry (Van Valer 1900, 181). In 1915, an amateur historian writing about the Ramapo Pass stated, "It is said that there was in the Ramapo Pass a tribe of the Delawares called the Ramapōs, 'sufficiently numerous to cope with the Mohawks.' However, this may be, the topography of this mountain region makes the tradition probable [emphasis added]," (Pierson 1955, 20). No such "Ramapough" tribe is mentioned in contemporary documents of the 17th and 18th century. No such tribe is recorded on the Indian deeds of the 17th and 18th century in either New York or New Jersey. No such tribe is referred to by modern archeologists, anthropologists, or academic historians.

Remnants. No documentation indicates that any population approaching in size a tribal grouping remained in northern New Jersey after 1758. Goddard maintained that "there were scattered remnants in Ulster and Orange counties, New York, who provided the Indian heritage among the triracial groups later found in the area," but cited no original documentation to verify the contention (Goddard 1978, 222).

In addition to the muster rolls listing an Indian John Defrise in Orange County, New York, in 1760-1762 (see below in discussion of the De Vries family), only one other piece of 18th century evidence has been presented to support a contention that Indians continued to reside in Bergen County, New Jersey or Orange County, New York, after 1758. On August 16, 1765, Peter Hasenclever, manager of the iron mines at Ringwood, New Jersey, wrote a letter home to Germany describing Indians:

The hovels, which they build here and there on their wanderings are wretched. They consist of bark, peeled off the trees and spread over poles in such a way that the water can run off. But in their settlements, which are made up of several families, the wigwams or huts are comfortable enough. As a rule, they are circular, with a fireplace in the center, and directly above is a hole in the roof for smoke to escape (cited *in* Heusser 1923, 42-43).

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He did not, however, specify whether he was describing Indians who were still living in the neighborhood of Ringwood, or was giving a more general description of Indian settlements.

When the Marquis de Chastellux made a 12-mile trip through the Ramapo Pass in 1786 on his American Travels, a route that took him from Pompton through Ringwood, he visited Mrs. Robert Erskine at Ringwood manor. His diary makes no mention of Indians or mixed-bloods; only Dutch farms and a tavern. His statement that the country around "the Clove" [the Ramapo Pass] was "extremely wild and was scarcely known before the war," as quoted in the petition (Chastellux 1963 [1786], 187; RMI Pet., 12 and RMI Pet., Ex. 12) is probably an exaggeration, given the level of documented agricultural settlement and mining activity in the region during the later 18th century.

Authors of late-19th century local histories recorded the tradition of a continuing Indian presence in at least three locations until about 1825: at Nanuet Meadows and Monsey Glen, both of which are in south-central Rockland County, New York, and Hidden Glen, in Upper Saddle River a few miles east of Mahwah, New Jersey (not west of Mahwah in the Ramapo Mountains). No contemporary documentation has been located pertaining to these reported settlements (RMI Pet., 15, citing to Green 1886; Tholl 1975, 58). Archeologist Max Schrabisch wrote that, "as late as 1790 there was quite a colony of Indian-Negroes around Haskell" again unfortunately without a source citation (Schrabisch 1922).¹

DUTCH SETTLERS AND INDIANS IN THE UPPER HACKENSACK VALLEY, 1687-1776.

Indian Land Sales and European Settlement. The English assumed the government of New Amsterdam and transformed it into the colony of New York in 1664, but the colonists who settled southeastern New York and northeastern New Jersey in the later 17th and early 18th centuries were primarily Dutch (Leiby 1964, 67-71; Wacker 1975, 164-165; see Map No. 3). In 1681, Tappan Indians sold land in southeastern New York. This land would subsequently be located in Orange County after civil

¹ Schrabisch cited no source for either the Tuscarora sojourn or his statement pertaining to a settlement at Haskell into the 1790's. Haskell is located on the Wanaque River (along with the Ramapo River and the Pequannock River a tributary of the Pompton, eventually flowing into the Passaic). The Wanaque's source is at Greenwood Lake in northwestern Passaic County. It flows southward toward Pompton Lakes (Brydon 1974, 12).

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jurisdictions were established. After 1798 it fell in Rockland County. The Indian grant included some territory that the later survey of the boundary placed in Bergen County, New Jersey (Budke BC - 88, 50-52). Like the majority of deeds for the sale of Indian land in the area, it was signed by numerous sachems and tribal members. In 1687, Governor Dongan issued the Tappan Patent for this land, the patentees including two men whose family names are of interest for a study of the RMI: Staats de Groot and Jan de Vries (Budke 1931a, 40-42). The territory covered by the patent included what is now northeastern Bergen County, New Jersey, and southeastern Rockland County, New York, not extending as far west as the Hackensack River (Durie 1970, 16A).

In 1696, the Kakiat Indians granted lands on the west side of the Hackensack River as far south as Montvale, New Jersey. This Kakiat Patent included some lands on the east side of the Hackensack River, and went as far west as Pascack Kill (Bear Brook), including lands now in northwestern Bergen County, New Jersey, and southwestern Rockland County, New York (Durie 1970, 16A). This patent was issued to real estate speculators: the southern half was not even surveyed until 1727 (Durie 1970, 4-5).

In a separate transaction on August 10, 1700, overlapping with the Kakiat Patent, which in time would lead to many clouded land titles and disputes, 19 Hackensack Indians sold a tract of land in the Ramapo Pass to Blandina Bayard. Because of the uncertainty of the line between the two colonies, the land--an area about 12 x 16 miles--was stated in the deed to be in the Province of New York, but included parts of current Bergen and Passaic Counties in New Jersey. By 1703, Bayard's nephew Lucas Kierstad was settled in this purchase on the Ramapo River, running an Indian trading post (Bischoff and Kahn 1979, 23-24). His house was located about two miles southwest of the Spitzberg (Union Hill, Suffern, New York), about 2,000 feet south of where Stag Brook flows into the Ramapo River (McMahon 1977, 3; see Map No. 8).

Indians of the area continued to be active in land sales for the next few years. For a detailed analysis of each transaction, see Grumet (1979). In 1702, there was an Indian deed for territory near Saddle River in Bergen County (Budke BC - 88, 19) and in the same year the first Indian deed for land in New York's Cheesecocks Patent (Budke BC - 88, 87-88) and a Minisink Indian deed (Budke BC - 88, 89-91). The Hackensack and Tappan Indians sold the "Ramapo Tract" to a group of purchasers from New York City, including Elias Boudinot and Peter Fauconnier, in 1709--and they acknowledged it in Orange County, New York, before Cornelius Haring, a justice of the Peace (Budke 1931b, 31; Budke 1975, 97-100). The sale included about 42,500 acres or 66 square miles. Bounded on the west from "a point about one

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mile up every creek" that flowed into the Ramapo River, it extended to the Saddle River and Hohokus Brook on the east, and ran from the "Indian Field called Maweway [modern Mahwah] on the north south to Glen Rock" (Bischoff and Kahn 1978, 26-28). The original deed dated June 7, 1709, was confirmed by a deed of May 9, 1710, in which Memereskum was named as the "sole sachem of all the nations of Indians on Rampopuch River, on the west and east branches thereof, on Saddle River, Paskack River, Natashunk River, Hackensack River, and Tappan" (Budke BC - 88, 19-22; Budke 1975, 97-100, 105-108).

The petition states that the Ramapo Tract was not surveyed until 1767 (RMI Pet., 15). Other documents indicate that following the sale, surveyors were sent in 1710. J.M. Bond's map of the Ramapo Tract, dated April 25, 1710, showed "Indian houses" to the northwest of modern Mahwah, New Jersey, just across the Mahwah River from Suffern, New York. "Indian houses" were also located further south along the Ramapo River, near what is now Wyckoff, New Jersey (McMahon 1977, 4, 7). Another Indian deed for land in Bergen County was recorded in 1714, covering lands near the falls of Pompton River (Budke BC - 88, 109-111; Westervelt 1923, 1:44). In 1719, there were several Indian encampments recorded by surveyors working in the Ramapo area in connection with the disputed border between New York and New Jersey (Sessions 1985, 8-9). By 1715-1720, the first settlers on the Ramapo Tract, a group of German Lutherans from the Palatinate, were brought in by the proprietors (Vroom 1900, 326).

None of these extensive records of Indian activity in northeastern New Jersey between 1710 and 1720 contains any indication whatsoever that Tuscarora Indians may have been passing through or camping in the Hackensack Valley or Ramapo Pass. Such a supposed Tuscarora migration was frequently claimed in the later 19th and first half of the 20th century, based on Speck and other unnamed anthropologists, and stated by New Jersey archeologist Max Schrabisch, who dated the "ancient village" located on level ground between the Ramapo River and the foot of the Hoevenkopf to "about the year" 1718 (RMI Pet., 6 note 17; Schrabisch 1909, 154). Schrabisch offered no documentation for his attribution of this site as Tuscarora, and the location he described seems to be identical with that of the Indian houses located on Bond's 1710 map of the Ramapo Tract (McMahon 1977, 4). Some of the North Carolina Tuscaroras did migrate north immediately after their defeat in the Tuscarora War of 1711/13. Others of the tribe remained in North Carolina (both on and off the reservation) as late as 1803. At that time, most of the survivors finally moved to New York, where the tribe had become the sixth nation of the Iroquois Confederacy (Perdue 1985, 29-31). The path that they followed apparently took them primarily along the Susquehanna River Valley, where documented references to them do appear

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in Cohen (Cohen 1974, 7-8) and Salomon (Salomon 1982, 78). Salomon's summary of the Tuscarora claim says:

[Schrabisch] . . . never produced a shred of archeological evidence to prove the Tuscarora presence on the Mahwah or Ramapo. And neither has anyone else. The written record is also negative for not a single Tuscarora name appears in any of the Indian deeds² and white men living in the area in 1718 fail to record a Tuscarora presence (Salomon 1982, 78).

Indian land sales in Bergen County continued after 1720,³ but none of the numerous signers can be documented as ancestors of the petitioner.

Attributions of Early RMI Ancestry. The culturally Dutch settlers of southeastern New York and northeastern New Jersey included a number of families who were in part of African ancestry. In 1974, David Steven Cohen, in his book The Ramapo Mountain People, made an effort to link the modern RMI community with these Afro-Dutch pioneers (Cohen 1974, 25-42). His efforts at making the linkages were not fully successful, as demonstrated by the following analysis of possible RMI ancestry.

The Dutch and Afro-Dutch settlers of southeastern New York and northeastern New Jersey left not only extensive land records, but also extensive Dutch Reformed church records (see Wacker 1975, Map 3.7). To provide a context for the claims made by Cohen as to RMI ancestry, the BAR historian prepared a survey of all known Afro-Dutch families of New Amsterdam and their descendants in New Jersey, in so far as they could be traced, through the mid-18th century (Afro-Dutch Families--Possible Context for Ramapo Ancestry, BAR Files; see Map No. 3).

Geographically, the colonial counties in which ancestors of the RMI community are found are Orange County, New York (established by 1687), and Bergen County, New Jersey (established 1710). The Afro-Dutch settlers who were of possible interest for a study of RMI origins were not those who were brought into Orange (later Rockland)

² There would, of course, have been no reason for a Tuscarora name to have appeared on deeds--the Tuscarora would not have had title to any land in the area.

³ On April 21, 1727, six named Indians sold a tract of land near The Ponds, in Bergen County, to Peter Fisher and Philip Koning of Japock, Bergen County, on behalf of Peter Sonmans (Westervelt 1923, 1:44). In a private deed on December 10, 1737, Tachthohear sold to Jurian Thomas and Adrian A. Post a small piece of land where a bridge had formerly crossed the Passaic River (Westervelt 1923, 1:44).

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County, New York, or into New Jersey as slaves (Wacker 1975, 190-191), but families that had been free since the mid-17th century and came as owners and tenants of farms. Undoubtedly, however, the comparatively large number of slaves held by Bergen County, New Jersey, owners contributed to the tendency of free families of color in the 18th century to cluster together and maintain an identity as a distinct community, clearly demarcated from the slave society around them (Wacker 1975, 195). In spite of journalistic allegations that one origin of the RMI population was "runaway slaves"⁴ who found refuge in the Ramapo Mountains, no mingling of the early free families of color with enslaved families can be documented until after the emancipation of New Jersey's slaves in the 19th century (see generally Hodges 1988; see also the section below).

A final boundary line between New York and New Jersey was not run until 1771/73, at which time the land holdings of at least two probable RMI ancestors (Joost De Groot and Augustine Van Dunk), previously believed to be in New York, were found to lie in New Jersey, being in the southern part of the Kakiat Patent. In 1798, Rockland County, New York, was set off from Orange. RMI ancestors and associated families continued to be found in both of the new counties.

De Vries Family. Steven David Cohen's influential book on the Ramapough Mountain People attempted to link the RMI DeFreese family's ancestry to that of the Afro-Dutch DeVries family of the Tappan Patent in early Orange County, New York. He documented the mixed ancestry of Jan de Vries II, the de Vries pioneer in the Tappan patent, baptized in 1647 as the child of a Dutch sea captain named Jan de Vries and a "free Brazilian" woman who was described in the church record only as "Swartinne" (Cohen 1974, 27). De Vries had bought this woman at Maranhao, Brazil. As the seller was an accused traitor, the legality of the purchase had been referred to the West India Company for a ruling (Christoph 1983, 145). Other records of New Amsterdam give her the name "Lare" or "Larie Swartinne," in one record changed to the more formal "Clara" Criole (Cohen 1974, 29 and 229, note 13, citing to Stokes, Iconography, 4:111-112), but more usually recorded as "Hillary Criolyo" (Purple 1891, 26; Evans 1901, 79). The surname assigned to her by the Dutch records was almost certainly derived from the Spanish or Portuguese word "criollo" from which the French term "creole" has also developed (Dominguez 1986,

⁴ By 1923 and 1929, the persistence of slavery in New Jersey until 1804 and its gradual abolition thereafter had become so unfamiliar to journalists that the alleged slave element in the RMI population was not being accounted for by the slaves of Dutch farmers in New York and New Jersey, but instead was being attributed to slaves brought from the South by the Underground Railway (New York Walk Book 1923, quoted in Cohen 1974, 15; Hybrid Race 1929).

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13-16). Since it was used for other American-born Afro-Dutch individuals in New Amsterdam (see Afro-Dutch Families, BAR Files), it certainly indicated that at the least she was born in one of the American colonies rather than in Africa.

Jan de Vries II was married on October 26, 1679, in the Reformed Dutch Church, New York City, to Adriantje Dircks of New Albany (Purple 1891, 46). Her race was not mentioned in the marriage record, but other records indicate that she was the biracial daughter of Dirck Hendrickson and Anna Maria Van Curacao,⁵ and sister to the Lucretia Dircks/Hendricks who married Frans Abramse van Salee, another mixed-race early settler at Tappan (Purple 1891, 48; Evans 1901, 160, 172). Frans Abramse van Salee was the son of Abraham Jansen van Salee "alias the mulatto" (whose father was certainly Dutch and whose mother may have been either Moroccan or from the Canary Islands) by a Negro woman (Roberts 1972, 28; Hoff 1990, 66).

Cohen's research on the ancestry of the de Vries family of the Tappan Patent, however, has not significantly advanced an understanding of RMI ancestry. Further research indicates that the Tappan Afro-Dutch family died out in the male line.

Jan de Vries II received communion in the Dutch Reformed Church at Tappan in 1695, a year after its founding, and was on the 1702 census at Tappan.⁶ He apparently died shortly thereafter (Cole 1900, 207). His son, Jan de Vries III, married a white woman, Marretje Becker, widow of Wendel Mengely, born in the Palatinate in Germany and living at Tappan, on January 10, 1719 (Cole 1953, 167). It was he who in 1737, in connection with a contested election in Orange County, New York, testified pertaining to fruit trees planted by himself and Indians on his recently purchased land (deed dated May 31, 1735) near Pascack [modern Park Ridge], New Jersey, "just beyond the western bounds of Kakiat" (Tholl 1975, 79, citing to Budke Collection 71:83, "Historical Miscellanies" Volume II, New York Public Library).

Jan de Vries III and Marretje Becker had two sons, Jan (also John) de Vries IV and Jacobus de Vries. John de Vries IV married on July 19, 1750, by license, as "John

⁵ Curacao was a Dutch Island in the Caribbean, used heavily as a post for seasoning and training newly captured African slaves. Anna Maria van Curacao remarried on April 25, 1666, in the Reformed Dutch Church of New York City to "Augustyn Pens, Neger." He is probably the same person as the first Augustine Van Donk (Purple 1891, 32).

⁶ A man named Frans Wey was recorded by this Tappan census as having an Indian wife; both were elderly. There is no indication that the family was in any way connected with RMI ancestors (Cole 1900, 208; Budke 1932a, 67).

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Frees" of Tappan, to Catharina Gerreau, daughter of Benjamin and Anna (Cuyper) Gerreau, at the Reformed Dutch Church in New York City. The children of John de Vries IV and Catherina Gerreau all married into Dutch families in the Clarkstown section of Orange County, New York (Cole 1884, Clarkstown Appendix). John de Vries V, married to Hannah Van Horn, had six children baptized at Clarkstown and moved back to New York City approximately 1806 (Cohen 197, 44-45). Jacobus de Vries died in 1772 at Orange Town, Orange County, New York, leaving a will and apparently, from the contents of that will, no wife or children (Fernow 1967, 116).⁷ In summary, Cohen's hypothesis on the ancestry of the RMI De Freese family was not valid. All known legitimate descendants of the Afro-Dutch De Vries family can be accounted for, and none were RMI ancestors.

There were other Dutch families from whom the RMI De Freese family name could have derived, though no connections have been demonstrated. One secondary source only gives "Van Dolsen" as an alternative surname for the "Jacobus John" de Vries of the Tappan Patent (Harvey 1900, 30), while another says Jan Jacob De Vries bought a lot at Brooklyn ferry, referred to in patent to Pieter Jansen Meet of July 8, 1667 (Bergen 1881, 97). This man was possibly descended from Jan de Vries⁸ and Grietje Theunis, who had three children baptized at the Reformed Dutch Church of New York City in the later 17th century (Evans 1901, 116, 138, 154), through their son Jacob. The Reverend David Cole confused this family with that of the actual Tappan patentee in his discussion of the founders of the Tappan Reformed Dutch Church. It is their family to which the Van Dolsen or Van Dalssen surname properly pertained rather than to that of the Tappan patentees (Cole 1902, 211-212).

One other Dutch de Vries family of New Amsterdam moved to New Jersey, but adopted the surname "Titus." They were descended from Titus Syrachs de Vries, who was living in Flatbush in 1660 and died in 1688, and his wife Jannetje Teunis (Bergen 1881, 97).

One clear piece of evidence indicates that at least one Indian who remained in Orange County, New York, after 1758 had adopted De Fries as a surname. He worked as a

⁷ Maria de Vries, daughter of Jan de Vries II and Ariaentie Dircks, married Willem Pieterse of New York City. Prior to her marriage, on October 13, 1713, she had a daughter baptized at Tappan, the witnesses being Frans Van Salee and Anna Mary, his daughter (Cole 1884, A5). No descendants have been traced for this child. In any case, it is not likely that they would have borne the family name.

⁸ Church records alone were not adequate to determine whether or not this man was identical with a Jan Gerritsen who also had children by a wife named Grietie Theunis.

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laborer and shoemaker in the colonial society. In 1760, 1761, and 1762, muster rolls for the Seven Years' War record one "John De Fries," "John DeFrise," or "John DeFrize," described as Indian. In 1760, he was a 25-year-old laborer from Tappan; in 1761 a 26-year-old shoemaker born in Orange County; in 1762 a 28-year-old cordwainer (obsolete term for shoemaker) in Captain Lent's company (Muster Rolls 1891, 334-335, 404-405, 460-461). Nothing in these records indicates his tribal affiliation, nor does any document either prove that he was or was not an ancestor of the RMI. There is at least a one-generation gap, and more probably a two-generation gap, between the period when this man is documented and the birth of the first provable RMI De Freese ancestor circa 1790. The relationship of the "Indian" John De Fries to the RMI, if one exists, is not known.

There are significant gaps in the surviving marriage records of the Reformed Dutch Church at Tappan, New York (1727-50 and 1754-84). Some of the missing documents might have provided some insight into the origins of the Jan DeVries who married September 19, 1789, at Tappan, Elizabeth DeGroot, both of whom were described as of Saddle River [New Jersey]⁹ (Cole 1954, 104), and whom the petitioner claims as probable progenitors of the RMI De Freese family. The marriage record does not provide any description of this couple's ethnic origins.

De Groat Family. Thus far, it has not been possible to document any Indian ancestry among the ancestors of the RMI De Groat family. The genealogical supporting material presented for the petition (RMI Pet., Joslyn Report) discusses the options and indications thoroughly. There are documented instances in which men who may have been relatives of the RMI family, coming from Franklin Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, and from Orange County, New York, married Indian women connected to the Brotherton reservations in both New Jersey and New York and the Stockbridge reservation in New York. The descendants of these men, however, were not in the RMI settlements and are not members of the petitioning group. They joined the Munsee at Stockbridge, and eventually moved to Wisconsin (RMI Pet., Ex. 17). Their later claims to Indian lineage were presented through their mothers (Scott and Fowler families) rather than through the De Groats (RMI Pet., Ex. 17).

The marriage of Jan DeVries and Elizabeth DeGroot does provide a possible early direct connection of the De Freese family to the De Groot or De Groat family, another very common family name among the RMI. The best known family of De Groat pioneers was Dutch: Staats de Groat was one of the founding patentees of

⁹ Geographically, Saddle River at this time was a Bergen County, New Jersey, township and also the upper part of the Paramus, New Jersey, Reformed Dutch congregation (Van Kampen 1900, 313).

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Tappan. By the 1712 census, Joast De Groat, son of the above Staats De Groot and his wife Barbara Springsteen, was residing in Orangetown, Orange County, New York. His marriage, move to New Jersey, and legitimate descendants (several named Joost/Jost and Jacob) have been well documented and seem to have no direct bearing on RMI ancestry (Harvey 1900, 163).¹⁰

By 1741, however, another Joost de Groot, married to Ariantie Sloove, was having children baptized at Tappan. No record of the marriage (Tappan RDC marriages are missing from 1727-1754) or indication of the origin of either spouse has been located - none of the baptisms for their children was listed with witnesses, so a major source for indicating relationships is missing (Cole 1884, A17, A18, A19, A20, A21, A22, A24, A25).

Sara De Groot, daughter of Joost and Ariantie (Sloove) De Groot, was born October 10, 1741 (at Kindergemek according to her marriage record), and baptized November 8 at Tappan (Cole 1884, A17). She married Albert Cornel on January 25, 1763 (Schraalenburgh 1891, 2:56).¹¹

¹⁰ Provost's study of the Springsteen family identified only daughters for Staats Jansen De Groot and Barbara Springsteen: Geesje, bap. 1676; Metje, bap 1678, Willemetje, bap. 1680; Cornelia, bap. 1685; and Maryken, bap. 1688. He suggested a possible son Joost, named for Barbara's brother Joost Springsteen (Provost 1953, 151-152).

According to Budke, Joost Staats De Groot was married in 1712 to Marretje Cornelia Banta. Most printed lists of his children seem to have been taken from a Banta family genealogy. Of particular interest is that the list of their children, baptized between 1713 and 1730 at the RDC of Hackensack, NJ, does not include a son named "Joost." The marriage produced: Staats, Cornelius, Samuel, Geesje, Jan, Geesje, Jannetje, and Jan (Budke Collection BC - 60).

¹¹ During the 1740's, an Albert Cornell requested a lease for 300 acres in the Ramapo Tract from the Board of Proprietors of East Jersey (New Jersey. Board of Proprietors of the Eastern Division, 2:298). If it was the same family, that was probably the father of the Albert Cornel who married Sara De Groot.

Albert, son of Albert Cornel and Sara DeGroot, b. 23 December 1763, bap. 22 January 1764, RDC Tappan, wits. Petrus Labagh & Anatye his wife (Cole 1884, A28). Albert Cornel, son of Albert Cornel, bap. 10 May 1778 RDC Clarkstown, NY (Cole 1884, A53). 1779 tax list, Franklin Township, Bergen County, NJ: Albert Cornal, 50 acres (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1).

Albart Cornell, yeoman, of Millstone, Somerset County, New Jersey, left a will dated June 12, 1790, naming wife Anne, son Barnt, grandson Albert Cornell, daughters Jannetje and Elizabeth, and son-in-law Peter Quick. Witnesses were Peter Wyckoff, Cornelius Cornell, and Joseph Cornell (New Jersey Archives 1941, 36:53).

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Joost De Groot, son of Joost and Ariantie (Sloove) De Groot, was born November 2, 1742, and baptized at the Tappan Reformed Dutch Church on November 21 (Cole 1884, A18). By 1769, he was living in Bergen County, New Jersey, on lands that fell within the Kakiat Patent, near neighbors named Abraham Myer, Johannes Winter, John Laback or Labagh, Lucas Van Horne, and John Post. Durie, citing no source, stated that Joost De Groot was a cousin of Abraham Myer, while Laback was Myer's brother-in-law (Durie 1970, 59). He appeared on the surviving Franklin Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, tax lists for 1778, 1780, 1789, 1793, 1794, 1795, and 1797 (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1). Two children are known to have been born to him and his wife Elizabeth. Rehert was born October 4, 1772, and baptized March 18, 1775, at the Reformed Dutch Church in Ramapo, New Jersey, witnesses being the father and Polly Willis¹² (Ackerman and Goff 1944, 127); Elizabeth was born January 22, 1775, and baptized March 18, 1775, at the Reformed Dutch Church, Ramapo, New Jersey, the witnesses being Jacobus Degrot and Jannathe (Ackerman and Goff 1944, 127).

The baptismal witnesses in 1775, Jacobus De Groot and Jannathe, lead research back to Afro-Dutch pioneers, for Jacobus was Joost's brother. Jacobus De Groot, son of Joost and Arieantye (Sloove) Degroot, was baptized August 18, 1744, at Tappan (Cole 1884, A19, #1320). He married on March 17, 1768, at the Schraalenburgh, New Jersey, Reformed Dutch Church to Jannetie Dee, a note in the entry describing them as "Aethiopes" [Ethiopians] (Schraalenburgh 1891, 2:53). Jannetie Dee, baptized 1748 at Schraalenburgh, was daughter of Salomon and Susanna (Hammin) Dee, who had been married in 1737--betrothed at the Paramus, New Jersey, Reformed Dutch Church and married at Hackensack¹³ (Hackensack 1891, 1:56).

¹² A Richard De Groot and his wife Santje were witnesses to the baptism on January 19, 1793, at the Paramus, New Jersey, Reformed Dutch Church to Polly, daughter of Willem Sisco and Elizabeth, born on December 13, 1793 (Randolph and Rankin 1935, 115).

The first Dutch Reformed settlers moved into the Ramapo area shortly after 1720 and were members of the congregation at Paramus, some ten miles to the south. In 1785, David Christie and Cornelius Haring petitioned on their behalf for the establishment of an independent congregation at Ramapo. The building was erected near Mahwah in 1795 and was known as the "Island" church (Vroom 1900, 327).

¹³ Salomon Dee, baptized on July 30, 1707, at the Reformed Dutch Church in New York City (Evans 1901, 324), in turn was the son of Willem and Susanna (Salomons) Dee, who had been married in the same church on March 14, 1707 (Purple 1891, 106).

Willem Dee was baptized (without a surname and probably not as an infant) on September 13, 1680, at the Reformed Dutch Church in New York City (Evans 1901, 143). His mother, Susanna Peters, born in London, remarried as the widow of Salvador Dey of Rhode Island, on December 18, 1685, at the Flatbush Reformed Dutch Church, to Swaen Jansen Van Luane or

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Jacobus and Jannetie (Dee) De Groot are known to have had three children: Ariaentje De Groot, baptized May 1769, Hackensack, wits. Joost DeGroot and wife (Hackensack 1891, 1:230); Susanna De Groot, born March 15, baptized May 3, 1771, Hackensack, wits. Salomon Die and Susanna Die, his wife (Hackensack 1891, 1:232); and Jacobus De Groot, baptized February 2, 1775, Paramus, wits. Johannis and Marytje Moore¹⁴ (Randolph and Rankin 1935, 65).

David De Groot, son of Joost and Ariantie (Sloove) De Groot, was born January 31, 1749, and baptized April 2 at the Reformed Dutch Church, Tappan, New York (Cole 1884, A21). Like his brothers, he moved to New Jersey. Baptisms have been located for three probable children: Arianna, baptized November 26, 1769, Reformed Dutch Church, Ramapo New Jersey, child of Davit [sic] Degrot, wits. Albert Cornell and his wife (Ackerman and Goff 1944, 118); Nancy, baptized June 28, 1771, Reformed Dutch Church, Ramapo, New Jersey, child of David Degrot & Hencke, wit. his sister (Ackerman and Goff 1944, 120); and Angonietje, daughter of David Degroot & Elsje, baptized August 25, 1776, Paramus, New Jersey, Reformed Dutch Church, wits. Isaac & Syntje Dey (Randolph and Rankin 1935, 10).

Because of the destruction of the early records of the Dutch Reformed Church at the Ponds, Oakland, New Jersey (beginning in 1710, they were burned shortly after the Civil War in a fire at the rectory) (Records 1891, 1:ix), the connections between the De Groot generation born in the 1760's and 1770's with the De Groot generation born in the 1780's, 1790's, and early 1800's may never be entirely clear. There are several groupings,¹⁵ some of which (such as the family of John De Groat and

Van Loango (a locale in the northern Congo), an emancipated slave (Hoff correction sheet 1990, 1) Willem's wife, Susanna Solomons, baptized 1679 at the Reformed Dutch Church in New York City, was the daughter of Solomon Pietersze Criolie and Marretie Anthony Portugies, both descendants of emancipated slaves of the Dutch West Indies Company (Hoff 1988, 103, 106; Evans 1901, 137; for ancestry, Evans 1901, 12, 13, 14). Various members of the Dee family, closely intermarried with the Afro-Dutch Hall and Francisco families, settled in the region of Hackensack and Schraalenburgh, New Jersey (see generally Hackensack 1891 and Schraalenburgh 1891).

¹⁴ The Dutch name Jacobus was sometimes anglicized as Jacob and sometimes as James.

¹⁵ Jacobus Degroot and his wife Maria had the following children baptized at the Paramus, New Jersey, Reformed Dutch Church: Jacobus Degroot, May 4, 1794; John Degroot, March 20, 1796; John Degroot, August 26, 1798; Jannetje Degroot, November 30, 1800; and Susannah Degroot, September 14, 1806 (Randolph and Rankin 1935, 70, 71, 72, 73, 130; IGI).

James Degroot and his wife Annatje or Naatje had two children baptized at Paramus: James, born October 27, 1805, baptized on December

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Marritie Labagh) apparently belong to other branches of the Dutch De Groot/DeGroat family ((De Groat 1937, 29). It is possible that use of the original church records rather than published excerpts would provide useful clues to relationships.

Mann Family. No probable ancestors of the RMI Mann family have been located among early Dutch or Afro-Dutch pioneers of northwestern New York or northeastern New Jersey. The surname itself is comparatively common. The connection that Cohen made between the name Mann and the Manuels/Mannels family who were early Afro-Dutch pioneers of the Tappan Patent (Cohen 1974, 30-31) is far-fetched, and the parentage he proposed for Nicholas Manuels is incorrect--at the very least, there are other options (Purple 1891, 11, 13; Evans 1901, 10, 11, 13, 14). The RMI Van Dunk family does, however, trace to the Manuels/Mannels/Claesen line--see the discussion below under that family name. The Mann family does not appear in Reformed Dutch church records of the 18th century. If the spelling with a double "n" is accurate, it may possibly be the source of the German rather than Dutch heritage which some authors claimed to be part of the RMI ancestry.

The petition includes a report by genealogist Alycon Truby Pierce which indicates that the Mann family cannot currently be traced earlier than Samuel Mann and his wife Ellen (maiden name unknown), who were adults by 1800, and their probable son Philip Mann (RMI Pet., Ex. 56, 50-51). BAR contract genealogist Carolyn Shearer located a contemporary of Samuel Mann named Elias Mann and suggested that the two were brothers, but the RMI genealogical research done by Roger Joslyn considered Elias to be more probably another son of Samuel (RMI Pet., Genealogical Supplementary Report prepared by Roger Joslyn (hereafter Joslyn Report), June 1993).

Van Dunk Family. Augustine Van Donk I was counted in the census of Orange County, New York, in 1712, which did not mention his race. (Budke 1931a, 22). There is good reason, however, to assume that he was the son of a New York City free Negro named Augustine mentioned in 17th century records (Cohen 1974, 31-32). He and his wife Sophia "Fietje", whose origins and maiden name are unknown, had three children baptized in the Dutch Reformed Church at Tappan, New York, on January 15, 1717--namely, Augustine II, Elizabeth,¹⁶ and Jan.¹⁷ They were

8; and Peter, son of James S. Degroot & Naatje, born May 15, 1808, baptized September 18 (Randolph and Rankin 1935, 74, 116).

¹⁶ She married January 26, 1728, at the Reformed Dutch Church, Hackensack, New Jersey, as his second wife, Casparus Haal (Hackensack 1891, 48) They had one son, Jan, baptized May 5, 1728, at Tappan (Cole 1884, A9) She was dead by 1731, when Haal had a child baptized by his third wife, Sara Matthyse, at the Reformed Dutch Church in Hackensack

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probably not being baptized as infants. Witnesses for Augustine II were Reynier Reyserryck [i.e. Keyserwyck, Kisarike] and Marrotie Vlierboom (Cole 1884, A6).

Augustine Van Donk II was married on April 28, 1726, at the Reformed Dutch Church in Hackensack, New Jersey, to Rachel Matthyse, known to be the daughter of Abraham Matthyse, a free Negro residing at Hackensack, by his unidentified first wife¹⁸ (Hackensack 1891, 1:46). In 1744, he purchased land on the New York/New Jersey border near River Vale, New Jersey, in the Kakiat Patent, from Wilhelmus Croom (the second husband of his widowed godmother, Marrotie Vlierboom). As holder of this land, he was later identified as Augustine Vandunk, free negro (Durie 1970, 15,50). He died leaving a will, written in 1774, which was not probated until 1793, after the death of his widow Rachel (NJ 1st Series 37, 369). The date of his death can be somewhat narrowed. He was listed on the 1779 tax list of Harrington Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, for 145 acres and cattle; Rachel appeared as the landholder on the 1780, 1782, 1784, 1785, and 1790 tax lists (New Jersey. State Dept. of Education, Roll 1). As tracked in detail by Durie, his children and grandchildren gradually disposed of the land between 1803 and 1825 (Durie 1970, 52).

Of the children of Augustine Van Dunk II, the daughters Sophia "Fietje," baptized November 6, 1726 (Hackensack 1891, 1:150) and Annatje, born October 8, 1738, and baptized the following December 17 with Vrans Van Salee and Elisabeth his wife as sponsors (Cole 1884, A15), apparently never married. Augustine Van Dunk III, born January 5, 1728, was baptized June 30 at the Tappan Reformed Dutch Church, his sponsors being Jan Van Donck and Anna Maria De Salee (Cole 1884, A10), died

(Hackensack 1891, 1:164).

¹⁷ Ariaentie Dirckse, the widow of Jan de Vries II, served as witness for Jan's baptism. The descendants of this Jan Van Donk, if any, have not been traced. They may account for the Van Donks who appear on the 1800 and 1810 census of New York when the descendants of his brother Augustine had long been settled in New Jersey.

A John Van Dunk, married to a wife named Rebecca De Grauw, had a son John Van Dunk who was born July 4, 1776, and baptized at the Reformed Dutch Church of Kakiat (West Hempstead), New York, on September 27 (Griffen 1909, 3). The marriage record for this couple may well have been among those of Tappan between 1754 and 1784, which are missing.

¹⁸ The Matthyse family daughters were the center of another family complex: Helena married to Jan Crommel (John Cromwell)--Cohen's identification of her as a Van Donk daughter was in error (Cohen 1974:38; Records 1891:39); Rachel married to Augustine Van Donk; Sara married to Casparus Hall or Haal; Maria married to Louis Claesen Manuels; and their brother Joseph married to Anna Pietersze Salomons of the van Salee family (Hackensack 1891:61).

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prior to the time his father wrote his will in 1774. He had married on April 6, 1753, at the Reformed Dutch Church in Tappan, Elizabeth Manuels [aka Claësen], daughter of Lewis Manuels [aka Claesen] and Maria Matthyse¹⁹ (Cohen 1974, 230, note 62, citing to: Genealogical Notebook, Budke Collection MSS, New York Public Library, fol. 50. Omitted in Cole 1953). Augustine Van Donk III left five children: Jan born in 1753 (Cole 1884, A24); Elizabeth, born 1755 (Cole 1884, A24); Rachel, born 1757 (Cole 1884, A25); Augustine IV, born 1759 (Schraalenburgh 1891, 2:143); and Lewis, born 1761 (Schraalenburgh 1891, 2:148). The descendants of Jan (if any) have not been traced; Elizabeth and Lewis apparently died young (Durie 1970, 51). Rachel married a man with the surname Dee/Day/Dey and left a son named Aurie Day²⁰ and at least one daughter, Elizabeth, who married Samuel Piggory [Pigaret] (Durie 1970, 51). Augustine Van Dunk IV married Susanna Smith, who in 1816 became a member of the Tappan, N.Y. Dutch Reformed Church (Durie 1970, 52; Cole 1894, 156).

The descendants of Augustine Van Dunk IV and Susanna "Sook" Smith²¹ have not yet been traced. However a John Van Dunk, of suitable age to have been his son, is said to have married a woman named Clarese De Freese and been among the RMI ancestors (RMI Pet. File, Large Chart; RMI Pet. File, Joslyn Report). In the case of this family, the link to a colonial free Afro-Dutch family is well established, while the comparatively full documentation on marriage alliances indicates that there was no demonstrable Indian lineage prior to 1800.

¹⁹ Lowwies Claesien and Maria Matthyse were married May 19, 1730, at the Reformed Dutch Church in Hackensack (Hackensack 1891, 49).

Lowys/Louis/Lewis Claesen/Manuels was baptized March 31, 1683, in the Reformed Dutch Church, New York City, son of Nicholas Manuel/Emanuel and Lucretia Lovyse. His parents had married there on March 31, 1680, both described as negroes. His mother, Lucretia Lovyse, was the daughter of Hilary Criolyo, mother of Jan de Vries II, by her subsequent marriage to Lovys Angola, which took place on May 29, 1660, in the Reformed Dutch Church, New York City (Purple 1891, 26; Evans 1901, 79).

²⁰ It seems probable that the disappearance of the Paramus, NJ, Reformed Dutch Church marriage records prior to 1799 have affected our ability to trace the Van Dunk genealogy in detail, as when they do begin, the marriage of Aurie Dey to Rachel Guy is recorded on November 15, 1800 (Ackerman and Goff 1944, 1).

²¹ Given the context of the families, it should be investigated whether or not she came from the Afro-Dutch Smidt family. Of these families, Abraham Aurey of Saddle River and Catrina Smith of Tappan were married June 29, 1795, at Tappan Reformed Dutch Church (Betrothals 1954, 239).

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In spite of repeated allegations in secondary literature that a portion of the RMI ancestry came from escaped or runaway slaves, original documents all indicate that the free Afro-Dutch ancestors of the RMI remained quite distinct from the slave population throughout the 18th century.

Bergen County, New Jersey 1780-1800. The claim made by the petitioner is that, "Official Federal and State records . . . document the continuous habitation to the present date of the Ramapough Mountain Indians on their aboriginal homeland in the Ramapo Mountain region" (Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc. Petition for Federal Acknowledgment 1992 (hereafter RMI Pet.), 1). As discussed in detail in the preceding section, actual documents pertaining to the specific families claimed as ancestors by the RMI indicate that it was as late as the 1770's that *RMI ancestors and families of other surnames who are proven by the 18th-century church records discussed above to have been their collateral relatives and their associates* began to live in the general Mahwah, New Jersey, area (see Map No. 4).

This was a new area of settlement for the RMI ancestral families. They and other free families of color associated with them were not the only population group to move into the Ramapo Pass area during the 1770's. Surveying activity in the region was resumed in 1767. This was followed by marketing:

In April 1773, a Mr. Cuyler reported that sale of farmland had been slow because "the land is much overrated for in general it is very stony, poorly timbered and much wore out . . . the tenants are miserably poor." In 1787, a tax roll indicated that the mountain lots of the Ramapo Tract were still basically vacant. Finally, between 1787 and 1790, the proprietors of the tract regained control of leased lands and other disputed properties and for the first time began to sell them with clear titles (RMI Pet., 15, citing to Bischoff and Kahn 1978, 43, 84-85).

Documentation to trace RMI families from the colonial to the immediate post-Revolutionary period is very thin in published records but considerably more extensive in unpublished records. The 1992 RMI Petition for Acknowledgment provided no documentation for this period of time except for a partial report by genealogist Alycon Truby Pierce (RMI Pet., Ex. 56). The genealogical portion of the petition was greatly expanded by the research produced by Roger Joslyn and submitted by the petitioner in June 1993, but the historical evidence for the later 18th and early 19th century community remains circumstantial in nature. The material in the following section is applicable to understanding how the RMI communities found in the later 19th century developed. To a considerable extent, year by year, the tax

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records "demystify" the RMI ancestral families, indicating that local authorities knew who they were, where they were, and how much property they owned. Expansion and amplification of this material by intensive utilization of county-level land records and original church records would provide an even more detailed picture of the group's residential pattern and life style.

Records do not indicate that the progenitors of the RMI were living in a clearly distinct community or even in the same vicinity in the late 1770's. The families were not living near one another or in an isolated locale separate from the general population. RMI ancestral families appear in the documents, but in various parts of Bergen County, New Jersey, and in association both with white families and with other free families of color²² that do not later make up a part of the 19th and 20th century RMI communities (New Jersey. State Dept. of Education. New Jersey Tax Rateables, Roll 1).

Some of these other families with whom RMI ancestors were connected in the earlier part of the 18th century, such as the Day, Cornell, and Jacklen lines, moved away by the mid-19th century,²³ which had the effect of reducing the circle of associates of the RMI ancestors. The existence of the associated families introduces another degree of complexity into the analysis of RMI development in the later 18th and first half of the 19th centuries: to some extent, the RMI at this time are found in residential groupings near other free families of color, but these are not "pan-RMI" communities, so to speak. Rather, at this date, the individual RMI ancestral families are in communities with people with whom they had earlier associated and been connected. Amalgamation of the individual RMI ancestral families into a broader RMI community does not take place until later.

Tax lists are of most use for a community study when they are not alphabetized, but list the taxpayers in order of their residence.²⁴ Close attention to the tax lists

²² Some of the free families of color who are associated with RMI ancestors in late 18th century records, but who do not become part of the modern petitioning group, such as the Van Guinea, Jacklen, and Dee/Day families, are clearly documented in earlier 18th century records as African in background.

²³ The Day, Jacklen, and Cornal (Cornall, Cornell) families would be a part of the early 19th-century migration of some of the Degrotes to upstate New York, Onondaga County.

²⁴ Comparison of the various New Jersey tax lists from year to year with one another, and comparison of the tax lists with extant census records, indicate that (when not alphabetized) they were in fact a basically geographical listing of the taxpayers--not a random listing, for

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indicates that the known RMI ancestral families such as De Freese, De Groat, Mann, and Van Dunk, had a stable residential pattern and were known to the local officials who prepared the records, even in cases where the individual family head was not a landowner.

For purposes of easier identification in these tax and census lists, persons identified as **probable RMI ancestors and persons associated with them in 18th-century church and other records** are presented in bold type. They are listed *among their non-RMI and non-associate neighbors* to indicate the residential patterns.²⁵ The amounts of land owned are included as an indication of the approximate spacing between individual farms and the economic standing of their owners in the neighborhood.

Franklin Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, Tax Lists, 1778-1797. The 1778 tax list of Franklin Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, provides a starting point. Among a group of holders of small farms (100 acres or less), seven men were marked with an "F"--and all are shown by other 18th-century records discussed above to have been free persons of color. *Starting with non-RMI neighbors with larger farms to mark the location of the community*, the list read: Albert Terhoon, 200 ac; Jeob Debaun, 100 ac; Jost Debaun, 50 ac; Abraham Ackerman, 150 ac; David Vanblaricorn, 90 ac; Thomas Banta, 30 ac; John Doremus, 100 ac; Coonrad Bush, 53 ac; **John Van Guinea F 50 ac; Jonathan Traphaugel, 60 ac; Samuel Day F 100 ac; Isaac Sisco²⁶ F 25 ac; Jost Degrote F 25 ac; William Day F 50 ac; James Jacklin F 100 ac; Albert Cornall [sic] F 50 ac; William Fally, 100 ac; Coonrad Rapp, no acreage; Henry Oldis, 55 ac.** In this year, Jost Degrote was the only RMI progenitor recorded in Franklin Township.²⁷ The next year's tax list (1779) had no

example, showing only the order in which people came into the assessor's office and filed their forms.

²⁵ By using these tax lists, which indicate people who lived near one another, it would be possible to go to the Bergen County, New Jersey deed records, obtain deeds for all residents (not just RMI ancestors as such) and plat the neighborhoods on a map. Resources to undertake this elaborate research effort were not available for preparation of this report.

²⁶ Although only one RMI marriage with the Cisco/Sisco families would be documentable throughout the entire 19th century, interestingly when William Gilbert published his 1948 survey of surviving Indian groups of the east coast for the Smithsonian, "Cisco" was one of the six family names he attributed to the RMI (Gilbert 1948, 414).

²⁷ The 1778 tax list for Saddle River Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, showed a Henry Degroat with no land (Joslyn Report, Sources). It is not known if or how this man was related to known RMI ancestors.

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markers such as the "F", but the situation of his neighborhood was essentially unchanged. Jost Degrote was still the only RMI progenitor in Franklin Township.²⁸

In 1780, there were two versions of the tax list. In the first, the families listed in the two prior years were not contiguous on the Franklin Township tax list (they were separated by non-RMI families), but they were close.²⁹ In the second version of the 1780 list, a portion was labeled "Upper end of Saddle River," indicating a more precise geographical location. This version contained numerous names in addition to those on the first 1780 list, including many men who were not landowners.³⁰

Most of the this group were listed again on the 1784 tax list among basically the same non-RMI neighbors, but Jost Degrote was missing.³¹ The appearance of the Moore family as an RMI associate for the first time in this 1784 list is possibly significant: the Moores later had a number of intermarriages into RMI families, although Moore

²⁸ The following men were listed contiguous to one another: Samuel Day, 100 ac; Silvester Sisco, 50 ac; Jost Degrote, 25 ac; Isaac Sisco, 25 ac; Wm. Day, 50 ac; Albert Cornal [sic], 50 ac; James Jacklin, 100 ac (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1).

²⁹ Albert Terhune, 100 ac; Jno Terhune, 100 ac; Wm. Day, 25 ac; Albert Cornal, 25 ac; Samuel Day, 50 ac; Joost Degrote, 12 ac; Jacob Debaun, 100 ac; Jost Debaun, 25 ac; David Vanbuskirk, 50 ac; David Vanblaricom, 50 ac; Tho. Banta, 20 ac; Jno. Doremus, 50 ac; Conrad Bush, 34 ac; Silvester Sisco, 20 ac; Jonathan Traphagen, 50 ac; Richd. Jarret, no acreage; George Conord, 30 ac; Michael Fisher, 20 ac; James Jacklen, 50 ac; Wm. Folly, 50 ac; Peter Fell, 120 ac.

Isaac Sisco, 50 acres, was listed elsewhere in the township, among neighbors named Brickman, Shover, Rednor, Vanwart, and Hommin (Hennion?). Aury Van Guinea, with no acreage, was elsewhere in the township also (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1).

³⁰ Coonrod Fox, 60 ac; Widow Hunter; Andrew Meyer, 50 ac; Cornelius Meyer, 50 ac; Phillip Fox, 40 ac; Coonrod Frysinker, 100 ac; Catherine Miller; George Coonholt, 40 ac; Michael Fisher, 50 ac; Coonrod Brown, 60 ac; Nicholas Harigh; Widow Shoemaker; Henry Share; Peter Boovenhouse; David Bayard; Leonard Txerman [sic]; James Jacklin, 40 ac; William Day, 30 ac; Albert Cornal; Joost Degrote (25 ac improved, 25 ac unimproved, 2 horses, 2 cattle, 2 hogs); Jonathan Traphagen, 50 ac; Silvester Siscoe, 15 ac; Samuel Day, 50 ac; Jacob Blank, 75 ac.

In another section of the list, there appeared: Col. Peter Fell, 200 ac; Wiert Banta, 25 ac; Hendrick Ridner, 100 ac; Gideon VerVeeler; Isaac Siscoe, 35 ac; Christoffel Hemmeson, 60 ac; Frederick Schober, 40 ac. (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1).

³¹ Sam. [sic] Wm. Day, 25 ac; (five non-RMI families) Salomon Day, 50 ac; Silvester Sisco, 25 ac; Jno. Moore, 25 ac; Wm. Day, 50 ac; James Jacklen, 100 ac; (six non-RMI families); Saml. Day; Solomon Day; (six non-RMI families), John Moore, 25 ac; Wm. Day, James Jacklin, 30 ac. (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1).

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is not claimed by the petitioner as an RMI foundation family. One Moore woman who married a James DeGroat is known to have been at least partially of Indian heritage, her father having come north from the Brotherton grouping in central New Jersey. However, the descendants of that marriage are not to be found in the modern RMI. The family moved to northern New York (Madison County) and later went to Wisconsin with the Stockbridge Munsee (RMI Pet., Ex. 17; RMI Pet., Joslyn Report, Supplement).

The absence of Jost Degrote on the 1784 list apparently does not indicate that he had moved away, for a man of that name was again recorded in 1786.³² The 1790 tax list for Franklin Township showed, of all the 18th-century associates of RMI ancestral families, only **John Moore with 70 acres and Joost Degroat Junr., with no acreage**. This raises the possibility that the elder Jost Degrote had died between 1782 and 1784, and the new listing was for a son--possibly a son married into the Moore family.

In 1790, the Federal census for Bergen County, New Jersey (name schedules missing) reported a free non-white population of 192 (Price 1950, 258). At the same time, in 1790, the county had a slave population of 2,493--larger than any other county in the State, and mainly concentrated in the eastern portion (Hodges 1989, 3). There is a very useful map of the nonwhite population distribution in New Jersey in 1810 in Wacker (Wacker 1975a, Map 3.13; see Map No. 5; for another copy of the map with more extensive discussion, see Wacker 1975b, 40-49).

³² **John Moore, with 25 acres, was followed by Salomon Day and James Jacklin with no acreage; after 18 white neighbors were listed, there follows a grouping of John More [sic] with 70 acres; Joost Degrote with no acreage, but one house and one head of cattle, John Homes, and Solomon Day with one house (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1).**

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Franklin Township tax records for the 1790's show a gradual expansion of the RMI-ancestral DeGroat family³³ and the appearance in the township records for the first time of other RMI progenitor families: Mann³⁴ and associates of the Van Dunks.³⁵

³³ In 1791, two new listings appeared for RMI DeGroat progenitors on the tax list of Franklin Township, Bergen County, New Jersey. Amid the same neighbors where the DeGroat family had been living for many years, David Degroot and Richard Degroot were listed individually as householders, without acreage.

In 1793, in a part of Franklin Township not in the immediate vicinity of the Samuel Mann or of the Piggery/Van Dunk families, RMI ancestors Richard Degroot as a householder and David Degroot as a single man were listed among non-RMI Van Blarcom, Banta, Hopper, and Debaun families. The Moore family and Joost DeGroat were not listed in 1791 or 1792. However, in 1793, John Moore was listed again with 150 acres and Joost Degroot Junr. with 2 horses and 2 head of cattle.

Nearby in 1793 were Isaac Day with 40 acres, Solomon Day with 40 acres, Jacob Shoemaker, Michael Fisher, and Michl. Fisher Junr. Elsewhere in the township, among several families named Hopper, Debaan, and Terhune, was Abm. Van Ginee, a single man.

In 1794, several Wanmaker families were followed by John Horn, Abm. Dater, David Degroot as a householder, Chrisn. Wanmaker, Leonard Turman, Conrod [sic] Wanmaker, Stephen Fishback, Abrm. Jansen, Isaac Day with 100 acres, Jacobus Manerse, Peter Manerse, John Moore with 100 acres, Solomon Day, 50 ac; Joost [sic] Degroat (2 horses, 1 head of cattle, householder), Michael Fisher, and Davin Fisher (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1). According to local historian Claire Tholl, the 1794 tax list for the Ramapo Tract showed a John D. Grote (Tholl 1975, 54). The BAR historian did not locate this entry: there was a John Degraw on that list, but no John D. Grote.

³⁴ In 1792 came the first Bergen County, New Jersey, listing for RMI progenitor Samuel Mann, living among non-RMI families named Christie, Ackhart, Van Cleef, Rutan, Wilson, Ackerman, Terhune, and Zabriskie.

Samuel Mann was taxed again in 1793. He owned no acreage and was living among non-RMI families named Traphagen, Hannion, Post, Shuste, Degraw [not DeGroat], Bush, Fredricks, Wanmaker, Munerse, Carel, and Debaan (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1).

³⁵ The 1794 tax list indicates that connections of the Van Dunk family had, for the first time, moved from Harrington Township into Franklin Township and were living near other RMI progenitors. The list shows Garret Degraw, Garret W. Hopper, Michael Post, Samuel Man, a householder with two cattle; Willm. Hennion, and then Samuel Piggery and Henry Piggery, both with no acreage. These were followed by the Widow Bush, James Bush, and Henry Frederick (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1).

Samuel Piggery was married to Elizabeth Day, daughter of Aurie and Rachel (Van Dunk) Day (Durie 1970, 51). In 1821, John Defries, widower of Elizabeth DeGroat, would marry Maria (Mann) Pigaret [Piggery], widow of Henry Pigaret (Westervelt 1929, 111; RMI Pet., Ex. 56).

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In 1795, for which the Franklin Township list was unusually thorough, the process of coalescence of RMI progenitor households continued.³⁶ The 1796 tax list for Franklin Township indicated an even closer residential grouping than 1795 had done,³⁷ while 1797 showed essentially the same distribution as the year before.³⁸

As Franklin Township (19th century Hohokus Township; modern Mahwah Stag Hill) is not the only modern RMI community, a search was undertaken also for possible RMI progenitors living in the 18th century in the vicinity of modern Ringwood, New Jersey. However, the 1797 tax list for Pompton Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, did not yet show any familiar RMI names. As a further indication of where RMI progenitors were living in the later 18th century, and that they were known to

³⁶ The listing showed in order, Henry Traphagen, Henry Traphagen Jr., Michael Post, Jonathan Traphagen, and then Henry Piggory (householder), Joost Degroot (1 horse, 1 head of cattle, householder), Samuel Man (20 acres, 5 horses, 2 head of cattle), eight white families, and Samuel Piggery (1 head of cattle, householder), while elsewhere in the township was Richard Degroot living among neighbors named Wannmaker, Horn, Carlogh, Dater, Mitchel, Dowers, Fishback, Massinger, and Banta.

Elsewhere in Franklin Township in 1795, Abm. Auree with 10 acres was living between Luke Cooper, Peter Debaun, Carel Debaun, and Abm. Terhune. After a listing of nine white families, was the first listing for James Degroot (2 horses, householder), followed by Solomon Siscoe, Solomon Day, and John Moore with 175 acres. Peter D. Sisco and Isaac Day were in isolated households (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1).

³⁷ Samuel Piggery lived at some distance from the others, but the grouping showed Abm. Auree, 10 ac; Nichs. Auree; Carel Debaun, James Manseson, Jacobus Degroot (1 head of cattle, householder), John Moore with 200 acres, Richd. Degroot, Solomon Day, John Paulman, Daniel Burgess, and John Ozbourn. Isaac Day lived elsewhere in the township (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1).

³⁸ The 1797 tax list for Franklin Township showed John Moore holding 200 acres, living next to Wm. Van Selyse, Wm. Sisco (31 ac.), Solomon Day, and James Degroat (12 ac.). At some distance was Isaac Day with 50 acres. Again at a remove was a grouping: Garret W. Hopper, 214 ac; David Byards, John Litchholde, Joost Degroot, Richd. Degroot, Henry Piggery, Saml. Man, (10 white families), Samuel Piggery, Aaron Day. Again at some remove were Abm. Auree (10 ac) and Nichs. Auree; at some distance William Sisco with 30 acres.

The following series of names appeared in a possible partical duplication on the 1797 list: Albert Terhune, 80 ac; Lawrence Hurley, Peter Dabaun 115 ac; Benj. Orsburn; James Fewes, 80 ac; Philip Guy, 12 ac; Jacob Debaun, 46 ac; John Guy, 12 ac; David V. Blarcum, 50 ac; Peter V. Blarcum; James Monsesson, 100 ac; Peter Mansesson, 66 ac; Willm Wannmaker, 20 ac; John Poelman, 60 ac; Solomon Day, 2 ac; Carele Debaun, 115 ac; James Degroat, 30 ac; Solomon Day, 200 ac; Abr. Auree, 7 ac; Nich. Auree, 7 ac; Coonrad Wanmaker, 7 ac; John Hicks, 60 ac; John Debaun, 162 ac. (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1).

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and interacting with non-RMI residents of the region, circa 1798, Richard DeGroot was paid L7/5 by the Ramapo Reformed Dutch congregation for work on the church (Bischoff and Kahn, 96-97). This building was the so-called "Island Church," near Mahwah, New Jersey.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE RMI ANCESTRAL COMMUNITY, 1800-1872.

Neither the petitioner's researchers nor the BAR historian located any documents designed specifically as discussions of a RMI ancestral community or precursor group produced in the first three quarters of the 19th century. Nonetheless, it was possible to reconstruct its development through the use of other data. None of the Federal-level or State-level documentation located for RMI ancestors during the first three quarters of the 19th century in Rockland County, New York, or Bergen and Passaic Counties, New Jersey, identifies either individual members of the group or the group as a whole as American Indian. At the beginning of this period, the identifiable RMI ancestors were not living either in clear residential groupings or, with the exception of two families at Ringwood, in the Ramapo Mountains.

New Jersey Jurisdictions and Documentation, 1800-1829. To clarify the locations mentioned in the following discussion, colonial Bergen County, New Jersey, was a very large tract. The early Van Dunk holdings were in Harrington Township prior to their sale (between 1803 and 1825). In 1771, Franklin Township (lying west of Harrington) was set off from the northern part of Saddle River Township, and contained the Ramapo Tract. In 1797, Pompton Township was separated from Saddle River Township, and in 1837 it became part of the new county of Passaic when it was laid off from Bergen. In 1834, West Milford Township was formed from part of Pompton Township, and it too fell to Passaic County in 1837. In 1849 in Bergen County, Hohokus Township was laid off from the northern part of Franklin Township, and contained the southeastern part of the Ramapo Mountains. These three areas remain the core of RMI settlement in New Jersey until the present time (see Map No. 6 and Map No. 7).

New Jersey Missing Census Schedules. The name schedules for the first four Federal censuses of New Jersey (1790-1820) are missing, though the statistical reports do survive. Ethnic classifications were not precise in the early Federal censuses, nor were they standardized from one decade to another. Prior to 1850, the basic categories were "free persons of color" or "all other free persons except Indians not taxed," with variant phrasing.³⁹ Taxable Indians (those residing amid the general

³⁹ The "Indians not taxed" provision did not provide any financial incentive to count persons of color as black or mulatto rather than Indian. Individual Indians (outside of tribes or bands) who owned land in fee simple or held personal property could be and were taxed.

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population rather than in tribal bands, owning real or personal property, and paying taxes) were counted in these fpc categories, as well as blacks and mulattoes. In general, fpc meant "non-white." The categories are abbreviated below as fpc (free person(s) of color), fcm (free colored male(s)), and fcf (free colored female(s)). In 1800, the Federal census reported a free non-white population of 202 for Bergen County, New Jersey (Price 1950, 258).

Tax and Land Records. To a considerable extent, the absence of the early New Jersey census material can be compensated for by utilizing the tax rateable schedules. Because the family names of the RMI founding ancestors (De Freese, De Groat, Mann, and Van Dunk, as discussed above) are known and the genealogies have been thoroughly researched, individuals can be identified. At the same time, the continual appearance of RMI ancestral families on the 18th and 19th century tax schedules is confirmation that RMI families were not mysterious hill-dwellers, but rather farmers and farm laborers living amid the general population.

The county tax rateable lists are sometimes more useful than the Federal census, even when the census exists. This is the case with the 1837 list, which names the heads of several of the RMI families which the 1840 Federal census apparently simply listed in the households of their employers without listing the name of the head of the family separately. This particularly affected the DeFreese family members.

Early 19th century tax rateable lists for Bergen County, New Jersey, are simply a continuation of the series that began in 1778 and continued through 1797. The 1802 tax list for Franklin Township still showed RMI ancestral families interspersed among non-RMI families.⁴⁰

Some earlier researchers have made the assumption that the move of RMI ancestors into the Ramapo Mountains began in the first decade of the 19th century. On January 18, 1805, James De Groat, together with Michael Fisher, purchased at least fifteen acres of land "lying and being within the Romopock Tract" from Richard P. Wanamaker for \$237.50 (Bischoff and Kahn, 1978, 97; Cohen, 1974, 45; research by

⁴⁰ Will. Wanmaker, 20 acres; John Poelman, 60 acres; Solomon Day, 2 acres; Camel Lebaun, 115 acres; James Degroat 30 acres; Solomons [sic] Day 200 acres; Abr. Aurea, 4 acres; Nich. Aurea, 4 acres, Coonrad Wanmaker, 4 acres. After a space of several pages, there followed: several Van Blarcom families; Dick [?] Defreesu, 4 acres; Henry Pigerit, 25 acres; Samuel Man, 25 acres; Will Hennion, 25 acres; John Williams, John Williams Jr., John V. Dunk, Rich Degroat, Joost Degroat, John Moss, Abe Post, and John Mabese. At some distance from these others, were an Isaac Day with 75 acres and a James Day with 25 acres (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1).

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BAR contract genealogist Carolyn Shearer). If this purchase had in fact been in the mountains, the deed might represent the first documentation of RMI land ownership in the Houvenkopf area (the Houvenkopf, or Stag Hill, has been one of the most important RMI communities in the later 19th and 20th centuries). However, Tholl says this deed covered 15 3/4 acres in Masonicus, New Jersey, which is not in the mountains, and that this James De Groat also owned some other land on the west edge of Upper Saddle River (Tholl 1975, 54). Based upon analysis of census records, it seems that this 1805 purchase was made by the James De Groat with wife Hannah who in 1850 was living in Saddle River Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, and who, though a collateral relative, is not claimed as an ancestor by any modern members of the RMI.

Bergen County, New Jersey, 1810-1829. During the first quarter of the 19th century, there is no indication that the RMI ancestral families of Franklin Township were "hiding" in the Ramapo Mountains--they were known to the tax collector and they were known to other local government officials. The overall pattern of the tax lists indicates clearly that the great majority of the people among whom these families lived were non-RMI.

After the 1802 tax list cited above, the next surviving for Bergen County, New Jersey, is 1813. Unfortunately, the 1813, 1814, and 1815 tax records surviving for Franklin Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, were alphabetized by the first letter of the surname, destroying any ability to plot the neighborhoods in which taxpayers lived. They allow only confirmation that an individual lived there.⁴¹

The next two tax lists, for 1816 and 1817, were again arranged by neighborhood in Franklin Township. By 1816, the tax list (p. 3) indicates that those RMI ancestral families who were in Bergen County were living along the Ramapo River valley south of Mahwah. However, they are shown as dispersed among non-RMI neighbors.⁴²

⁴¹ The 1813 list seems to be partial only: the surviving segment does not include either the RMI ancestors or those people who were recorded as their non-RMI neighbors on earlier and later lists. The 1814 list showed: **Joseph Degroot, 12 acres; Richard Degroat, Jost Degroat; Peter Man, Elias Man, and Wm. Sisco, 72 acres.** The 1815 list named **Richard Degrot, Jost Degrot, William Day, Peter Man, and Elias Man** (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1).

⁴² The settlement pattern ran: **Jacob G. Hopper, 93 ac; David D. Christie, 70 ac; Garret W. Hopper, 193 ac; Wm. G. Hopper; John G. Hopper, 25 ac; William Traphat, 11 ac; James Degrot; Peter Haring, 14 ac; Henry A. Wanmaker, 70 ac; Christian Wannmaker, 67 ac; John Christie, 70 ac; David I. Christie, 70 ac; John D. Christie, Mathus Steward, 45 ac; John Peterson, 30 ac; David Carlough, 17 ac; David D. Ackerman, 90 ac; James Thompson, Peter Man, Elias Man, Richard Degrot, Jost Degrot, Daniel**

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In 1817, the collector apparently came down the road in the opposite direction, but the general residential pattern remained the same.⁴³

To put the meaning of these tax lists in a somewhat broader perspective, Henry Brazier Hagerman, a Columbia University-educated descendant of the pioneer Laroe family of the Ramapo Pass area, married Anna Hopper Bogert from the Ramapo Valley near Mahwah, New Jersey. In 1814 he was on the Franklin Township tax rolls, owning 145 acres by 1817. Hagerman was one of the Bergen County, New Jersey, justices of the peace who lived near the RMI families in the area south of Mahwah and performed marriages for a number of couples in the group over a period of 15 years.⁴⁴

The 1817 tax list, Franklin Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, verifies that Hagerman resided in the vicinity of several RMI families. David I. Christie was also one of the Bergen County justices of the peace who performed marriages for RMI ancestral couples of Franklin Township (Westervelt 1929, 112,113).

The final two Franklin Township tax lists surviving for the pre-1830 period were unfortunately again alphabetized by the first letter of the surname, so can be used only to verify the general presence of the families in the township.⁴⁵

Blawvelt, 25 ac; Crone. Blawvelt, 25 ac; Abram Blawvelt, 25 ac; John Horn, John Mesenger, 29 ac. On p. 13 was listed Will Sisco, 70 acres (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1).

⁴³ Henry B. Hagerman, 198 acres; Abraham Hopper, 145 ac; John G. Hopper, Robert Ladgr [*sic*, probably the "Robert Lowder" who purchased land together with James DeGroot in 1825], Gilliam Laroe, Jacob G. Hopper, 93 ac; David D. Christie, 70 ac; Richard Degrot, Jost Degrot, Elias Man, Peter Man, James Degrot, William Traphagen, 11 ac; John Moss, Garret W. Hopper, 86 ac; William G. Hopper, 86 ac; four Fox families, two Wanmaker families, Peter Haring, another Wanmaker, and John Christie, 70 ac; and David I. Christie, 70 ac. (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1).

⁴⁴ William Pigeret m. 23 March 1826, Bergen Co., NJ., Elen Man, by H.B. Hagerman, JP; Elias Van Dunck and Eliza Mann, 27 May 1833, Bergen Co., NJ, by H.B. Hagerman, JP; William R. DeGroot, of Franklin, m. Sally Ann Mann, of Franklin, 15 October 1837, Bergen Co., NJ., by H.B. Hagerman, JP; 25 May 1841, Richard James De Groot (of Bergen) to Elizabeth Ann DeGroot (of Bergen) by H.B. Hagerman, JP; 4 September 1841, Samuel Smith (of Harrington) to Helen James DeGroot (of Franklin) by H.B. Hagerman, JP (Westervelt 1929, 112-113).

⁴⁵ The 1821 tax list, Franklin Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, showed: Widow Elen [*sic*] Degroot (1 head of cattle, 1 household); Richard Degroat (40 acres, 2 horses, 1 head of cattle); James Degroat (1 head of cattle, 1 household); Jhost [*sic*] Degroat (1 head of cattle, 1 household);

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By this time the RMI Van Dunk and De Freese families were beginning to appear in the records of Pompton Township [then Bergen County, later Passaic County], New Jersey.⁴⁶ The case of these families indicates the importance of bringing to bear as many different record types as possible. In the absence of other documents, using tax and land records only, determination of whether or not they were living in or near Ringwood (a community site for the modern RMI), would require a researcher to undertake detailed examination of the deeds of these two men's landowning neighbors. However, the exact residence was clearly specified in 1827, when "John Dunck, colored," appeared before a Justice of the Peace to give consent to his daughter Margaret's marriage to Peter DeFreese, both of Ringwood, New Jersey (Bergen County, New Jersey, Marriage Book 1795-1863, p. 116[56]). Seven years later, in 1834, "Miss Eleanor, daughter of John Dunck, a colored woman," married RMI ancestor James DeGrote in Ringwood, New Jersey (Bergen County, New Jersey, Marriage Book 1795-1863, p. 131 [56]). These entries show that by the late 1820's and early 1830's, three of the RMI ancestral families, who in the 18th century had not been connected, were intermarrying. The overall pattern of the tax lists, however, indicates clearly that the great majority of the people among whom these families lived were non-RMI.

a John Moore, but not necessarily of the same family that was in the county earlier, given that the surname is quite common; Elias Mann (20 acres unimproved, 4 cattle); and Peter Mann (20 acres, 3 cattle).

There were more individual names in the 1822 tax list, Franklin Township, Bergen County, New Jersey: James Degrote (1 head of cattle), Richard Degroot (2 horses, 2 cattle, 1 household), Samuel Smith (1 head of cattle, 1 household), James Degroat (2 head of cattle, 1 household), William Degroat (1 horse, 1 household), Johst [*sic*] Degroat (1 head of cattle, 1 household), Elias Mann (20 acres unimproved, 4 cattle, 1 dog), and Peter Mann (20 acres unimproved, 3 cattle, 1 dog) (New Jersey. State Department of Education, Roll 1).

⁴⁶ The 1814 Pompton Township tax list shows a John Van Dunk (apparently not the same man who was being counted in the New York census during these years), with no acreage. His neighbors were named: Montoney, Morris, Tharp, Brigs, Curtis, Whitenour, Fredricks, and Cronk. On the next page, John Defrees, with no acreage had immediate neighbors named: Scofield, Dobbins, Snider, McMekin, Storms, and Belcher. John DeFreese continued to be taxed in 1819, 1820, and 1821 in Pompton Township (New Jersey. State Dept. of Education, Roll 2, 5, 25).

John Defraes is indexed as being on page 19 of Pompton Township's 1819 tax list in New Jersey Tax Lists 1772-1822, Vol. 2, edited by Ronald Vern Jackson (RMI Pet., Ex. 56, Pierce Report, 47 n. 1). The 1820 tax list, Pompton Township, showed John Defries with no acreage. His neighbors were Fredericks, Cronk, Green, Swaney, Freeland, Star. The township also had numerous Sisco families and showed Samuel Jennings [whose family would become associated with the RMI later in the 19th century] with 50 acres. John Van Dunk was taxed for two cattle and one dog (New Jersey. State Dept. of Education, Roll 2, 6 [68]).

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Ramapo Mountain Area Land Purchase by RMI Member. An event of considerable significance for the development of the RMI community occurred in 1825 when James DeGroat and Robert Lowder purchased land from Garret W. Hopper, 10 acres for \$100. According to Mahwah's local historians, this land was probably located in Green Mountain Valley (later called Havemeyer's Hollow) (Bischoff and Kahn 1978, 97).

James J. DeGrote, possibly the former's son [i.e. son of the James DeGrote who purchased land in 1805], was the first, with a mountain family name, to make a recorded purchase of land actually on the mountain. This was in 1825 and involved a parcel owned by Garret W. Hopper at the Split Rock. Perhaps he was the Dutch DeGroat of tradition who married an Indian girl (said to have been Tuscarora) and is responsible for the lengthy use of the Dutch language on the mountain. (Tholl 1975, 54-55).

Based on the lack of citation to sources and the words "possibly" and "perhaps," it appears that most of the above paragraph was undocumented speculation. In any case, James DeGroat added to this original purchase in later years, up until his death in 1859/60. In time a Richard DeGroat from Orange County, New York (not the Richard De Groat who was the son of the above James and his wife Susan), would purchase most of the property and would remain until his own death in 1894 as proprietor of the "Halifax Farm" on Monroe Ridge in the Green Mountain Valley RMI settlement (RMI Pet., Joslyn Report).

In 1827, Henry B. Hagerman and his wife (see above) were visited by the French naturalist Victor Jacquemont (Bischoff and Kahn 1979, 98-99). Jacquemont, who was not a specialist in Indian research, referred to Indian tribes which had lived in the Ramapo valley more than 70 years before--i.e. prior to 1757, which would accord well with the date of the Treaty of Easton--with the Latin phrase "imperium in imperio," but stated that they were now living more than 300 miles away. He went on to add:

There are only Indians of mixed blood here [now], due to the indiscretions of some of the Indian women. The mother's nature prevails in these children, who, almost white, have all the wandering and independent instincts of the Indian race. Impossible to make them peasants, to bring them to live in the valley, to be shoemakers, wheelwrights, ploughmen; they dwell in the woods, among the neighboring mountains, living in miserable cabins of tree trunks placed

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one on top of the other, with a cow, a few pigs, and a small cornfield (Chinard, 1959, 160-162).

Because of his visit with the Hagerman family, it is possible that Jacquemont was referring to RMI ancestors in his statement about Indians of mixed blood. Later in the 19th century, certainly, RMI ancestors were living in log cabins in the Ramapo Mountains. However, he referred to no specific family names, did not indicate any continuing tribal origin or organization, and his description of the refusal of the group he was discussing to live in the valley does not comport well with what can be determined from other documents, which place the RMI ancestors well mixed in farming communities in the valley.

As another indication of RMI ancestors' economic involvement with the society around them, also surviving from this period, dated June 25, 1815, is James DeGroat's deposition for work done for William Hopper of Ramapo (Bischoff and Kahn 1978, 97).

Orange and Rockland Counties, New York, 1800-1820. In the early 19th century, the New York Federal census material did not show a tightly focused residential pattern for known RMI ancestors. Generally, the few families in New York were living either in Orange County (location of the old Tappan Patent) or in its daughter county, Rockland, where the actual Tappan lands fell after 1798.

The 1800 Federal census, Rockland County, New York, showed several persons with names similar to those of the RMI, only one of whom, **John DeFraze**, apparently, was an RMI ancestor.⁴⁷ In Warwick Township of Orange County, New York, a **John Van Dunk** appeared next door to a **McGinnis** (a family which later in the 19th

⁴⁷ These were: David and George Mann (white) (United States. National Archives and Records Service, 1800b, 99); John De Groat (white) (United States. National Archives and Records Service, 1800b, 104); Catherine and John DeFres [documented as descendants of the Afro-Dutch Tappan patentee, but here counted as white, non-RMI] (United States. National Archives and Records Service, 1800b, 102); and **John DeFraze** (?), 6 "other free" in household (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1800b, 381, # 4616). This last name was indexed as **Degraze** in the index to the New York 1800 census (Armstrong 1984) and **Free Black Heads of Households in the New York State Federal Census, 1790-1830** (Eichholz and Rose 1981, 65) but the microfilm shows DeFraze.

Also in 1800, an unidentified Jacob Defries lived in Washington County, New York (United States. National Archives and Records Service, 1800b, 305).

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century would become identified with the RMI).⁴⁸ A **John Van Dunk**, probably the same individual, was listed in Warwick Township again in 1810⁴⁹ and in adjacent Minisink Township in 1820.⁵⁰ RMI ancestor **Philip Mann** appeared on the census for the first time in 1810 in Hempstead Township, Rockland County, New York⁵¹ and was there again in 1820.⁵² None of Philip Mann's neighbors were RMI or future RMI families.

⁴⁸ Specifically, the 1800 Federal census, Orange County, New York., Town of Warwick, showed: **John Van Dunk** (3 fcp). Neighbors: **Bryan McGinnis** (1 wm over 55, 6 fcp), **Reuben O'Dell**, **Nicholas Call**, **William Pelser**, **Lawrence Marigold**, **John Burroughs**, **David Gordon**, **Henry McCoun**, **Samuel Clark**, **Stephen DuVal** (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1800a, 380). Nearby were: **Titus Johnson** (5 fcp); **Samuel Peterson** (7 fcp); **Samuel Quaak** (5 fcp) (United States. National Archives and Records Service, 1800a, 380; for a published version, see Federal Census 1800, 1933).

⁴⁹ The 1810 Federal census, Warwick Township, Orange County, New York showed: **John Van Dunk** (line 16) enumerated as the head of a non-white, non-slave family of 8 fpc. Neighbors: **Aaron Stan**, **Wm. Stan**, **Peter Whitenow**, **Elias Quok** (line 17, 2 fpc), **Eliz. Stan**, **Michael Snider**, **Joseph Barnes** (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1810a, 366).

⁵⁰ The 1820 Federal census, Minisink (adjacent to Warwick), Orange County, New York showed: **John Van Duk** [sic, apparently intended for **Van Dunk**], colored, age 26-45; similarly aged female, and 2 males under 14. NARS Microfilm Series M-33, roll 64, p. 240 or 586[63] (Alycon Truby Pierce, RMI Pet., Ex. 56, 48; United States. National Archives and Records Service 1820a).

⁵¹ **Philip Mann** (line 16, 4 fpc). Neighbors: **Wanmaker**, **Frederick**, **Winear**, **Wilson**, **Teriboch**, **Baker**, **Morris**, **Springstead**, **Foot**, **Wood**, **Clark**, **Cole**, **Rostetter**, **Fields**, all white (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1810b, 153).

⁵² Hempstead Township in Rockland County, New York, the 1820 Federal census: **Wm. Suffern**, **Philip Man** (line 2, 2 fcm 14-26, 1 fcm 26-40; 1 fcm over 45, 3 fcf 26-45; 1 "other"), **James Butler**, **Wm. Springstead**, **John Weymer** (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1820b, 325).

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RMI-Ancestor Residential Distribution, 1830-1840.

1830 Federal Census. By the time of the 1830 census of Franklin Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, several RMI ancestral families (counted as free persons of color) appeared in a much clearer delineation of a neighborhood than on prior records. The listing (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1830a, 107-108) places the RMI ancestors and their collateral relatives between groups of non-RMI landowners, but not among large numbers of non-RMI neighbors as they had been recorded on earlier Franklin Township records.⁵³ This was, however, the only one of the modern RMI community areas where clear neighborhood formation was taking place. Only two RMI families were recorded in Pompton Township.⁵⁴ Several RMI associate families but no RMI direct ancestors were counted in the 1830

⁵³ p. 107: David Christie (w); John D. Christie (w); Charity Hopper (w); John Hopper (w);
Richard Degroot (line 13) -- 4 fcm 25-36; 1 fcm 55-100; 2 fcf under 10; 1 fcf 24-36. Total 8 fcp.
John Post (w)
Joseph Degroot (line 15) -- Total 7 fcp. no breakdown entered. The line above his has the following, not accounted for in the total for line 14: 1 fcm under 5; 1 fcm 25-36; 4 fcf under 10; 1 fcf 10-24.
Samuel Smith (w)
Elias Mann (line 17) -- 2 fcm under 10; 2 fcm 10-24; 1 fcm 36-55; 2 fcf under 10; 1 fcf 10-24; 1 fcf 36-55. Total 9 fcp.
Peter Mann (line 18) -- 2 fcm under 10; 2 fcm 10-24; 1 fcm 36-55; 1 fcf under 10; 1 fcf 36-55. Total 7 fcp.
Peter Debruse (line 19) -- 1 fcm under 10; 1 fcm 10-24; 1 fcf under 10; 1 fcf 10-24. Total 4 fcp.
Juliana Mann (line 20) -- 3 fcm under 10; 2 fcm 10-24; 1 fcf 36-55; 1 fcf 55-100. Total 5 fcp.
William Degroot (line 21) -- 2 fcm under 10; 1 fcm 24-36; 1 fcf under 10; 1 fcf 10-24. Total 5 fcp.
Ella Degroot (line 22) -- 2 fcm 10-24; 1 fcf 55-100. Total 3 fcp.
James Degroot (line 23) -- 4 fcm under 10; 2 fcm 10-24; 1 fcm 24-36; 1 fcf under 10; 1 fcf 24-36. Total 13 fcp.
Richard Staub (w); Susanna Staub (w); James Carlock (w); John Staub (w); Anthony May (w); p. 108: Peter Ackerson (w); George McIllery (w); Garret Litchholt (w); Michael Fisher (w) [Was this possibly the same man who purchased land together with James Degrote in 1805?] (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1830a, 107-108).

⁵⁴ 1830 Federal census, Pompton Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, covering the Wanaque River Valley and the northwest side of the Ramapo Mountains: Samuel Vandonk (3 fcp), John Vandonk (3 fcp), Morgan Lewis [sic, but probably Lewis Morgan, possibly the brother of Richard Morgan] (3 fcp) (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1830a).

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Federal census of Harrington Township, Bergen County, New Jersey.⁵⁵ Rockland County, New York, in 1830 showed only one known RMI ancestor, Philip Mann, and one probable RMI ancestor, John Mann. There were several associate families.⁵⁶

1837 tax list, Franklin Township, Bergen County, New Jersey. The 1837 tax list for Franklin Township contained a separate section entitled "Ramapough Mountains." This document clearly indicated that the RMI ancestors were moving into the mountain area. Deed research would be necessary to identify the precise locations of their lands and the lands of their neighbors.⁵⁷

1840 Federal census. The 1840 Federal census in Bergen County, New Jersey must be used with caution. Apparently many people who fell into the "free persons of color" census category were counted in white households, and thus did not have their names listed. This is the case not just with individual servants who actually resided in the employer's household, but applies to what appear from the age distribution tables to be entire families: only four RMI household heads and one associate-family

⁵⁵ James De Groot, line 12 (1 fcm under 10, 2 fcm 10-24, 1 fcm 36-55, 1 fcf under 10, 1 fcf 10-24, 1 fcf 36-55; total 6 fcp). Also James Oliver, William Day, line 11 (2 fcm under 10, 1 fcm 10-24, 1 fcm 24-36, 2 fcf under 10, 2 fcf 10-24, 1 fcf 24-36; total 10 fcp); Richard Cisco, Francis Cisco, Nicholas Cisco, Samuel Moore, Samuel Pigenet [*sic*, apparently meant for Pigaret/Piggory], James Oliver, Nancy Cisco (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1830a).

⁵⁶ 1830 Federal census, Town of Ramapo, Rockland County, New York: William Suffern (w), followed by: John Man, line 8 (1 fcm under 10, 1 fcm 10-24; 1 fcf 10-24; total 3 fcp); Philip Mayne (probably Mann), line 9 (3 fcm under 10, 1 fcm 10-24; 1 fcm 36-55; 2 fcf under 10; 3 fcf 10-24; 1 fcf 36-55; total 11 fcp), Maria Pigran, line 10 (1 fcm under 10, 1 fcm 24-36, 1 fcf under 10, 2 fcf 10-24; 1 fcf 55-100; total 6 fcp). These were followed by John Williams and Matthew Gurnee, both white (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1830c, 100).

1830 Federal census, Town of Orangetown, Rockland County, New York: John Cisco, Mariah Pegra [Pigaret/Piggory?], William Jackson, Harry Pake, William Cisco, William Cisco [two separate entries] (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1830c).

⁵⁷ The listing read: John A. Post; Richard Degroot (50 acres improved, 50 acres unimproved); Joseph Conklin, Benjamin Pitt, John Conklin, Levi Conklin, Moses Seirs, James Smith, Peter Defreeze, Margaret Defreeze, John Defreeze, Tom Defreeze, Elias Defreeze, John Mann, Samuel Mann, Margaret Mann, William Pigry, James Degroat (15 acres improved, 15 acres unimproved), William Degroat (11 acres unimproved) (Bergen County New Jersey 1837).

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household heads were listed.⁵⁸ Compare, for example, all the Defreeze family heads on the 1837 tax list with their absence on the 1840 Federal census. Passaic County, New Jersey, in 1840 showed three RMI families (two Van Dunks and that of Richard Morgan who had married Rebecca Van Dunk) and one family which would marry into the RMI later in the 19th century.⁵⁹

Identifying Individuals. The material presented above is designed to analyze the composition of the RMI group as a whole and its pattern of residence and employment in the first half of the 19th century. When the material is handled in a different way, it also is sufficient to outline individual biographies and indicate that the RMI mountaineers as individuals were scarcely unknown to the outer world.

For example, Philip Mann, was born about 1784 in New Jersey according to the 1850 Federal census listing. He married on June 11, 1804, Bergen County, New Jersey (by H. Van Dalrem, Justice of the Peace), to Catharine Williams, who was born about 1786 in New Jersey⁶⁰ (Westervelt 1929, 108). In 1810 he was listed on the Federal census a few miles away in West Hempstead Township, Rockland County, New York, as a free person of color and family head (United States. National

⁵⁸ [p. 151] Pompey Quackenbush (line 19, 8 FCP); Thomas Demarest (line 20, 8 FCP); Francis Salmon (w); Francis Staub (w); Andrew H. Hagerman (w); Harry Van Cleve (line 24, 2 FCP); Alexander Consilyea (w); Henry B. Hagerman (w); States Bogart (line 27, included 9 FCP in white-headed household); Richard Degroat, line 28 (1 fcm under 10, 2 fcm 10-24, 1 fcm 24-36, 1 fcm 55-100, 2 fcf under 10, 2 fcf 10-24, 1 fcf 36-55; total 10 fcp); William Degroat, line 29 (1 fcm 10-24, 1 fcf 10-24; total 2 fcp); Moses Sears (w); Peggy Mann, line 31 (2 fcm 10-24, 2 fcf under 10, 1 fcf 36-55; total 5 fcp); [p. 152] Joseph A. Conkling (w); James Degroat, line 2 (2 fcm under 10, 2 fcm 10-24, 2 fcm 24-36, 1 fcm 36-55, 3 fcf under 10, 2 fcf 10-24, 1 fcf 24-36, 1 fcf 36-55; total 14 fcp); William Figgoret, line 3 (1 fcm under 10, 1 fcm 24-36, 2 fcf under 10, 1 fcf 10-24, 1 fcf 24-36; total 6 fcp) (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1840a, 151-152).

⁵⁹ 1840 Federal Census, Passaic County, New Jersey: West Millford Township: Peter Suffern, line 2 (2 fcm under 10, 1 fcm 24-36, 1 fcf 24-36; total 5 fcp) (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1840b, 22). Pompton Township: Samuel Vandunk, line 13 (1 fcm under 10, 2 fcm 10-24, 1 fcm 36-55, 1 fcf under 10, 1 fcf 10-24, 1 fcf 36-55; total 7 fcp); Lewis Morgan, line 24 (1 fcm under 10, 1 fcm 10-24, 1 fcm 24-36, 1 fcf under 10, 1 fcf 10-24, 1 fcf 24-36; total 6 fcp); Richard Morgan, line 25 (1 fcm 24-36, 4 fcf under 10, 1 fcf 10-24; total 6 fcp) (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1840b, 38). Pompton Township: Charles Dunk, line 6 (1 fcm 24-36, 3 fcf under 10, 1 fcf 24-36; total 5 fcp) (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1840b, 41).

⁶⁰ Non-RMI, Catherine Williams is said by petitioner's traditions to have been a white, Dutch woman.

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Archives and Records Service 1810b, 153). He was there in the 1820 Federal census as well (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1820b, 125) and is known to have worked in John Suffern's ironworks in the Ramapo Pass in 1826 (Cohen 1974, 47 citing John Suffern's ledger for that year).

The 1830 Federal census, Ramapo Township, Rockland County, New York, page 100, showed Philip Mayne, line 8, with a household containing: 3 fcm under 10; 1 fcm 10-24; 1 fcm 36-55; 2 fcf under 10; 3 fcf 10-24; 1 fcf 36-55 (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1830d, 100). By 1850, he lived in the Mahwah area and owned \$500 worth of real estate (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1850a, #685/749): the 1860 Federal census of Hohokus Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, showed (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1860a, #783/859) that he was age 70, born in New Jersey, a farmer, male, mulatto, owning real estate valued at \$350 and personal property valued \$200. He was living with his wife Catharine, age 70, born in New Jersey. He added thirty-four more acres of land for \$100 in 1862 (Bischoff and Kahn, 1978, 97). The use of county-level records to locate deeds for his land purchases and the administration of his estate, which should be in Bergen County, New Jersey, between 1860 and 1870, would throw considerably more light on his activities.

RMI Settlement Patterns in the Mid-19th Century. The petition implies that the Houvenkopf was a center from which the other settlements "began"--i.e. radiated outward in the later 19th century. This argument is repeated several times in the petition, e.g. "STAG HILL, on top of the Houvenkopf, is the mother community" (RMI Pet., Narr., B3) and "Stag Hill, called the Houvenkopf until the 1960s and still referred to as 'the mountain' by the Ramapough, is the site of the oldest settlement by the tribe" (RMI Pet., Narr., 1:B3, note 8).

Historically, the Mahwah area [RMI] settlements have extended along a series of ridges and hollows that began with Houvenkopf (later called Stag Hill) at the New York State line, and included from north to south, Stag Brook (also known as Shangun Brook and Shangun Clove), Green Hill (also known as Halifax Mountain), Green Mountain Valley (later Havemeyer Hollow), Monroe Ridge, Middle Valley, and finally Fyke Brook at Darlington. A smaller Ramapough settlement existed about one mile south of Green Mountain Valley along Fyke Creek. This settlement dated back to 1865, or earlier and survived until 1960, when the residents moved to Stag Hill. The Fyke Creek settlement consisted of five or six families who were squatters on the land [of Darlington Seminary]. Other Ramapoughs lived further back in the mountains from Mahwah to Ringwood. Their homes and settlements

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consisted of clusters of buildings in forest clearings linked by foot paths (RMI Pet., 1:B3-B4, note 9).

However, documentary evidence indicates that the settlements farther to the south and in the valley had priority in time over Stag Hill/Mahwah, Ringwood, and Hillburn.

In fact, the majority of the villages where RMI community members resided after 1840 were of comparatively recent foundation.⁶¹ In describing the villages, all of which had more non-RMI than RMI residents, the Reverend William Vroom of Paramus wrote in 1900:

The development of the country and the building of the Erie railroad caused a number of other picturesque and thrifty villages to spring up within the Ramapo district. These are Darlington in New Jersey, and Suffern, Hillburn, Ramapo, Sloatsburg and Tuxedo in New York. The village of Suffern, only a mile north of the church, was founded at the time the railroad was built in 1841 and took its name from John Suffern, a native of the county of Antrim, Ireland. He settled in this locality in 1763. He was a man of wealth, energy and influence, and obtained an immense landed property, upon which not only Suffern, but Hillburn and Ramapo also are built (Vroom 1900, 328).

RMI Community in the 1850 Federal Census. The 1850 Federal census is of considerably more use than the earlier ones--not only genealogically because it names persons other than the head of household, but also historically because it indicates the occupation of those employed and the birthplace of all persons. For the RMI ancestral families, the most common ethnic identification on this census was "M" for mulatto (the other possible categories in 1850 were "B" for black and "W" for white).

Hohokus Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, was formed in 1849 from the northern part of Franklin Township. It included the southeast side of the Ramapo Mountains. This township does show a clear pattern of RMI community residence in 1850. There were 14 RMI ancestral family households, three households of collateral relatives, two associate households, and two households whose members would marry

⁶¹ Speaking of Appalachia in general, Eller wrote, "The coming of railroads, the building of towns and villages, and the general expansion of industrial employment greatly altered the traditional patterns of mountain life" (Eller 1982, xix).

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into the group in the future.⁶² Pompton Township, Passaic County, New Jersey, later the site of the Ringwood RMI community, cannot yet be considered a major residential location for RMI families on the basis of the 1850 Federal census. There were only three RMI ancestral families (four if one counts that of Lewis Morgan) widely scattered in the township.⁶³ Neither were concentrated RMI residential areas demonstrated by the 1850 Federal census of Ramapo Township, Rockland County, New York. Rather, there was one kin group and some scattered families.⁶⁴

RMI Residential Patterns in the 1860 Federal Census. By far the majority of RMI ancestors in 1860 were living in Hohokus Township, Bergen County, New Jersey. On this census, the usual ethnic designation for RMI ancestors was mulatto, and the adult males were recorded as either farmers or laborers, all born in New Jersey. There were 24 RMI-headed households (25 if one counts that of Samuel Jennings

⁶² The Demarest family of color found living near the RMI ancestors in 1840 appeared in 1850 as #390/528: Thomas Demarest, a black male aged 72, born in New Jersey, and his wife Isabella. Demarest family members would continue in later years to appear as witnesses for RMI marriages. This was, however, like the cases of the Morgan and Suffern families, an exception to the general rule that the RMI did not mix with the free black community. Non-RMI, non-associated black families bearing the names More, Garrison, Base, Ackerman, Kipp, etc. were scattered throughout Hohokus Township, but none resided near the RMI ancestors (Tanco 1973, 961, 984-86, 1005-06).

Hohokus Township, #672-736 through 688-752 contained the following families listed contiguously, only the two CONKLINS being classified as "white"--the remainder were listed as "mulatto": John Mann, Richard DeGroot, John DeGroot, Peter DeFrease, Elias Mann, William DeGroot, Samuel Mann, Amsey DeGroot, William Conklin, Levi Conklin, Elias DeFrease, John Mann, Jacob Williams, Samuel Mann, John DeGrease [*sic*], James DeGroot, Elias VanDien [*sic*], Abraham Day. At #951-1048 was James DeGroat; at #958-1056, Stephen DeGroat; at #428-569, Albert DeGroot (Tanco 1973, 964, 984-86, 1005-06).

⁶³ David Degrote, #128/129, age 59, with wife Tyney M, was a laborer born in New Jersey; so was Samuel DeFrise, #141/142, age 35, with wife Catherine; and Charles Van Donk, #281/285, age 36, with wife Elisa. Lewis Morgan, who may be the brother of Richard Morgan who married Rebecca Van Dunk, his wife Hannah, and their family were #301/305. He was listed as a black male, born in New York (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1850b).

⁶⁴ Catharine Osborn, according to the Vineland Study a sister of Richard Morgan, was living at #468/474 in the household of a white Suffern family. Richard Morgan, recorded as a black male laborer born in New York, and Rebecca (Van Dunk) Morgan with their children were #596/603; nearby were William Pigery and his wife Ellen, #594/601; also Thomas DeFrise and his wife Mary, #599/606. At some distance was William Degroot, a 52-year-old laborer born in New Jersey, with his wife Julian and their children (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1850d).

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whose children would marry into the RMI). Several teenagers and young adults were listed in the non-RMI households where they worked. The majority of RMI households were located in a tight residential distribution numbered almost sequentially from #780/855 through #812/888. A few white households were interspersed in this grouping. The landowners in the group were **Henry Man [sic], Philip Mann, Susan Degroot, John Defries, and Peter Degroot**. Three other RMI households were scattered among the general population.⁶⁵

Unlike the 1850 Federal census, the 1860 Federal census of Pompton Township, Passaic County, New Jersey, covering the Ringwood mine area, subdivided the "laborer" category into specific occupations. All five RMI family heads residing there were associated with the Ringwood Furnaces, recorded as either teamsters or colliers.⁶⁶ Five more families lived in neighboring West Millford Township, and all the family heads again listed as either colliers or team drivers.⁶⁷ By contrast with the industrial workers in Pompton County, the 1860 Federal census of Ramapo Township, Rockland County, New York, showed the RMI ancestors working as farm laborers.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ #480/552, #703/774, and #759/832 (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1860a).

⁶⁶ In a comment next to the family of **George Van Dunk** and his wife **Rachel**, #413/401, the enumerator wrote: "These Col:d People live in the old Arsenal [a small stone cabin] that Washington stored his Powder during the first War." **John Morgan** was at #412/400; **John Van Dunk** and family were at #415/403. **Charles Van Dunk** was at #428/417; **Abraham Mann** at #443/436 (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1860b).

Ringwood was an industrial "company town" and was never during the 19th century an exclusively, or even predominantly, RMI settlement. Living conditions comparable to those in 19th-century Ringwood may be seen directly by an examination of the anthracite-field "Eckley Miners' Village" preserved by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

⁶⁷ **Thomas Dunk** was at #203/283; **James Degroat** at #309/289; and a small cluster consisting of the families of **Elias Donk, Moses Degroat, and Henry Degroat** at #317/297 through #320/300 (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1860b).

⁶⁸ The family of **Richard and Rebecca (Van Dunk) Morgan** was not found in this year, but there was still a kinship cluster around their former residence near the white family of **James B. Suffern**, #1689. **Kate Osborn** was still living with the Sufferns as a domestic servant, with one of her sons; next door, at #1690, was a **Richard Williams** as head of household, married to **Kate's** niece **Sylvia Morgan**. Nearby were **Francis Degroat** at #1692 and **Patrick Dennison**, married to **Sylvia Morgan's** sister **Jane**, at #1693. **Samuel P. Man** and his wife **Rachel** (#1753) lived next door to **Willem Pigery** and his wife **Ellen** (#1754). The remaining RMI-affiliated families in the county were living on farms where they worked: **William Degroat** at #1836; **Richard Degroat** at #1974. A **William Man** and an **Eliza J. Pigery** with three small children were in the alms house, #2067 (United

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In Ringwood, New Jersey, where several members of the RMI families had been listed in the 1860 Federal census as "colliers" and "teamsters," probably for the Ringwood Ironworks, several RMI names in addition to those so identified in the 1860 census appear on an 1869 payroll for the Ringwood Furnace (Cohen 1974, 55).

Between 1860 and 1870, two developments occurred which, though interrupting the pattern of census analysis, are nonetheless informative for understanding the circumstances in which the petitioner's ancestors were living. These were the founding of the Green Mountain Valley Methodist Chapel in 1857 and the participation of RMI ancestors and collateral relatives in the Civil War.

The Green Mountain Valley Methodist Chapel (1857). Genealogical research presented by the petitioner (Joslyn Report) has shown that through the 18th and early 19th centuries, records of RMI ancestral families are to be found in the Reformed and Lutheran churches of northeastern New Jersey and southeastern New York. RMI names are found on the membership lists of these churches.

The first church intended specifically for members of the RMI was founded in 1857, when a Methodist chapel was constructed at the entrance to the RMI settlement at Green Mountain Valley (at that time a RMI residential center, but not one of the three modern RMI communities). At that time, it was named "The John Wesley Chapel of Darlington, New Jersey" and was located across the Ramapo River from the Ramapo Dutch Reformed Church at the foot of the Ramapo Mountains (Cohen 1974, 63; Bischoff and Kahn 1978, 98; RMI Pet., Ex. 32; see Map No. 8).

The founding of this chapel did not indicate the introduction of full-scale segregation. Several RMI ancestral families continued to attend Ramapo Dutch Reformed Church long after the Methodist chapel was founded and continued to be buried in a separate section of its churchyard (RMI Pet., Ex. 32). However, the founding of this chapel does represent the first time that some portion of the RMI population attended a separate church of their own rather than churches open to the general population.

No documentation pertaining to the history of the chapel was provided by the petitioner. However, some information has been obtained. In 1876, this chapel was moved about a mile farther back into the mountains, to the Green Valley RMI settlement itself. The preacher at this Methodist chapel in 1876 was Elliott Mann; the licensed exhorter was William Mann. According to Bischoff and Kahn, the local historians of Mahwah, it was apparently this chapel to which the April 8, 1877 report in the Bergen Democrat and a similar one in the Ramsey Journal applied. These

States. National Archives and Records Service 1860d).

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indicated that the mountain congregation met every Sunday in the log cabin of Johnnie De Groat, with a Reverend Mr. Jackson from Paterson, New Jersey, preaching on Sunday mornings, followed by Sunday school in the afternoon and prayer meeting in the evening (Bischoff and Kahn 1978, 209-210).

In the 1870's, a wealthy New Yorker named Theodore A. Havemeyer⁶⁹ bought as a country estate the Hagerman farm (near which the RMI families had been living for at least 50 years) together with adjacent acreage extending to the south and westward into the Ramapo Mountains, for a total of 3,200 acres. As owner of this estate until 1914, Havemeyer employed several RMI men as farm laborers and caretakers. Other well-to-do New Yorkers who bought estates in the Ramapo Valley during this decade also employed RMI men (Cohen 1974, 64).

The Green Mountain Valley Methodist Chapel was located west of the Havemeyer estate. Some time between 1892 and 1895, he purchased in Darlington a one-room schoolhouse when it was replaced by a stone building; he donated it to the congregation, which transported it to the valley and rebuilt it to use as their church. In 1895, the congregation's name was reported as being the "Green Mountain Valley African Methodist Episcopal Church," with services conducted by a Reverend Mr. Green (Cohen 1974, 170; Bischoff and Kahn 1978, 210).

The focus of the RMI settlements continued to move northward in the Ramapo Valley between 1870 and 1900, as families were drawn to Hillburn, Mahwah, and Ringwood by expanding employment opportunities. As context, it should be emphasized that the concentration of land ownership in estates like Havemeyer's and consequent movements of local population after 1870 were not unique to the Ramapos, but occurred throughout Appalachia during the latter part of the 19th century:

The immediate effect of this concentration of landholding was to dislodge a large part of the region's people from their ancestral homes. A few former landowners managed to remain on the land as sharecroppers or tenant farmers, and occasionally a family continued to live temporarily on the old homeplace, paying rent to absentee landlords. But a great number of the displaced mountaineers migrated to the mill villages and mining towns, where they joined the ever-growing ranks of the new industrial working class (Eller 1982, xxii).

⁶⁹ Secondary sources also incorrectly report his name as Henry O. Havemeyer, but Henry was a son of the original purchaser.

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As the population moved from Green Mountain Valley toward Stag Hill (the Hoevenkopf) near Mahwah, the church moved with it, quite literally--they moved the building. In 1904, the Green Mountain Valley church withdrew from the Union Conference⁷⁰ and joined the A.M.E. Zion⁷¹ Conference (Cohen 1974, 114-115). In 1915, the building was once more relocated, this time to Grove Street in West Mahwah, where it remains (Cohen 1974, 114-115, citing to a program for the January 25, 1970, service celebrating the church's 113th anniversary). It continued to be attended primarily by RMI community members until the late 1940's, when many withdrew to form a Pentecostal Full Gospel Church in Mahwah under the leadership of Otto Mann as pastor (RMI Pet., 20).

Civil War. Several men with Ramapough surnames appeared in lists of Orange County, New York, men who served with "colored units" during the Civil War. Richard J. DeGroat served with the 26th U.S. Colored Regiment. James DeGroat and Samuel Van Donk served with unidentified colored units. George W. DeGroot, Henry DeGroot, John H. DeGroot, George DeGroot, and William H. Mann volunteered to serve with the 20th Colored Regiment. Gilbert DeGroot, "Colored," volunteered for the 15th Artillery (Ruttenber and Clark, 1986, 337, 349, 622).

Cohen identified several other Ramapough men who also served in the U.S. colored troops. Private Philip De Freese served with Company H, 33d Regiment; Henry Degrote was a corporal in Company C, 22d Regiment; Private John De Grote served in the cavalry; and Private William H. Jennings served in the 8th regiment, Infantry. Private William De Groat (Company H, 11th Regiment) died of inflammation of the bowels at the Corps D'Afrique Hospital in New Orleans. Private William Van Dunk, hired as a substitute, died in 1865 at the U.S. Army General Hospital in New Orleans and was buried there (New Jersey. Adjutant General's Office 1876, 1:574, 1:1566, 1:1567; 2:987, 2:1209, 2:1503, 2:1510, cited in Cohen, 1974, 58). James De Groat and Obadiah De Groat, both from Ramapo, served in the 26th New York Volunteers (Suffern 1902, 533).

Census data is not the only available documentation that can be used to understand the relationships among RMI families, and census data, however useful, should not be used in isolation. Census records provide only "snapshots" of a community--

⁷⁰ This was not a move from a white to a black conference. The Union Church of Africans was founded in 1813, and its successor group is now known as the Union African Methodist Episcopal Church (Lincoln & Mamiya 1990, 48).

⁷¹ The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Conference is not the same organization as the African Methodist Episcopal Conference.

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snapshots taken at ten-year intervals. Other records show that throughout the 19th century, members of RMI families from all three counties regularly intermarried. Members of one family appeared in church to witness marriages for another family. The RMI were also mobile within the general geographical area of the three counties: a nuclear family found in Rockland County, New York, in one census might well be living in Passaic or Bergen County, New Jersey, in the next census. As industrial workers and agricultural laborers, they moved to where they found employment. One must consider the families to have been firmly interconnected, even if only Bergen County, New Jersey, presents a tightly-knit residential pattern before 1870.

By 1870, however, two changes of lasting significance had taken place. All of the older group of "RMI-associate" families who had been tied to the RMI in the 18th century were now gone from the three-county area. The marriages which would bring in "new" families ancestral to major lines of the modern RMI (Morgan, Dennison, Jennings, Powell, McGinnis, Suffern, Castelyoni) had already taken place. Essentially, the group had taken on the genealogical configuration it has retained to the present time

RMI Community in the 1870 Federal Census. If the genealogical configuration of the RMI was essentially "modern" by 1870, the same was not yet true of the residential pattern. *The 1870 Federal census still showed no real evidence of the formation of a RMI community in Ramapo Township, Rockland County, New York.* The Indian farm laborer from upstate New York who is mentioned in several local histories, Silas Mount Pleasant, is found in this census [as Montpléasant], household #295/279, identified as an Indian and working for a white farmer named Augustus Coe. No evidence ever appears that he was connected with the RMI. Kate Osborn was still in the household of James Suffern as a domestic. Two teenagers were counted, one a farm laborer and one a domestic. Otherwise, there were listed only Chapman DeGroat at #369/359 and Patrick Dennison at #841/838 (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1870d).

Neither did the 1870 census show a distinct RMI community in Pompton Township, Passaic County, New Jersey. The occupational designation for household heads was "laborer" rather than more specific job categories, but the primary RMI residential pattern was still in the company town attached to the Ringwood Ironworks. Aside from a 20-year-old laborer, Elias Dunk, at #64/74, all nine identifiable RMI-headed households were found from #186/215 through #212/245. Other families of mine workers were residing interspersed among them, however, and one Degroat family was some distance away at #284/328 (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1870b).

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In other words, as late as 1870, census records show only a few RMI ancestral families residing in either Pompton Township, New Jersey (the Ringwood area) or Ramapo Township, New York (the Hillburn area). *In 1870, the residential focus of RMI ancestors was still in Hohokus Township, Bergen County, New Jersey.* Most RMI ancestral families living in Hohokus Township were classified as mulatto, and the heads worked as "farmers" or "farm laborers." Elias Dunck, John Dunck, Jno. Dufries, and Peter De Groot were listed as landowners. The household of Albert De Groot was still, as in 1850, living some distance from the rest, at #61/69. John and William De Groot were at #257/289 and #259/291, both were counted as black. James De Groot and family were at #285/316, with a Philip "Mason" in the household who was probably, at age 70, his father-in-law, the elderly Philip Mann. John Mann, his wife Catherine, and his mother-in-law Margaret "Dufries" appear on the census at #441/489. The majority of the RMI-headed households were located together at #458/506 through #472/520. As a result of his 1868 marriage to Sarah DeFreese, this was the first census in which Joseph Castelyoni [sic] was found living in the RMI community (United States. National Archives and Records Service 1870a).

Tracing the dispersion of those descendants of RMI ancestral families who did not remain within the communities, or, in other words, tracing collateral relatives who moved away from the settlements in Bergen and Passaic Counties, New Jersey, and Rockland County, New York, was not a major purpose of this historical study. A study of the RMI families as such is not significant for an analysis of whether a core community was in existence in the 19th century. The analysis undertaken here is of the communities--not of a total descendancy group.⁷²

⁷² The extensive genealogical study presented by the petitioner in professional genealogist Roger Joslyn's charts and notebooks (Joslyn Report) is essentially a family study: it includes all children born to RMI ancestral families and their descendants (insofar as the latter could be traced), whether any families are currently members of the petitioning group or not.

It should be noted in passing that a dispersion study eliminates some confusion in the records. Several isolated Degrote individuals, including children in foster care, were listed in the 1850 and 1860 Federal censuses of Sussex County, New Jersey. Several of the names provided clues to the origins of De Groats who would be discussed as "Jackson Whites" many years later in the Vineland Study (see section below). Similarly, the family of Joseph and Sarah (Milligan) Degroat, discussed in the Vineland Study, was in Livingston Township, Essex County, New Jersey, where he was working as a collier, as early as 1860 (NARA Microfilm Series M-643, Roll 690, p. 1884, #74/75).

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In a formal sense, it does not appear that the late 19th-century RMI community had organization or leadership except in so far as was typical in a late 19th-century rural community of any ethnicity (see, for example, Montell 1970):

. . . diffusion of settlement and the land ownership patterns that evolved in the mountains during the nineteenth century served to minimize the establishment of organized communities and formal social institutions. Politics and religion were the two major opportunities for mountain residents to engaged in organized community life, but these institutions were themselves organized along kinship lines. Local political factions divided according to kin groups, and local churches developed as communions of extended family units. Both institutions reflected the importance of personal relationships and local autonomy in their operation and structure (Eller 1982, 9).

In accordance with this general mountain custom, under criterion "C" the petition narrative lists the influential men of the past 150 years family by family (RMI Pet., Narr., 1:C9-1:C20). This RMI tradition indicates that ministers (RMI Pet., Narr., 1:C11-13; 1:C14-15) and the more affluent RMI landowners (RMI Pet., Narr., 1:C9-11) were respected by both community members and outside observers, both in the 19th and the 20th centuries, but formal organizations except the churches do not seem to have existed in the 19th century. Beyond that, each family head or "patriarch" is said to have governed his own household (Crawford 1940, 9; RMI Pet., Narr., 1:C2). There are no contemporary 19th-century descriptions of RMI community organization. Later outside observers tended to refer to "clans" and "clannishness" (Crawford 1940, 9; Stamato 1968, 48), but without providing technical definitions of what they meant by these terms. Crawford stated that "they no longer have a clan or group leader" (Crawford 1940, 9), which could be read as implying that such leaders had existed at an earlier period. Stamato believed that clan leaders still existed, but did not identify them (Stamato 1968, 48).

THE "DISCOVERY" OF THE RAMAPO MOUNTAIN INDIANS, 1872-1940.

Development of Community Structure. By 1880, the RMI ancestors were coming to be identified as a distinct group of mixed race, and the modern residential configuration of the RMI community was emerging. RMI families continued to live in the Green Mountain Valley settlement in Bergen County, but they were also moving north toward the Hoevenkopf (Stag Hill) (Cohen 1974, 65). Schifflet's and Ellers's work provides a general context for the type of rural industrial settlement that Ringwood represented (Eller 1982; Shifflett 1991). Ransom provides an immediate context for the Ramapo Mountains complex of ironworks (Ransom 1966).

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Brook Chapel. The village of Hillburn, New York, was founded in 1873. RMI families soon settled there in considerable numbers. It was reported that Samuel De Freese, Jr., an RMI ancestor, conducted prayer meetings for them in the home of William De Groat in the mid-1870's.

A second RMI church was founded in 1877 in Hillburn--this time a Presbyterian Chapel in the mountains southwest of the town. It was affiliated with older Presbyterian churches in the area. A Presbyterian church had been founded in 1810 at the nearby Ramapo Works by Jeremiah Pierson, the entrepreneur who operated the complex. This "Old Stone Presbyterian Church," which continued to be the congregation of the affluent, parented during the 1870's two new Hillburn branches serving primarily laborers from the foundry. These dual churches are the first explicit, documented instance in the record of establishment of a segregated institution for the RMI.

The Reverend George A. Ford became pastor of the new Ramapo Presbyterian Church, located in a frame building and founded for the purpose of serving white employees at the foundry. In 1876 he expanded his work to include the RMI. On August 7, 1926, in preparation for the 50th anniversary of Brook Chapel, Mr. Ford wrote a letter from Sidon, Syria, which provided a short history of the chapel's formation, which took place despite objections of some of his white parishioners.⁷³

He began through prayer meetings held in some of the people's homes in the mountains, mentioning "good old faithful Mary Degrote" by name. For four years, from 1876 until 1880, Ford made weekly Thursday evening trips into the mountains to hold the prayer meetings. By that time a large enough congregation had developed to allow construction of a chapel "for a central place of worship, to attract new recruits, and give the people a church and community centre of their own" (RMI Pet. File, Response to Obvious Deficiency Letter (hereafter OD Response) 1991).

This log building was Brook Chapel, created therefore as a loosely-affiliated but segregated Presbyterian congregation for those foundry employees who were perceived as being persons of color (Penfold 1955, 30; Cohen 1974, 101). The petition included records of Brook Chapel from 1877 to the present (RMI Pet., Ex. 72). A new white frame building was completed about 1892/93, the lot being donated and much of the construction cost of \$1,100 being contributed by the congregation. A local historian writing 10 years later described it as "a building for the use of the

⁷³ One objection advanced was that there had already been fruitless evangelism efforts among the RMI by the Episcopalians in Suffern to no avail. The petition included no information on the Episcopal missionary efforts.

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colored people of the village and vicinity" (Tompkins 1902, 539). In his 1926 letter, Ford stated also: "The colored community inhabiting the Ramapo Mountains fifty years ago included considerable American Indian blood, coming down from the early days," but provided no particulars or evidence which would support this claim (RMI Pet. File, OD Response 1991).

At the time Cohen was conducting his RMI research, the Brook Chapel building featured a photograph of RMI ancestor Reverend Samuel E. De Freese Jr. "with his white beard, dark clothing, and stern expression" (Cohen 1974;101). Burials from this church were primarily in the exclusively RMI Mountain Cemetery at the top of Stag Hill until the Old Stag Hill Road was closed by Hohokus Township, New Jersey, in 1957: after that burials were in Airmont Cemetery, located a few miles east of Hillburn and used by the general public (RMI Pet. Narr., 58).

RMI Community Structure from Federal Census Records, 1880-1920. From 1880 through the most recent Federal census open to public research, 1920, the information provided on the schedules is of immense use for a study of community structure. Varying somewhat from decade to decade, it is uniform in providing occupation, place of birth and place of birth of parents, and relationship of individuals in residence to the head of the household. On a varying basis it includes information about property holding.

The 1880 Federal census for Ramapo Township, Rockland County, New York, reflects the RMI population movement away from agricultural areas to the new industrial villages such as Hillburn--the same process of population concentration that led to the founding of Brook Chapel in 1877. Most of the 13 RMI ancestral family heads in Rockland County were listed as laborers or farm laborers.⁷⁴

The RMI population of Pompton Township in Passaic County, New Jersey, also expanded notably in the decade from 1870 through 1880, to a total of 22 families,

⁷⁴ John Dennison at #60/64 was at some distance from the others, and Samuel De Freese and his wife at #111/116 were not in the immediate cluster. Owen De Groot and Samuel Dennison were neighbors at #166/172 and #167/173, and Samuel's brother-in-law Nelson De Freese and wife Cornelia were sharing his house. Elias Mann, a farm laborer, was at #375/395. The remainder of the RMI families were from #261/275 through #270/284 (somewhat interspersed with other families) and represent the developing nucleus of the Hillburn settlement (NARS Microfilm Series T-9, Roll 924).

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probably because of the growth of employment opportunities at the Ringwood mines.⁷⁵ The largest group of the RMI families, 27 households, was still living in Hohokus Township, New Jersey, in 1880. As in prior census years, a few families were scattered but there was a clear central settlement.⁷⁶

The 1890 Federal census was destroyed by fire. The analysis of settlement patterns could be continued through the 1900, 1910, and 1920 Federal censuses, but as these have been used by the BAR genealogist for connecting living community members to their ancestors, the decision was made not to duplicate the work in the historical report in the interest of saving space. Generally, the pattern of RMI population concentration away from agricultural labor and toward Stag Hill/Mahwah, Hillburn, and Ringwood continued.

State censuses also exist for both New York and New Jersey in the later 19th century, taken at the five-year intervals between the Federal censuses. Copies were presented by the petitioner (Joslyn Report, Census). The BAR genealogist has utilized these also. The information did not alter the basic understanding of the communities' settlement patterns, which showed a typical progression for the period of movement of household heads from agricultural to industrial employment, and therefore from farms to small towns.

"Jackson Whites." The derogatory nomenclature "Jackson Whites" as applied to the RMI began to appear in the final quarter of the 19th century. Many writers have discussed its possible origins, none coming to a satisfactory or definitive conclusion, and the question is irrelevant to the merits of the petition in any case (Demarest 1975,

⁷⁵ Four families (Charles "Suveren" or Suffern, Richard Degroote, Charles Van Dunk, and John Van Dunk) formed a small cluster at #45 through #53. Another four-family cluster (Martin Suffern, Charles Vandunk, Thomas Vandunk, and John Vandunk) were at #211 through #213. Seven families were found at #383 through 389, most family heads listed as "laborer," but one as a blacksmith, and seven more at #424 through 435. Among this last seven, four (William Defreese, Samuel and John Milligan, and Willem J. Vandunk, were specified as being miners (NARS Microfilm Series T-9, Roll 794).

⁷⁶ Samuel Degroat at #51, another Samuel Degroot at #88, and Elias Vandunk 15 #108. James Degroot appeared at #163/167, with a nine-family cluster between #176/188 and #189/194. At a short distance was Edward Degroot at #201/206. A three-family cluster appeared at #228/239 through 230/241; another three-family group at #242/257 through #244/259. The family of Wm. Degroot was at #264/280, and the RMI concluded with a six-family cluster at #275/290 through 281/296. The families among whom the RMI ancestors lived were white--in the Second District of Hohokus Township there were quite a few black families with unfamiliar names, but no RMI families (NARS Microfilm Series T-9, Roll 771).

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84-88; Cohen 1974, 20-22). The first printed appearance that has been located was on February 9, 1878, in the Rockland County Journal, but the context was such that the editor obviously assumed that his readers would be familiar with the usage (Cohen 1974, 21). Another mention of the term followed in the Bergen Democrat on July 30, 1880 (Bischoff and Kahn 1978, 210).

"Jackson Whites" was not a term that was used carefully or specifically. It was applied to the RMI with some frequency, but it created a great deal of confusion because it was also applied to a basically unrelated group of non-RMI mountaineers living around Ladentown in Rockland County, New York.⁷⁷ By extension it came to be applied in the region of southeastern New York and northeastern New Jersey to persons who had no connection with either of these communities, but whose life style was perceived by their critics to approximate that which elsewhere in the country was called "white trash" (Speck 1911, 105). For the purposes of this report, all that is necessary is an awareness that the term "Jackson Whites" was used frequently, but with great lack of precision, to indicate the RMI in the century between 1880 and 1980.

As time went on, the term was not always used with derogatory intent, even though it was repudiated by the RMI community itself. In some ways, George Weller's article in The New Yorker on September 17, 1938, can be seen as the unusually sophisticated culmination of the "empathetic" strain of writing about the RMI. It was, however, entitled, "A Reporter at Large: The Jackson Whites" (Weller 1938).

In 1974, Cohen both traced and comprehensively refuted the basic elements of the "Jackson White" origins legend. These elements had appeared in a number of historical and journalistic reports on the RMI from 1890 through 1936, were collected together and added to by J. C. Storms in his 1936 book and its subsequent editions, and were repeated by a multitude of journalists and other writers thereafter (Cohen 1974, 3-24). There is no need to repeat the refutation in this report.⁷⁸

Journalists.

⁷⁷ See, for example, David Arnold Balch's play "Jackson White" produced in New York on April 20, 1935 (Demarest 1975, 89) and the follow-up article by Meyer Berger (Berger 1935).

⁷⁸ An interesting variant was already in print by 1924, when the story was advanced that "soon after the colonies were settled," some men paid an Englishman named Jackson \$100 apiece to supply them with wives, and when he brought a ship load of negresses, accepted the bargain they had made and moved back into the mountains to rear their families (Forest Fire in the Ramapos, 1924).

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Indeed, all over the world, the terms applied to rural people by urban people have implied either contempt and condescension, or--and this is the opposite side of the same attitude--a romantic admiration for the simple, hardy virtues of rural life (Eller 1982, xviii).

An unusually large proportion of this report's discussion of external identification of the RMI in the past 120 years will be dependent upon newspaper accounts submitted as exhibits by the petitioner. Aside from census records, the petitioner submitted almost no 19th century official government documentation at any level (Federal, State, or local) that addressed the ethnic identity of the group. With the exception of the records of Brook Chapel, the petitioner also submitted no documentation created internally by the RMI community which depicted its leadership and functioning. The BAR contractor employed to develop a basic historical bibliography was also unable to locate any internally produced RMI documentation prior to the mid-20th century.

Critical Journalism. As wealthy New Yorkers began to establish estates in the Ramapo Valley upon which they employed RMI members, and to establish industries in the Ramapo Valley in which they employed RMI members, the group was "discovered" by journalists.⁷⁹ The earliest documentation of the RMI in a feature article entitled "A Community of Outcasts: included in the petition was on March 22/23, 1872, in Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science, and Art (Frenzeny 1872). The author noted the existence of a "peculiar population" in the mountains 40 miles northwest of New York City. The white mountaineers around Ladentown, New York, were conflated with the RMI communities, the cited names being "Conklin and De Groot" (Frenzeny 1872, 326).

The Appleton's article began a strain of reporting which was to continue, each article feeding off the previous one and into the next one, until it culminated with the publication of Frances Ensign Greene's "The Tobacco Road of the North" in the

⁷⁹ The RMI were not the only community "discovered" by journalists at this time: "As early as the 1870s, writers for the new monthly magazines which flourished after the Civil War had begun to develop and exploit a literary image of [Appalachia]. Initially drawn to the mountains in search of the interesting and the picturesque, local color writers . . . were quick to turn the quaint and simple lives of the mountaineers into grist for the literary mill. Between 1870 and 1890, over two hundred travel accounts and short stories were published in which the mountain people emerged as a rude, backward, romantic, and sometimes violent race who had quietly lived for generations in isolation from the mainstream of American life" (Eller 1982, xv-xvi). See also Shapiro 1966.

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fascist American Mercury in July 1941 (Greene 1941, 15-22).⁸⁰ This strain of "yellow journalism" was to be marked by allegations that the community was marked by feuds, superstition, informal or nonexistent marriages, ignorance, shiftlessness, and physical deformities:⁸¹

The people will tell you that this stain upon their fair country was first put there by fugitive slaves, more than a hundred years ago. There were gradually added to these fugitives of other descriptions, and the general antagonism to the world made each individual endure the others. They buried themselves deep in the fastnesses and gorges of the mountains, and reared children, wilder and more savage than themselves (Frenzeny 1872, 325).

The article gave no indication of Indian ancestry for the New Jersey mountaineers, the only reference to Indians being the sentence, "give any of these wretches the certainty of a meal, and he will fall into a state of sloth equalled only by the Digger Indians" (Frenzeny 1872, 326).

If these reports on the RMI by journalists are taken out of context, they seem to present an extraordinary picture of backwardness, isolation, laziness, ignorance, and poverty. They must, however, be read in accordance with one ongoing theme of the national mood in the United States during the second half of the 19th century, when middle-class employers harshly criticized those "marginalized" workers who lived in poor material conditions and supplemented their wage income by such subsistence activities as hunting and gathering (Jones 1992, ix). Such criticisms of the poor were not new--in Europe, they had been made during the era of the Poor Laws in the 16th century and during the era of the workhouses in the first half of the 19th century. "Poverty has a history . . . every generation, here and abroad, felt the need to 'discover' the unique, and uniquely degrading, qualities of their 'own' poor" (Jones 1992, 2,9).

Central to the issue of poverty over the years was the nature and meaning of productive labor as a moral virtue. Among Americans marginalized within a prosperous nation, the household economy had

⁸⁰ Petition, Exhibit 24. Greene was a free-lance journalist and also a writer for the New York World Herald, living in Park Ridge, NJ.

⁸¹ The RMI were not unique in being described in this way. As Arnold Toynbee wrote of the Anglo-Saxon mountaineers of the southern Appalachians, "They have relapsed into illiteracy and witchcraft . . . they suffer from poverty, squalor, and ill health (Toynbee 1947, 2:312).

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always demanded resourcefulness and hard work. A lack of steady employment meant that fathers and sons and mothers and daughters would have to make a living when and where they could find it. Nevertheless, employers and public officials who expected from workers time-oriented discipline argued that hunting, fishing, scavenging, and bartering did not constitute "work" at all; only wage earning under the watchful eye of a plantation overseer, white housewife, shop foreman . . . qualified as morally redeeming behavior (Jones 1992, 4).

Critical journalism could even feed upon comparatively objective academic studies. In 1911, the Philadelphia Evening Post reprinted the Frank G. Speck article in the Southern Workman that is quoted extensively below. The article's headline was decidedly misleading as to the study's actual content: "Jackson Whites Are Queer, Shiftless Families of the Ramapo Valley. Make Baskets and Live Under Rude, Primitive Conditions" (Jackson Whites Are . . . , 1911).

The RMI ancestors were not alone in being subjected to this kind of derogatory "local color" reporting. At the same period that journalists were so extensively criticizing the subsistence mode of life being developed by the modern RMI community's ancestors, other writers in other parts of the country were describing those southern freedmen who found their own subsistence in ponds, streams, forests, and gardens rather than indenturing themselves to their former masters as "idle, vicious vagrants, whose sole idea consists in loafing without working" (Jones 1992, 4).

White Appalachian mountaineers were just as severely criticized for the way they lived. Such criticism continued to the days of the 1960's War on Poverty, even by the volunteers and social workers who were sent to "improve their lot" (e.g. Fetterman 1967). In fact, one writer who discussed the RMI group in 1953 made the specific comparison:

At an altitude of about one thousand feet in the Ramapo Mountains, near Suffern, in hovels in little clearings on bits of level land, live some of the poorest, most ignorant and at times the most lawless people who can be found anywhere in the United States, outside the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the Tennessee mountains (Penfold 1953, 1, 4).

Another newspaper article specifically compared the RMI to the white mountaineers of Kentucky (Forest Fire in the Ramapos 1924).

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The location of the ancestral RMI community in the 19th century fitted to some extent into this general picture. The RMI farmed land of marginal productivity in the Ramapo mountains, mined coal at Ringwood, or labored in industry at Hillburn and Mahwah, RMI relatives who left home could and did find better-paying employment in urban centers such as Newark. "Place is a major theme in the history of poverty. Over the generations, a large proportion of poor people have lived in places where they lacked access to the employment opportunities and educational resources that would enable them to improve their lot in life" (Jones 1992, 5).

Empathetic Journalism. A critical approach to the RMI was not, however, the only popular theme available for journalists to utilize. At the same time that one interpretive theme was emphasizing the negative qualities of the group and ignoring the positive ones, a second journalistic convention began to show the community in the light of Shepherd of the Hills romanticizing of the simplicity and ennobling qualities of rural life. Rooted ultimately in Wordsworth and the English Romantic movement, this approach, like the critical approach, was not applied only to the RMI by outside observers, but was widespread in later 19th-century American writing (see Eller 1982, xviii).

The first extensive published article that clearly picked up this theme in relation to the RMI appeared in an 1890 article entitled "The Ramapo Valley" in The Home-Maker (Johnson 1890, 385-395). The author launched into an enthusiastic description of Brook Chapel, writing that on "the banks of a foaming little mountain brook, and surrounded by the primeval forest, stands the rustic log church where these people worship" (Johnson 1890, 385). Continuing in this vein, he stated that "true Christianity" could better be found in simple settings such as this rural chapel rather than in sophisticated urban churches. He also gave an enthusiastic description of RMI ancestor the Reverend Samuel E. De Freese Jr. (including a photograph, though not mentioning him by name):

He has the appearance of a man about seventy years of age, of almost gigantic stature, yet symmetrically moulded withal: and with a head of more than Websterian grandeur and size, he reminds the observer of one of the priests of ancient Israel. It is a sight worth travelling miles to see, when on a sabbath morning the old man rises in the pulpit to open the services for the day. The dark and solemn face, the snow-white hair hanging in abundant locks almost to his shoulders, the earnest, deep tones of his voice, as he reads the opening chapter, or intones the morning hymn, make a picture not soon to be forgotten. Many of the white people of the neighborhood attend the services here, and are forced to acknowledge that in this mountain chapel they hear

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more honest truth and good sound scripture doctrine than in many of the more fashionable churches whose spires reach much farther heavenward (Johnson 1890, 387).

Optimistically, a World reporter writing about Hillburn about 1895 maintained that "the rapid strides toward the education of the rising generation made by the peculiar race of people in this little mountain settlement within the past few years indicate that they are more industrious and progressive than their neighbors. If the good work progresses the children of these mountain homes will be as intelligent as those who were born and raised in a populous city." A fair amount of the remainder of the description was plagiarized from the earlier Home-Maker article (Nestled Among the Suffern Hills [1895]).

Apparently from 1905 was an undated article on "Ramapo's Mountaineers--Some of Them Have Never Seen a Road or a Schoolhouse--A Trip with the Tax Collector of Hohokus Township, N.J. - The Wild Mountain Region Where the Jackson Whites Live - Revolutionary Episodes Recalled," published in the New York Sun (Ramapo's Mountaineers 1905). The writer of this hiked well into the mountains with Hohokus Township tax collector Garret Valentine. The collector and reporter met George DeGroat, "a type of the 'Jackson whites' who inhabit these mountains for many miles. They are descendants of Hessians, negroes, and Indians who fled to the hills during the Revolution." While not focusing exclusively on the RMI community or underestimating the hardship of the mountaineers' way of life, and describing the bad or nonexistent roads and such difficult occupations as charcoal burning, the overall presentation was that these were hard working taxpayers.

From Manuel De Groat's to John R. De Groat's the distance was brief, but the trail as rough as any passed over. John R. was a pleasant and intelligent copper-colored man of about 60, with three houses and as many barns in his "settlement." Everything about the place betokened thrift and tidiness. Women and children were comfortably and neatly clad, and the interior of the dwellings bespoke the presence of a tidy housewife. Mr. De Groat was a Republican in politics, and in his conversation showed considerable familiarity with the situation (Ramapo's Mountaineers 1905).

The tax collector also visited two Mann households and those of Manuel De Groat and Samuel De Groat, whose wife posed the quite logical question of why they were expected to pay road and school taxes when they did not get any benefit from them. At the home of "Aunt Abby" De Groat, it was noted that she owned 101 acres. The only neglected, run-down dwelling was described as belonging to a man who had

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suffered from the palsy for many years and therefore could not maintain it. The reporter was aware of both the RMI grouping and the Conklin grouping, but did not distinguish clearly between them (Ramapo's Mountaineers 1905; Bischoff and Kahn 1978, 205).

On November 24, 1924, the Newark Star-Eagle, "In New Jersey: Fancy, Fact and Comment about our State," published a report on a forest fire in the Ramapo Mountains that had recently been gotten under control "near the Jackson White settlement a few miles north of Bear Swamp and about seven miles directly northwest of Oakland borough." Fire fighters established a temporary headquarters at the edge of Green Valley "near the village of half-breeds who so much resemble the Kentucky Whites." One of the fire fighters who had heard tales decided to see for himself--he found a school with children who wanted to know whether he was the State health inspector or the doctor from the county tuberculosis association. The article noted both favorable and unfavorable characteristics of the group, adding that they "appear to have the attitude of the American Indian in the making of baskets, axe and hammer handles and wooden spoons." The names he gave were De Graw, De Groat, Conklin, and Wannamaker (Forest Fire in the Ramapos 1924).

Even the "hunting and fishing" way of life of the mountaineers was often reported as a matter of the writer's perspective. Writing in 1955 in Romantic Suffern, local historian Saxby Vouler Penfold looked back on local recollections of one RMI ancestor and 19th century Green Mountain Valley landowner:

Richard De Groat, who died at his home in the Ramapo Mountains, in 1894, at the advanced age of 92 years, was part Indian by birth and possessed the noblest instincts of that race. . . . [he] became acquainted with thousands of people who visited the Ramapo Mountains to hunt and fish. How many sportsmen he entertained cannot be computed, but all who stopped with him and partook of his hospitality remembered him with feelings of kindly regard (Penfold 1955;29-30).

Journalists' Reports of Indian Ancestry. Some of the efforts made by journalists to illustrate Indian ancestry in the RMI were apparently quite extraordinary. In 1935, Janet Sweet of the Bergen Evening Record reported that years before, a "man well known in theatrical circles," Nils T. Granlund, had come to the Hoevenkopf bringing three or four horses. He and his company had dressed a number of the mountain girls in Indian costume, put them on the imported horses, and took a large number of pictures of the "remodeled natives" (Sweet 1935d).

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The story led off with a scoop to the effect that these mountain people of Indian origin had retired to the wild hills of their forefathers, wearing the heirlooms of the red men, handed down from generation to generation. The natives were furious (Sweet 1935d).

We know of no journalist publishing before 1890 who identified the RMI as of even partially Indian ancestry. The first journalist to actually state this idea wrote in 1890 in The World [New York City]. The article, "A People with Pink Eyes," focused primarily upon the presence of albinos in RMI families, but one of the subheadings read "A Mixture of African, Indian and White." The article included the sentences, "The race and its life history forms an interesting ethnological study, and the early history of the negroes who first intermarried with the **Creek Indians** in the Ramapo Mountains would elucidate many curious problems. That the Indians with whom they mixed were **Creeks** [emphasis added], we have only their own assertion." It should be noted that almost all of the other articles throughout the 1890's would mention the phenomenon of albinism in some way (A People With Pink Eyes 1890).

The same year, "The Ramapo Valley" in The Home-Maker described a walking trip through the Ramapos. The author wrote that a "peculiar race" of people lived in Hillburn, New York, who "seem to be a mixture of Indian, white, and negro, as all shades of color may be found among them" (Johnson 1890, 386). He stated as a fact the hypothesis of **Tuscarora** origin for the Indian blood in the group stemming from a 1715 migration through the Ramapo Valley: "and so, without a doubt, it is from them they derive the Indian blood and characteristics which predominate among them" (Johnson 1890, 386).

On November 19, 1891, the Hackensack Republican reported an interview with a Justice Bogert, who lived east of Nanuet, Rockland County, New York, "What is a Jackson White." Bogert was recorded as saying, "The true Jackson whites are descendants of whites, blacks and Indians who lived in the Suffern mountains during the Revolution,"⁸² specifying that the whites were mostly "Tories of a low class who fled to the mountains to escape military service, the blacks were runaway slaves, and **the Indians were natives of the hills . . .**" He defined the "pure Jackson white" as "the DeGraws of the Suffern mountains, who have the high cheek bones and red-brown skin characteristic of their Indian ancestry . . . The pure Jackson white is also migratory, another Indian characteristic." Bogert also indicated that in the Ramapos

⁸² Neither Keeseey (Keeseey 1957) nor Leiby (Leiby 1962) provides any information to indicate that the formation of the RMI community was in any way connected with New York or New Jersey loyalists during the Revolution. Known ancestors of the RMI community were not yet living in the Ramapo mountains during the Revolution.

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there could be "even at this day find plenty of dugouts where these peculiar people hid themselves during the Revolution" (What is a Jackson White 1891).

The World, about 1895, published: "Nestled Among the Suffern Hills Is A Settlement of People of No Known Race." Focused on Hillburn, it was illustrated with a photograph of the old log Brook Chapel building (which, with some hyperbole, was said to have been in use for more than a hundred years), currently in use as a school. "The village is no longer the abode of squatters as it was in former years, when log cabins were about the only habitations thereabout. Then it was the home of charcoal burners, basket makers, and the **Ramapo Indians** [emphasis added]." The reporter wrote that "anthropologists say" that the people in the mountains west of Hillburn are a mixture of white, negro and Indian, attributing the Indian lineage as **Tuscarora** (Nestled Among the Suffern Hills [1895]). No anthropological report on the RMI prior to those of Frank Speck in 1908/11 was submitted by the petitioner or has been located.

Historians, Archeologists, and Anthropologists. Discussions of the RMI by local historians began to appear in the 1880's at much the same time as the first reports by journalists. Most depended heavily on tradition, adding to it layer by layer. A great deal of what they stated was unverifiable speculation. The majority referred only generically to "Indians," offering no documentation except the physical appearance of their supposed descendants. Van Valen in 1900 suggested Hackensack ancestry, but no local historian introduced the Tuscarora idea until after Speck's influential 1911 publication (see below).

David Cole's History of Rockland County, New York (Cole 1884) made no direct reference to the RMI, but indicated that "a significant number of negroes" were found at an early date in the mountains in the western part of Ramapo Township. For their origin, he repeated only a "tradition" that a New Jersey landowner named "good Mr. Rutherford"⁶³ had allowed them to squat there on land that had not been sold to individuals as of 1784, adding that they probably had entered the mountains for refuge during the period of slavery. He said that the descendants of these squatters "are referred today as the Mountain People," but did not specify which Mountain People--whether the RMI or the mountaineer community further north around Ladentown (Cole 1884, 266).

⁶³ In 1789, John Stevens, James Parker and Walter Rutherford obtained a grant of 5,000 acres of the (42,500-acre) Ramapo patent, made up of many tracts in different locations. Two non-RMI individuals, Cornelius de Graw and Richard de Graw, purchased from Stevens and the company proprietors, and settled on the Ramapo patent or lands just south of it (Harvey, 1900, 40).

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J. M. Van Valen's History of Bergen County, New Jersey (Van Valen 1900) commented that "the Ramapo Indians" sometimes visited settlements in Franklin Township.

They were known formerly as **the Hackensacky Indians** [emphasis added], but are more properly the race described as the 'Jackson Whites.' They bear little resemblance to the Indians, yet as tradition gives it they are descendants of Hessians, Indians, and negroes, but know nothing of their ancestry (Van Valen 1900, 181-182).

Arthur S. Tompkins' Historical Record to the Close of the Nineteenth Century of Rockland County, New York (Tompkins 1902), published two years later, referred to the group as Jackson Whites and stated that they originated "when the Indians were yet living in the lowlands among the Ramapo Mountains. The first race came by a union between the Indians and half breeds on one side, and colored laborers brought from the lower part of the county to work in the Ramapo factories on the other side (Tompkins 1902, 552). Tompkins did distinguish between the RMI and the Ladentown area mountaineers who were also called Jackson Whites, added that the "colored people" who had been brought in were either freed slaves or their children, "and many of the names to-day may be traced as identified with some of the old Holland pioneers of Orangetown, for the slaves in old times bore the surnames of their masters." He attributed the white strain in the intermixture to laborers in the Ramapo factories (Tompkins 1902, 552).

The Annual Report of the Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society in the 1907 Proceedings (New Jersey Historical Society 1907) contained a response to an enquiry concerning the Jackson Whites. The reply, including several racial stereotypes, indicated that they were a people of mixed Indian and negro blood, the Indian strain showing in their reticence. The enquirer was referred to Charles S. Stites, manager of the Hewitt estate near Ringwood, who was said to have a more extensive knowledge of them than anyone else (New Jersey Historical Society 1907, 120).

Frank G. Speck. The only professional anthropologist or ethnologist to have made a relatively early study of the RMI group was Frank G. Speck, who visited the Ramapo Mountains of Rockland County, New York prior to 1908. Although more interested in archaeological evidence of primitive Indian inhabitants than in the current residents, Speck did share and give widespread circulation to the speculation current at the time (see, for example, the unnamed "anthropologists" cited in the 1895 World article) on the RMI community's origins. Speck mentioned in a letter to Alanson Skinner of the American Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C., that the area residents "numbering any way 500 . . . [were] the descendants of native Indians,

Tuscaroras, negroes, and whites [emphasis added]." He also stated that "the Indian element [was] chiefly to be found near Pine Meadows a mountain district having some 10 families or so." Despite this "Indian element," Speck stated, "practically nothing remain[ed] on the surface of Indian customs" (Speck 1908). Pine Meadows was not one of the RMI settlements, and the "Indian-like" artifacts collected by Speck were in fact produced by the Pitt/Conklin group of white wood-carvers and basket-makers living farther north in Rockland County than the RMI settlements (see Sessions 1985, 35-43).

In a follow-up article published in the Southern Workman, Speck elaborated his hypothesis. Stating that the community had existed since before the Revolutionary War and was a mixed Indian, Negro, and white population, he added:

According to current tradition the tribe, so-called, seems to have been founded by the blending of a few families of native Algonquian Indians, probably Minisinks of the Delaware, with some of the Tuscaroras who lingered for a rest in the Ramapo Valley on their way from Carolina in 1714 [emphasis added] to join their colleagues, the Iroquois, in New York State. To this small nucleus became added from time to time runaway Negro slaves and perhaps freedmen from the Dutch colonial plantations in the adjoining counties in New Jersey. Vagabond white men of all sorts also contributed a share to the community from the early days until now. The Jackson-Whites may be regarded, therefore, as a type of triple race mixture (Speck 1911, 104-105).

Speck stated that, "Absolutely no semblance of an organization exists among them, nor do they recognize any bonds of union other than those of direct kinship . . . As regards vestiges of native culture, the Jackson-Whites are quite barren Though I heard from time to time of some old person who was reported to know a few Indian words, I never encountered one" (Speck 1911, 105-106). Speck also recognized the Dutch antecedents of the RMI group, referring to the De Groat and de Fries names and adding that "some are encountered who speak the language of Holland. . ." (Speck 1911, 105).

In 1910, linguist John Dyneley Prince of Columbia University published a survey of the traditional language of the RMI community--Jersey Dutch (Prince 1910). One of his major informants was RMI ancestor William De Freece, whom he described as 75, a laborer on the Hewitt estate at Ringwood, Passaic County, N.J., an excellent authority on the negro variant of the dialect" (Prince 1910, 460). Prince added: "There is a small colony of old negroes living on the mountain back of Suffern,

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N.Y., who still use their own dialect of Jersey Dutch, but they are very difficult of access, owing to their shyness of strangers" (Prince 1910, 460).

RMI ancestor Silas Milligan of Ringwood was also one of the last speakers of the Jersey Dutch dialect. A photo caption in one newspaper article read: Silas Milligan, shown in photo taken circa 1900, was one of the last of the Ringwood people to use the "Jersey Dutch dialect" (Brace 1971). Brace wrote that John D. Price [sic], who was a linguist and resident of Ringwood [sic], wrote a paper on the dialect in 1910 in which he told of conversing with another resident, William de Frieze [sic], in that language. Elsewhere in the article, the name of the linguist was given as John C. Prince [sic], a Rutgers' [sic] scholar of the early 1900's (Brace 1971).

Ethnologist Alanson B. Skinner of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City supposedly discussed the RMI in 1911 as "A Primitive New Race in the Very Heart of Civilization: The 'Jackson Whites'," published in the American Examiner (Skinner 1911 (see note in reference list), cited in Cohen 1974, 259). This periodical is not listed in the National Union Catalog of Serials, and the source of the article could not be identified by the reference staff of the Newspapers and Current Periodicals Reading Room at the Library of Congress. Skinner's The Indians of Greater New York, published in 1915, indicated that a few Indians remained in the Ramapo Mountains, "mixed with both caucasian and negro blood." He provided no speculation on their possible tribal identity, except in the general context that the reference appeared in his discussion of eastern Algonquin remnant groups (Skinner 1915, 98-99). This discussion was apparently based upon his 1908 correspondence with Frank G. Speck (copies in BAR files).

Pierson's 1915 The Ramapo Pass also indicated the presence of Indian ancestry, as evidenced only by physical characteristics. He specified the RMI names De Frees, Mann, De Groat, and Van Dunk as prevailing among this group (Pierson 1915, 17, 19).

By 1922, New Jersey archaeologist Max Schrabisch, writing in the Paterson Morning Call, not only considered Hessian ancestry for the RMI but stated that during the Revolution "many Hessian soldiers came flocking to the Ramapo Mountains." Similarly, Schrabisch moved both in 1909 and 1922 from Speck's suggestion of Tuscarora ancestry for the RMI to a firm statement of the same:

In 1714 or thereabouts a large number of Tuscarora lingered for an indefinite period of time at Suffern and vicinity, they being a southern tribe on their way to join the Five Nations. About the same time the

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first Dutch settlers arrived in this neighborhood. Along with them came the first Negro slaves (Schrabisch 1922).

Education. Nineteenth century census records indicate that many, though not all, members of the RMI population were illiterate--a condition which they shared, of course, with many other people in the U.S. population. Some were listed as literate, though the schooling is not accounted for by information provided in the petition. A local historian named Albert H. Heusser is said to have referred to an 1865 Village of Ramapo School Report which indicated that some RMI children were in attendance, but the reference (cited only as Pierson Family Papers) was not provided.

Brook School, Hillburn, New York. In 1880, a school district was established in Hillburn, New York. The public school (later named the Main School) was for whites only, but a segregated school, named the Brook School, was established at about the same time for the RMI children. Classes were held in the log building of Brook Chapel. It was maintained by private subscription until 1888, when the Hillburn school district took it over. A log school building was built in 1889. Although lacking modern conveniences such as indoor plumbing, the Brook School remained open until segregation in Hillburn was ended by order of the State Superintendent of Schools in 1943 (Cohen 1974, 97). In 1935, a newspaper article reported that the school had a faculty of five and was attended by children who were all ". . . mountain people" (Sweet 1935c). No records from this school were presented by the petitioner.

The principal of the Hillburn school, who had come from Alabama some 18 years before, stated that the children had resisted her early attempts to introduce spirituals and other southern music, but were interested in Indian projects and studies (Sweet 1935c).

In 1938, a New York State law repealed an earlier law that had permitted segregated schools. Taking advantage of this, the RMI community in Hillburn formed a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, then NAACP special counsel in New York City, provided the legal expertise to the chapter and notified Dr. George Stoddard, New York Commissioner of Education, about the situation in Hillburn. His ruling on October 12, 1943, permitted RMI students to enroll in the Main School (Cohen 1974, 97-99). Newspaper coverage of their enrollment described this as the opening of the school to the mountain children, but did not mention a possible Indian identity for the community. The headline in the New York Times, October 19, 1943, read: "68 White Pupils Boycott Hillburn School Opened to Negroes, Enter Private Classes." The reporter added that 87 RMI children had appeared for classes at the

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Main School (68 White Pupils Boycott Hillburn School 1943). The petition provided no coverage of this controversy.

Lincoln School No. 5, Stag Hill. In 1909, at the urging of Mrs. Francis Wheaton, who had been conducting a private school for the Stag Hill RMI for six or seven years, the Hohokus Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, Board of Education bought land on the Hoevenkopf and established the Lincoln School No. 5 (Cohen 1974, 65). This school was closed in 1945, after which the RMI began attending school in Mahwah (Cohen 1974, 67). No records pertaining to Lincoln school were presented by the petitioner, although it is mentioned in several of the newspaper articles published during the 1930's.

In 1929, a newspaper article stated that there was a school at the peak that had been taught for several years past by a Miss Josephine Trusloe [sic] Adams (Britt 1929; Man Who Educated Mountaineers 1930, 7). Several years later, the Herald-News, Ridgewood, New Jersey, noted: "Stories of Ramapo People Featured in Book by Josephine Truslow Adams" (Stories of Ramapo People 1953). In 1931-32, it was described as a one-room, eight-grade rural school with 20 pupils registered. The four surnames represented were Mann, DeGroat, Burris, and Castelonia (Tholl 1975, 55). On October 3, 1935, the Rockland Journal News published an article headline, "Fondness of Jackson White Children for Indian Game Shows Strongest Ancestry" (Fondness of Jackson White Children 1935).

The Stag Hill school was discussed in some detail in 1935 by Janet Sweet in her five-part series "The Jacksons" published in the Bergen Evening Record, 21-26 October 1935. The Wednesday, October 23, article mentioned that at the top of the Hoevenkopf, in a clearing, were a church, a teacherage, and a home for the public health nurse. This year, supposedly, all the children were named either DeGroat, Mann, or Dunk or Van Dunk. Teachers for the mountaintop school were not from the RMI community, and the current teacher was a Mr. Grant from Paterson. Because he had only recently been assigned there and had not yet won the confidence of the community, he was reluctant to speak with the reporter (Sweet 1935c; Sweet 1935d).

The petition provided no information concerning educational opportunities provided for RMI children in Ringwood, New Jersey, during this period, nor has any data been located in other historical works.

Missionaries, Eugenicists, and Social Workers.

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The Wheatons. From 1902 until 1917, artist Francis Wheaton and his wife Jean, a teacher, bought land in the Stag Hill area, constructed a log cabin, and undertook "missionary work" among the RMI. Seventh-Day Adventists, they supposedly came because while they were teaching a Sabbath school in Park Ridge, New Jersey, a Stag Hill man told them of the sad plight of his bedridden mother on the Hoevenkopf who had no opportunity to go to church (A Jersey Man and his Wife 1914; Sweet 1935e). None of the reports on the Wheatons took any account of the Methodist chapel, Brook Chapel, or other preexisting RMI community institutions.

Until 1909, Mrs. Wheaton held a private school for the children of the Stag Hill RMI and then agitated until a public school was established (see discussion above, under Education). They were scarcely lonely and isolated in their endeavor. A 1935 newspaper article reported that ". . . here in the years that they were much publicized in New York journals came 14,000 visitors to sign their names in the Wheatons' guest book" (Sweet 1935e). If the 14,000 visitors also came to sightsee in the RMI community on Stag Hill, their hostility to outsiders as recorded by reporters in the 1930's was perfectly comprehensible. After Mrs. Wheaton's death in 1917, her husband remained until 1925, when he moved to Suffern. He died in 1944 (Sweet 1935e; Storms 1936, 21; Storms 1945, 28).

During the Wheatons' residence on the Hoevenkopf, journalistic interest in the RMI was considerably stimulated. In a 1909 article in the New York Sun, "Log Cabin Homes Nearby: A Visit to the Jackson Whites in the Ramapos," the author, in discussing the Wheatons' activities, noted that "we were already chock full . . . of the traditions of the Ramapos--how in the early part of the last century a few negro slaves escaped from their masters and fled to the mountains, where they were joined by Hackensacky Indians and renegade Hessian soldiers" (Log Cabin Homes 1909). A Newark Sunday Call article on September 13, 1914, was headlined, "A Jersey Man and His Wife Doing Noble Work Among Jackson Whites" (A Jersey Man and his Wife 1914). This article was the source of the story mentioned above about the supposed motivation for their coming (the bedridden woman), their surreptitious move to the mountain, and the anger of the community when it found outsiders in residence. Most of the contents were given new life by being reprinted in The Rocklander, September 1930, as "Man Who Educated Mountaineers Awaits Sunset of Life in Poorhouse" (Man Who Educated Mountaineers 1930).

Nora Snow. A long article in the New York Press, February 11, 1914, was titled, "Unique Race of Mountain People, Who Live Near New York City. Houvenkopf Mountaineers Look Upon Miss Nora Snow as their 'Lady Bountiful' -- Tells of Work" (Unique Race 1914). In 1912, Nora Snow, a wealthy Hillburn woman active in philanthropy, provided a professional nurse who was to live on Stag Hill and work

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with the residents. The nurse was still there in 1942, but no records of public health work during this period were provided by the petitioner (Unique Race, 1914; Donoghue, 1942). Miss Snow arranged for the building of the nurse's residence and teacherage in the clearing on top of Stag Hill. Under her sponsorship, the log "People's Chapel" there was constructed by the men of the community between 1912 and 1914. Also by that date, the nurse sponsored an "active" Mothers' Club for the women and a Sunshine Society for the children (Unique Race, 1914). In 1930, services were being held there every Sunday by the Rev. John A. Campbell of Hillburn, New York (Man Who Educated, 1930, 7). Nora Snow had other contacts with the RMI also. James Sidney De Groat (born June 1888; died circa 1950) served as property manager of her farm for eighteen years, until 1941. He then had a home built in the RMI settlement on Grove Street in Mahwah (RMI Pet. File, OD Response, 34). The petition states that he "controlled numerous jobs on the farm," but does not indicate whether he used his position to provide employment to other RMI members (RMI Pet., Narr., C-11).

The Vineland Study. The petitioner claims as one of the basic documents for defining membership in the RMI group an unpublished manuscript titled: "The Jackson Whites, A Study of Racial Degeneracy," produced by the New Jersey Training School for Feeble-Minded Children at Vineland,⁸⁴ resulting from a 1911 investigation of the family of inmate Lucy De Groat, by a field worker, Jane Griffiths. It also included a 1917 supplementary report by Elizabeth S. Kite, which referred to the work of Nora Snow and the nurse she had assigned to Stag Hill, Margaret Mack, but skipped mentioning such elements as the sewing classes, etc. which the nurse had organized.

The Vineland manuscript presented an exceedingly derogatory and highly suspect picture of the people it referred to as "Jackson Whites," despite its inclusion of "firsthand" interviews and genealogies. Its authorship has been questioned. Occasionally internationally known eugenicist Henry H. Goddard is said to have been responsible, though it is usually attributed to Kite and Griffiths on the basis of internal evidence (RMI Pet., Ex. 15, Vineland Study, 1917), and a handwritten draft is among the Elizabeth Kite papers at Rutgers.

The manuscript estimated the RMI to have a population of 2,611, scattered in 88 communities of New York and New Jersey. It does attribute some Indian ancestry to the RMI, apparently based primarily on Speck's hypotheses. The report repeats a large number of racial stereotypes (e.g. Vineland Training School, Vineland, New Jersey, 1917, [23], [27]).

⁸⁴ A private institution, caring at the time for about 400 children, of whom 300 were wards of the State of New Jersey.

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But how account for the Indian blood that shows itself so conspicuously among this race today? Undoubtedly a large part of it comes from Indians who were formerly held as slaves The Indian blood found in the Jackson Whites whether it came down through individuals held as slaves or through isolated free Indians who intermarried with the emancipated negroes, is supposed to have belonged to a remnant of the Algonquin Tribe--to the Minsi, or Wolf Clan, who were natives of the Upper Delaware Valley in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York There were also a few families of the Tuscarora Indians who remained in the Ramapo mountains after their tribe made there a three years sojourn, from 1710 to 1713, on its way to join the five nations in New York State. . . . the care-free nature and the desire for physical freedom which appears in many of the J-W's and which may be a sign of their inherited Indian traits, (Vineland Study, [27]).

The Vineland Study is also highly critical of the community--the following is just a small example:

The Houvenkopf mountain gives shelter to a smaller number of J-W families than the village of Hillburn All are related to the Hillburn people and to the . . . others of the tribe, who are scattered through the seventy-odd towns and villages of New Jersey and New York States" (Vineland Study, [29-30]).

The Vineland Study cannot be used in an evaluation of the RMI community without consideration of two points.

The first point is that this was not an objective study of the RMI community, but rather advocacy or propaganda produced by adherents of the U.S. eugenics movement which was already popular prior to World War I and continued through the 1930's (see in general Kevles 1985). "The [eugenics] family studies gave the movement its central, confirmational image: that of the degenerate hillbilly family, dwelling in filthy shacks and spawning endless generations of paupers, criminals, and imbeciles" (Rafter 1988, 2). J. Daniel Smith's thorough examination of another Vineland product, Henry H. Goddard's "Kallikak" study, has demonstrated that there was essentially nothing wrong with the young woman who was the focus of the study, that photographs of those members of the family not in State custody were altered to make them appear more vicious, and that follow-up indicates that the great majority of the "Kallikaks" were in fact self-sustaining members of society (Smith 1985, 83-114; see Rafter 1988, 74-80 for "Two Brothers," an early version by Elizabeth Kite). Elizabeth Kite's published study of the "Pineys" in the Pine Barrens of central New

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Jersey (Rafter 1988, 164-184) followed many of the same themes--that mental retardation, immorality and poverty were genetically inherited characteristics, for which the appropriate remedy was institutionalization to prevent continued reproduction (Rafter 1988, 1-2).

The second point is that the majority of the Jackson Whites cited in the Vineland Study as representing dysfunctional families and degenerate life styles are not claimed as ancestors on the genealogical charts submitted by the RMI group--many of them were RMI collateral lines, but few were RMI direct lines. In other words, some subjects of this study on Lucy De Groat's **paternal** side were relatives of ancestors claimed by the RMI--siblings, cousins, or distant kin. Many of the people traced by the Vineland Study were living 50 or more miles from the RMI central settlements: they were in Orange, Flanders, and Newark. There is actual overlap between the RMI ancestors and the Vineland Study subjects only in three small family groupings.

The half of the study devoted to the **maternal** ancestry of the child Lucy De Groat has no applicability to RMI ancestry at all, in that Sarah Washburn was not RMI and none of the descendants of William and Sarah (Washburn) De Groat are currently claiming RMI membership.

The eugenicists continued to be interested in the community they had identified as Jackson-White during subsequent years. In 1931, Dr. C. T. Jones, superintendent of the New Jersey State Colony at New Lisbon, New Jersey, was mentioned in a short article in Eugenical News (Jones 1931), which stated that he had continued his investigations from time to time since 1913. Data from these later studies was not located by either the petitioner's researchers or the BAR historian.

The Osborn Study. Similar to the Vineland Study was Dorothy Osborn's "Pedigree of Van Donk-DeGrote Albino Family" produced for the Eugenics Record Office at Cold Harbor, New York.⁸⁵ This survey formed the part of the basis of a 1940 medical report on albinism and polydactylism in one RMI family (Snedecor and Harryman 1940), and several newspaper articles based on the medical report (Deformity Traced in Jersey Group 1940; Extra Toes, Fingers Caused by In-breeding, Doctors Told 1940).

The Negro in New Jersey: Report of a Survey by the Interracial Committee of the New Jersey Conference of Social Work in Cooperation with the State Department of

⁸⁵ For many years these records were stored at the Dight Institute of Human Genetics, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis: as of 1991, they were transferred to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia and microfilmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah.

Institutions and Agencies appeared in 1932. It included both the Pine Barrens settlement in central New Jersey and the Jackson Whites. On origins, it said the Jackson Whites were a mixture of Hessian, Indian (unspecified), and Negro (escaped slaves, no mention of Afro-Dutch freedmen) stocks, combined with whites. It mentioned that during the decade from 1920 to 1930, most were moving from Stag Hill into Hillburn and Ringwood, but estimated that the population throughout the State might amount to 5,000 (New Jersey Conference of Social Work 1969, 22).

Episcopalian Missionary Activity in Ringwood. By the later 1930's, the Episcopalian Church in West Milford, Bergen County, New Jersey, had begun missionary work in the RMI settlement in Ringwood. The Church of the Good Shepherd at Hewitt, New Jersey, near the entrance to the mine area, was an adjunct to that church rather than an independent congregation. It was attended solely by RMI families. The church settled a social worker named Katherine Bogert there in the spring of 1937. The economic situation of the Ringwood RMI had been acutely worsened by the closing in 1931 of the mines in which they had worked for three generations. The work of Father A.F. Chillson among the RMI residents of the Mine Area in Ringwood led to considerable publicity about the health (Moors 1937) and housing conditions (Arnold 1937b). Stories ran in the the New York Times (Hill Folk Inherit Lives of Poverty 1937; Jersey to Succor Jackson Whites 1937). Newark Sunday Call reporter Robert L. Moors visited Ringwood, speaking with a midwife referred to as Grandma Van Dunk and retailing John Milligan's recollections of a deceased witch named "Black Mag" (Moors 1937).

As compared to the Hillburn and Stag Hill settlements, up to this time Ringwood had received comparatively little publicity--possibly because it was a few miles further distant from New York and difficult of access by car because of poor roads. Elliot Arnold's article in the New York Times on April 27 (Arnold 1937a) was the most extensive of these 1937 reports. The rather sensationalized headline was: "Jersey's Tobacco Road--50 Miles from the Broadway They've Never Seen. Community of 1,000 Lives in State of Virtual Peonage. Mystery Shrouds Origin of Sick and Destitute Group Existing Without Hope in Ramapo Hills--Pastor Instigates State Inquiry." The gist of the article was an excellent piece of factual reporting on the depressed economic conditions in this former "company town." He also discussed Father Chillson's successful efforts to get William J. Ellis, Commissioner of the State Department of Institutions and Agencies, to assign an agent to investigate⁸⁶ (Arnold 1937a, 27 April).

⁸⁶ Merwin's 1963 thesis made the assumption that this article was essentially identical to the one published by Frances Ensign Greene in the American Mercury (Greene 1941). That is not the case.

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A follow-up to the news accounts about Ringwood was David Chanler's article, "The Jackson Whites: An American Episode" in The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races (Chanler 1939). This NAACP publication reported on Father Chillson's efforts. It also discussed the contempt for the group expressed in the writings of the popular novelist Albert Payson Terhune who lived in that part of New Jersey (author of Lad: A Dog, etc.) who had made unflattering references to the RMI in his novel Treasure.⁸⁷ Chanler himself, however, offered once more Storms' hypothesis on the origins of the group and accepted the most unflattering estimates of its moral character (Chanler 1939, 138).

Chanler's article said that as of 1939, Father Chillson had been moved to a different church. However, the work of this Episcopalian mission in Ringwood was still being continued by Father Alva Decker in the early 1970's (Cohen 1974, 171). No documentation on this mission was provided by the petitioner.

Academic Studies. Two academic works were published in 1939 and 1940 that essentially summed up RMI scholarship at that time. The first was E. Franklin Frazier's The Negro Family in the United States (Frazier 1966 [1939]). He included the "Jackson Whites" in Chapter XI, "Racial Islands." One informant was a granddaughter of the Reverend Samuel De Freese Jr., who apparently provided him with a copy of the 1890 Home-Maker article (Johnson 1890) featuring her grandfather. It is not clear whether or not she was the same "woman about forty in 1939 who earned a bachelor's degree at Howard University, married, and returned to Hillburn, New York, to live." In any case, Frazier made the following summation on the basis of her data:

More than a century ago some Boers were supposed to have been brought to this section by the English--possibly for the purpose of mining iron ore. As the story goes--among these Boers were four Johns--i.e., John De Groot, John Van Doonk, John De Vries and John Mann. Quite positive proof of this fact are the predominating names among the people of the present time; i.e., De Groat, Van Dunk, De Freese and Mann. After a time these people were visited by remnants of wandering tribes of Indians, i.e., Tuscaroras and Delawares who were traveling up from the South to join others of their tribe in central New York State. Still later were found, in this section, slaves maintained by a family of Sufferns. An amalgamation took place

⁸⁷ No excerpts from this book were included in the petition exhibits, but a Terhune article entitled "When Dogs Go Bad" was submitted. Essentially, it accepted the Storms hypothesis on the origin of the Jackson Whites and portrayed them as shiftless.

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between these three classes of people. A slave named Jackson was believed to have been the first of his kind to mingle with the others and as a result we find a type of people with certain peculiarities called "Jackson Whites'" (Frazier 1966, 173, quoted in Cohen 1974, 18).

Constance Crawford in 1940 produced an unpublished M.A. thesis on the Jackson Whites, covering both the RMI and the non-RMI Ladentown group, for the School of Education at New York University (Crawford 1940). She suggested the possibility of Munsee ancestry, but noted that tradition insisted that the RMI ancestors were Tuscarora who came north in 1715 and spent three years in the Ramapo pass. She added that the community still had customs "similar to those of the Iroquois tribes," but cited no source for this statement (Crawford 1940, 2). Accepting the hypothesis of mixed Negro and Indian ancestry, she also incorporated racial stereotypes in supporting her case (Crawford 1940, 8).

Known Internal Activities of the RMI Community on its Own Behalf, First Half of the 20th Century. During the first half of the 20th century, the RMI still produced little in the way of records pertaining to the group's internal functioning. This is attributed to their suspicion of outsiders and reluctance to provide information about themselves to strangers (Crawford 1940, 9). The petition itself states, "Until the period of World War II, Ramapough tribal leaders primarily acted to keep the community away or 'hidden' from the non-Indian society" (RMI Pet., Narr., 1:C7). RMI landowners permitted the landless members of the group to live as squatters (RMI Pet., Narr., 1:C7, 1:C10). A RMI men's club called the "Ungave" existed in Hillburn during this period. No records of the organization survived a fire in the early 1960's, and no outside documentation verifies the petitioner's claim that it "served as a tribal council" (RMI Pet., Narr., 1:C17). While William Mann III was preacher at the A.M.E. Zion church in Mahwah, "the Ramapough young men built a club room and gym near the church" (RMI Pet., Narr., 1:C14).

Summary. To sum up, throughout the period of "discovery" of the RMI and the consequent publicity about it, discussions of the group's presumed Indian ancestry were frequent. Possibilities mentioned were Creek, Hackensack, Minsi/Munsee/Delaware, and Tuscarora/Iroquois. None of the writers provided any 18th or 19th century documentation for their suppositions, which were based upon either oral tradition, the physical appearance of some RMI, or stereotypes of so-called "Indian traits."

Clearly, these writers identified the RMI, often including non-RMI neighbors, in racial terms, stressing the belief that their ancestry was racially diverse, originating in

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Europe, Africa and North America. At the same time, they clearly indicated that a distinct community existed in the Ramapough Mountain area.

The earliest published identification of the RMI as partly of Indian ancestry, based on oral tradition and physical phenotype, was made in 1890 (*A People With Pink Eyes* 1890). By the last quarter of the 19th century, the RMI certainly existed as a group of settlements that were largely distinct from the society around them. There was a high degree of endogamy, although RMI members did continue to marry outside the group. While the RMI communities were distinct, however, the documentation presented by the petitioner does not indicate the existence of internal community structures prior to World War II. Rather, the documentation in the exhibits focuses on how the group was more acted upon by external forces, such as churches and social workers, rather than on how it acted on its own behalf.

THE RMI COMMUNITY, 1940-1978.

For the most part, World War II brought a hiatus in newspaper reports on the RMI. Except for the reports dealing with desegregation of Brook School in Hillburn (see above), the only noteworthy article was Frank Lee Donoghue's "Jackson Whites' Tribal Reserve Broken by War" (Donoghue 1942). It included an interview with Erskine De Freese, "tall, lithe, broad-shouldered, his skin coppery with the blood of Tuscarora forebears" and with Edward Morgan, "a gentle tribesman in his 60's, who recently was appointed chief air raid warden for the district." Morgan had served in the Navy during the Spanish-American War (Donoghue 1942).

On June 26, 1942, an article in the Rockland Journal News said that the Jackson White community "has almost disappeared," attributing this to marriage outside "the tribal range," with resulting loss of identity and moving away to take jobs in agriculture or industry "and thus have taken a step upward in the social scale" (Befriended the Jackson Whites 1942). From 1942 onward (based upon information in a 1957 newspaper article), a lay missionary from the Midland Park, New Jersey, Christian Reformed Church named James Malefyt was doing charitable work among the RMI settlements at Split Rock Hill in Mahwah and on Fyke Road in Mahwah, holding weekly church services in each of the settlements ("Uncle Jim" Malefyt 1957).⁸⁸ The petition provided no additional information pertaining to these efforts.

⁸⁸ He was also said to have done work in the community "in the meadows near Suffern, New York." This must be the non-RMI community at Pine Meadows where the Pitt/Conklin family group was located.

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Some observers during the later 1940's continued to express the opinion that the settlements were disintegrating. One article went so far as to start the article with the sentence, "As an entity, the Jackson White colony at Mahwah Township is no more" (*Legendary Jackson Whites In Exodus* 1949). It attributed the "disappearance" to acceptance of outside employment opportunities and housing developments on "The Mountain" bringing in such amenities as telephones and electricity. The 20 children from "The Mountain" had not been attending a separate one-room school for two years (*Legendary Jackson Whites in Exodus* 1949).

Outside Perception

Academic Studies 1945-1960. In the later 1940's, newspaper and magazine articles on the RMI were sparse and repetitive of earlier material. Fairly typical was Mark Harris' "America's Oldest Interracial Community" published in *Negro Digest* (Harris 1948). He accepted Storms' hypothesis on origins, but gave it a positive spin. Debunking the stories of voodoo, witchcraft, and other negative characterizations, he provided the interpretation that the community had been racially democratic for 200 years and "want nothing to do with the color-conscious trappings of 'civilization'" (Harris 1948, 24).

More significant than the above type of material were two studies by William S. Gilbert. The first was "Memorandum Concerning the Characteristics of the Larger Mixed Blood Racial Islands of the Eastern United States" (Gilbert 1946). He used the label Jackson White, suggested families named Jackson and White as a possible origin (though neither name has ever been significant in either the New York Ladentown-mountaineer or the RMI communities), but listed the current RMI surnames as Casalony, Cisco, DeGroat, DeVries, Mann, and VanDunk. He estimated the total population at 5,000, but had no data on government classification for such purposes as military draft or voting rights, noted that they attended white schools in New Jersey and had no data on schools in New York, and mentioned that many had moved out of the mountains to work in industry and mining (Gilbert 1946, 443; RMI Pet., Ex. 16).

In 1948, Gilbert included the Jackson Whites in "Surviving Indian Groups of the Eastern United States," 1948 Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution (Gilbert 1948). He noted that although they were not included as Indians in census reports, they were referred to as "a mountain people with a strongly marked Indian background" (Gilbert 1948, 411). He again listed as principal surnames Cassalony, Cisco, De Groat, De Vries, Mann, and Van Dunk (Gilbert 1948, 414). In general, Gilbert described the group as part Indian, said to be Tuscarora and Munsee, but noted that traditions of Indians were hard to find. In general, Gilbert's introduction

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to "Surviving Indian Groups" says that idea of blood "is understood as relating to opinion and not to actual biological fact."

Gilbert's work was followed by several other academic studies in the 1950's. Two years later, in 1950, Edward Thomas Price Jr. included a chapter on the group in his Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the Department of Geography, University of California (Price 1950). Basically, Price stated that native Indians may well have contributed to the population in the area, but "there is no documentary proof of such mixture in the Jackson Whites" (Price 1950, 254).

Also in 1950, Marcus Whitford Collins published "Evidence of Influences Which Have Served as Retarding Forces in the Process of Disintegration in a Cumulative Community: A Study of the Jackson Whites" (Collins 1950). This study identified four communities: on the Houvenkopf (Stag Hill/Mahwah); near Hillburn; near Goshen, New York; and near Ladentown, New York. An informant distinguished between the non-RMI mountaineers north of Suffern and the RMI community on the Houvenkopf. It focused on the Houvenkopf group, saying that 30 families were there, down from 80 families around 1920, and accepting the Vineland Study's description of the turn-of-the-century conditions as valid. He also accepted Storms' hypothesis for origins, stating that there was no independent evidence for Tuscarora ancestry, but assuming they may be a remnant of the Algonquian Munsees.

A short report by Marie L. Kaufman of the Northern Bergen Nursing Service on public health nursing in the RMI community repeated the Storms hypothesis on its origins uncritically (Kaufman 1951, 1; RMI Pet. File 1950-1959), emphasized the difficult economic and environmental conditions (Kaufman 1951, 2), and attributed the situation to the group's "apathy." Coming to her work in the RMI community from post-World War II suburban surroundings in which standards for hygiene (plumbing, sewage, water supply, access to hospitals, etc.) were escalating rapidly, the nurse was appalled by housing in which these facilities had not been modernized and were still typical of later 19th-century customs. ". . . the community seems unable to cope or remedy the conditions at this time" (Kaufman 1951, 3). She attributed the difficulties encountered by the public health nurses to the fact that the RMI were "not too friendly towards anyone they may think is trying to interfere with their freedom . . . these people, in order to remain as free as possible, go deeper and deeper into the hills as a modern community develops where he was once free to roam" (Kaufman 1951, 3-4).

Like Kaufman's paper, several of the other academic publications that appeared during the 1950's through the 1970's were focused on current problems such as health, education, or housing and offered only a few stock paragraphs on "Jackson

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White" origins taken from earlier published works. These are not surveyed one-by-one in the BAR historical report, although they are included in the comprehensive bibliography.

In 1953, the United States House of Representatives produced a report in connection with a House Resolution authorizing an investigation of the BIA. A very brief history of the Delaware or Lenape nation, especially its move west, was included, but did not mention New York or New Jersey (United States House Report 1953, 367).

Elsewhere, under the heading Munsee, it stated, "Some of the blood of this tribe may enter into the mixed blood community of the Jackson Whites along with that of the Tuscarora. The Jackson Whites today are found in the hilly areas of northern New Jersey and adjacent parts of New York" (United States House Report 1953, 464).

Geographer Calvin L. Beale included some estimated population statistics on the Jackson Whites in "American Tri-Racial Isolates," but the RMI community was not a major focus of the article (Beale 1957).

Newspaper Articles and Local Historians. In the 1950's, the outside interest in the RMI community picked up again, but consistently repeated old information with the exception of one article. William A. Caldwell, writing an article entitled "Atlantis in the Sky" for the Bergen Evening Record, week-end magazine section, December 13, 1952, distinguished the RMI from the Ladentown mountaineers. "They shared their wilderness, an irregular quadrant of arc from Ramsey or Mahwah northeast to the Hudson at Bear Mountain, with . . . [non-RMI] backwoodsmen [most now named Conklin, with some Pitts]." Caldwell, aware that the RMI were most commonly employed in industry in the Ramapo area, added: "The Jackson Whites are not a mountain people. A few of them have drifted away into the hills from time to time, but their habit is urban" (Caldwell 1952).

The prospect of the reopening of the Peter and Cannon iron mines generated some renewed interest in the Ringwood community in 1951. The New York Times published "Iron Mining Beckons Ramapo Folk To Restore Their Own Livelihood" (Berger 1951). Winfred Stephens, mine foreman, "has set down the labor capabilities of all the men in the community--the Van Tassels, Thompsons, de Freeses, De Grouts, De Graws, Van Danks and Van Dunks and the Babcock clan," adding, "Maybe its true they come from stock that was made up from Hessians . . . Leni Lenape Indians . . . and slaves . . ." (Berger 1951).

Local historian Saxby Vouler Penfold, writing in Rockland County Historical Researches, stated that "the mountaineers who live scattered through the forests for miles about are descendants of the slaves that were owned by the Suffern family and

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were liberated about the year 1810. Through an ancient admixture of their blood with that of the Indians who once roamed this still wild region and through a later mingling with white outlaws--the descendants are a curious looking race (Penfold 1953, 4). Two years later, in Romantic Suffern, he repeated the legend of a Dutchman named DeGroat and a Tuscarora maiden named Arvalla whose daughter married a Negro named Charles Mann (Penfold 1955, 29-30).

During the first half of the 1960's, there was no significant change in the journalistic approach. See, as examples: The Bergen Record (Jackson White Origins 1960); "Tobacco Road One Hour from Broadway: Jackson Whites Like Hills Better Than City," New York World Telegram and Sun (Longgood 1960; RMI Pet., Ex. 73); "Link with Algonquins: Jackson Whites" (Olsen 1964).

A survey series by Russell Ainsworth gave good coverage of the RMI as understood at the time, but added nothing to the traditional historical material. Ainsworth's series of articles was published in the Bergen County Record from August 13, 1962, through August 16, 1962. The first article was "Saga of Area's Jackson Whites Still Contains Mystery Elements: Details of Group's Origins are Clouded as is Derivation of the Term" (Ainsworth 1962a).

Ainsworth's second article, "Mahwah Jackson Whites' Lore Combines Myth and Modernity" appeared on August 14. Mrs. Vero [sic] Storms, Mahwah's school nurse, was cited as a source of information.⁸⁹ The reporter discussed the geographical distribution of the group: "Stag Hill is only one community of the Jackson Whites, for relatives of the Manns, the DeGroats, the DeFreeses, and the Van Dunks will be found from Paterson to Middletown, N.Y. He then stated that other non-RMI groups lived in the Stag Hill section, and the RMI married them (Ainsworth 1962b).

The third part of the series, "Jackson Whites' Civic Advances Earned Plaque From Foundation," published on August 15, 1962, emphasized the positive achievements of the community:

Almost as high as the Houvenkopf itself--behind which lies the Stag Hill section of Mahwah--is the mountain of misconceptions and ignorance about the Jackson Whites. . . . A recent religion survey through Stag Hill resulted in determining that 10 families were

⁸⁹ Her relationship, if any, to journalist John C. Storms of the "Jackson Whites" legend is not known.

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unchurched: most belonged to Brook Presbyterian Chapel, Hillburn, or the Full Gospel Church of Mahwah (Ainsworth 1962c).

Ainsworth's final installment focused again on the persistent educational problems: "Education For Jackson Whites Has Been Vital In Improvement" (Ainsworth 1962d).

Coverage continued in the second half of the 1960's, mostly focusing on the issue of modernization. There was a series of newspaper articles concerning Stag Hill in The Bergen Record: November 4, November 7, November 9, November 10, November 17, 1967 and February 5, 1968, (the last titled, typically, "Once-Isolated Stag Hill Receives Help Toward a Brighter Future," by Blanche Sterling) (Sterling 1967a; Sterling 1967b; Sterling 1967c; Sterling 1967d; Sterling 1967e; Sterling 1968). In 1970, just before the appearance of Cohen's dissertation, Michael T. Kaufman published articles in two newspapers: "Suspicion a 2-Edged Sword for Jersey Mountain People," New York Times (Kaufman 1970a) and "Jackson Whites of Stag Hill-Ramapo Mountainfolk Now in 20th Century," Bergen Record (Kaufman 1970b).

Academic Studies 1960-1975. Cohen's 1971 dissertation and the subsequent 1974 book were not the only academic studies of the group (with related popularizations) undertaken in the 1960's and 1970's. For example, there were:

Myles M. Merwin, "The Jackson Whites: A thesis submitted to the faculty of Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J." (Merwin 1963a); Merwin's article derived from the thesis in the Rutgers Alumni Monthly (Merwin 1963b); and "Series to Give Fact on Mountain People," Ridgewood Herald News, August 15, 1963, based on the Merwin thesis (Series to Give Facts 1963). Corrections by the Suffern family were published September 15 and October 27 (Suffern Reference Resented 1963; Suffern Family Gives Correction 1963). Elizabeth Machol published a thesis also, "The Ramapo Mountain People: A Problem of Acceptance" (Machol 1966).

Linda L. Stamato's work was also written as a thesis, this time from the perspective of sociology: "The Jackson-Whites of the Ramapo Mountains" (Stamato 1968). The only new statement relative to the petition criteria was that, "The clan is the basis of Jackson-White society and operates much in the same way as Indian tribes once did" (Stamato 1963, 48). Stamato referred to other unpublished research that was not included with the petition exhibits, such as E.S. Cooke, address to History Forum, 11 May 1967; also Modern Day Samaria: Stag Hill History and Postulates (Unpublished lecture, Fordham University, New York, 1964).

A major change in public perception of the RMI was caused by one academic researcher whose work became public knowledge between 1971 and 1974. David

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Steven Cohen's findings, based on his 1971 University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. dissertation "They Walk These Hills: A Study of Social Solidarity Among the Racially-Mixed People of the Ramapo Mountains" (Cohen 1971) resulted in a flurry of popularizations in newspaper articles. The first item to appear in print as a result of Cohen's dissertation was in Suburban Sunday Trends Magazine, January 24, 1971, "Ringwood's Pioneers. Three-year study by Rutgers history expert reveals 'Ramapo Mountain People' are descendants of pioneer Dutch farmers. Academic research tabs 'Jackson White' stories 'folk legend'" (Brace 1971; RMI Pet., Ex. 52). A series of articles followed in the Rockland Journal News and Ridgewood Herald News on Cohen's dissertation (Brace 1971; Hurley 1971; Rubin 1971a; Rubin 1971b).

Cohen's own first published work was "The Origin of the Jackson Whites: History and Legend" in the Journal of American Folklore (Cohen 1972). It was followed by The Ramapo Mountain People (Cohen 1974). As the first social scientist to do any lengthy participant observation in the RMI community, Cohen not only analyzed the leadership and functioning of the modern RMI settlements on Stag Hill and in Mahwah, in Hillburn, and in Ringwood, but also thoroughly undid Storms' origins legend for the Jackson Whites.

Cohen pointed to a possibility that the RMI descended from Afro-Dutch farmers who migrated from New York City to the Hackensack Valley and finally to the Ramapos. Because he did not find any evidence of Indian background, his work was repudiated by the community itself--see "Viewpoint: People and their authors" (Freitag 1975); "Hillburn to fight the myths" (Grande 1976a); "Incident at Hillburn," in the Rockland (NY) Journal-News, January 14, 1976 (Incident at Hillburn 1976); "Hillburn in the media," letter to the editor by RMI attorney Conrad Lynn (Lynn 1976). In describing McClendon Van Dunk, the first elected chief of the RMI, the petition states that he was "instrumental in leading the protest against David Cohen's book about the Ramapough in which Cohen demeaned the tribe's Indian heritage" (RMI Pet., Narr., C18). At that time, Cohen refused comment on their charges ("Author Cohen: No comment" 1976). For a ten-year retrospective, see his article "The Ramapo Mountain People: A Reassessment" in New Jersey Folklore (Cohen 1980).

Independently of Cohen, Daniel Collins' article, "The Racially-Mixed People of the Ramapos: Undoing the Jackson White Legends," appeared in the American Anthropologist (Collins 1972). As a short, factual, and to-the-point survey of the context of the community, it is possibly the best place for a novice student to begin. His tripartite division was not into Ringwood, Hillburn, and Mahwah/Stag Hill, but rather into (1) the Rockland County, New York, mountaineers around north Sloatsburg, Ladentown, and Haverstraw; (2) Ringwood; and (3) Stag Hill. Hillburn was not discussed separately (Collins 1972, 1279).

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The final academic study to be written and published prior to the incorporation of the RMI (see section below) was Brewton Berry's "Marginal People," included in the 1978 Smithsonian volume on American Indians in the northeast (Berry 1978; see also Berry 1963). Berry's summary on the "Ramapo" Mountain People was basically dependent upon Cohen's research, as were several other journalistic series that appeared the Rockland Journal News 1974 (Parkhurst 1974; Wilson 1974); 1975 (Hitzig 1975; Our Heritage 1975; Ramapo Mountain Folk Accept Aid 1975); and 1976 (Claiborne 1976a; Claiborne 1976b). Articles were also published in the national press: "Term 'Jackson White' offends Mountain People" (Term "Jackson White" 1976); "Anger in the Ramapos" (Kraushar 1976); "Rockland's Ramapos Provide Mountain Folk Sanctuary from Modern World," Rockland Review, 30 March 1977 (Rockland's Ramapos 1977).

Community Concerns. When a Society of Friends committee organized a work camp to build a community center in 1953, their local contact was the Rev. George Mann, for the Green Mountain A.M.E. Zion Church of Mahwah, New Jersey. The "Fact Sheet" of the Volunteer Committee Concerned with the People of the Ramapos, Inc. stated that "the 'Mountain People' are descended from Lennie Lenapi and Tuscarora Indians and probably other Indian tribes; from Hessian soldiers who deserted King George III; from English and Dutch refugees, and other 'displaced persons' of the 18th century; and from some of the brave Negro slaves who escaped to freedom via the Underground Railroad" [emphasis added] (RMI Pet. File 1950-1959).

By the mid-1950's, the community was becoming considerably more activist on its own behalf, although the petition provided examples only of external newspaper coverage--no documentation of the internal dynamics. In 1954, there was the issue of desegregation of classes within the Commodore Perry school in Mahwah--RMI and white children had attended school in the same building, but in separate classes (Zwicker 1954). The ongoing battle with Hillburn during the later 1950s over the use of the Stag Hill Road to transport RMI children to school in Mahwah proved a catalyst for cooperative effort (Cohen 1974, 68-75). In the mid-1960's, RMI children participated in the Head Start program (Stag Hill Children 1965). The Bergen Record reported that Ringwood residents were holding a fund-raiser to assist the expenses of Phyllis Van Dunk in attending nursing studies at St. Joseph's Hospital School of Nursing in Paterson (Yesenosky 1965).

Price's comment that the RMI kept themselves separate from other Negro families in the region appears to be borne out by the circumstances surrounding the withdrawal of most RMI families from the A.M.E. Zion church of Mahwah in the later 1940's. This church had provided a community focus since it was first founded in 1857,

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nearly a century before. As Negro families from elsewhere began to settle in Mahwah and join it, however, the majority of the RMI withdrew and founded a Pentecostal Full Gospel Church of their own (Cohen 1974, 115; see also RMI Pet., Narr., 20).

Otto Mann, Sr., (1908-1982) was one of the most visible Ramapough leaders during the 1950's until his death. He was one of the founders and builders (1953) of the Ramapough Pentecostal Full Gospel Church, where he preached for 21 years. Mr. Mann was also president of the Stag Hill Civic League, a successful community self-improvement group, in the 1960's. In 1962, he was the President of the Stag Hill Fire Department; in 1966, he was named as a representative of the Farm Loan Bureau, which provided money to finance wells and land improvement to facilitate truck farming in the area (Machol 1966, 18-19; Ainsworth, 1962d).

Improved housing remained an ongoing concern for the RMI. The New York Herald Tribune, 14 May 1961, published "The Forsaken Jackson Whites" (Miller 1961), concerning 1,000 men, women and children who occupied a string of homes astride the dormant Ringwood iron mines. It estimated that 5,000 others lived in Rockland and Orange Counties, New York. "Except for a handful of men drafted in recent years, few have ever left Ringwood permanently. The ties are too firm and the world too harsh" (Miller 1961). According to the reporter, 90 percent of the homes lacked indoor plumbing; the water supply was polluted. His interviewees included Mrs. Laura Rafferty, Frank Milligan, and Denny Van Dunk. The article repeated Storms' hypothesis, but varied it a little by saying the Tuscarora were driven out of North Carolina in 1761. A letter in response signed by Rosalie S. Trussell of Ringwood, saying that the group was not forsaken, was published on May 20 (Trussell 1961).

Continuing with the housing theme, in August, 1965, the Bergen Record published several articles pertaining to Ringwood, specifically an attempt of the Ringwood Realty Company, owners of the old "mine area" to evict its long-time residents in order to construct a planned community. The article portrayed the "clannish" residents of the Ringwood mine area as having been settled there for over 200 years: "the residents have always been connected with the Ringwood iron mines since they had worked in the mines since 1730." Mrs. Shirley Van Dunk, a past Democratic Committee woman, had been "unanimously elected" to speak for the citizens group. When interviewed, she said that the group had "asked for a legal and historical investigation of their rights in this situation" (Yesenovsky 1965a). In the second of the series, "Mayor Backs 520 Jackson Whites Who Face Ouster From Mine Area," the reporter interviewed

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. . . one of the oldest residents on the mine tract, Jimmy DeFreese. Born in a shack near the old Canon mine, the 80-year-old man recalls some of the stories relating to his heritage as told by his father. "I really can't tell you much real history because none of us really knows for sure what our history is," said DeFreese. Jimmy does remember being told one of his grandfathers was born in Europe and was probably Dutch due to the name DeFreese. He is also sure there is a mixture of Indian and Negro blood in his veins. "I call myself a colored man, yet I know that isn't entirely true," said DeFreese (Yesenovsky 1976c).

By this time, the myths of "Jackson White" origins were being questioned. Yesenovsky again mentioned Storms' hypothesis, but with qualifications: "Another historian, Mrs. Anne Lutz of Ramsey, said she has looked through British Admiralty Office records and found no mention . . ." of a Captain Jackson or the supposed transactions (Yesenovsky 1976c). The six basic RMI family names on the mine tract were recorded as: Van Dunk, Mann, DeFreese, Milligan, Morgan, and DeGroat (Yesenovsky 1965c).

"Housing complaint settled, but woman is still furious" was published in the Rockland (NY) Journal News. Roberta DeGroat was furious at Ramapo landlord who discriminated against her as a Jackson White. The offender was the Ramapo Land Co., Inc. (Cheever 1974).

Housing continued to be a major concern, particularly at Ringwood. A New York Times article, "Ringwood: New Life and New Problems" (Johnson 1976), concentrated on this issue and the efforts of the How-To program initiated by the Passaic County Community Action Council. This was also the focus of "Mountain People Face Adversity," the second of Claiborne's two articles. He described Ringwood, with about 500 population, as the poorest of the RMI settlements, but with the help of the OEO-assisted HOW-TO program, the RMI under the leadership of William (Pooch) Van Dunk were building 16 new homes with low-interest FHA mortgages and hoping to rehabilitate the older mine-area housing (Claiborne 1976b; RMI Pet., Ex. 66).

RECENT ACTIVITIES, 1978-1992.

Incorporation and State Recognition. The formal incorporation of the RMI as a non-profit corporation under the laws of New Jersey under the name of the "Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc.", took place in 1978. Those individuals who led

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the effort were recognized in 1983 by the presentation of plaques by the Tribal Council: MacClendon Van Dunk, Joyce Boddy, and Jack W. Tiger (Tribal Minutes, July 9, 1983). A formal government for the RMI based upon a written document was established, but the petition exhibits did not include a copy.

In general, the Tribal Minutes were well-kept from the date of incorporation through the last date submitted to the BAR (December, 1985). The only problem presented to outsiders trying to use them was that members in attendance were consistently listed by their formal names at the heading, but in the body of the minutes are often referred to by nicknames such as "Pooch," "Sis," or "Fuzzy," leaving the user to guess who was making what motion. The adoption of Indian names by some RMI members, without record of the equivalents, also makes it difficult for an outside user of the minutes to determine who "Thundercloud," "Brown Thrush," or "Little Eagle" are (Tribal Minutes, February 6, 1984).

Council and general meetings were held at such public locations as the Darlington School, the Hillburn Village Hall, or the Stag Hill Fire Department. Occasional special meetings were held in private homes, apparently when this was more convenient for outside participants. Tribal minutes of 1979 contained some discussion of whether the RMI should also incorporate in New York, but apparently this was not done (Tribal Minutes, March 10, 1979). McClendon "Mac" Van Dunk was the first constitutionally elected chief of the Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc.; he served until September 1979 according to one source, but the tribal minutes indicate that his successor was elected before that date. During his tenure as chief, a member of the New Jersey State Legislature introduced a resolution to recognize the Ramapough as an Indian tribe (RMI Pet. File, OD Response, 38; Gardner 1983).

The incorporation attracted national publicity for the RMI. Charles T. Powers, a staff writer for the Los Angeles Times New York Bureau, wrote "The Jackson Whites: Tree Minus Roots," published in the Los Angeles Times (Powers 1978a). It was reprinted in the Washington Post as "N.J. Hill Folk. The Jackson Whites: Tree Minus Roots" (Powers 1978b) and there was also a version in the The Wall Street Journal (Powers 1978c).

After incorporation in 1978, considerable publicity continued to be generated in local newspapers about the RMI community as "Indian." Tribal minutes recorded discussions of possibilities for getting such coverage through holding pow-wows, a children's festival, doing radio interviews, etc. as early as March 15, 1979 (Tribal Minutes, March 15, March 21, and March 25, 1979). Typical examples of their successful results were: "Voices from the Mountain" in the Bergen Record, which was described as the "tribe's first press conference" (Koster 1978; RMI Pet., Ex. 53)

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and "Ramapo Indian 'Tribe' - A Question of Pride" in the Bergen Journal News and Rockland Journal News (Ramapo Indian "Tribe" 1982; Wolf 1982; RMI Pet. Ex. 52).

Probably the most effective of these public relations efforts was a long "as told to" article by Ronald Van Dunk. This extensive interview by free-lance writer Hattie Jo P. Mullins was published in the Rockland (NY) Journal-News' Suburbia Today supplement (Gannett Westchester Rockland Newspapers), September 18, 1983, with the cover title: "In search of the Indian Past: A Ramapo Mountain leader speaks out." Called "Like a Bird Flying: The leader of Rockland's reticent Ramapo Mountain people tells of an Indian past and of hopes for the future," the article represented very strong advocacy of the RMI's Indian history and culture (Van Dunk 1983). This project had received advance discussion in the Council (Tribal Minutes, June 11, 1983).

After the tribal incorporation the RMI made application for an "Indian Education" grant (RMI Pet., Ex. 25). They received \$8,500 from the Office of Indian Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for an Indian educational and cultural enrichment office in the local grade school. The grant was later increased by \$34,600 (Hanley 1980). Title IV programs continued to be considered by the council upon occasion for the next several years.

On the application form to Washington, scores of families in the two communities [Stag Hill and Ringwood] simply declared themselves of Indian ancestry. Their declarations were not challenged by Federal officials. Some school officials believe that this tacit acknowledgment of Indian lineage by one segment of Federal Government may be a wedge for broader recognition by other government agencies (Hanley 1980).

Other activities undertaken by the RMI after incorporation included the sponsorship of a health fair and similar matters for the welfare of the group as a whole (Tribal Minutes, July 25, 1979). In this early period, the group was not well-funded: at one point there was \$737.87 in its account according to the treasurer's report (Tribal Minutes, August 15, 1979).

On October 15, 1979, the tribal council moved that Otto Mann, Jr. represent the Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc., at a workshop in North Carolina for Federal Recognition, and allocated \$250 for his expenses. At the same meeting, it was decided that tribal adviser Ruth Jacobsen should go to Washington, D.C., to consult with the offices of Congressmen Roe and McGuire (Tribal Minutes, October 15, 1979). By October 29, a Mr. Tony Kaliss from Montclair, New Jersey, came to the

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meeting to advise the group on a feasibility study, application for an ANA grant to prepare for Federal recognition, etc. Mr. Kaliss was hired (Tribal Minutes, October 26, 1979).

The move for formal recognition of the RMI by the States of New York and New Jersey generated considerable publicity early in 1980. An article in Newsweek entitled "Is This Tribe Indian?" pertained to the RMI effort to obtain tribal recognition and mentioned a historian named Mozelle Van Dunk Stein, "a Ramapough who was writing a history of the clan" (Mayer and Frons 1980). Locally, the Rockland Journal-News published "'Jackson Whites' recognized as tribe" [by New Jersey] on January 12 ("Jackson Whites" recognized 1980); on February 27, the Rockland Review North had "Ramapough Indians Demand Recognition" [by New York] (Ramapough Indians Demand Recognition 1980; RMI Pet. File, OD Response). On January 17, the New York Times published "Ramapo People Seek Recognition as Indians," delineating the "Jackson White" legends of the group's background and summarizing the Federal Acknowledgment Process (FAP), including a statement by Dennis Lavery, staff historian at the BIA, which emphasized that for Federal recognition, tribal governing structure had to date back to the first contact with white men (Hanley 1980).

State recognition by both New York and New Jersey did come in 1980. The date of New Jersey State recognition was February 11, 1980 (RMI Pet. Ex. 18, Legislative Resolution 3031). The resolution was introduced by Republican Assemblyman W. Cary Edwards (R-Oakland) who drew his evidence from a 1969 unpublished undergraduate history thesis written by Oakland, New Jersey, businessman Angelo Lacatena, Edwards'. Lacatena wrote the lengthy paper while a night student at William Paterson College (Weinstein 1980, 130). No copy of this paper was included with the petition materials.

New York State recognized the RMI on February 22, 1980 (RMI Pet., Ex. 18, Legislative Resolution 96). A copy was printed in the Federal Congressional Record-Senate, April 14, 1982, S3491 (New York resolution recognizing the Ramapough Mountain Indians as the Ramapough Mountain Indian Tribe).

These events resulted in one of the more thoughtful journalistic analyses to appear concerning the RMI community: The New Jersey Monthly published Sheryl Weinstein's "Tribal Tribulations: Are the Ramapough people of northern New Jersey an Indian tribe? The question has produced a lively debate" (Weinstein 1980). It referred to a tribal historian, Richard Stahlmann, none of whose material was included in the petition. "An honorary tribal member and amateur historian, Ringwood resident Richard Stahlmann is not an Indian. Stahlmann's family has roots

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in the Ramapo region . . . volunteered his services and is now their 'official' historian" (Weinstein 1980, 130).

"Ringwood has the real Indians," claims MacLendon Van Dunk, first chief of the Ramapoughs, who aided the group's initial organization and incorporation in 1978. Van Dunk, a registered member of the Tuscaroras, one of the Six Nations of the Iroquois, grew up in Hillburn. Van Dunk believes that the people in Ringwood have the most Indian blood in them because they've been the most isolated and have always exhibited the greatest number of Indian traits (Weinstein 1980, 129).

Pat Mann of East Orange, New Jersey, was also doing RMI history according to the article. She had been invited by Herbert Kraft to present a paper at his second Delaware Indian Symposium scheduled for summer 1981 (Weinstein 1980, 131).

RMI Leadership and Activities Since 1980. A list of the elected RMI leadership since 1978 can be compiled from Tribal Minutes filed by the RMI with the BAR in 1992 as a supplement to the Petition. All officers and council members are included. The structure included a Principal Chief, Secretary, and Treasurer; Sub-Chiefs for the Fox (Mahwah), Turtle (Ringwood), and Deer (Hillburn) Clans; and a Council with six members. In some years, a secretary and treasurer for each clan were also listed, but apparently these clan positions were not always filled. In some years, "tribal advisers" were also listed, several of whom seemed to be, from descriptions in the minutes, employees of local Community Action Programs. The minutes make frequent reference to "clan mothers," but no definition was provided and they apparently had no formal administrative role, although they were specifically welcome to attend council meetings. Chiefs only are listed below:

- 1978-80 Nicholas Van Dunk [listed by this name in the Tribal Minutes--same as MacClendon Van Dunk?]
- 1980-81 Otto Mann, Jr (Acting chief from June 19, 1979. Took office as Principal Chief as of September 19, 1979, on the resignation of Nicholas Van Dunk "who has finishing [sic] out the term of John W. Tiger. Meeting called November 17, 1980, to discuss the resignation of Otto Mann Jr. The resignation must not have taken affect, as he was still presiding over meetings in 1981.)
- 1982- Ronald ("Redbone," "Butch") Van Dunk (elected September 1982; still in office 1993).

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On March 10, 1979, a letter of resignation was received from Mac Clendon Van Dunk, "the Tribe's past Chief, who stated in his letter of resignation that there were and are many illegal acts going on" (Tribal Minutes, 10 March 1979).

On January 10, 1981, the Tribal Minutes noted that:

There will be a symposium on Delaware Indians on March 28, 1981, to be held at Seton Hall University. In May, 1980, Ms. Mann was asked to take part in the symposium on behalf of the Ramapough Mountain Indians. After not hearing any more from the chairman of the project, she contacted him, at which time she was informed that there would [be] no participation required of the R.M.I.. Since this symposium will be designated as an official part of New Jersey History, she feels that it is very important for the R.M.I. to be involved in some way. She will be checking into this further and will be getting back to us on it (Tribal Minutes January 10, 1981, 3-4).

Tony Kaliss also reported on the requirements for Federal recognition--genealogy charts, proof of Indian heritage, and connection of the present community with the original community. Another major item of discussion at the January 10, 1981, meeting, along with the health and education benefits that would result from Federal recognition, was discussion of an offer by an unnamed person interested in financially backing the RMI in development projects (Tribal Minutes, January 10, 1981).

After discussion, the RMI passed a motion that the "gentlemen affiliated with the deal" be asked to come up with a written and signed proposal, after which the tribe could seek consultation "from people who are more adept and/or expert in matters of this sort" (Tribal Minutes, January 10, 1981).

In 1981, the RMI also received a visit from Nora Thompson Dean, also known as "Touching Leaves," a Delaware Indian woman. She had been a speaker at Seton Hall University on March 28 at a retrospective entitled, "The Lenape Indians-Retrospect and Prospect." The newspaper article in Home and Store News, April 22, 1981, stated, "As 'Touching Leaves' was leaving the Ramapo Mountains on Sunday evening she said, 'I hate to go home, it's so good to be with my people.' Touching Leaves makes her home in Dewey, Oklahoma" (RMI Pet., Ex. 63). The RMI petition strongly urges that Dean's words indicated belief that the RMI were of Delaware Indian ancestry, and that the BAR should accept her belief as authoritative (RMI Pet., Narr., 1:B6).

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During this period, RMI activities also included working with the Bergen County Community Action Program on an Emergency Crisis Intervention Program, a photographic display at Ramapo College, attendance at a Lenape Indian symposium at Seton Hall University, etc. (Tribal Minutes, February 20, 1981; May 29, 1981).

At the June 8 General Meeting, it was reported that two ANA grants had been applied for and also that RMI representatives had been to the BIA to consult on recognition procedures and requirements. At this meeting there was also discussion of a land proposal made by one Jerome Fine, contingent upon Federal recognition. After discussion, it was decided to have the members present at the general meeting vote on the proposal. "The members present voted against doing any business with Jerome Fine at this time" (Tribal Minutes, June 8, 1981). This, apparently, was a vote to table, for discussion was resumed at the July 11, 1981 meeting. Again the topic was taken to the floor. "Everyone present including the entire Council vote that they want nothing to do with Mr. Fine, nor his proposal" (Tribal Minutes, July 11, 1981). This was not the end of the matter, however, as he was still contacting the RMI office in 1983. The Council voted to contact an attorney "and see if we have to put up with this nonsense any longer" (Tribal Minutes, January 18, 1983). On January 26, 1983, it was voted to send a letter signed by the full Council to Jerome Fine requesting that he "cease all activities in the form of contacting Tribal Council and tribal members trying to persuade them to go along with his proposal," with cc: to Tim Tuttle, Cary Edwards, Marge Roukema, Ed Bolton, the Mayors of Mahwah, Hillburn, and Ringwood; Eugene Levy, Linda Winikow, and Bud Shapard (Tribal Minutes, January 26, 1983).

Generally, throughout the next few years, the minutes reflect continuing activities in the areas of by-laws formulation, community relations and publicity (including the establishment of a monthly newsletter, Drumbeat, of which selected copies were submitted with the petition), and the welfare of the group (cf. proposed grant for purchase of a building for an RMI Community Center in cooperation with the Borough of Ramsey and Township of Mahwah, Tribal Minutes, November 7, 1983; cheese and butter distribution through the RMI, Tribal Minutes, November 12, 1983; resolution accepting \$7,400 allocated by the Community Development of Bergen County for the purpose of maintaining the social service tribal office, Tribal Minutes, January 9, 1984).

The council was also interested in involvement with national-level Indian organizations and other east-coast unrecognized groups. On September 3, 1981, the RMI decided to send two delegates to a conference on Critical Issues Affecting Eastern Indians to be held in Alexandria, Virginia, in October. The February 6, 1984, meeting reported a phone call from James Revey of the New Jersey Indian

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Office, who would like to meet with the Council (Tribal Minutes, February 6, 1984). On February 11, 1984, it was moved to invite the Nanticoke council to meet with the RMI council: the meeting was actually held at Bridgeton on April 28 (Tribal Minutes, February 11 and March 27, 1984). The Council also funded the transportation expense to attend a meeting called by Roy Crazy Horse of the Powhatans in Mt. Holly, New Jersey, on March 25, 1984 (Tribal Minutes, March 5, 1984). On June 2, 1985, RMI representatives met at the Rancocas Reservation in Mt. Holly with the councils of the Nanticokes and Powhatan-Renape, these being the three State-recognized New Jersey Indian Tribal Councils (Tribal Minutes, Program Director's Report, May 6, 1985). Discussion of a proposed statewide Indian Office took place later in 1985 (Tribal Minutes, undated).

Also in relation to Indian identity, the council considered such projects as making a tape for the New Jersey State Museum at Trenton (Tribal Minutes, March 10, April 2, May 12, 1984) and a proposal from Cornell University to nominate three representatives to a committee to address the needs of Indian people in New York State (Tribal Minutes, April 27, 1984). On June 9, 1984, the Council received a presentation from Cheryl Lomo of the Circle of Red Nations and heard a talk by Marty Kreipe of the Museum of the American Indian (Tribal Minutes, June 9, 1984). The Program Director's report for September 1985 indicated that three representatives from the Cornell University Indian Studies Program had spent three days on-site looking at environmental problems in the Ramapos (Tribal Minutes, September 1985).

Indian heritage activities became increasingly important. On January 18, 1983, it was announced that a Lenape language class for the children would be begun at Brook Chapel. RMI children also began to make appearances at activities open to the general public, performing Indian dances and similar activities (Tribal Minutes, January 18, 1983; September 26, 1983). In 1984, there was extensive discussion of the possibility of the RMI obtaining title to the "Mountain Cemetery" on Stag Hill that had historically been used by the group (Tribal Minutes, March 10, 27; April 7; May 12, and June 9, 1984). Broader concerns about protection of the Ramapo Mountains from logging and mining activities also came up (Tribal Minutes, May 12, 1984).

Internal administrative concerns, fund raising, and progress in preparing genealogy sheets for tribal recognition, etc. were also regularly discussed. There was a special genealogical presentation by Robert De Freese of Danbury, Connecticut, on April 7, 1984, at a general RMI meeting. On January 3, 1983, Pat Mann was removed as historian and Phyllis Titmas became the official historian (Tribal Minutes, January 3, 1983; April 7, 1984). A set of minutes (dated but date not included on narrow margin of xerox copy, placed December 1985 chronologically) indicated that Pat Mann had sent a letter and report to the chief pertaining to the Justice Department.

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"The letter stated that Pat Mann, Noreen Boddy and Floyd Perrano were members of a committee representing the Ramapough Mountain Indians, to meet with Justice Department officials and set up a further meeting with major newspaper people to curtail adverse articles written about the Ramapough Mountain Indians," although at a previous meeting she had been instructed not to do so (Tribal Minutes, December 1985).

As time went on, it became clear that because of increased levels of marriage outside of the group, younger people wanting to enroll in the tribe were having trouble linking to a grandparent bearing one of the "six names" (Tribal Minutes, October 7, 1985). A special meeting was held on this issue on November 14, 1985, "To add last names to the other six and to allow members to go back to great grandparents or great-great grandparents." No new names were added. The motion that carried was "to change to Great or Great-Great Grandparents [sic] on the Ancestry charts" (Tribal Minutes, November 14, 1985).

A proposal from Ralph Sessions of the Historical Society of Rockland County to compile factual information on the RMI was presented to the Council on April 9, 1983. He was a professional genealogist/researcher who had worked with the Lumbee for a time before moving to Rockland County. The project caused the Council some concern because of past publications considered to be derogatory to the RMI. It was discussed again at a special meeting in Sloatsburg, September 26, 1983, and eventually resulted in a 1985 exhibit and the publication of Woodsmen, Mountaineers and Bockies: The People of the Ramapos: April 14 - August 18, 1985 (Tribal Minutes April 9, 1983 and September 26, 1983; Sessions 1985). The exhibit and publication dealt not only with the RMI but also with the basketmaking mountaineer community around Ladentown in Rockland County, New York. In fact, its emphasis is upon the latter group (Sessions 1985; RMI Pet. File, OD Response).

Efforts of the RMI to support their definition of a revived Indian culture continued. The Rockland Review, September 14, 1983, contained a photograph of an event at which a child named Little Fawn was declared a princess of the Ramapo Mountain Indians by Grand Chief Mac Van Dunk at the previous Saturday's 'pow wow' in Hillburn (Gardner 1983).

Efforts to develop external insignia of Indian identity that would trigger instant recognition on the part of outsiders continued to be important to the RMI. At the July 9, 1983, meeting, it was reported that the "regalia" for the chief (which was to be handed down from chief to chief) was just about finished (Tribal Minutes, July 9, 1983). On August 3, 1983, the Council voted to purchase a ceremonial drum from the Blackbear Trading Post (Tribal Minutes, August 3, 1983). The Rockland Journal-

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News, 25 May 1984, reported about "Runners Helping Boost the Pride of Indian People" (Barlow 1984). Chief Ronald Van Dunk had been present and "Brown Thrush" of the Ramapough Indians had taken part in the cross-country Great Jim Thorpe Longest Run, and the RMI provided refreshments for the participants when they arrived in Hillburn (Barlow 1985; RMI Pet., Ex. 62; Tribal Minutes, May 12, 1984). The Rockland Review Extra publicized "Native Americans hold pow-wow"--the fourth annual one, at Hillburn (Gardner 1984). A "name blessing" ceremony was conducted by Brown Thrush at the Hillburn Recreation Field (Tribal Minutes, May 12, 1984). On June 16, 1984, the Rockland Journal News published an article stating that the remains of a bear run over and killed in Harriman State Park would be given to the Ramapo Indians (Bear's Remains to be Given 1984). On the 24th, there was a photograph of group representatives welcoming the "bear spirit" (RMI Pet. File, OD Response).

Interest in obtaining Federal recognition for the RMI continued in the Council. Although New York had given State recognition, the Rockland Journal News reported on December 1, 1982, that a resolution calling upon President Reagan and Congress to grant Federal recognition, sponsored by Assemblyman Eugene Levy (R-Suffern), had failed to pass the State Senate because of concern that tribal status would create demands on State funding (RMI Pet. File, OD Response). On March 5, 1984, the Council instructed the Program Director to look into setting up an appointment in Washington, D.C., through the office of Senator Bradley, with President Reagan if possible (Tribal Minutes, March 5, 1984; also March 10, 1984).

At this time, the RMI began to receive renewed proposals from business interests. The petitioner did not submit minutes for meetings between July 9, 1984, and January 23, 1985. Business, if not meetings, had obviously been conducted in the interval, because at the January 23, 1985, meeting of the Council, reference was made to "the tribal members that were out at the general meeting" who wanted the tribe to turn down "the proposal of Mr. Blackwell, Mr. Frank, and Mr. Entwistle." The chief explained that Mr. Blackwell had requested one more meeting with the tribal council and chief, to be held on January 26 at the Holidome in Suffern, New York. "The chief states that all he cares about is that ther [sic] Ramapough Mountain Indians do not now or in the future get hurt by these or any other business people. Edward Conklin, and Floyd Perrano feel that the tribe should go on their own and get Federal recognition, and not be dependant on anyone else to do it ofr [sic] us" (Tribal Minutes, January 23, 1985).

The RMI council continued to discuss Frank's proposal (Tribal Minutes, May 15, 1985). By the end of the year, it was public knowledge: see, for example, "Bingo for Indians -- not a sure bet," The Bergen (NJ) Sunday Record, Northern New Jersey,

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December 15, 1985. Rory Management Corporation was identified as the proposer of the project (Bingo for Indians 1985).

In a decision that has created an unprecedented rift within the tightly cloistered community--to the point that one faction has taken its case from the isolation of the mountain to the media below--the tribal council voted 4-3 to embrace an outside corporation's plan to build a bingo parlor that would cater to thousands of high-stakes rollers from outside" (Bingo for Indians 1985).

As a result of the bingo publicity, the council meeting held on December 23, 1985, was fairly disputatious, with the minutes peppered with such statements as: "the Chief and Council attending feels that the newspapers neglected to ask what benefits the tribe would receive from the federal recognition and that main concern was 'BINGO'," "a lot of the Fox Clan members are mad about what has been done meaning the information given to the press . . . there was about 15 members . . . not in favor of the signing of the contract," and "the Chief said that if you are going to represent your clan, you should do it legally" (Tribal Minutes, December 23, 1985).

After the meeting of December 23, 1985, there was a hiatus in the tribal minutes submitted to the BAR by the petitioner until September 13, 1990. The minutes of the meeting held on April 5, 1991, contained the statement: "Council meetings are the backbone of the Tribe and we need to start having regular meetings because of the lack of minutes that were submitted to the BIA" (Tribal Minutes, April 5, 1991).

However, other evidence indicates that the RMI continued to be an active group. Since 1985, they have been successful in their continuing publicity efforts. Local newspapers, referring to them as Indian tribes, have recorded everything from their Thanksgiving customs in 1986 to the chief being among the speakers at a park dedication in the Ramapo Mountains near Mahwah in 1990.

"The Ramapough Mountain Indian Tribe of New York and New Jersey. A Historical and Governmental Review. Presented by: The Ramapough Mountain Indian Tribe of New York and New Jersey, Ronald Redbone Van Dunk, Chief" was completed in May 1988. It included the following statement: "In spite of the lack of formal records, private diaries and histories mention Indian and tri-racial peoples all during the 1800's." However, none were cited (RMI Pet. File, 5).

The following newspaper items were of particular interest as recent follow-up.

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"Community Seeks U.S. Recognition as Indian Tribe" appeared in the Albuquerque Journal, May 31, 1988. Bylined at Hillburn, New York, it was written by Jeff Donn, Associated Press, and was illustrated by a photo of Ronald Van Dunk and his cousin Nicholas Van Dunk. The article described the RMI as:

A cultural eddy of mixed-race people not fully accepted as whites, blacks or Indians . . . "We've been recognized as a little bit of everything but what we want to be recognized as," says Nicholas Van Dunk of Hillburn . . . David Cohen, who directs the Ethnic History program for the New Jersey Historical Commission, argues that Redbone's people derive from a handful of freed black landowners of Dutch heritage originally from New York City who eventually found shelter in the Ramapo Mountains in the early 1800s . . . Bud Shapard, branch chief of the Acknowledgment and Research Division of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, says it[']s difficult for many communities to demonstrate to the government they're Indians. He said they must show, among other requirements, that they've been viewed by the surrounding community, other tribes and State agencies as a separate community from the first contact with European settlers until the present (Donn 1988).

The article also mentioned that the tribe's Washington lobbyist was Charles Blackwell, who said they hoped to bypass the administrative process and go straight to Congress. It continued:

Following the lead of many tribes around the country, the Ramapo people hope eventually to derive a hefty income from high-stakes bingo profits. They have turned to Florida real estate developer Bob Frank, who is bankrolling the recognition drive with about \$250,000. In return, the Ramapo people will let him and another private investor from the New York City area run the bingo operation. Frank estimates the games will rake in up to \$12 million annually, which he will split roughly half-and-half with the tribe for the first 10 years. "Naturally, the big thing with this is providing employment for members of the tribe," he says. "It also provides a living for me" (Donn 1988).

By 1990, Tribal Minutes indicate that the "Madison Group" had become involved with the RMI federal recognition efforts, and that consultants included Ralph Sessions, Stewart Rafert, and Bud Shappard (Tribal Minutes, September 13, 1990).

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On April 24, 1991, RMI representatives went to Lincoln Park, New Jersey, to "see the land that is being purchased to be put in our name if recognition comes through" (Tribal Minutes, May 17, 1991). Much of the discussion pertained to the fine point of the contracts. At the May 31, 1991, Council meeting, Art Brinkman, involved with these proposed land purchases for Rory Management, told the Council that "\$600,000.00 has been spent to date on the Recognition project; \$100,000 so far on the land, the rest on research, workers, etc." (Tribal Minutes, May 31, 1991). The meeting scheduled for June 21, 1991, did not reach a quorum (Tribal Minutes, June 21, 1991), nor did the June 28 meeting, where, however, there was an informal discussion of "running the election on the up and up so that nothing interferes with our Federal Recognition" and appointments to Council vacancies (Tribal Minutes, June 28, 1991). It was decided to send a letter to "the six council members that never show up for meetings" as to whether or not they wished to remain on the council. This letter was sent out dated July 2, 1991 (Tribal Minutes, July 2, 1991).

An RMI Council election took place on September 28, 1991, bringing in four new members. At a special October 2, 1991, meeting, since there were still four remaining vacancies, these were filled by appointment. The remainder of the discussion pertained to the upcoming Pow Wow (Tribal Minutes, October 2, 1991). On May 14, 1991, a letter signed by Linda Powell as Tribal Secretary to "Tribal Members" noted numerous queries about having a Pow Wow, and added, "It looks bad on our Tribe when we don't have such a vital event. . . It's been a long time since we have gathered together . . . The reason the Tribe hasn't had a Pow Wow is because we haven't had the money to put one on" (Tribal Minutes, May 14, 1991). The Bergen Sunday Record, October 6, 1991, recorded that "Powwow uplifts, despite downpour (Cichowski 1991). The first powwow held in six years had attracted a crowd of 300 in Mahwah on Saturday. Ronald Van Dunk presided as chief. Sheila Stover of Stony Creek, Conn. attended.

"We were pushed into the mountains; we didn't run," said Stover, the tribe's genealogist. . . . The Ramapoughs have a long history in the mountains of Mahwah, Ringwood, and Hillburn, N.Y. Of mixed ancestry, they say they are descended from the Lenni Lenapes and other tribes who intermarried with whites and blacks through the years (Cichowski 1991).

A special feature called "A Day at the Powwow" was part of this item (RMI Pet., Ex. 61).

At the next Tribal Council meeting, Sheila Stover's membership application was reviewed and unanimously rejected on the grounds that she "can't tie in close enough

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to the Ramapough's to be on the rolls" (Tribal Minutes, October 25, 1991). Acrimonious discussion of the handling of Ms. Stover's membership application and public discussion of the action by Council member John Powell was resumed at a special called meeting of the Council the next week (Tribal Minutes, November 1, 1991). On December 2, 1991, a letter was sent to John Powell removing him from the Council under Article IV, Sec. II, A-1 (Tribal Minutes, December 2, 1991).

Floyd Hicks was accepted as "representative to the council in Orange County, N.Y." and an additional vacancy was filled by appointment (Tribal Minutes, October 25, 1991). Subsequent meetings discussed a possible RMI non-profit housing authority (Tribal Minutes, November 22, 1991; December 9, 1991; December 20, 1991; March 2, 1992), federal recognition (Tribal Minutes, December 20, 1991; January 10, 1992; January 16, 1992), and the proposals for the bingo operation (Tribal Minutes, January 10, 1992; February 7, 1992).

In a wider context, the Sunday (Newark, NJ) Star-Ledger published "Changing Times: Race and ethnicity may be hard to define" (Tilove 1992). This general discussion was illustrated with a photograph of Ronald Van Dunk of the RMI and finished up with a full column on the community and its background:

And what about the Ramapough Mountain People of New Jersey? They have long been described as a predominantly black people of mixed race. But they consider themselves Indians and are asking the Federal government for official recognition as a tribe, a status that could entitle them to a casino gambling franchise 30 miles from Manhattan The stakes are high. If the Ramapoughs become the first Federally recognized tribe in New Jersey, they would become eligible for a whole host of health, education and welfare services provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs And, like other Indian tribes, they would be in a position to set up lucrative gaming operations, in their case with the Manhattan skyline faintly shimmering in the distance "It's win-win," says their lawyer, George Schneider. "The Indians can't lose" (Tilove 1992).

On June 19, 1992, the Council minutes noted that "our annual corporation fee has not been paid and corporation status has been run out since 9/23/87" (Tribal Minutes, June 19, 1992).

The gaming issue generated a great deal of local concern. The Sunday (Newark, NJ) Star-Ledger, November 15, 1992, published "Ramapoughs bet on tribal status . . . chance at casinos" (Cohen 1992a). The author described the RMI as "a group of

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3,000 mostly poor people of mixed race living in Mahwah and Ringwood in New Jersey and in nearby Hillburn, New York" (Cohen 1992a) and mentioned the group's petition for Federal recognition. The article was illustrated with a photo of Linda Powell, RMI secretary, standing next to a sign that said "Ramapough Mt. Indian Cemetery Est. 1620 [sic]" (Cohen 1992a).

Candice Adams, a Manhattan-based spokeswoman working for the Ramapoughs, said an agreement has been reached with a group of investors who are helping to finance the Federal recognition effort and who will have the right to present "business propositions." . . . Adams said the names of the investors, the amount of money involved and specific business plans are proprietary, although she acknowledged gambling is one of the items under consideration Adams also said Robert Frank of Miami, an early financial backer of the Ramapoughs who was involved in a controversial Indian bingo operation in California, still remains a "trusted friend" of the tribe and retains a "minor role." . . . She said George Schneider, a former Essex County prosecutor, has been retained as a Ramapough attorney, and the consulting and lobbying firm of Murphy and Associates has been handling dealings in Washington (Cohen 1992a).

The article went into a considerable amount of depth on the academic background of the RMI acknowledgment petition. One scholar interviewed by the reporter was an anthropologist:

Kendy Rudy, a professor of anthropology at Upsala College in East Orange **who worked under contract for the Ramapoughs** [emphasis added], said [David Steven] Cohen's work [Cohen 1974] offered only one point of view and did not give sufficient weight, among other things, to the fact that the Ramapoughs have had a "long and continuous self-identification as Indian." . . . Rudy said the Ramapough's attempt to prove their heritage is handicapped by the fact **that Indians who remained in New Jersey rather than heading west lost their culture, assumed Christian names and religions, did not maintain formal tribal structures, have no written history and were not even recorded as Indians in censuses** [emphasis added]. . . . But the Upsala professor said there are "a couple of cases" where family histories can be directly linked to Indian ancestry and other "bits of evidence" suggesting they are directly related to native Americans. "The question is how can you prove they are Indians?" asked Rudy.

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"That depends on how you define Indians, and there are many different definitions" (Cohen 1992a).

The reporter also checked out the archeological record:

Herbert Kraft, director of the Archeological Research Center and Museum at Seton Hall University in South Orange, said the evidence in support of the Ramapough claim is insufficient to meet the BIA standards [emphasis added] "are these people who stayed behind and slipped through the cracks years ago?" asked Kraft. "Everybody melted into the population. They really can't be identified in any Federally recognized way" (Cohen 1992a).

Additionally, the reporter interviewed the head of the Federally recognized tribe from which the RMI claim their descent:

Chief Charles Keechi, the elected head of the Federally recognized 1,200-member Delaware Nation tribe in Andarko, Okla., . . . said he has found no connection to the traditional customs and culture that he knows as Delaware. "I find it so disappointing," said Keechi. "In this day and age, we Indians are trying to maintain our sovereignty, and we don't need any of these would-bes creating a lot of false pretenses" [emphasis added] (Cohen 1992a).

Gambling under the Indian Gaming Act was again a concern for The (Newark, NJ) Star-Ledger, Monday, November 16, 1992. "Jersey can't enforce gaming curbs if U.S. 'recognizes' Ramapoughs." By Robert Cohen, Star-Ledger Washington Bureau (Cohen 1992b).

. . . if about 3,000 people living in the Ramapo Mountain region along the New Jersey-New York border win their uphill battle this summer to gain Federal recognition as a native American Indian tribe. If that occurs, this mixed race people, who call themselves the Ramapough Mountain Indian Tribe, could purchase land in northern New Jersey, seek to have it held in trust by the Department of the Interior and attempt to operate a gambling casino on the Federally sanctioned reservation (Cohen 1992b).

Ronald Van Dunk, also known as Chief Redbone of the Ramapoughs, said he wants to first overcome the difficult hurdle of obtaining Federal recognition before making any decisions on how to improve the lot of

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his people. A federal decision is due this summer. But Van Dunk and several people hired to handle the Ramapough's affairs have said investors financing the federal recognition effort will have first crack at offering an economic development plan for the Ramapoughs. And Van Dunk and the others said that casino gambling is among the options that would be considered (Cohen 1992b).

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**History Report
Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc.**

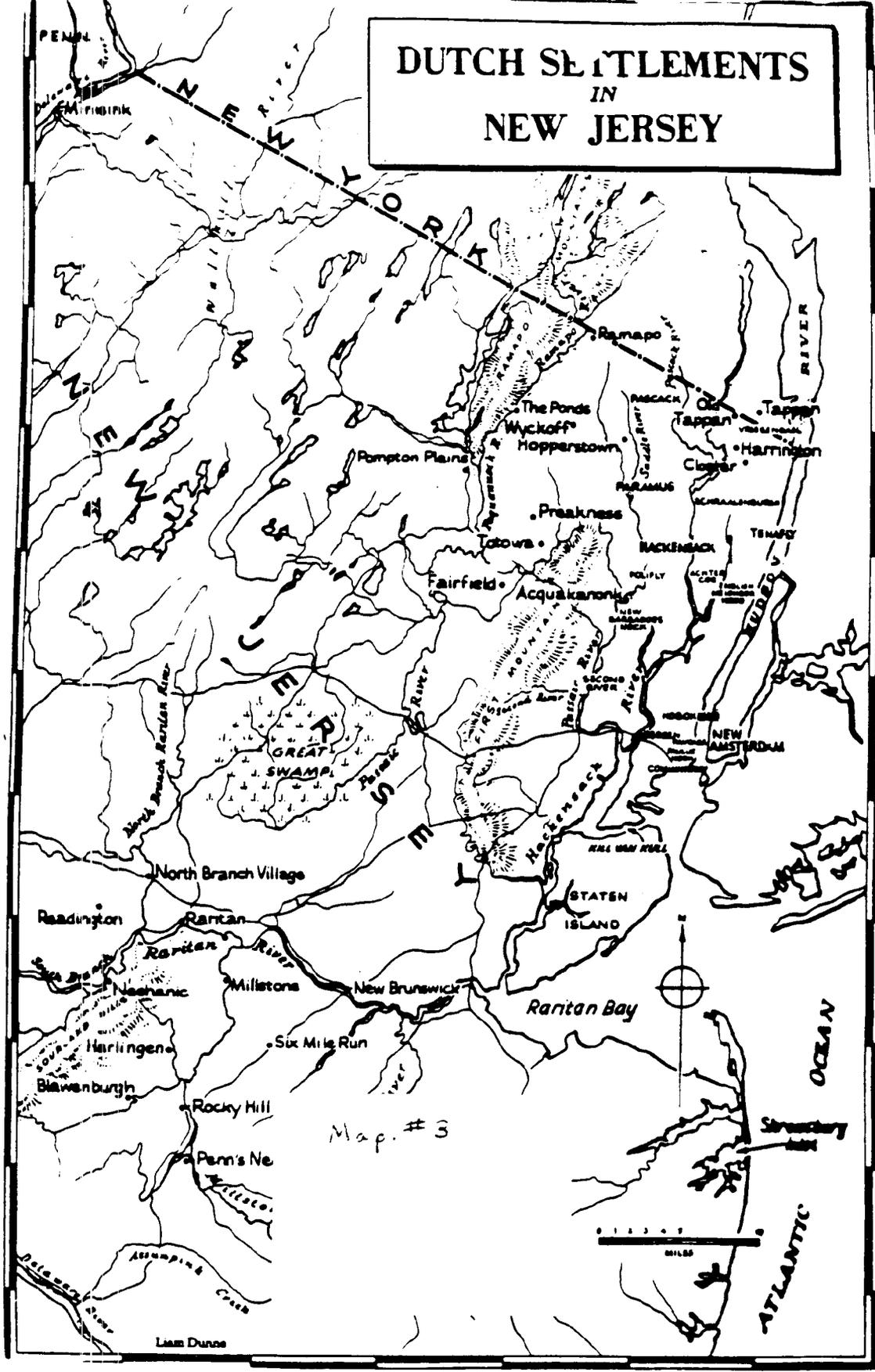
Map Supplement

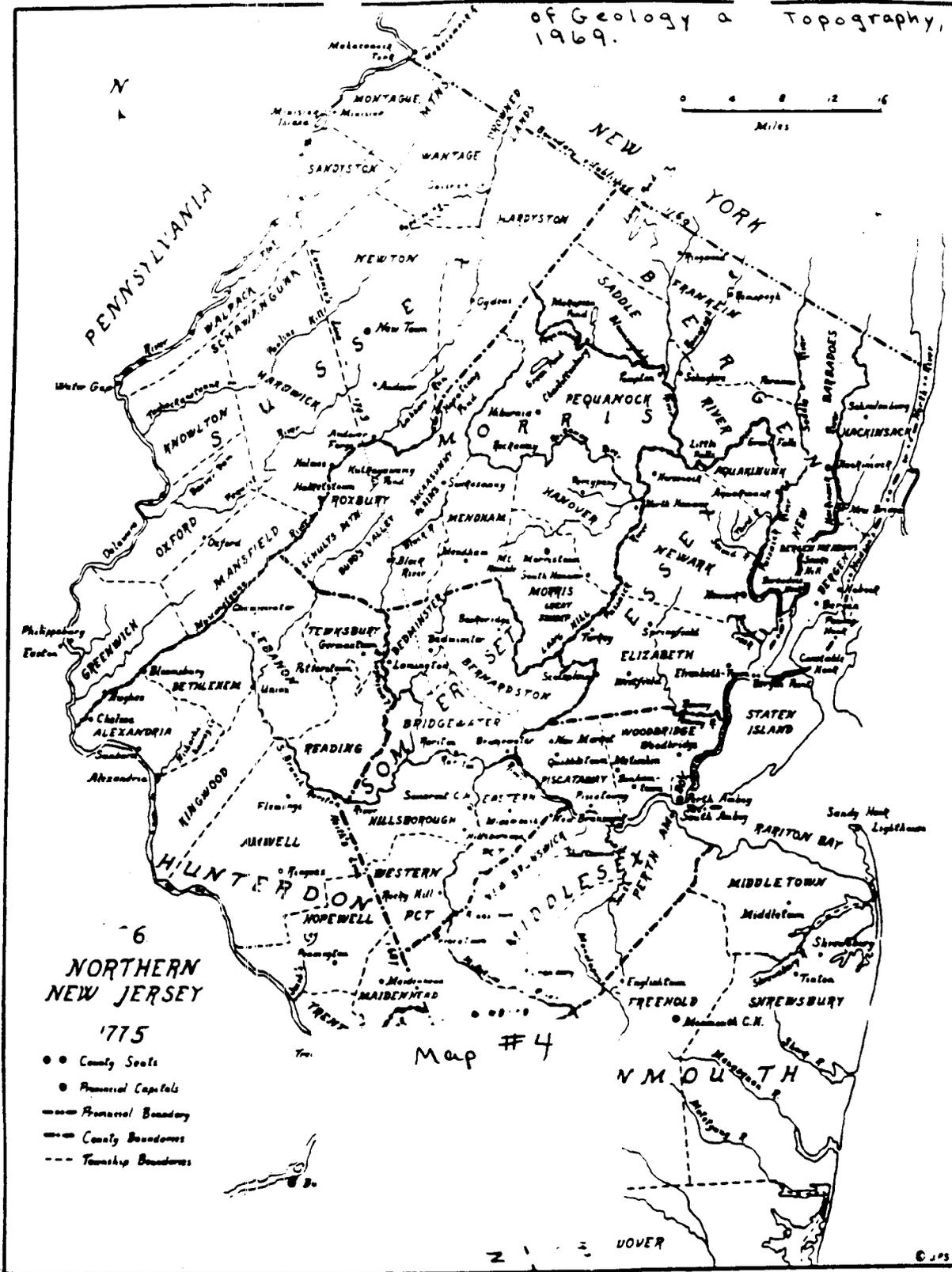
Allan W. Trelease. Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1960.



Map 1. The Hudson Valley and Long Island

From: Adrian C. Leiby, *The Early Dutch and Swedish Settlers of New Jersey*, The New Jersey Historical Series, Vol. 10. (Princeton, NJ: B. Van Nostrand Company Inc., 1964). p. 3.

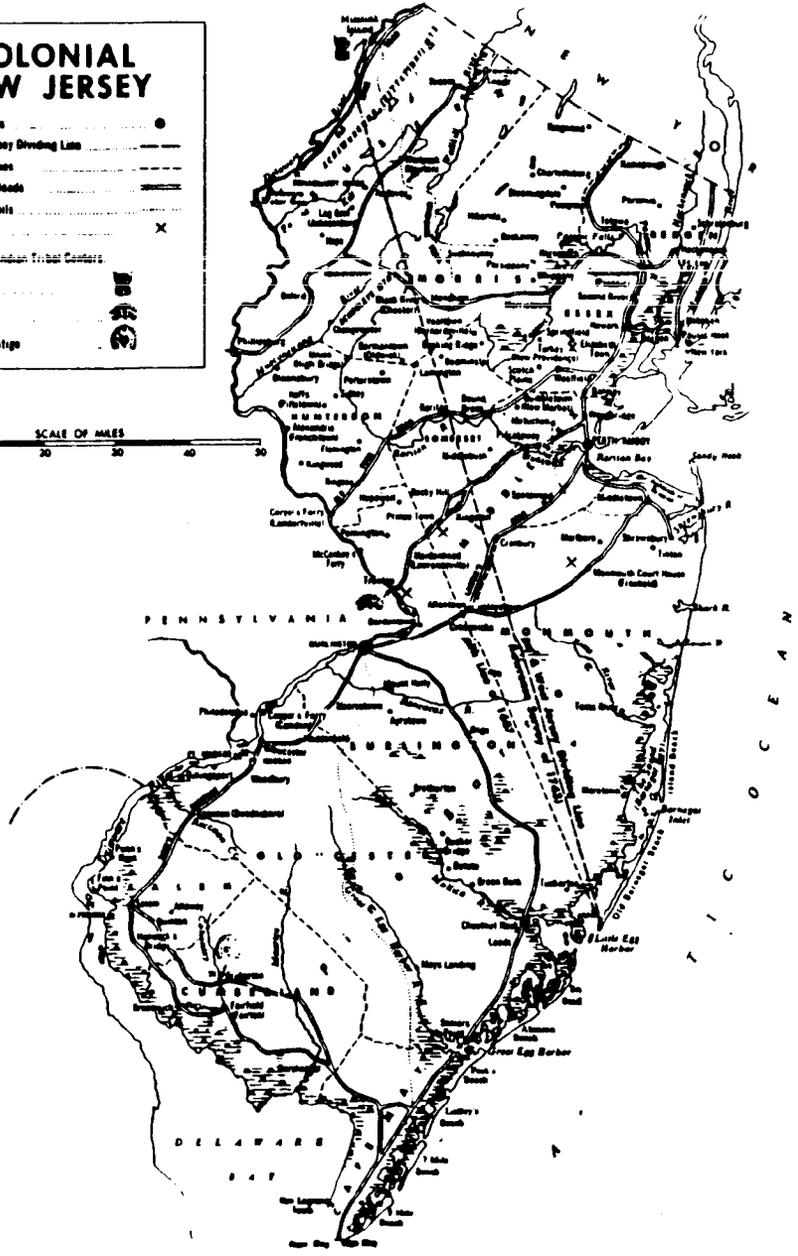
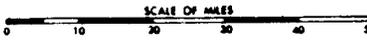




COLONIAL NEW JERSEY

Colonial Capitals ●
 East & West Jersey Dividing Line ---
 County Boundaries - - - -
 Major Colonial Roads ———
 Major Indian Trails ·····
 Battle Sites X

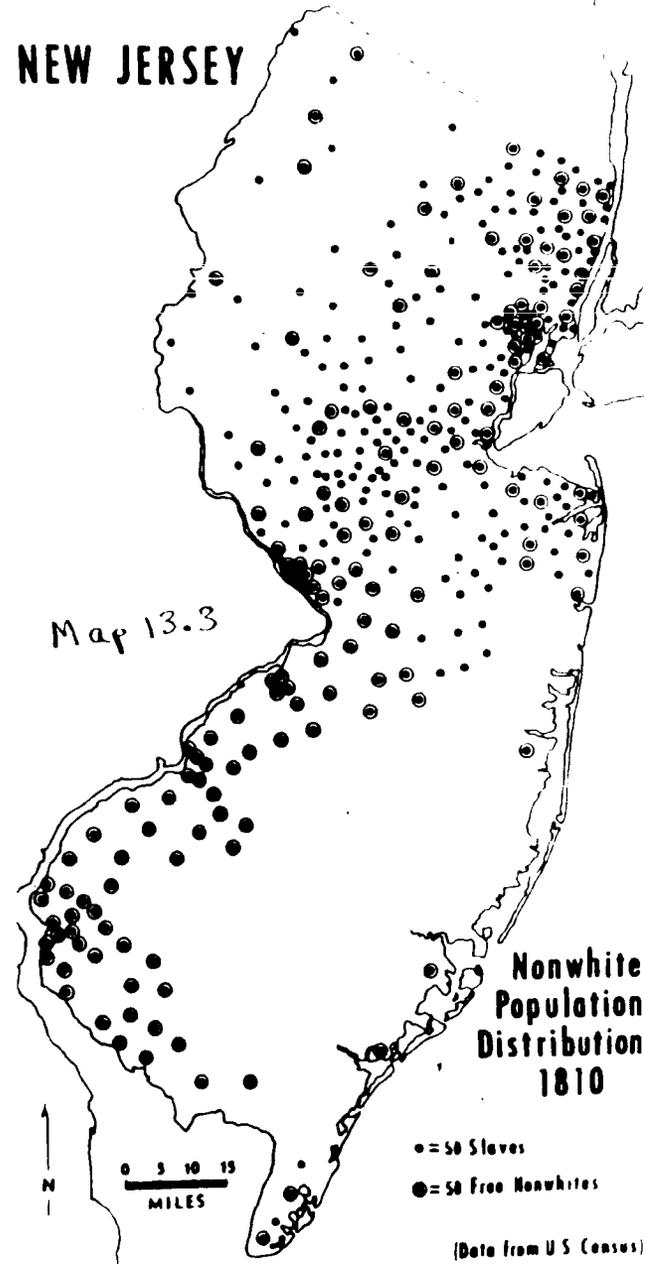
Indian Tribal Centers
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NEW JERSEY

Map 13.3

Map # 5



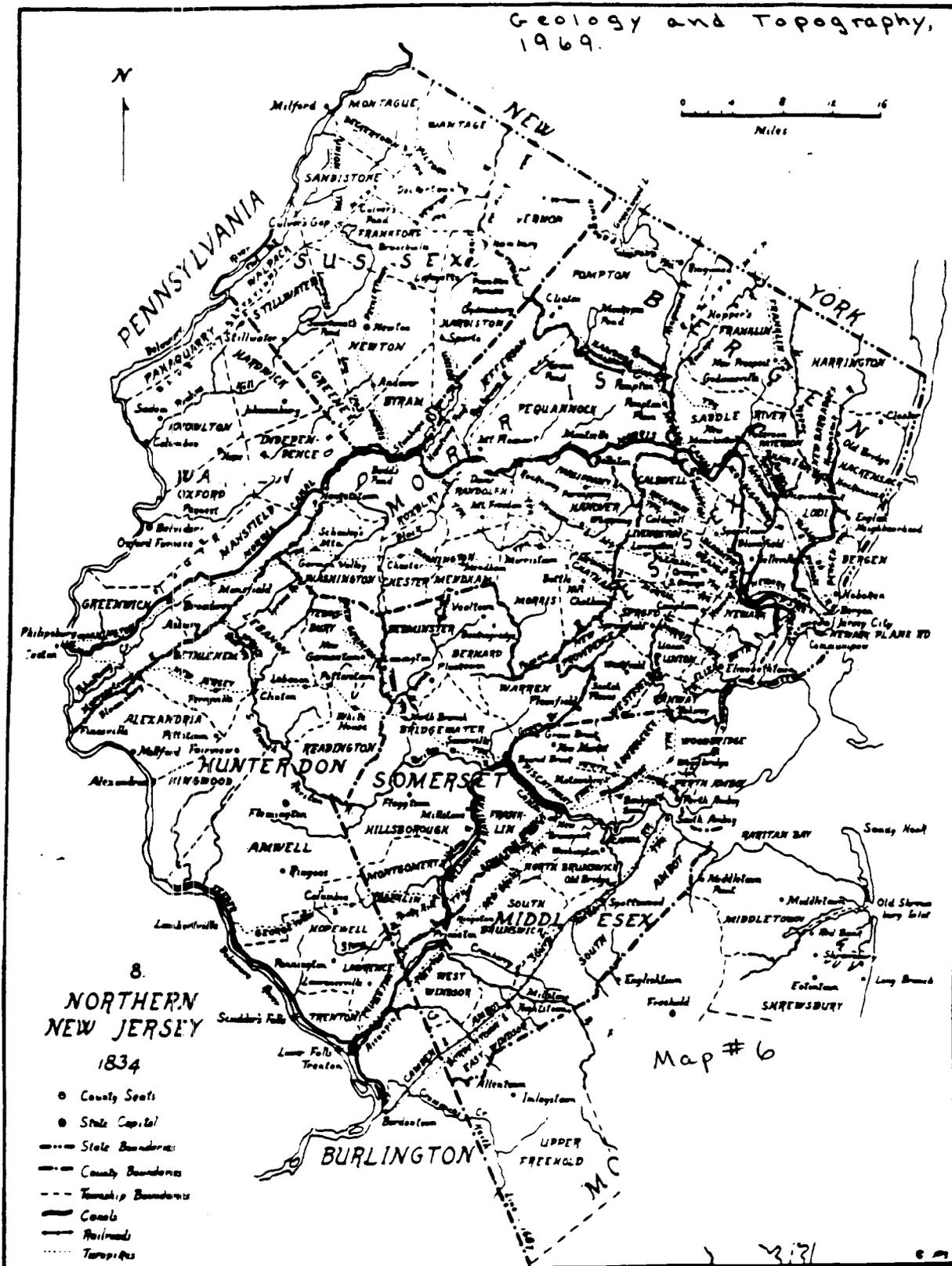
Nonwhite Population Distribution 1810

- = 50 Slaves
- = 50 Free Nonwhites

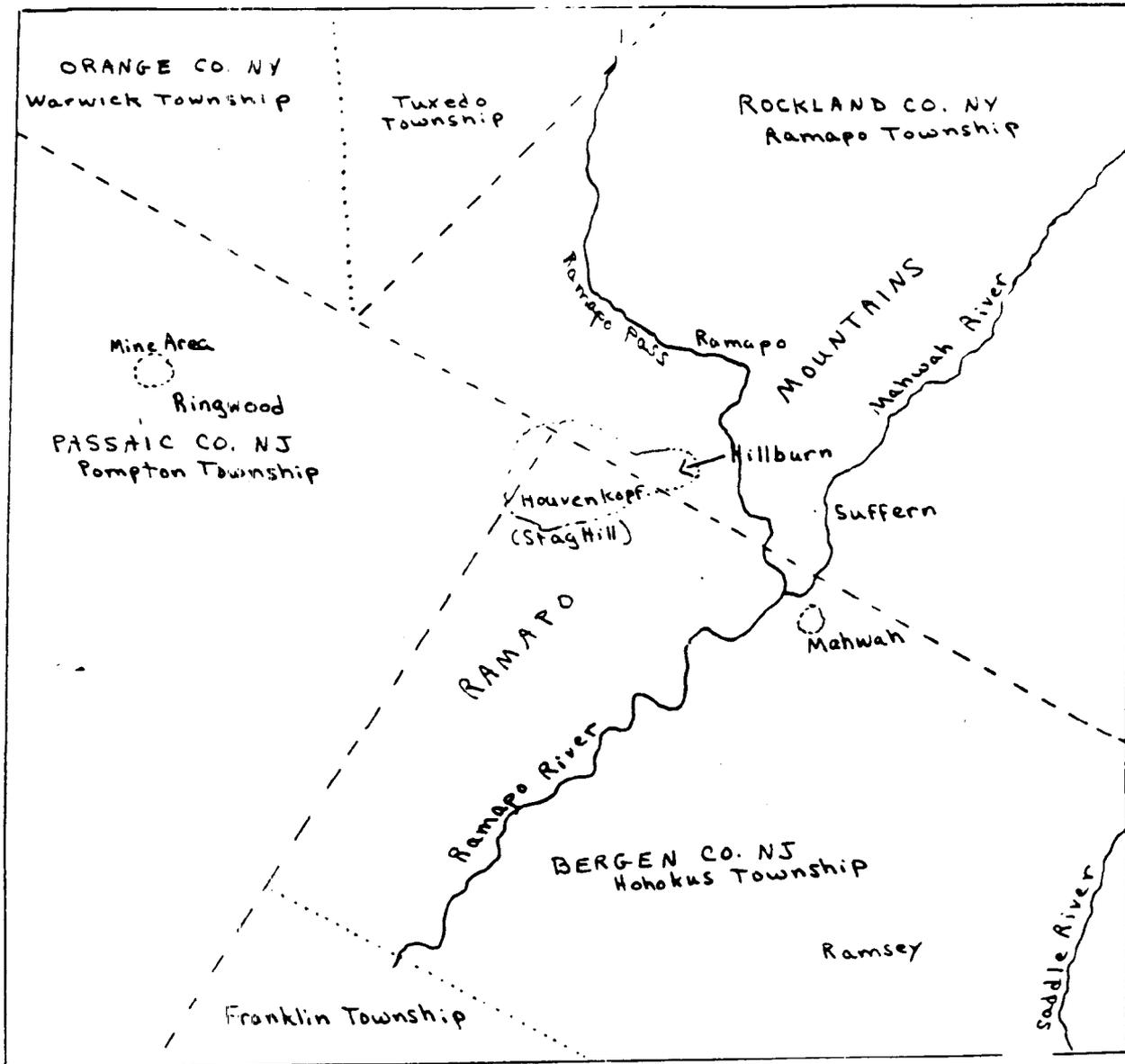


(Data from U S Census)

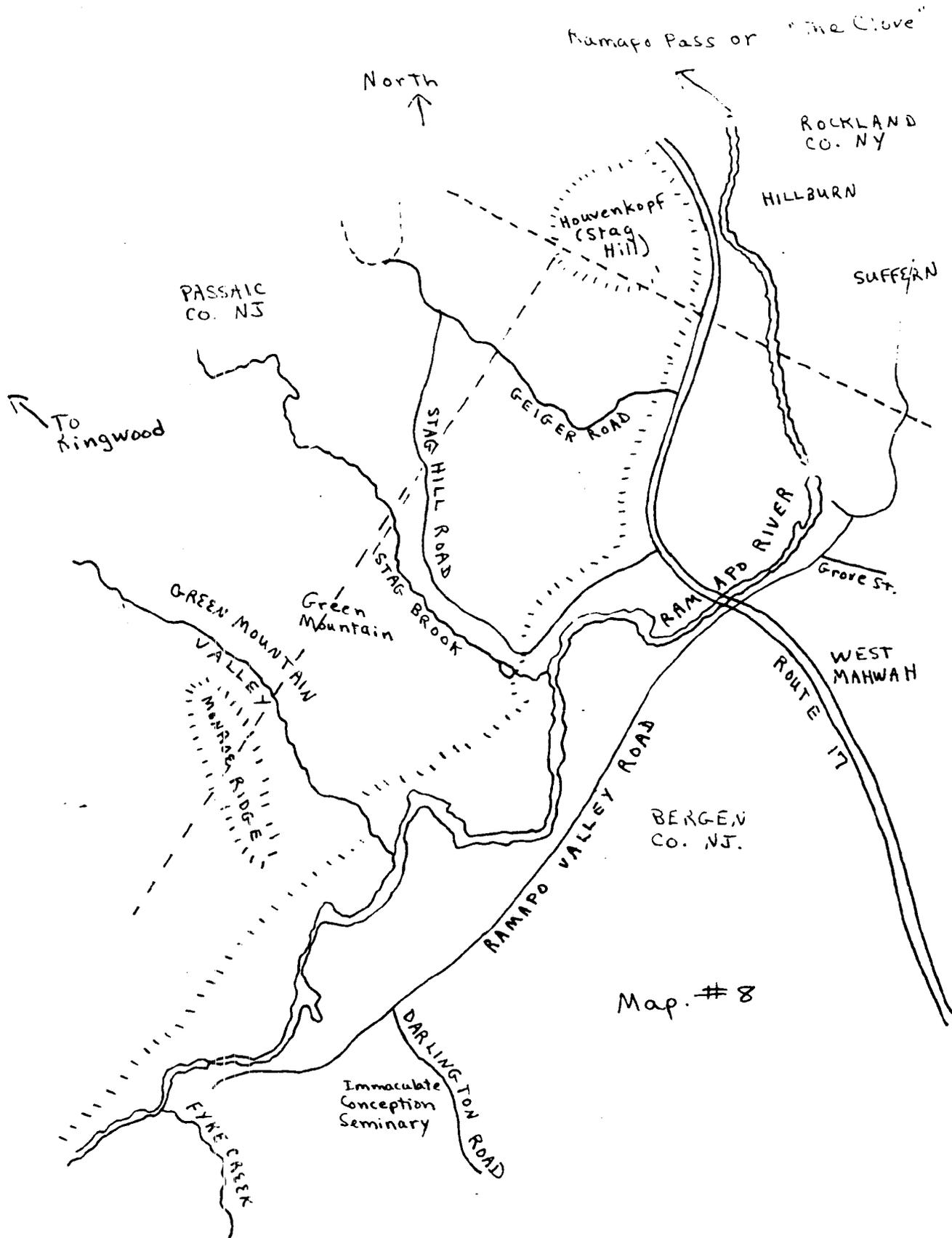
Peter O. Wacker, Land and People: A Cultural History of Preindustrial New Jersey: Land and Settlement Patterns. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1975.



Adapted From:
Edward Thomas Price, Jr., Mixed-Blood Populations
of The Eastern United States as to Origins,
Localization and Persistence. Ph. D. Diss., Univ. of
California, 1950.



Map. #7



**Anthropological Report on
the Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc.
of New York and New Jersey**

The ancestors of the Ramapough Mountain Indians (RMI) were first documented in the Ramapo Mountains, along the border between New York and New Jersey, around 1800. Since then they have been referred to by various names, each with a different meaning. "Jackson Whites" is a label that was applied to them by local outsiders as early as 1878. It is a very imprecise term, not to mention highly offensive to the RMI. It will only be used when referring to other sources that use it. In this report, "Ramapo Mountain People" (RMP), a designation favored by Cohen (Cohen 1974), is used when referring to descendants of the six founding families of the mountain community (DeGroat, DeFreese, VanDunk, Mann, Cassalony, and Cisco), without regard for whether or not they claim Indian ancestry. Finally, "Ramapough Mountain Indians" (RMI) refers only to descendants of these families who are on the membership roll of the RMI, Inc. Not all of the RMP are on the RMI membership list, nor do they all claim to be Indian, even though they share the same ancestry.

Literature Review

Historical evidence indicates that, since the mid-1800's, the RMP have been identified as a separate and distinct community, characterized by social and political isolation, unique speech patterns (based on Jersey Dutch), and group endogamy. Written records do not unequivocally identify the RMP community, or the individuals comprising that community, as "Indian." However, some people since that time have regarded them as part-Indian or mixed-blood, utilizing such non-Indian racial terms as "colored" and "Mulatto," among other terms.

The tradition that the people who inhabit the Ramapo Mountains around Mahwah, N.J. have some Native American background is an old one, going back to the early 1800's. The earliest written reference to this is in the private correspondence of Victor Jacquemont, a French naturalist who visited the Mahwah area in 1827. Jacquemont gave the following account of a community of mixed-blood Indians living in the mountains around Mahwah in a letter to a friend.

He did not mention the names of any of the mixed Indians, nor did he include the names of any of their communities or geographical features where they were living. So there is no way to know for sure that Jacquemont was referring specifically to the ancestors of the RMI. He records nothing regarding the existence of a community, tribal identification, or political leaders or process.

Forty-five years later, George A. Ford was a minister who did four years of mission work among the people on Stag Hill (1872-1876). His labors resulted in the founding of Brook Chapel in Hillburn, New York, in 1876. He wrote a letter (dated August 7th, 1926) to the congregation on the occasion of their 50th anniversary in which he stated that the RMP had Indian ancestry.

In spite of the doubts and fears of the active Ramapo Presbyterian Church members who were assisting him in the mission work, the first meeting was held in the home of Mary Degrote. For the next four years the pastor and some of his faithful made "the expedition" into the mountains to hold services every Thursday night. By 1876, Rev. Ford worked to provide the people of Stag Hill a separate building in which to hold meetings. Henry Pierson, Sr. donated the timber to construct a log chapel.

While acknowledging the Indian history of the RMP and identifying them as a distinct community, Rev. Ford refers to them as a "colored community" (Ford 1926). It is unclear what he meant by "colored." But given the context in the letter his use of the word parallels the ambiguous use of the term "colored" by the RMP, who sometimes use it as a synonym for mixed-race (White, Black, and Indian) rather than African-American (see quote from Jimmy DeFreese, p. 31 below).

In 1872, an article appeared in the Appleton's Journal (Frenzeny 1872), entitled "A Community of Outcasts." The article, based on the author's visit to the mountains (he mentions no specific geographical features - not even a town), set the tone toward the RMP for the next century. Frenzeny contrasts the idyllic setting of the mountains 40 miles from New York City with the RMP living there:

They have no organization, and neither do they roam hither and thither in companies (Frenzeny 1872, 325).

Frenzeny states that the people in the mountains had only three surnames (he specifies only two: DeGroot and Conklin) among them because endogamy was such a common practice. They made their living as charcoal burners, basket makers, and wood carvers. Anthropologically, it is hard to accept at face value his contention that there was a complete lack of organization. The title of his own article refers to them as a community, at least suggesting that outsiders viewed the RMP as a unique, distinct group. It is more likely that there was social and political organization, but it would have been informal, along family lines, and perhaps hard to detect on a one-day excursion into the hills.

Frenzeny alludes to a half dozen origin stories for the RMP current among local townspeople in 1872, showing even at this

early date that their neighbors were interested in, but uncertain of, where they came from. Nowhere does he mention that they are Indian or maybe even partly Indian. He does note that they spoke in a peculiar, sometimes unintelligible manner. His anonymous guide spoke in the same manner. Some of the pronunciations that he recorded make it likely that he was referring to the Jersey Dutch language, which some RMP still spoke as late as 1910 (Prince 1910).

There is no known use of the label "Jackson White" with regard to the RMP in the written record until 1878 (Rockland County Journal February 9, 1878; Bischoff and Kahn 1979 mistakenly state that the first use was in an 1880 article in the Bergen County Democrat). This earliest known reference to "Jackson Whites", which specifically referred to two families of DeGroots, appeared only ten months after an article in the Bergen County Democrat announced that a Reverend Jackson from Paterson was holding meetings every Sunday in Johnnie DeGroot's log cabin at Green Mountain, one of the earliest documented RMP settlements (Bergen County Democrat April 6, 1877). There is no mention of Rev. Jackson's denominational ties, but he may have been Methodist since a Methodist mission was started at Darlington in 1857. A Reverend Green was holding services in 1895 in the same community for the African Methodist church (Bischoff and Kahn 1979).¹

¹ The origins and use of the label "Jackson Whites" could be the subject of a thesis in and of itself. The following is a sampling of the folk etymologies that have made it into print over the years, none of which have any substantiated historical basis:

1. the elision of Jacks and Whites (Jack = colloquial term for 'negro').
2. Jackson as a corruption for the word 'Hessian.'
3. From the Dutch Wiltse 'Indian' and Nagher 'Negro.' (Demarest 1975).
4. Jackson and White are prominent surnames in the group (Speck 1911).
5. Jackson, "merchant in flesh," who brought white European women to New York to sell for marriage or "whatever." They were called Jackson's whites and when they escaped prostitution, they fled to the Ramapo Mountains (Caldwell 1935).
6. In a more elaborated version of #5 above, Jackson comes from the name of Captain Jackson, British sea captain who brought white and black prostitutes to New York for the British army. Jackson's Whites and Jackson's Blacks became simply "Jackson Whites" (J.C. Storms 1938).

The usage of the term "Jackson White" was quickly adopted by local townspeople and other outsiders who wrote about the RMP. By 1908, Frank Speck noted that the RMP did not like being called "Jackson Whites." Importantly, there is no evidence that the RMP ever used it as a term of self-reference. One anthropologist (Collins 1972) reported that the people in Hillburn sometimes used it to refer to the people in Ringwood and vice versa. This was not true in 1993 when anthropological fieldwork was conducted by BAR to gather evidence for this petition. None of the RMP would use it when referring to other RMP, regardless of their town of origin (Austin 1993).

Regardless of how the RMP felt about it, the term did become widely used by journalists, state, and federal governments, and researchers. There is a scientific difficulty with the term since it became a very broad label, lacking clarity and precision. After its first known use in 1878, when it was mentioned in association with the two DeGroot families, 'Jackson White' became used as a blanket term for any poor people anywhere in the Ramapo Mountains, Indian or non-Indian background, and not just to people in the core area of the RMI: Ringwood, N.J., Hillburn, N.Y., and Mahwah, N.J.

The question of who were the bona fide "Jackson Whites" arose very early as reflected in the use of 'true' and 'pure' in the following quote from Judge Bogert, of Nanuet, N.Y. (about 10 miles away from Mahwah):

-
7. from the expression "black as Jackson."
 8. General Jackson, RMP weren't allowed to vote in election for "Old Hickory" and therefore caused a riot (Tholl 1975).
 9. A slave named Jackson was the first to mingle with the Dutch (Frazier 1939, through a "Jackson White" informant)

the true Jackson whites are descendants of whites, blacks, and Indians who lived in the Suffern mountains during the Revolution The pure Jackson white is also migratory, another Indian characteristic (Hackensack Republican, November 19, 1891, quoted in Tholl 1975, 89; underlining added for emphasis).

In spite of this effort to refine the term, by 1905, "Jackson White" was being used quite explicitly for two distinct mountain communities: 1. the DeGroats and Manns around Green Mountain, Stag Hill, Hillburn, and Ringwood; 2. the Conklins and Pitts of the Pine Meadow area, north northeast of Suffern, N.Y. (Ramapos Mountaineers, 1905). The Pitts and Conklins are not RMI ancestors, and the broadening of the definition through popular usage to include them under the label of "Jackson Whites" has produced much confusion.

Journalists and travelers before 1900 gave their impressions of what they believed to be a community of people with some Indian ancestry. An article in The World said the RMP were tri-racial. The author claimed that the RMP themselves claimed to be descended from Creek Indians.

The race and its life history forms an interesting ethnological study and the early history of the negroes who first intermarried with the Creek Indians in the Ramapo Mountains would elucidate many curious problems. That the Indians with whom they mixed were Creek we have only their own assertion. They say their ancestors were Creeks, but as there are no records to show for it this must be left as a matter of conjecture (A People With Pink Eyes 1890).

In the same year, another article states they have Tuscarora ancestry and features a photograph and description of Samuel DeFreese, who was pastor of Brook Chapel in Hillburn, but it says nothing about his role as a community leader (RMI Petition 1992) or about the nature of the RMI community on the Houvenkofft [sic] (Stag Hill) generally (Johnson 1890).

These two articles, both printed in 1890, represent the first known attempt to tie the RMP to a specific, historic Indian tribe. One author mentions Creek ancestry (reportedly a self-designation) and the other Tuscarora (cited for unknown reasons). This reflects the lack of consensus about the RMP's origins, even at this relatively early date.

The legend that the Tuscarora Indians once lived around Mahwah could have grown out of the residence of Silas Mount Pleasant in the vicinity of Ladentown in the 1860's. First recorded in writing in 1911 (Speck 1911), the legend says that Augustus Coe, a landowner in the Ladentown area, found Silas Mount Pleasant, a Tuscarora Indian, squatting on his land in 1868. Mount Pleasant was supposed to have had heard about the Ramapo Mountains from his ancestors. It was also said that he was the nephew of a Tuscarora chief. Mount Pleasant worked for the Coes for seven years as a laborer after their initial encounter (Penfold 1955; a similar legend was recorded in less detail in Speck 1911). The Federal Census confirms that Silas Mount Pleasant was working for Coe at this time (United States 1860d). The petitioner did not offer evidence that Mount Pleasant was in fact related to the Tuscarora Indians, but there was a chief of the Tuscarora named Mount Pleasant. The petitioner also presented no evidence that they are descended from Silas Mount Pleasant or any other member of the Tuscarora tribe.

Other writers continued to link the RMP to specific Indian tribes. On February 28, 1909, an article in the New York Sun said the RMP's ancestors were Hackensack Indians (Log Cabin Homes Nearby 1909). Thus, while there may have been a generally accepted belief among outsiders that the mountaineers were partially Indian, the disagreement about what Indian tribe they descended from is clearly documented at the turn of the 20th century.

During the first four decades of this century (1900-1940), the tradition that the RMP were partially Indian started to receive added credibility from the writings of early social scientists, including: archaeologists and anthropologists (Herskovits 1928; Schrabisch 1909, 1915, 1919; Skinner and Schrabisch 1913; Skinner, 1911, 1914; Speck 1908a, 1909b, 1911), a linguist (Prince 1910), and a sociologist (Frazier 1939). Until this time, researchers tended to depend on non-RMP for their information about the RMP. For this reason it is impossible to say whether or not the mountaineers ever really claimed to be Creek, Tuscarora, or Hackensack. Hodge writing in 1907 did not mention the "Jackson Whites" when listing several other mixed race groups in the same region (Hodge 1907).

John Dyneley Prince, was a linguist and resident of Ringwood, N.J. He used some of the RMP as informants for recording words in Jersey Dutch, which was still spoken by a few elderly people after the turn of the century (Prince 1910). In this article, Prince describes William DeFreece of Ringwood, N.J., who was in his 80's, as "mixed with Minsi Indian." Again, it is not clear if this claim to Indian heritage was a self-designation on the part of Mr. DeFreece, or an attribution by Prince. The Jersey Dutch language was a mixture of Dutch, English, and Munsee which was the lingua franca of northern New Jersey and southern New

York until the late 19th century.

Max Schrabisch was trained in archaeology in his native Germany, at the University of Berlin. Schrabisch, says local historian John Y. Dater, was intrigued with the possible tie between the RMP and the Tuscarora Indians (Dater 1975). He was hired as New Jersey's state archaeologist and, as such, conducted surveys of rock shelters and in Bergen and Passaic Counties and excavated some of them (Schrabisch 1909, 1915, 1919). Some of his work was performed in conjunction with Alanson Skinner of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Schrabisch claimed to have found archaeological evidence in 1910 to support the presence of Tuscaroras in the area around 1714, in the form of Iroquoian artifacts on the "Indian Field" in Mahwah (Schrabisch 1922). This field later became the site of the Ford Motor Company Plant which employed many of the RMP, now it is a hotel/office complex and Sharp electronics factory.

Frank Speck, anthropology lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania, was the first anthropologist to spend time in the area visiting with and talking to the mountaineers (Speck 1908a, 1908b, 1911). According to information provided by the petitioner, his research was limited to one trip he made in 1908, during which he purchased handicrafts for Alanson Skinner at the American Museum of Natural History (RMI Petition 1992). Speck submits that the "Jackson White"

tribe, so called, seems to have been founded by the blending of a few families of native Algonquian Indians, probably the Minisinks of the Delaware, with some of the Tuscaroras who lingered for a rest in the Ramapo Valley on their way from Carolina in 1714 to join their colleagues, the Iroquois in New York State. To this small nucleus became added from time to time runaway Negro slaves and perhaps freedmen from the Dutch colonial plantations in the adjoining counties in New Jersey. Vagabond white men of all sorts also contributed a share to the community from the early days until now. The "Jackson Whites" may be regarded, therefore, as a type of triple race mixture. (Speck 1911: 104).

He found support for this view that they were partially Indian in the baskets that he collected which, he said, had both Algonquian and Iroquoian characteristics (Speck 1911). In this way he combined what he knew historically about the Indians who inhabited this area at the time of European contact with the local tradition about the Tuscarora Indians which Schrabisch thought he had proven through archaeological research. Based on the evidence provided by the petitioner, Speck did not ask the

RMP what they knew about their own claimed tribal ancestry. Speck's field notes were not provided by the petitioner. They might indicate what evidence he used to support the RMP's presumed Algonquian and Iroquoian heritage, other than the style of their baskets, which were collected from a group of mountain people who are not ancestors of the RMI.

He wrote that Dutch surnames common among the "Jackson Whites" were DeVries, DeGroat, Mann, and Cisco (Speck 1911). He also reported,

On the other hand, at least in the neighborhood of the Hudson, a number of . . . white families, who evidently have no consanguinity with either Negro or Indian, pass in the town under the name of Jackson-Whites, solely by reason of their mode of life.

This gives further support to the idea that "Jackson White" was already being used for a number of people living in the Ramapo Mountains who were not necessarily related to the ancestors of the RMI.

In a letter to Alanson Skinner (dated April 29, 1908) Speck mentioned some of the people from whom he bought handicrafts:

The specimens were obtained from Nick Conklin, Rebecca Cole, "Old Mag", ? Mann, and an old man showing strongly Indian features named John Sisco, and some settlers near Ladentown who had secured the objects from Jackson White pedlers [sic] from the mountains. The baskets were known by the name of 'bockies' (Speck 1908a).

Nick Conklin (not an RMI ancestor) was living at Pine Meadow at the time of Speck's visit (later Conklin and his family were forced to move to Mount Ivy, due to the construction of Palisades Interstate Park). The fact that the townspeople purchased handicraft items around Ladentown (about twelve miles north northeast of the RMI core area), suggests the items Speck purchased from them were also likely made by members of the Conklin and Pitt families, since Ladentown is much closer to the Pine Meadow region than the RMI core area. Speck believed that the members of the ten or so families of the Pine Meadows (i.e., the Pitts and Conklins) had a higher degree of Indian ancestry than people in the other two communities (Speck 1908a). No evidence was provided indicating that the other individuals named in Speck's letter are RMI ancestors, though some of them have common RMI surnames (Mann and Cisco):

Following up on the work of Schrabisch and Speck was Alanson Skinner, who directed the American Museum of Natural History's anthropological collections. In his history of the Indians of New York, Skinner concluded:

Those Indians most closely related to the Mohegans and Mahikans became part of the mongrel remnants of those people known as Brothertowns and Stockbridges A few linger in Connecticut, a few on Long Island, a few in the Ramapo mountains (Skinner 1915:98-99).

Skinner, in 1915, is the first person to suggest Munsee ancestry for the RMP as a whole (see also Prince 1910 regarding the purported part-Minsi background of William DeFreese of Ringwood), but he does not offer any evidence for his claim.

In 1911, the report entitled The Jackson Whites: A Study in Racial Degeneracy was issued by the New Jersey Training School for Feeble-Minded Children at Vineland, New Jersey (Vineland Training School 1911). This report was submitted by the petitioner, who bases claims to Indian ancestry on it. According to the report, the fieldwork was done by Jane Griffiths in May, 1911, under the direction of H.H. Goddard, Research Director for the Training School. Elizabeth Kite was the project manager. Kite had received a degree in education in Paris, France in 1905. There she had been trained by Alfred Binet in his method of testing children for intelligence. In 1916, she translated from French to English a book by Binet that was edited by H.H. Goddard. Kite may have written the anonymous paper on the "Jackson Whites," based on the similarity of other writings by Kite on intelligence and poverty.

The report on the "Jackson White" community was initiated because the researchers believed that it offered one of the best possible natural laboratories for testing the influence of genetics on intelligence. The study of the family heritage of one of the Training School's internees, Lucy DeGroat, led to the "startling" discovery that there was a high percentage of marriages between family members in the community. It was decided to use the Binet Intelligence Test on the RMP. Coming down on the nature side of the nature versus nurture controversy, the now discredited report concluded that environmental factors do not influence intelligence. Similar conclusions were reached in Kite's study of the Pineys, another group purported to have partial Indian ancestry, in Burlington County, New Jersey (Kite 1913). At the end of this report, Ms. Kite tells the governor that the best way for the state to take care of such mental and moral "defectives" was to institutionalize them before they reached an age when they could produce offspring. Such studies formed the foundation of the national eugenics movement and ultimately Nazism in

Germany. Groups such as the "Jackson Whites" were victimized by the pseudo-scientific research performed among their populations.

The Vineland Study said that there were 2,611 "Jackson Whites" living in the United States (see Appendix A). Though no supporting evidence is cited, and the author expresses some doubt in the matter, Algonquian (Minsi) and Tuscarora ancestry is alluded to in the report. It does not give any information as to whether or not all of these people shared kinship ties to the DeGroat and/or Conklin families. It also does not say how the census estimates were established. The author estimated that in 1913 a total of 875 "Jackson Whites" were to be found in the seven towns that now lie within a 5-mile radius of the RMI core area (see Appendix B), with the balance of 1,736 living spread out in another 67 small towns all over New York and New Jersey, in state institutions, and living in other states (see Appendix A). This enumeration represents a further change in meaning for "Jackson Whites;" they are no longer geographically restricted to the Mahwah region, but are living all over New York and New Jersey.

Social workers continued to show an interest in the RMP throughout this period, from 1900 to 1940, as seen in the report The Negro in New Jersey (New Jersey Conference on Social Work 1932). This report identified the "Jackson Whites" as a unique, mixed-race community with partial Indian ancestry.

Medical professionals started investigating physical abnormalities in the RMP community, such as polydactyly and syndactyly (autosomal dominant disorders), and albinism (an autosomal recessive disorder) which surfaced with unusually high frequency (Jones 1931; Osborne 1917; Snedecor and Harryman 1940). Albinism was known to exist in the Mann and DeGroat families before 1890 (A People With Pink Eyes 1890) since Barnum and Bailey's circus already employed some of them for the side show by that time. Their physical disorders were blamed on low intelligence, sexual immorality (dominant society's interpretation of group endogamy), and poverty. In actuality, such disorders simply reflect the principles of genetic inheritance in a small, isolated gene pool.

Journalists (Chanler 1939; Stimpson 1932; Storms 1935, 1936; Sweet 1935; Switall 1935; Weller 1938), as well as playwrights (Anderson 1937; Balch 1935) and novelists (Terhune 1926, 1934) continued to write about them, playing up negative stereotypes. They typically supported the notions that the RMP had Indian ancestry, repeating what had already been written by others, principally attributing to them Minsi, Tuscarora, and Hackensack ancestry. The belief that the RMP were descended from Creek Indians was apparently forgotten; there were found no other references to it (A People with Pink Eyes 1890). Several points remained constant in these accounts: the RMP were a mixed-race

people who stayed in their isolated, remote communities, lived by their own rules, and married only other RMP.

There was seldom any detailed information given by these writers that could be used to flesh out a complete description of the RMP community. In terms of political leadership and process, some individuals were identified by journalists as "patriarchs" and "matriarchs." George Weller named two deceased patriarchs, Simon Mann of Ho-Ho-Kus (ten miles south of the RMI core area) and "Long-haired" Bill Mann, as well as one living patriarch, Will DeFreece of Hillburn (Weller 1938). But he gives no evidence concerning the kinds of political influence they had over the RMP; for example, whether or not their influence was only within their surname family group or if it was community-wide, or may have even encompassed all RMP living in Stag Hill/Mahwah, Hillburn, and Ringwood. Weller does mention that Will DeFreece was made patriarch by Louis Suffern, indicating that this one patriarch was chosen by a non-RMP rather than by the RMI's own ancestors. There is also no information on the kinds of decisions or activities they provided leadership on. It is mentioned in several articles that the "Jackson Whites" settled their own disputes without turning to outside law enforcement, but no details are ever given for the process that was used.

Without a doubt, the most influential article ever published on the "Jackson Whites" was that of John C. Storms. Storms was a Park Ridge, N.J. newspaper publisher. In 1935 he made a brief visit to the homes of some of the RMP. He wrote a newspaper article (1935a), which was followed by a booklet that he published privately, called Origin of the Jackson-Whites of the Ramapo Mountains (Storms 1936). This is a significant document because it attempted to combine all of the elements of folk etymology into a coherent story which unfortunately became the accepted "history" of the RMP. To these diverse strands of folk etymology he added his own embellishments which he later attributed to journalistic license. The book was reprinted several times, in spite of the fact that there is no evidence to support its claims (1936, 1945, 1951 and 1958).

Storms began his account by stating that the Ramapo Mountains were once used by the 'Haginggashackie' [sic] Indians as a seasonal hunting ground. White settlers came into the area, pushing many of these Indians out, but some of them stayed behind, intermarrying with the whites. He repeated the widely-held belief, first put forward in 1890 (Johnson 1890), that the Tuscaroras contributed to their ancestry, when a band established a village in the Indian Field at Mahwah in 1714. They were joined by Hessians (Schrabisch 1922).

Finally, Storms added and embellished a newly acquired folk etymology for "Jackson-White," the one passed on by William Caldwell (1935) in the Bergen Evening Record. Caldwell said that

he had heard a tale, around Monticello, N.Y., about a man named Jackson who used to sell European women for marriage and "any other suitable bid." The women, according to Caldwell, were called "Jackson's whites" and they fled to the mountains to escape working as prostitutes in New York City (Caldwell, quoted in Demarest 1975:91). Storms took this legend in outline form and fabricated an entire story around it without proof or evidence of any sort. He wrote that a Captain Jackson had brought women from England and the West Indies to New York for the British soldiers to use as prostitutes just before the American Revolution. These women, some of whom became known as Jackson's Whites, escaped to the Ramapo Mountains when the colonials liberated New York and became the female ancestors of the RMP. The unfounded allegation that their ancestors were prostitutes was brought up by several RMI informants as particularly offensive (Austin 1993).

Every addition of Storms to the story reaffirmed already existing prejudices toward the RMP. Subsequent researchers have been unable to verify Storms references to outlaws, the Tuscarora, the Hessians, Captain Jackson, or the prostitutes (Cohen 1974; Collins 1972; Salomon 1982). Nevertheless, through its many printings and popular style Storm's version was accepted as authentic history rather than the mix of fiction and folk legend that it was. In spite of its fictitious and scornful nature, the story continues to be circulated as historical truth, most recently surfacing in a local newspaper article in 1977 (Salant). One non-RMI informant described the Storm's version of RMI origins in detail as "the story I grew up with," though he was not sure of its accuracy (Austin 1993).

The only social scientist to write about the RMP during the latter part of this period (1900 to 1940) was the Howard University sociologist, Edward Franklin Frazier (1939). In his book on the American Negro family, Frazier touched on what he called "racial islands," which he defined as small, isolated, mixed-race communities. It is reported that he personally visited some of these communities, but it is not known if he actually visited the RMP, specifically. Instead of doing field work, it seems that Frazier used information on the "Jackson Whites" that was provided in writing by Sarah Mildred (DeFreese) Alexander, a Howard University graduate (ca. 1917, Austin 1993). Alexander informed Frazier that the British had brought the Boers [i.e., the Dutch] to the Mahwah area to mine iron ore. She also said the Dutch arrived there first, and were later joined by the Tuscarora and the Delawares who were travelling north to join the rest of their tribe in central New York state. According to her, a former slave of the Sufferns named Jackson was the first to mingle with the Dutch, resulting in the "Jackson Whites" label.

Toward the end of this period (1900 to 1940) the "Jackson Whites" not only received attention from journalists and scholars, but

also were the subject of novels and plays. Albert Payson Terhune, whose father had been a minister to the RMP (Sweet 1935), wrote a novel called Treasure that passed on the legends about their origins. George Weller mentioned a play by Maxwell Anderson, High Tor, which was staged in New York in 1937, that identified the "Jackson Whites" as a poor community near Suffern (Weller 1938). There was also an off-Broadway play, Jackson White written by David Arnold Balch and produced by A. Lawton McElhone at Provincetown Playhouse on April 20, 1935 (Balch 1935).

From 1940 to 1970, a generation of scholars, including anthropologists, folklorists, sociologists, geographers, and historians continued to identify the RMP as part Indian. Journalists and novelists continued writing about the RMP sporadically. The journalists and novelists did not do any original research concerning the history or racial heritage of the RMP, but rather, faithfully repeated the folktales that were considered common knowledge. Because there is no new information in their writings, their work is not discussed, though references to journals and other literary works are provided in the bibliography.

The Federal government produced several reports that repeated the assumption that the "Jackson Whites" were part Indian. The United States Writer's Program published reports on various states in the union in the late 1930's and early 1940's. In 1941, they produced one called Bergen County Panorama, which included information on the "Jackson Whites," acknowledging their distinct community on the Houvenkopf and their Indian heritage (Federal Writer's Project of the Work's Projects Administration for the State of New Jersey 1941:171-180; 305). References to the "Jackson Whites" in New Jersey: A Guide to its Present and Past (Federal Writer's Project of the Work's Projects Administration for the State of New Jersey 1939).

William Harlen Gilbert, a social anthropologist and an employee of the Library of Congress, wrote two articles on what he called "mixed blood racial islands" (Gilbert 1946), and "surviving Indian groups" (Gilbert 1949; see also, Gilbert 1947). Gilbert does not mention having done any research among the RMP, though he did do some among other part-Indian communities (In his 1949 bibliography, he cited the following references on the "Jackson Whites": Frazier 1939; Frenzeny 1872; Greene 1941; New Jersey Conference on Social Work 1932; Speck, 1911; Storms 1936; Terhune 1926; United States Writers' Program 1941; Weller 1938).

Gilbert included the "Jackson Whites" among the groups he classified as racial islands (Gilbert 1946). He said they numbered about 5,000 and that the family surnames common among them were Cassalony, Cisco, DeGroat, DeVries, Mann, and VanDunk. Under the category of "history," Gilbert said the "Jackson

Whites" are derived from Tuscarora and Munsee Indians, as well as Europeans and Africans. He also pointed out that the "Jackson Whites" were considered 'colored' by the local non-RMP townspeople. He noted that the "Jackson White" children attended a separate primary school in Mahwah, but he apparently did not know that the children in Hillburn attended a separate school at that time as well.

In his contribution to the 1948 Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, Gilbert repeated much of the same information above, but noted that the "Jackson Whites" had a Presbyterian Church in Hillburn (Gilbert 1949). In the conclusion to his section on the "Jackson Whites," Gilbert said that some of them had moved to the lowlands and larger cities to work in the factories. In the same section on "Jackson Whites," Gilbert referred to a Brooklyn community of 500 Indians from 17 tribes, mostly St. Regis Mohawks. It is not clear if he believed that some of the "Jackson Whites" were living in this Gowanus District community or not. But based on information in Weller (1938) there were some RMP living in New York City by that time. One RMI member corroborated that her mother moved to New York as early as the 1934 and began raising a family there. The RMI have not attempted to link themselves to this Indian community in New York.

Finally, the United States Congress did an investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and issued a report which looks like a dictionary of Indian groups (United States Congress, House of Representatives 1953). Under the heading "Munsee," it notes where the Munsee live on various western reservations. Then it states: "Some of the blood of this tribe may enter into the mixed blood community of the Jackson Whites along with that of the Tuscarora."

In the 1940's and 1950's folklorists began to show an interest in the music and folktales of the RMP (Carmer 1956; Kaufmann 1967; Livingston 1963; Lutz 1947, 1954; Shorey 1947). Lutz noted that all of the regional townspeople referred to all the people living in the Ramapo Mountains, from Mahwah to Ladentown, as "Jackson Whites." By defining the term in this way, Lutz included some people who are not related to the RMI (Lutz 1947).

But some of the people living in the Ramapo Mountains were more selective in using the label. For example, one of Lutz's sources, "Mrs. G--- of Hillburn," said that "Jackson White" referred to the Pitt and Conklin families who lived in the mountains east of Suffern and were distinct from her own people who were Negro and Indian. In the same year, Maggie Gannon, described as the common-law wife of Gill Pitt, (residing on the mountain across the Haverstraw Road at Ladentown) said that she had "no truck with that trash in Hillburn," although the author hinted that Gannon may have come from the Stag Hill community

(Shorey 1947).

Frazier's (1939) work on "racial islands," was followed by more rigorous and theoretical research by historians (Bischoff and Kahn 1979; Cohen 1971, 1972, 1974; McMahon 1977; Penfold 1955), geographers (Beale 1957; Price 1950), sociologists (Berry 1963; Collins, 1950), and anthropologists (Collins 1972; Dunlap and Weslager 1947; Pollitzer 1972), on mixed race communities. They were variously referred to as "racial islands," "tri-racial isolates," "the little races," and "marginal peoples." These studies represent the first broad theorizing concerning mixed-race communities in the United States. They were also the first social scientists to think of the "Jackson Whites" as representing an example of a type of community found in many places around the United States, but especially concentrated in the eastern United States.

David Cohen was the first person to do extensive fieldwork among the RMP, spending about a year living in the Hillburn community while conducting dissertation research (Cohen 1971, 1972, 1974, 1980). His methodology was eclectic, combining those used in history, folklore, and anthropology. Cohen's extensive investigation of archival materials, such as land records and other primary documents, led him to the conclusion that the RMP originated as Black freedmen in the 1600's, who moved from the outskirts of New Amsterdam (New York City) into the Hackensack River Valley. They settled there for a while. Then, around 1800, they began to move further west to the Saddle River and the Mahwah areas. The DeFreeses, VanDunks, and Manns were all traced to these same origins. Some of these families' Dutch surnames were mistaken later by Schrabisch for German names.

Cohen suggested that at least some of the people were already of mixed White and Black ancestry long before they arrived in the Ramapo Mountains. Cohen found no primary source evidence for Indian ancestry for the RMP. Specifically, he documented the Tuscaroras' journey up the Susquehanna and Juniata Rivers, but could not substantiate through historical records any passage of Tuscaroras through the Ramapo Pass. When his book was published (1974), the RMP were offended by, and vehemently rejected, his conclusions about their racial background. They were especially upset that he did not find evidence to support their belief in their own Indian ancestry (Grande 1976a, 1976b; Incident at Hillburn 1976; Koster 1978; Kraushar 1976; RMI Petition 1992). Some RMP in Hillburn organized an informal group to combat what they judged to be a prejudicial stereotype through study of their own history.

Subsequent to the publication of Cohen's book (1974), local historians wrote articles for Bergen County History (Dater 1975; Demarest 1975; Tholl 1975) to correct past inaccuracies and abuse and in support of parts of the traditional "Jackson White" legend more favorable to their Indian identity. Part of this research endeavor included the collection of oral histories (Salomon

1982; Sessions 1985). Tholl suggested that the RMP's own account of their origins had never been taken seriously (Tholl 1975). Dater recounted his friend's, Max Schrabisch's, archaeological evidence in support of some Tuscaroras staying behind in the Ramapo Mountains (Dater 1975). Demarest exposed the origin of the prostitutes in Storm's "Jackson White" legend, as detailed above (Demarest 1975).

The RMI incorporated in 1978 and they received their first grant from the Department of Education's Indian Education Program (Title IV) the same year. In 1988 the RMI sent a petition to the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, seeking recognition as an Indian tribe. After this, the RMI sponsored research to support their bid for Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe. They won recognition as descendants of the Algonquian and Iroquois from the New Jersey state legislature in 1980. Two years later the New York legislature passed a resolution asking the President to recognize them as the RMI Tribe by executive order.

Summary of Fieldwork Data

A community is a group of people that interacts face-to-face on a regular basis. It may seem to the casual observer that the RMI are dispersed over a large territory, making this kind of community impossible. The majority of them live in five counties in two states. In fact, some analysts have come to the mistaken conclusion that there were few if any social ties between the groups in Mahwah, N.J. (which includes Stag Hill), Hillburn, N.Y., and Ringwood, N.J. Sometimes the RMI refer to themselves as a single community; sometimes as three communities.

The demographics of the community as it existed in the past and as it exists now will be discussed first. This is followed by a description of the demographic and geopolitical characteristics of the community. Next is a review the social connections that exist among the three principal communities. Finally, there is a summary of how the RMI community views its neighbors and vice versa.

It is difficult to discuss the nearly two centuries of changing demographics of the RMP communities. There are no reliable demographic data on them before the 1950 Federal Census (see discussion of 1950 Federal Census below). In part, this is because there was no single definition of who the "Jackson Whites" were or where they lived. At first it applied to a few families (the DeGroats, then the Manns) in the area around Green Mountain and the Houvenkopf. In the 1880's and 1890's, the people who moved from this area to Hillburn and Ringwood were also called "Jackson Whites." Finally, some writers included the

Pitt and Conklin families of Pine Meadow, who are not related to the RMI, as "Jackson Whites," as well as other families (RMI and non-RMI) living north and south of the RMI core area. Because of the ambiguity of the term and lack of actual fieldwork by early investigators, population estimates varied wildly. For example, Storms (1936) estimated there were probably 5,000 "Jackson Whites." Two years later, Weller (1938) suggested that there were only 500 "Jackson Whites," though, he said, there had been between 5,000 and 10,000 at the time of the Civil War.

The 1913 letter accompanying the Vineland Training School report estimated, more carefully it seems, that there were 2,611 "Jackson Whites," all but 227 of them living in the states of New York or New Jersey (Appendix A). Speck (Speck 1911) said there were approximately 1,500 "Jackson Whites," three hundred of them in the Pine Meadows community (1908a). Speck's estimate (1,500) is fairly close to that of the Vineland Study's estimates for the core area (875), when the 300 inhabitants he estimated for the non-RMI Pine Meadow community are subtracted.

In 1950, the United States Census Bureau adopted a new policy for recording a person's race: the use of local "racial" designations. In the case of the RMP, some were officially classified as "Jackson Whites" in the 1950 census. The classifying was certainly done by the local enumerator, since the RMP have never used "Jackson White" when referring to themselves. The total number of "Jackson Whites" enumerated in New York and New Jersey that year was 1,280 (Beale 1957). This is very close to the number of members that the RMI have on their 1992 membership list as living in the core area (1,333). In 1960 the Census Bureau made race a matter of self-designation. There is no way to know which individuals listed themselves as Indian and which as non-Indian, since these records are still not open to the public. But as a whole, the 1970 and 1980 Federal Census records very few Indians for the counties in New York and New Jersey where the majority of the RMI live. This leads to the conclusion that most RMI listed themselves as either 'colored' or 'other,' but not as Indian.

Table 1
 Number of Persons in Federal Census
 Listing Themselves as Indian by County
 (Source: Federal Census, N.J. and N.Y. Health and Welfare)

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Passaic County, N.J.	79	312	297	274
Bergen County, N.J.	110	343	320	484
Sussex County, N.J.	42	45	66	140
Orange County, N.Y.	55	172	175	580
<u>Rockland County, N.Y.</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>147</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>654</u>
Total	349	1,019	891	2,132

Overall the data reflect a drop in the total number of people registering themselves as Indian in the five counties where most of the RMI reside from 1970 to 1980. But overall, the number of persons reporting themselves as "Indian" increased by 610%.

Table 2
 Number of Persons in Federal Census
 Listing Themselves as Indian by Township or Borough
 (Source: Federal Census, N.J. and N.Y. Health and Welfare) -
 nd="no data"

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Mahwah Township, N.J.	3	nd	221	240
Ringwood Borough, N.J.	10	nd	102	123
<u>Ramapo Township, N.Y.</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>nd</u>	<u>nd</u>	<u>425</u>
Total	110	nd	323	788

The 1970 census data for Hillburn Village listed 501 White, 310 Negro, and 48 "Other," with no Indians recorded. Comparable data on Hillburn for 1980 and 1990 was not found because of the small size of the community.

The petitioner's ancestors have always lived in close proximity to each other. This was recognized by Edward Price, who wrote:

The one general fact of the Jackson White background that stands without dispute indicates that in spite of being within site of the world's highest buildings, they have been more closely associated with a physically demarked refuge than any other mixed group" (Price 1950:242).

The petitioner claims that all of their members live within a 5-mile radius core area that includes seven towns or villages, principally Mahwah, N.J., Hillburn, N.Y., and Ringwood, N.J. (RMI Petition 1992; see Appendix B). In reality, only fifty percent of their membership lives within this radius (1,333 of the 2,654 RMI membership, see Appendix C). This compares with 33% of the estimated 2,611 "Jackson Whites" living in the same radius around in 1913 (Vineland Training School 1911). The membership roll suggests that the RMI are more concentrated in the core area than were their ancestors in 1913. Yet they are dispersed to more cities in New York and New Jersey than were the "Jackson Whites" in 1913. Today the RMI live in 90 towns in New York, 45 in New Jersey, and 98 towns in 28 other states (see Appendix C). The greater concentration of RMI in the core area today could be a function of the enrollment process; that is, that enrollment began

in the core area and some of those family members who moved away by 1913 were lost track of and not included on the membership roll.

In each of the three principal towns, most of the RMI continue to live in discrete neighborhoods, segregated from their White and Black neighbors. Stag Hill is almost exclusively a RMI domain and they do what they can to keep it that way, informally discouraging outsiders from encroaching on their territory, by reportedly cultivating an image of hostility toward them (Donoghue 1942; Kaufman 1970). They have a tradition of not accepting outsiders moving onto the mountain, documented since 1909, when the Wheaton family (Seventh Day Adventist missionaries who started the first school on Stag Hill) tried to move there. Non-RMI report that they generally feel unwelcome on Stag Hill. In Mahwah their homes are in a tightly configured section of town, mostly confined to three streets (Austin 1993).

In Hillburn, the RMI traditionally lived at the foot of the Houvenkopf's eastern slope, while their White neighbors lived across the hollow. The two neighborhoods were most emphatically separated when Highway 17 was constructed through the middle of them in 1930. This left the RMI on one side of the highway and the White people on the other. This pattern is changing, however. As some of the RMI in Hillburn become more affluent and gain more political clout (they constitute slightly more than 50 percent of Hillburn's population), they are renting homes across the highway (Austin 1993).

The Ringwood community of RMI is the poorest of the three. The RMI have always lived outside of Ringwood proper, in a separate section they refer to as "the mine area." A few non-RMI families have moved into the mine area and have married into the RMI. They are accepted by the RMI and have taken some leadership roles among them. One RMI informant from the mine area said there were no Blacks in the mine area. Later he added, "Those who want to claim to be Black are asked to give their [RMI membership] cards back" (Austin 1993).

One interesting fact emerges from the comparison of the RMI membership roll and the Vineland Study estimates. Some towns in the latter that had "Jackson Whites" living in them in 1913, have significantly fewer or absolutely no RMI today (for example, see Appendix C: Chester, Goshen, North Guinnessburg, Tallman in New York; and Newark, Orange, Paterson, Saddle River, Springfield, N.J.). BAR attempted to find people with RMI surnames who might be living in the towns of Chester, Goshen, North Guinnessburg, Tallman in New York; and Newark, Orange, Paterson, Saddle River, Springfield, N.J. by consulting the telephone listings on microfiche, but none were found. Of course, this does not mean that there are no RMI relatives living in those towns.

Based on a comparison of the estimate of "Jackson Whites" in the core area in the Vineland Study (875 in 1913) and the enumeration of "Jackson Whites" in the 1950 Federal Census, the population of the RMP in the core area grew about 65% from 1910-1950, mirroring the growth of the core area generally. Also, based on a comparison of the 1950 census enumeration of "Jackson Whites" and the 1992 RMI membership roll, the number of RMP living in the core area has remained relatively stable since 1950, RMI people left the area through a pattern of emigration that started as early as 1880 to local towns like Mahwah, Hillburn, and Ringwood, and, by 1913, to towns all over New Jersey and New York (Bishchoff and Kahn 1979; Collins 1972).

Instead of organized political activity between the three communities, the RMP, prior to incorporation of the RMI, tended to share with each other informally. As an example of this, several RMIs said that when the iron mines in Ringwood were closed the extended kin in Hillburn collected and donated food, clothes, and other basic necessities (Austin 1993).

The most important social connection that has existed between these three communities over time is group endogamy. The petitioner has mentioned their tendency toward group endogamy, ranging from 85% of all marriages for the period 1810 to 1839 to 62% from 1930-1960 (RMI Petition 1992, 23). This conclusion, it should be noted, is based on reported marriages only. This is an important caveat, since information on marriages that the petitioner has provided is incomplete, and includes only a very small proportion of total marriages. Along the same lines, analysis by BAR genealogist Rita Souther revealed that for all marriages reported by the petitioner since 1900, 87 out of 164 (53 %) in the Van Dunk line and 56 out of 128 (44%) in the DeFreese line were in-group. The petitioner's members claim that there have been a number of cousin marriages (first and second). But they have not submitted evidence to substantiate these claims.

In looking at the list of RMI marriages in the petition (RMI Petition 1992:24), it is interesting to note that many of the endogamous marriages that occur between people within the core area entail marrying someone from another town. For example, RMP from Hillburn do not marry people from Hillburn; rather, they look to Ringwood or Mahwah for their spouses. This pattern has been true since 1880 and continues today. At the same time, BAR genealogists have been unable to determine with precision how many marriages there have been to outsiders. There seems to be a strong possibility that the RMI who still reside in the core area, and even all of those on the membership list, represent only a small fraction of the descendants of the main four family surname groups (DeGroat, Mann, DeFreese, and VanDunk).

Evidence suggests that there is, and always has been, a significant level of communication between the three principle RMI communities (Mahwah/Stag Hill, Hillburn, and Ringwood). One informant said that her father had a rule that you should not marry someone from your own town (Austin 1993). Actually, she used the term "clan," although she was aware that the RMI clans, as described in the by-laws, are modern inventions based on locality rather than extended kinship. If this was a shared norm, as it seems to have been, it would necessitate communication by establishing links of social and economic responsibility between families that lived in different towns. This would support RMI assertions that weddings, funerals, and family picnics are important times for getting together with RMI from other towns. The petitioner did not submit detailed information on attendance at weddings and funerals as supporting evidence.

Today there is a unified governing body for the three town area, in the form of the RMI council. The council is divided into three clans, which are modern creations, begun in 1978, at the time of incorporation. They are not based on extended kinship, but on place of residence (Ringwood - Turtle Clan; Hillburn - Deer Clan; Mahwah - Fox Clan). There was a mistake in the petition (RMI Petition 1992 Section C, page 3), which identified Ringwood as the Turkey Clan, an error that one RMI informant made as well (Austin 1993). More will be said about the functioning of the RMI council. For now, it is enough to note that when asked "What group of RMI do you belong to?," RMI members always responded with their clan affiliation.

Dennis Morgan reported a recent incident during which the Deer and Turtle clans came to the aid of the Fox Clan in a dispute over landscaping on private property on Stag Hill (Austin 1993). Together, the RMI clans successfully confronted the Mahwah town council in a public hearing in what they considered to be a case of prejudice against a RMI from Stag Hill. This is the only specific example of political activity by the clans and inter-clan support provided by the petitioner, aside from generic mention of attending each other's weddings, funerals, and family reunions (for which no documentary proof was supplied). Other examples of this kind of clan activity would help make a better case that the clans are real, functioning organizations.

Another important issue is the relationship of the 50% of the RMI membership who live outside the core area to the core community. Even though 50% live outside the core area, it is a fact that 90% (2,401 out of 2,654 members) live in the states of New York and New Jersey. More documentation would show how RMI in the core area relate socially and politically to people living in these nearby communities. The following information, based on BAR field research (Austin 1993) only constitutes anecdotal evidence to support the claim that RMI who do not reside in the core area

visit frequently.

Dennis Morgan is chief of the Deer Clan (Hillburn) and himself lives outside the core area. He said that members of his clan drive in from New York City (about 30 miles away) for clan meetings, to attend the powwows, and family gatherings. Tena Powell said that she returns to Mahwah regularly from her home in Queens, New York (St. Alban's). She comes for RMI affairs like the RMI exhibit at Ramapo Community College, powwows, family reunions, and clan meetings. More importantly, she visits two elders who live in a Suffern retirement community: one is her mother's cousin, the other is her 81-year old uncle, Warren Powell. According to Tena, her mother, Marie (Morgan) Miller of Hillburn, was one of the first of the RMP to emigrate from the core (about 1933 or 1934). Tena said she was not sure why her mother moved to New York City, but that she became Catholic in the process. Tena added that, when she was a child, they travelled "home" to Hillburn just about every weekend. Tena has seven siblings. They now reside in Florida, New York, Kansas, and California.

Donald and Gloria DePew and Sidney and Violet O'Blenis both came to Mahwah for the specific purpose of interviewing with the BAR anthropologist. Both couples are now retired and live several hours away from the core. They still have family members in the core area (Stag Hill, Mahwah, and Hillburn) whom they come to visit about once a month. They were active in RMI affairs since the incorporation in 1978 and are still active to this day.

Donald DePew (whose Indian name is "Brown Thrush") used to be the RMI's medicine man and story teller. Gloria, his wife, helped initiate the Indian Education Program and became its first Director. She is very proud of her accomplishments in enrolling all the RMI children in the Mahwah public schools as "Indian" and teaching them about their heritage. Gloria's mother and sisters still live on Stag Hill, and the DePews make the three hour trip from St. Johnsville, N.Y., where they have lived since 1988, about once a month to visit them. They also return for the powwow every year where they sell corn soup.

Sidney and Violet O'Blenis moved to upstate New York when Sidney retired. They now live there. They still have children and grandchildren who live in Hillburn and Mahwah whom they visit approximately once a month. They also participate in the annual RMI powwow.

Both of the O'Blenis have DeGroats as ancestors. Each of their parents moved to Paterson, N.J., where they were born. Thus they grew up about 20 miles outside the core area. They did not know each other as children, meeting later in life. When they started talking to each other, they realized that both of their families originated on Stag Hill. They married in the 1940's and

eventually moved to Stag Hill when they were about 30 years old. Sidney commuted to work at the post office in Paterson and was eventually transferred to Mahwah.

Violet noted that all of their children followed this pattern, meeting other RMP outside the core area and marrying them. She said:

Our daughter, Joyce, married Merton Boddy of Stag Hill. Ronald also lived in Paterson when he met Bonnie Powell of Hillburn and they married. Pattie met Tyrone Suffern [Sidney: His family had moved to Paterson too] and married him (his family was from Hillburn, too). Our other daughter, Pamela, married Valentino Mann. Well, actually, if you go back they're all related. It all stems from [inaudible]. We were saying it's funny no matter where you go you meet your own people. Now my youngest son, Sean, he's doing the same thing (Austin 1993).

There are two interesting points about this example. One is the continuation of group endogamy even after emigrating from the core area. The endogamy characteristic of tri-racial isolates usually comes to an end with emigration (Beale 1957). But instead of severing ties with the core community and establishing a new identity through exogamy, these RMI continued to marry people from their own community even after emigrating. The petitioner did not provide data that would allow an evaluation of just how common this is for the whole community.

Tena Powell mentioned another example of this. One of her brothers married a second cousin in California. The other important point is that after marriage outside the core area, they return to the core as a place of permanent residence. The grandparents of Mildred Galindez were both from RMP families, but they did not meet until they went to a school in Hampton, Virginia. They married and returned to Hillburn. Mrs. Galindez also met her spouse (non-RMI) while a student at Howard University in Washington, DC, but moved back to Hillburn after graduation.

Based on this evidence, it is concluded, that a community currently does exist among the RMI. One half of the RMI membership lives in the 10 mile core area and have the opportunity to interact on a frequent, face-to-face basis and they seem to do so. Significant social and economic ties exist between RMI members in the three core communities, based on intermarriage and kinship.

The clan organizations are weakly developed and are not very

active, although RMI do know what clan they belong to and the clan affiliation of other RMI. The clans have no historical basis. They are creations of the 1978 RMI incorporation process. The tripartite division is possibly based on the fact that some historians used to believe the Munsee were divided into three clans.

The petitioner did not show that those RMI who are dispersed throughout New York and New Jersey communicate frequently with each other, or those at the core, face to face. But there is an attempt to keep people outside the core informed through the RMI newsletter, which is ideally mailed to every family on the membership list each month. Because of lack of funding, this does not always happen. Several RMI informants mentioned making phone calls to relatives to keep them informed. Dennis Morgan, Deer clan chief, also said that his clan appointed a clan member as outreach person to better inform members in his clan of RMI activities. Some RMI who live outside the core, make frequent trips back to the core to visit relatives and friends. Even after emigration, some RMI continue to choose their spouses from within the group. And many of them eventually choose to return to the core area to live permanently. The petitioner could strengthen their case by providing more information on RMI and their patterns of migration from and return to the core.

Supposed Antecedents to Present Political Organization

No evidence was offered by the petitioner, and none was found by BAR that there were political leaders among the RMI before the 1940's. The petition alludes to RMI landowners James, Richard and Jacob Degroat as political leaders during the 1800's, but provides no examples of political decisions they made nor any indication of how widespread their political influence would have been. The fact that a person owns land, no matter how much land, does not necessarily imply that they are a tribal leader. Samuel DeFreese, pastor of the Brook Chapel in Hillburn in 1890, is considered by the petitioner to be a political leader, but no supporting information to this effect is given. Likewise, with the newspaper references to matriarchs and patriarchs in the community William DeFreese, William Mann #2, and Ezra VanDunk), there is no information that allows an evaluation of the breadth or depth of their leadership (RMI Pet.13-14, 17).

According to the petitioner, several organizations served as precursors to their present group (RMI Petition 1992). The organizations include: Ungave and the Odd Fellows (Hillburn), the Stag Hill Civic League (Stag Hill), and the Ringwood Neighborhood Association and the How-To Organization (Ringwood). Each of these were single issue organizations, the influence of which was restricted to one of the three primary towns in the core area. Also, the leadership provided by RMI members for these organizations was on an ad hoc basis.

The petitioner claims two groups in Hillburn as precursors of the RMI, Inc. Information provided about the history or activities of these organizations provided by the petitioner is very limited. The Ungave Men's Club met in a quonset hut in Hillburn which was destroyed in the 1960's, along with all written records (RMI 1992: 17; Austin 1993). One RMI informant said "The Ungaves" was the name of a Hillburn baseball team, mostly members of the Powell family. Another RMI has a picture of his father in a baseball uniform with the letters HCG on it, for Hillburn Colored Giants. He said the local White people forced them to use the word "Colored" against their will. They just wanted to be the Hillburn Giants (Austin 1993). It is unclear from the evidence provided if there is a connection between the Ungaves and the Hillburn Colored Giants (Austin 1993). The petitioner did not provide any information regarding the supposed political activities of these organizations.

There are two separate groups in the United States known as Odd Fellows. The Independent Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF) is a fraternal and secret society begun in England in the 1700's and was introduced in the United States in 1819. Its headquarters is in Winston-Salem, North Carolina and it has a women's auxiliary known as the International Association of Rebekah Assemblies. The other group is called the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows (GUOOF), and was founded in 1843. Its central office is in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It is not known which of these national organizations the Odd Fellows of Hillburn were associated with or when the chapter was started.

One non-RMI man who married into the RMP families in Hillburn has a significant collection of photographs and documents relating to the ancestors of the RMI. Among them are Odd Fellow financial records dating to the 1890's and early 1900's (Austin 1993). The ledger books were used to record the payment of membership dues, fines for not attending meetings, donations to a burial fund and gifts to members' families when the member died, and purchases of supplies for the group. There are photos of RMP in their Odd Fellows regalia, a uniform like tails with a sash and braids. One RMI has a letter that her grandfather wrote to his wife from an Odd Fellows convention. There was a corresponding women's group called the Household of Ruth. They wore white dresses and gloves (Austin 1993). No one knew when these organizations ceased to function in Hillburn, but according to one RMI, the Odd Fellows are still functioning in Ho-ho-kus, N.J. Another RMI said that the most "progressive" people in Hillburn belonged to the Odd Fellows and they were instigators of social change (Austin 1993). No evidence has been offered concerning what kind of political activities the Odd Fellows may have been involved in. Also, involvement and leadership on the part of RMI ancestors in the NAACP's movement to desegregate the schools in Hillburn could have been presented as examples of the breadth and depth of political activity. This aspect of political life was

not explored in the petition.

The Stag Hill Civic League was a political organization of the RMP Stag Hill community during the 1950's and 1960's, led by Otto Mann, Sr, who later became a RMI. Through the Civic League, the RMP on Stag Hill fought for recognition and enforcement of their civil rights. They forced the government to provide better services such as an improved road, street lights, enforcement of laws by the local police, and home mail delivery. The Stag Hill Civic League was also responsible for building the first fire house and community recreation center on the Hill. No evidence was offered that the Stag Hill Civic League functioned as an Indian social or political organization. It was still in existence in 1970, but it is not known when it ceased to function. There was also no mention in the petition of Otto Mann's leadership of the chapter of the Mahwah NAACP during the 1940's (Bischoff and Kahn 1979). This is a significant political organization, and research into this part of his life could be very helpful in providing examples of leadership. Perhaps other RMI ancestors were also involved.

In Ringwood, the two most important political groups in recent decades have been the Ringwood Neighborhood Association and the How-To Organization. No organizations were referenced for earlier years in Ringwood. The Neighborhood Association was responsible for road improvements in the area. How-To was started in the 1970's when many of the homes that the Ringwood Mine Company had built and still owned were scheduled to be condemned. The RMP residents, under the leadership of William "Pooch" VanDunk and others, successfully lobbied the Agriculture Department and the Department of Housing and Urban Development to get the financial assistance they needed. The RMP were taught building skills and they supplied all of their own labor. Ford Motor Company donated some land. In all, they renovated 43 houses in the mine area. Based on information provided, Van Dunk's leadership was limited to this one effort. There is no indication that he was involved in broad range of issues that affected all RMI.

None of these organizations were based on or promoted Indian identity or involved Indian activities. Ungave is presented in the RMI petition as "a men's club that functioned as a tribal council." But, in spite of its aboriginal name (ungave, Inuit for 'polar bear,' RMI 1992: 17), the evidence suggests it was only a men's group that sponsored a baseball team.

An RMI informant said that RMI, Inc. has taken the place of the Stag Hill Civic League (Austin 1993). But there is no specific historical connection between the Civic League and the RMI. Stamato suggested there were parallels between the exercise of political power in the Stag Hill Civic League (through charismatic leadership) and traditional Indian political process

(Stamato 1968). Another writer even went so far as to suggest that it was a "survival" of Iroquois culture (Machol 1966). Both theories are totally unwarranted conjectures.

The RMI, Inc. are a modern creation of some of the RMP. It was organized in reaction to the publication of David Cohen's dissertation research (Cohen 1974). Most important, Cohen was able to trace the ancestors of the RMP to freed Blacks and European settlers, but found no evidence for Indian ancestry. In 1976, the people in Hillburn organized to fight what they perceived to be the injustice of these conclusions and to study their own past. At some point, the New Jersey Indian Center was called on to help them in this effort. Several informants alluded to the New Jersey Indian Center. One said there was a "disagreement" with them (Austin 1993); another said the people from the Center could not figure out where the RMP's Indian heritage came from (Austin 1993). The end result was that the Indian Center withdrew from the case.

Contemporary Political Structure and Process

Apparently, the RMI developed most directly out of the formation of the study group in Hillburn organized after Cohen's research was published in 1974. Eventually they sought to gain the support of other RMP on Stag Hill and in the mine area of Ringwood. By 1978, the RMI had incorporated and elected their first chief. In 1980, the state of New Jersey recognized the RMP as the RMI, "descendants of Algonquian and Iroquoian Indians" and asked the United States Congress to do likewise. In 1982, the New York legislature followed suit, asking the Executive Branch and the Congress to recognize them as a tribe. In 1988, the RMI, Inc. sent a petition for Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe to the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research at the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

From the beginning the goals of the RMI have been: 1) to promote awareness of their Indian identity; 2) to overcome the years of racial discrimination they have been subjected to; and 3) to promote social and economic development for their community (RMI Petition 1992). Currently they receive a block grant from Bergen County that enables them to maintain an office in Mahwah and pay a full-time secretary and a small stipend for the chief. An additional office was originally set up in Suffern (1980-81), but had to be closed for lack of funding.

Since 1978, they have received a grant from the United States Department of Education to run an impressive Indian Education Program in Mahwah and Ringwood which enhances the learning opportunities for about 300 RMI children (Austin 1993). According to their council minutes, they have also received at least \$600,000 from Rory Management to fund the research for their Federal acknowledgment petition (\$500,000), and to purchase

land (\$100,000). The RMI also provide economic assistance to their families who need food, clothing, or help with an occasional utility bill. All of these achievements reflect a great deal of political effort and savvy on the part of the RMI council, though it is not clear to what degree the membership of the RMI as a whole has been involved in the decision making concerning these activities. It should be noted that a small group of individuals can establish and run programs under grants with no significant community involvement.

The formal leadership structure of the RMI is as follows. There is one chief, Ronald VanDunk. Serving under him are three clan chiefs, one for each community: 1. Morris Mann, Fox Clan (Mahwah/Stag Hill); 2. Dennis Morgan, Deer Clan (Hillburn); 3. Anthony VanDunk, Turtle Clan (Ringwood). Under each of the three clan chiefs, there are three subchiefs. Along with the RMI secretary, Linda (Mann) Powell, these people comprise the RMI council. Men and women can and do serve on council. As an auxiliary to the council there is a women's group called the Clan Mothers, whose stated purpose is to advise the RMI council on important matters (Austin 1993).

Currently all of these positions come up for election every three years, but the RMI are considering staggering the elections so that no more than one third of the officers can be replaced in a given year. Elections are open to anyone who has a RMI membership card and is 16 years old or over. The elections are timed to coincide with the annual powwow, which is held in September or October. Those who live outside of the core area and cannot attend the powwow are notified of the elections and can return their ballots by mail (Austin 1993).

RMI council meetings are scheduled for each month. Clan meetings are also scheduled for once a month, every third Tuesday. General meetings of the RMI are supposed to be held quarterly to which all members are invited (Austin 1993; the 1992 petition says general meetings are monthly). General meetings are sometimes cancelled if there is no new business to discuss (Austin 1993). Based on attendance recorded in council meeting minutes, the meetings are reasonably well attended, with a majority of council members present. There are no written data on attendance at clan meetings. But at the general meeting held January 16, 1992, only 22 members and 8 council members were present. This represents two percent of the 1,333 RMI in the core area, a meager rate of participation at best.

Clans hold their own social gatherings and family reunions. Since there are kinship ties that extend beyond the clans, as modern, geographically defined entities, RMI from Ringwood attend family gatherings in Mahwah or Hillburn, etc. They also support each other at funerals, through sharing food, and by attending weddings. As already mentioned, the Ringwood and Hillburn clans

rallied to support the Mahwah clan in a political battle with the Mahwah town council (Austin 1993).

As a whole, the RMI participate in many activities annually, including parades (Unity Day Parade in Spring Valley; Native American Parade in Manhattan) and attending powwows of other Indian groups. The most important event is their own annual powwow. The RMI usually sponsor their powwow in September or October. It is a two-day event, involving people from many Indian groups across the country. The powwows were once held in Hillburn, but the size of the baseball field became inadequate when they opened the powwow to outsiders. Now they are held in a large field between Ramapo Community College and the Ramapo River. Much work precedes the powwow itself, for they have to apply for permits to sell food outdoors, arrange security and safety, and clean up the grounds and lay out the sacred circle (Austin 1993).

Preparation begins in earnest on Friday night when people begin arriving to set up booths for selling food and displaying crafts. On Saturday morning there is an opening ceremony beginning with an entry parade by the American war veterans who carry the flags. They are followed by the Chief and the RMI Council members. They are followed by dancers from a variety of tribes. The Chief welcomes those present. The rest of the day is spent in demonstrations of Indian dancing, story-telling and games for the children, and buying and selling Indian foods and crafts. Each booth sponsors dancers and there are competitions for all age groups. On Sunday, there is more of the same with the addition of a naming ceremony, at which selected individuals receive sacred Indian names that reflect some aspect of their personal character (Austin 1993).

Part of the Federal acknowledgment process was to develop a membership roll. In conducting their research, the petitioners discovered the Smithsonian Institution's 1948 Annual Report (Gilbert 1949) which listed six family surnames for the "Jackson Whites": Cisco, Cassalony, DeGroat, DeVries, Mann and VanDunk. They started with RMP in the core area who wished to claim Indian ancestry and could trace descent from one of those six families. Then they traced all of their descendants, wherever they lived (Austin 1993). In 1992, an addition to the by-laws stated that people with names other than the original six family names could be admitted at the discretion of the chief and council (RMI petition 1992). There was some debate at one of the RMI council meetings as to whether everyone who had been added to the membership roll should be notified or not, implying that not everyone knew that they were on the list (Tribal Tribal Minutes, January 16, 1992). This raises a question as to whether or not the council sometimes acts without the knowledge or approval of its membership.

It should be remembered also that only a small portion of all the descendants of the six main RMP families are on the RMI membership list. For those descendants who have remain in the core area, most have membership in the RMI. There are no data indicating how many RMP descendants in the core area are not on the membership list or why they have not joined. According to information gathered by BAR, some do not feel like pursuing acknowledgment because they are afraid of being mistreated by outsiders. Other RMP descendants indicate that they do not believe they have significant Indian ancestry (Austin 1993).

Since that time, many people have applied for membership, sometimes creating political tensions within the group. Applications are reviewed by a genealogy committee to ensure that they really are descendants of the original six families. Some applicants have been turned down for not being able to prove such descent. Ronald VanDunk, chief of the RMI, says that there is little danger of the membership growing out of control, "because we know who our people are." The BAR anthropologist was in the RMI office one day in January 1993 when two men came by with their membership applications. After they left, some RMI who were present said that they did not believe the two men were from their families and they expressed the belief that some people who just wanted to join for the benefits (Austin 1993).

Another, more significant, challenge to the membership process was Sheila Stover of Stony Creek, Connecticut. She is known on the powwow circuit by her adopted Indian name, Fire Woman. She claimed to be descended from almost all of the principle RMI families. She explained to the RMI council members that she did not want to become a member, but wanted to help with gathering the genealogies for the RMI petition. It was Stover who turned in the three or four unsigned family tree diagrams with the 1992 petition. RMI leaders were upset when they discovered that she was only researching the VanDunk line. She claimed this was because it was her own family line (Austin 1993).

Eventually she did send in her family history to the genealogy committee. At first her genealogy was accepted and she became a member, causing a stir among the RMI. Finally her membership was rescinded. She threatened the Chief that if she was not included as a member, she would give damaging information to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, ruining their chances for Federal acknowledgment. The chief held a council meeting and it was decided that they should not cave in to her pressure. They could not give her membership if she was not from their people. Later, one of Sheila's friends also applied for membership, claiming genealogical connections some eight generations back. She too was rejected, when the council found no support for her claim (RMI Tribal Minutes 1991; Austin 1993).

After this experience, the RMI specified what documents would be

accepted by the council as proof of American Indian ancestry.
These documents

include, but are not limited to (1) any federal or state census records listing the individual or traceable ancestors of the individual as Indian. (2) the Vineland Study: A study done of the RMI by the state of New Jersey. (3) any church, school, state, or local record prior to 1975 showing the individual or traceable ancestors of the individual to be Indian (RMI 1992).

This ordinance went into effect on January 10, 1992. Julianne Brown was adopted as a member of the RMI in July, 1992, in appreciation for her work on their behalf. She had no genealogical connection to the group. About the same time, the RMI were placed on "active consideration" (July 16, 1992). The following month her membership was rescinded for fear that the Bureau of Indian Affairs would frown on the practice of granting honorary memberships (RMI Tribal Minutes 1992).

There are other forms of evidence that the RMI are a functioning political organization. In November, 1991, John Powell was kicked off the RMI council for spreading confidential information to Sheila Stover when her membership was rescinded the previous month and for having his picture taken at the annual powwow with the mayor of Mahwah (The mayor and the town council had tried to block the RMI from having the powwow. The RMI said the town government opposes the powwow every year). And in December, 1991, Frank VanDunk, Director of the Indian Education Program at Ringwood, was removed from the RMI council for not attending council meetings (RMI Tribal Minutes, 1991). Also, the Clan Mothers became disgruntled with the RMI leaders when they felt they were being left out of the decision making process. At a general meeting in August 1992, the Clan Mothers accused the Council of making decisions without consulting other RMI and demanded more control over the powwow.

Concluding Remarks

The RMP have existed as an isolated, distinct community for nearly 200 years. The insularity of the community began very soon after their arrival in the Mahwah area around 1800. It is possible that there were kinship and other social relations between some of the six family surname groups before moving to the Mahwah area; that is, as they progressed westward from New York City, to the Hackensack River Valley, and to the Saddle River Valley). Since the RMI's ancestors arrived in the Ramapo Mountains, they have struggled to maintain a separate identity

from Whites and Blacks in the area, even while sometimes choosing to participate in White and/or Black social and religious organizations. The community has never been identified as exclusively "Indian."

Historically, their community is based upon a shared territory (Stag Hill/Mahwah, Ringwood, and Hillburn) and language (Jersey Dutch, now extinct), the practice of group endogamy, ties of kinship, and religious affiliation. Their isolation from mainstream society has decreased since the early 1900's, when more people started to emigrate in order to pursue college education and employment. This emigration brought some of the RMP into contact with outsiders whom they married. In the 1950's and 1960's, they started to seek ways to engage the political structure outside their communities for constructive social change. Through the RMI, Inc., they continue to do so.

Many members who live outside the core area maintain relations with their natal community. They continue to marry other RMP even after they emigrate outside the core. Some also return to the core area to live permanently. Some of the people return frequently to visit relatives and friends in the area and to participate in RMI meetings and events.

Before the 1940's very little is known about the political leadership among the RMI ancestors' community. In journalistic accounts from the late 1800's early 1900's, some individuals were referred to in newspaper articles as patriarchs or matriarchs, but no information is provided in these articles or by the petitioner, regarding their political leadership activities.

The petition mentions several organizations as political precursors to the RMI, Inc. that developed between 1940 and 1978 (RMI Petition 1992). According to the information that was provided by the petitioner and gathered by the BAR, most of them are merely social organizations at best (e.g., Ungave and Odd Fellows). The few organizations that did function were restricted to specific towns. For example, the Stag Hill Civic League was relevant only to RMI ancestors living on Stag Hill. The Ringwood Neighborhood Association and the How-to Program were organized by and for RMI ancestors Ringwood's mine area.

Since 1978, the RMI have received money and recognition from the local, state, and federal governments as Indians. RMI members in the core area are about evenly divided between the three communities. The petitioner has provided little information on the breadth and depth of their political activities. Federal acknowledgment seems to be their main issue, but they also sponsor programs aimed at improving health and education for their children, increasing awareness of their Indian heritage, and initiating community and economic development projects. They hold clan, council, and general meetings and participate in

parades and the regional powwow circuit. Participation in formal RMI politics is not very broad. Some members do travel long distances to participate in clan meetings and the annual powwow. But other than that, control of the organization seems to be in the hands of the RMI council and a few dedicated members.

In terms of racial identity, the RMP have usually been recognized as mixed-blood Indians or tri-racial (White, Black, and Indian) by outsiders. As a community, the RMP have usually identified themselves as "colored," sometimes specifying that they are a mixture of Indian and Negro. Any elements of Indian culture that might have existed were not found by the time Frank Speck visited them in 1908. Basket making and the carving of ladles and other wooden objects was all that was left of their handicrafts at that time. It is not certain if these items were Indian or not, since non-Indian frontiersmen also made similar handicrafts.

There are two difficulties with their claim to Indian identity, however. First, there is convincing primary source evidence for African and European descent, and no proof of Indian heritage for a single member of the RMI or their ancestors. Second, no one has found proof of a historical connection between the RMI and any historical tribe. Their claim to Lenni Lenape background is based solely on the grounds that, at the time of first contact with Europeans, the Lenni Lenape were the Indians who inhabited the general region that the RMI now occupy. Many RMI still claim to descend from the Tuscarora.

APPENDIX A
Summary of Population Statistics
for "Jackson Whites" (1913) and
RMI (1992)

	Vineland Study (1913)	RMI Membership Roll (1992)
N.J. pop (cities)	1,187 (46)*	1,212 (73)
N.Y.	1,197 (28)	1,189 (101)
Out of State	200	253 (98 cities; 28 states)
Criminal	12	(no data)
<u>Insane or epileptic</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>(no data)</u>
Total	2,611	2,654

() indicate the number of towns in which the people were or are currently residing.

APPENDIX B
Comparison of Population for "Jackson Whites"
and RMI, Inc.
5-mile core radius only

	Vineland Study 1913	RMI Membership Roll 1992
1. Hillburn, N.Y.	440	373
2. Mahwah, N.J.	130	502
3. Ringwood, N.J.	120	332
4. Sloatsburg, N.Y.	25	34
5. Darlington, N.J.	60	0
6. Tallman, N.Y.	75	0
<u>7. Suffern, N.Y.</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>92</u>
Total	875	1,333

APPENDIX C
 Comparison of Population Statistics
 for "Jackson Whites" (1913) and
 RMI (1992)

	Vineland Study* 1913	RMI Membership** 1992
<u>New York:</u>		
Accord	0	3
Binghamton	0	1
Blauvelt	20	0
Bloomington	0	9
Blooming Grove	5	0
Bronx	0	16
Brooklyn	0	2
Brant Lake	0	1
Callicoon Corners	0	1
Campbell Hall	0	10
Central Nyack	0	4
Chester	100	25
Congers	0	1
Cornwall	0	1
Ellenville	0	8
Fishkill	10	3
Fishs Eddy	0	11
Florida	15	6
Fort Plain	0	2
Gansevoort	0	1
Gardiner	0	3
Garnerville	0	11
Glen Rock	10	0
Goshen	150	13
Grassy Point	0	1
Greenfield Park	0	4
Greenwood Lake	5	3
Harriman	5	2
Haverstraw	0	6
Highland Falls	0	1
Highland Mills	0	3
Hillburn	440	373
Hillsdale	25	0
Hollis	0	3
Hugenot	0	2
Kerhonkson	0	8
Lake	20	0
Leeds	0	3
Lincolndale	0	3

Little Falls	0	1
Maybrook	0	5
Middletown	45	75
Miller???	15	0
Monroe	20	22
Monsey	0	11
Montgomery	0	1
Monticello	0	8
Mountaindale	0	1
Nanuet	0	1
Napanoch	0	1
Newburgh	15	15
New City	0	11
New Hempstead	0	4
New Milford	10	6
New Paltz	0	1
New Rochelle	12	0
New York	25	2
New Windsor	0	5
North Great River	0	3
North Guinnessburg	50	0
Nyack	0	3
Orangeburg	0	1
Pamona	0	6
Peachburg	5	0
Peekskill	0	6
Piermont	0	5
Pinebush	0	1
Portsmouth	0	4
Poughkeepsie	0	5
Rochester	0	4
Rock Tavern	0	5
St. Albans	0	3
St. Johnsville	0	4
Salisbury Mills	0	1
Schenectady	0	5
Sloatsburg	25	34
South Fallsburg	0	3
Southfields	15	0
South Nyack	0	5
South Ozone Park	0	2
Spring Valley	10	68
Staten Island	0	56
Stony Point	0	17
Suffern	25	92
Swan Lake	0	5
Syracuse	0	4
Tallman	75	0

Tuxedo	0	1
Utica	0	1
Walden	0	3
Wallkill	0	9
Walton	0	4
Wappingers Falls	0	1
Warwarsing	0	5
Warwick	20	67
Washingtonville	15	28
West Haverstraw	0	5
West Nyack	10	1
Westtown	0	1
Woodburne	0	3
Wurtsboro	0	4
TOTAL NEW YORK	1197	1189
TOTAL NYC	0	95

New Jersey:

Allendale	20	0
Arlington	4	0
Atlantic Highlands	0	2
Bloomfield	5	0
Bloomington	20	0
Boonton	10	0
Branchville	0	1
Browns Mills	0	2
Butler	5	0
Carlstadt	15	0
Closter	10	0
Cresskill	5	0
Danville	5	0
Darlington	60	0
Englewood	10	8
Fairfield	0	3
Flanders	0	3
Franklin	0	1
Glen Ridge	5	0
Hackensack	20	4
Haledon	0	5
Hasbrouck Heights	5	0
Haskell	20	33
Hewitt	25	112
Irvington	0	5
Jersey City	0	3
Lakewood	0	4
Lincoln Park	0	1
Lodi	0	1

Mahwah	130	502
Maplewood	5	0
Midvale	15	0
Midland Park	5	0
Montclair	0	5
Montville	0	1
Morristown	0	8
Mount Holly	5	6
Newark	120	1
North Asbury Park	10	0
Nutley	5	0
Oakland	10	8
Oakridge	0	12
Orange	140	6
Oradell	5	0
Paramus	20	0
Park Ridge	25	1
Passaic	35	4
Paterson	75	48
Plainfield	10	0
Pompton Lakes	25	7
Ramsey	28	4
Redbank	5	1
Ridgewood	15	0
Ringwood	120	332
Riverdale	10	0
River Edge	20	1
Roselle	0	1
Rutherford	0	2
Saddle River	25	0
South Orange	10	0
Springfield	35	0
Sussex	0	3
Teaneck	0	1
Toms River	0	3
Trenton	0	2
Upper Greenwood Lake	0	2
Waldwick	20	0
Wanaque	0	15
Washington	5	0
Wayne	0	1
West Hoboken	10	0
West Milford	0	40
West Orange	0	6
Westwood	0	1
TOTAL NEW JERSEY	1187	1212

In State Institutions	27	0
TOTAL NEW YORK	1197	1189
TOTAL NEW JERSEY	1187	1212
TOTAL OUT OF STATE	200	253
POPULATION TOTAL	2611	2654

POPULATION IN TOWNS WITHIN CORE AREA (5-MILE RADIUS)

	Vineland Study 1913	RMI Membership 1992
Darlington	60	0
Ringwood	120	332
Mahwah	130	502
Sloatsburg	25	34
Hillburn	440	373
Suffern	25	92
Tallman	75	0
TOTAL	875	1333

*data based on cover letter accompanying Vineland Training School.
The letter is dated 1-11-13.

**data based on 1992 RMI Membership Roll.

NOTICE TO READER:

The genealogical report on the Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc. begins on page 3 as indicated in the Table of Contents.

GENEALOGICAL REPORT on the RAMAPOUGH MOUNTAIN INDIANS, INC.

Explanation of Materials Unique to this Report:

Charts

The petitioner submitted 836 five-generation ancestor charts to show lines of descent from their Ramapough ancestors. Only one of the 836 was completely filled out with names, dates and places for all five generations. The Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (BAR) completed these charts and sorted them by lines of descent from the four major families of DeFreese, DeGroat, Mann and VanDunk.

Sixteen large charts have been prepared by the BAR to show the relationships among the four major families from 1800 to 1900. All are based upon the 1850 to 1900 United States census records, church records and state and vital records. These charts are numbered by family, i.e. the first "DeGroat" chart is numbered G1, the second G2, the first "Mann" chart is numbered M1, the second M2, etc. (Note: This numbering system was started in 1992 using the petitioner's five-generation charts as a base. These numbers do NOT correspond to the Family Tree Maker file numbers submitted by the petitioner in June of 1993.)

Many large, new charts based on a genealogical software program called "Family Tree Maker" were submitted by the petitioner in June of 1993. They were prepared by Roger D. Joslyn, a professional genealogist hired by the petitioner. There were no significant differences between the "Family Tree Maker" charts and those prepared by BAR.

Census Citations

All census citations in this report refer to the United States Federal Decennial Census Schedules, 1790-1920, unless otherwise indicated. References are abbreviated to "page" and "family" numbers, with full citations in the Bibliography. All Federal Censuses were read from the microfilm at the National Archives, Washington, D.C. The New York State Censuses were read from microfilm at the New City Library, Rockland County, New York.

I. Introduction

This study is in response to a petition presented by the Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc. (RMI) who are seeking Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe under Part 83, Title 25, Code of Federal Regulations. The initial letter petition was received August 30, 1979. A documented petition was submitted April 23, 1990 and was examined by the BAR, and found to have insufficient information to proceed as it stood. The RMI were notified of this action on June 15, 1990. On March 5, 1992, a new petition was submitted by the RMI through the law offices of Murphy and Demory, Ltd., (now Murphy & Associates) of Washington, D.C., with a letter asking the second petition be treated as a "new" petition. This was done as much as possible, but as no genealogical charts or membership lists were submitted with the second petition, permission was requested and granted to use the five-generation ancestral charts and the membership lists that had been submitted with the earlier documented petition.

II. Background

The RMI consists of a group of people who have lived along the border of northern New Jersey and southern New York State for more than 200 years. A core group is found in the Ramapough Mountains, but many families live and/or work in the surrounding area. While the exact definition of who they are has changed over the years, it is clear that the main criteria for membership in the group since their incorporation in 1979, and possibly before, is to be known by the rest of the group, primarily the group's chief and council members.

The RMI descend from four major family lines with the surnames DeFreese, DeGroat, Mann and Van Dunk (see Table 1). Because there were at least 88 instances of intermarriage between these families from 1800-1900, ~~the~~ almost all of the current membership descends from at least two of the original surnames. Other modern RMI family names of Cisco, Castaloni, Dennison, Maguiness, Morgan, and Powell married into the four families that are the focus of this report during the 19th century.

TABLE 1
DESCENT from the FOUR MAJOR FAMILIES

<u>FAMILY</u>	<u>CHARTS</u>	<u>% of TOTAL RMI</u> <u>POPULATION</u>
DeFreese	145	17.3%
DeGroat	257	29.6%
Mann	201	24.0%
VanDunk	231	27.6%
Incomplete Charts	2	1.5%
TOTAL	836	100%

In 1936, J.C. Storms, a local historian, identified the group as descendants of Tories, Indians, and freed slaves who fled to the Ramapo Mountains after the Revolutionary War (Storms, 1936). The sources for Storm's statements are not known, but the story has been repeated so many times that many local residents now believe it to be fact.¹

Two main documents, the Vineland Study, and "A Branch of the Ramapough DeGroat family of Upstate New York, Ontario, Wisconsin and Minnesota," have been submitted by the petitioner along with Federal and State Census records and vital records of New York and New Jersey to support the claims of the petition that essentially the RMI descend from Indians.

The Vineland Study

The ByLaws and Amendments of the petitioner refer to an unpublished sociological study titled "The Jackson Whites, A Study in Racial Degeneracy" (better known as the Vineland Study) which was an unpublished manuscript researched by Jane Griffiths, a field worker for the New Jersey Training School at Vineland. There is some question whether Griffiths wrote the report, or if an assistant, Elizabeth Kite, actually wrote the study. This study was in no way objective as the author(s) were looking for what they called "degenerates" in order to support political beliefs which were precursors to the now debunked national eugenics movement. While it provides some information of genealogical value, the study was not prepared as a genealogical report and the family relationships given are often unclear. Also, the focus of the study was not confined to the Ramapough Mountain area.

References are made throughout the Vineland study to "Indian characteristics" and "Indian type" that appear as physical descriptions based upon observations and stereotypes rather than on documented Indian ancestry. The strongest statement toward proof of Indian descent is a description of Samuel Smith (born about 1800) who was "possibly the son of Peter Smith and an Indian woman" [emphasis added] (Vineland, 1917, 91). However, this is irrelevant to BAR purposes as there are no descendants of Peter Smith on the current RMI membership lists.

The DeGroat Study

"A Branch of the Ramapough DeGroat Family in Upstate New York, Ontario, Wisconsin and Minnesota" was prepared by Roger D. Joslyn, C.G., in 1993 on behalf of the petitioner. It follows the lines of James and Richard DeGroat of Franklin Township,

¹Storms referred to the RMI as "Jackson Whites," a term which was first published in the 1870's and which is perceived to be a derogatory name for the Ramapough Mountain People. The term is not limited to the RMI.

Bergen County, New Jersey, who moved to Onondaga County, New York, near the Brotherton reservation and then west. Joslyn argues that the marriage of James DeGroat to an Indian woman indicates that the RMI DeGroats had Indian ancestry. However, the exact relationship of these two men to the RMI DeGroat ancestors is not proven, nor is there any proof of descent from an Indian or a historic tribe for either James or Richard DeGroat. See the section on the DeGroat family in this report for additional details.

III. Governing Documents: ByLaws and Amendments

The RMI apparently do not have a constitution as such, but use ByLaws as their governing document. In response to section 83.7 (d) of the Federal Requirements for Recognition as an Indian Tribe, the petitioner submitted a copy of the RMI Bylaws dated June 5, 1979. Under Article II, General Membership it states:

Membership in the Tribe is open to and shall consist of native American people showing proof of American Indian heritage of the Ramapo Mountain Area.

Also included in the petition was sa copy of "Ramapough Mountain Indian Tribal Laws" drafted December 13, 1982, which states in Article IV:

Membership in the Tribe is open to and shall consist of Native American People showing proof of American Indian heritage of the Ramapo Mountain area. Other names should be incorporated from time to time other than the names listed in the report at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, D.C.

Although not specifically identified, the "report at the Smithsonian" appears to refer to a 1948 report, "Surviving Indian Groups of the Eastern United States," that identifies only six surnames (Cassalony, Cisco, DeGroat, DeVries, Mann and VanDunk) associated with the RMI (Gilbert, 1948, 411). On March 31, 1990 Article II, Section 1 of the ByLaws was amended to read:

Membership in the tribe is open to and shall consist of Native American people documenting proof of American Indian heritage and blood ties to the Ramapo Mountain people, subject to the discretion of the Tribal Council and Chief.

In addition, a separate page which expands on the 1990 ByLaws was received with the second petition. An ordinance entitled "Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc.", dated January 10, 1992, and signed by Ronald Redbone VanDunk, Chief and Linda Powell, Secretary, states in part:

Sec. I Purpose: This is an ordinance to clarify section (I) Membership of the amended Tribal ByLaws of March 31, 1990.

Sec. III. Whereas: Section I of the amended ByLaws of the Ramapough Mountains, Inc. requires tribal members to be able to document American Indian Heritage (ancestry), and:

Section IV. Whereas: The ByLaws also require members to be able to document blood ties to the Ramapough Mountain People to the satisfaction of the Tribal Council and Chief, and:

Sec. V. Whereas: The Tribal Council believes it is in the best interests of the tribe to specify some of the documents acceptable to the Tribal Council and Tribal Chief to prove American Indian ancestry and blood ties to the Ramapough Mountain People:

Sec. VI. Now be it enacted: Documents acceptable to the Tribal Council and Chief for proof of American Indian ancestry include but are not limited to

- (1) Any Federal or State Census records listing the individual or traceable ancestors of the individual as Indian,
- (2) The Vineland Study: A study done of the Ramapough Mountain Indians by the State of New Jersey,²
- (3) Any church, school, state, or local record prior to 1975 showing the individual or traceable ancestors of the individual to be Indians.

Sec. VII. Be it further enacted: members must be related to known Ramapough Mountain Indian families. Common knowledge of such relationships by the Tribal Council and Tribal Chief is the accepted standard to prove blood ties to the Ramapough Tribe. Members of uncertain family lineage must be able to trace ancestry to a known Ramapough Mountain Indian on any of the documents in Sec. VI (A), (B). (C), [sic] of this ordinance.

No documentation was submitted to indicate the method of enrolling new members. The minutes of the RMI Tribal Council through 1985 do not contain any mention of these ByLaws or Amendments being used to determine membership, nor do the minutes

²As discussed earlier in this report, the Vineland Study was not authorized by the state of New Jersey, it was not limited to the Ramapough Mountain area, and it did not identify the subjects as Indian or part of any tribe of Indians.

show a vote by the Tribal Council to accept or reject new members.³

IV. Membership Criteria

The majority of the 836 five-generation ancestor charts submitted by the RMI were received with the first petition, which stated that the ancestral names of DeGroat, DeFreese, Mann, VanDunk, Cisco and Casteloni (Casselony)⁴ plus the 1895 New Jersey state census were used to determine eligibility of members. It is unclear why the 1895 New Jersey census was chosen as a parameter as it is not mentioned in the ByLaws and no reference to "Indian" was found in the 1895 census pages submitted.

The second petition, dated March 5, 1992, states that the 1870 census of Orange County, New York and the Vineland Study were used to determine membership. This appears to reflect the Ordinance dated January 10, 1992. Again, there is no supporting documentation to show when or how either the 1870 census or the Vineland Study are used in the application process.

The 1870 United States census was the first Federal Census to require that all "Indians out of their tribal relations, and exercising the rights of citizens under State or Territorial laws will be included. In all cases write "Ind" in the column for "Color"." (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1989, 27). Florence Maguiness and his family of Bloomingrove Twp., Orange County, New York, were the only people (with RMI names or associated family names) found with the designation of "Ind" (U.S. NARS, 1870c, 42, #324/325). As far as can be determined, this Maguiness family does not have descendants on the current RMI membership list.

V. Membership Lists

The RMI provided a total of three membership lists. The first two are dated 1987 and 1989 respectively. A third list was received November 17, 1992, and amended first on November 24, 1992, and again on January 15, 1993. It is undated but appears to have been compiled in 1992. Although the RMI were incorporated in 1979, the first membership list was dated 1987.

There is no age requirement in the ByLaws or Amendments concerning membership, but the birthdates would seem to indicate that the membership lists are composed mainly of adults. For example, only one child under 10 was found on the 1987 list. There appear to be some deceased persons on the lists.

³RMI minutes available to the genealogist during the research process were for the years prior to 1985.

⁴The six surnames were the only ones listed in Gilbert's 1948 report to the Smithsonian, which is cited in the RMI governing document for determining membership.

1987 List

The 1987 membership list contains 730 names. Each entry consists of name, address, birthdate and a tribal roll number. Of these, 633 (86.8%) live in New York or New Jersey. Of the 633 names in New York and New Jersey, 345 (47.0 percent) live in the Ramapo Mountain area of Hillburn and Suffren, New York and Ringwood and Mahwah, New Jersey.

The remaining 97 (13.2 percent) live either outside of New York or New Jersey or have no address given. Of the 730 names on this roll, 37 do not appear on the subsequent roll dated 1989, but many of the 37 names do appear again on the 1992 list. (See Table 2)

TABLE 2
RMI MEMBERS LIVING IN NEW YORK or NEW JERSEY in 1987

<u>Residences</u>	<u>Number of Members</u>	<u>Percent of Total Membership</u>
Suffern, NY	18	2.0%
Hillburn, NY	123	17.0%
Ringwood, NJ	57	8.0%
Mahwah, NJ	147	20.0%
[Subtotal of the four towns	345	47.0%]
Total residing in NY/NJ	633	86.8%
Outside of NY/NJ or Unknown	97	13.2%
TOTAL	730	100.0%

The 1987 membership list is not signed or certified by the governing body.

1989 List

The 1989 membership list contains approximately 2,460 names. The exact number is difficult to determine as some members have two membership numbers, while in other cases the same tribal number has been assigned to two different people. For example, some members have not been dropped from the list after they are deceased while at other times new members have been assigned numbers previously belonging to another member. Some women keep their membership when they marry yet others appear to receive a new number.

The list contains 158 members with the surname DeFreese, 220 with the surname of DeGroat, 247 with the surname of Mann, and 337 with the surname VanDunk. A total of 962 (39 per cent) of the 2,460 members on the roll have the same surname as one of the four major ancestral families.

TABLE 3
OCCURRENCES OF SURNAMES on the 1989 RMI MEMBERSHIP LIST

<u>Surnames</u>	<u>Total of Membership</u>	<u>Percent of Total Membership</u>
DeFreese	158	6.4%
DeGroat	220	8.9%
Mann	247	10.0%
VanDunk	337	13.7%
[Subtotal of the four names	962	39.0%]
Other Surnames	1,498	61.0%
Total on the 1989 List	2,460	100.0%

Sixty-six percent (635 members) of the 962 major surnames on the 1989 list reside in the Ramapough Mountain area of Hewitt, Ringwood and Mahwah, New Jersey and Hillburn, Suffern and Washingtonville, New York.

The great majority, 83.2 percent, of the 1989 membership list live in New York and New Jersey. The population appears evenly distributed between the two states with 1021 (41.6 percent) in New York and 1023, (also 41.6 percent) in New Jersey. (Figures have been rounded to the nearest 1/10 of 1 percent.) The three towns of Hillburn, Rockland County, New York; Mahwah, Bergen County, New Jersey; and Ringwood, Passaic County, New Jersey, all in the Ramapough Mountain area, account for 1,105 (44.9 percent) of the entire membership list. The four counties of Orange and Rockland in New York and Bergen and Passaic in New Jersey account for 1,813 or 73.7 percent of the entire membership of 2,460.

TABLE 4
1989 NEW YORK RMI RESIDENCES

<u>Residences</u>	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Percent of Total Membership</u>
Orange County, New York	257	10.5%
Hillburn, Rockland County, NY	368	15.0%
Remainder of Rockland County, NY	224	9.1%
[Total in Rockland County, NY	592	24.1%]
Other New York	172	7.0%
Total New York	1,021	41.6%

TABLE 5
1989 NEW JERSEY RMI RESIDENCES

<u>Residences</u>	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Percent of Total Membership</u>
Mahwah, Bergen County, NJ	398	16.2%
Remainder of Bergen Co., NJ	26	1.1%
[Total in Bergen County, NJ	424	17.3%]
Ringwood, Passaic County, NJ	339	13.8%
Remainder of Passaic Co., NJ	201	8.2%
[Total in Passaic County, NJ	540	22.0%]
Other New Jersey	59	2.4%
Total New Jersey	1,430	41.6%

These tables show that the majority of the RMI consistently resided in New York and New Jersey and more specifically that a significant proportion of the population continued to reside in the four county Ramapough Mountain Area.

TABLE 6
1989 MEMBERSHIP in the RAMAPOUGH MOUNTAIN AREA

<u>Residences</u>	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Percent of Total</u>
NJ RMI COMMUNITIES:		
Mahwah, Bergen Co. NJ	398	16.2%
Ringwood, Passaic Co. NJ	339	13.8%
Total for Bergen and Passaic Counties, NJ	964	39.3%
NY RMI COMMUNITIES:		
Hillburn, Rockland Co. NY	368	15.0%
Total for Orange and Rockland Counties, NY	481	19.5%
Total New York and New Jersey	2064	82.3%
Other parts of the United States	141	5.7%
Insufficient Information to Locate	255	6.3%
Total	2,460	100.0%

1992 List

The 1992 membership list, as amended, contains a total of 2,815 names. The first part, received November 17, 1992, has more complete addresses and birthdates than the 1989 list, but seems to be essentially the same list with a few additions. The addendum received on November 24, 1992, is a list of 40 names and tribal numbers with no birthdates or addresses. As the membership numbers on this list are in the 2,800's, they appear to be additional names not on the 1989 roll. Many of the surnames are the same as the ones on the 1989 list, but without

addresses or birthdates it is impossible to determine the exact nature of this list.

The list received January 15, 1993, is a list of ten people with surnames beginning "Y" and "Z" that were apparently omitted from the first list due to clerical error. It does contain addresses and birthdates.

In addition there are 122 names on the 1992 list with "D" following the membership number. They appear to be names of deceased members.

Neither the original 1992 list nor the two amendments are signed by RMI leaders. For acknowledgment purposes the RMI are estimated to have 2,693 members.

VI. Enrollment Procedures

Although the RMI ByLaws state the membership is open to and shall consist of native American people "documenting proof" of American Indian heritage and blood ties to the Ramapough Mountain people "to satisfaction of the Tribal Council and Chief" no explanation was submitted to show how this procedure is put into effect. The Minutes of the Tribal Council meetings through 1985 do not reflect any presentation of the new members to the Council or to the Chief.

The actual application process is not defined in the petition, but the Tribal Secretary keeps the membership list. On the 1992 list, 127 names have no corresponding address and 96 names do not have a birthdate for a total of 213 incomplete entries. It is not known if the individuals on the membership lists know that they are RMI. It appears that some members were enrolled when their names were submitted by other family members.

VII. Descent from an Historic Tribe

The Four Major Families:

Ninety-eight percent of the 836 ancestry charts submitted by the petitioner have sufficient information to connect to at least one of the four major surnames of DeFreese, DeGroat, Mann or VanDunk. The majority of the charts show two or more lines to one of the major ancestral families. (See Table 1) (Note: Of the 836 RMI five-generation charts submitted, only one was completely filled out with names and dates for all five generations. Due to incomplete information, only one surname was traced for each tribal member. When a chart was found to contain more than one of the four major surnames, the surname containing the more complete information was traced.)

DeFreese:

At least 145 (17.3 percent) of the RMI five-generation charts submitted can trace a line to a DeFreese ancestor in the Ramapough Mountain area.

There are many references to the surname DeFreese (DeVries, DeFries, etc.) in the early records of New York and New Jersey.

- (1) A Dutch sea captain named Jan de Vries had his children by a "free Brazilian woman" baptized at the Reformed Dutch Church of New York City between 1640 and 1650 (Evans, 1901).
- (2) A John d'fries was enumerated in the 1702 census of Orange County, New York, with his wife and four children (Meyers, n.d., 93).
- (3) A John DeVries "free Negro" is mentioned in the inventory of the estate of Stephen Mahoult in New York in 1703 taken by Stephen Bayard (Scott and Owre, 1970).
- (4) A John DeVries testified in 1737 that he and the Indians had planted some fruit trees near Pascak, New Jersey (Budke, 1975, 83).
- (5) A Jan defries, age 25, was enumerated in the 1760 Orange County, New York militia as "Indian" (DeLancy 1992, 334, 04, 460).

There is no clear connection between any of these early men named Jan/John DeFreese, nor is there sufficient evidence to prove which, if any, of these men is the ancestor of the RMI DeFreese families. There is a gap of almost 30 years between the last date that the Indian Jan defries was known to be alive (1762), and the birthdate of the first documented RMI ancestor John DeFreese. While the Indian may be the ancestor of the RMI DeFreese families no supporting evidence has been located.

The petition claims that all the RMI DeFreese members trace back to John DeFreese (born before 1790) who married Margaret Mann about 1809. Supporting documentation has been presented for only one child, John, whose 1874 Bergen County death certificate names his parents. Many of the DeFreese charts trace to this John DeFreese who was born in 1813.

All of the other DeFreese charts trace to possible children of John DeFreese and Margaret Mann. No documentation has been submitted by the petitioner nor found by the BAR staff to conclusively prove these additional children:

- (1) Peter DeFreese born 1810 in New Jersey whose death certificate lists his parents as John and Maria. Peter married Margaret VanDunk.
- (2) John DeFreese born about 1813 in New York who married Abby (surname unknown).
- (3) Samuel DeFreese born about 1815 in New York who married Catherine Mann,
- (4) Moses DeFreese born about 1815 in New Jersey who married second Ellen VanDunk.
- (5) Elias DeFreese born about 1816 in New Jersey who married first Catherine Peterson, and second Nancy Allen.

- (6) Thomas DeFreese born about 1826 (1818?) in New York who married first Mary (surname unknown) and second Adaline Stoop.

None of descendants of John DeFreese and Margaret Mann, either documented or possible, are enumerated in the seven Federal Census records of New York and New Jersey from 1850 to 1920 as "Indian." They are designated as "mulatto." The 1865 New York State Census also records their race as "mulatto."

More than 200 vital records of birth, death and marriage license applications from New York and New Jersey were submitted by the petitioner⁵. Of the over 300 names mentioned in these records, the name DeFreese occurs at least 65 times. When a race is indicated in these records it is not given as "Indian," but as "colored." While the "colored" or "mulatto" references in either the vital records or the census could mean some Indian ancestry, no proof was found of Indian blood in this line.

The petitioner states that because some individuals are described in isolated as records as having Indian characteristics, it means that the family was of Indian descent. For example, Nelson DeFreese was described in the Vineland Study as "a big, strong man of Indian type" (Vineland Study, 1917, 26). However, a review of all available records for Nelson "Budd" DeFreese, shows that he was born about 1859 in New York, the son of Samuel DeFreese and Catherine Mann, and possibly the grandson of John DeFreese and Margaret Mann. The family was not found in the 1860 census, but the 1870 census of Bloominggrove, Orange County, New York, lists Nelson and the rest of his family as "mulatto" (U.S. NARS, 1870c, 38, #312/296). In the 1880 census of Ramapo Township, Rockland County, New York, Nelson and his first wife Cornelia are enumerated in the household of her parents Samuel Dennison and Jane (Morgan) Dennison (U.S. NARS, 1880d, 20, #167/173). Everyone in the household is enumerated as "mulatto." In the 1920 census of Ramapo, the widowed Nelson ("black") is living alone (U.S. NARS, 1920b, 4B, #66/70). There is no tribal identity for this man in any of these records.

The 145 RMI five-generation DeFreese ancestry charts submitted by the petitioner do not show any descendants of Nelson DeFreese. The large charts submitted by Roger Joslyn on behalf of the petitioner indicate that Nelson had six children; however, the children are not named.

No documentation was submitted to prove a line of descent from an Indian or an Indian tribe through DeFreese surname.

⁵The years spanned by the vital records are between about 1870 and 1910.

DeGroat:

The surname DeGroat appears in the New York/New Jersey border area as early as 1695 in the Hackensack Reformed Dutch Church in Bergen County, New Jersey and later in the Schraalenburgh Reformed Dutch Church which was formed in 1724 about four miles from Hackensack. Of the 32 DeGroat marriages in these churches between 1707 and 1794, there is only one reference to the race of an individual who married a DeGroat. None of the records identify a DeGroat as an Indian (Schraalenburgh, 1891, 1: 2-3; 22: 525).

The RMI DeGroats are certainly descended from the larger, historical DeGroat family identified in these records; however, the exact, father to son linkage has not yet been proven.

All of the 247 DeGroat RMI five-generation charts trace back to one of four ancestors of that surname:

- (1) James DeGroate born 1792 in New Jersey who married Susan DeGroat born about 1797 in New Jersey.
- (2) John DeGroate born about 1797 in New York who married Margaret Piggeret
- (3) William R. DeGroate born about 1814 in New Jersey who married Sally Ann Mann
- (4) John DeGroate born in about 1821 in New Jersey who married Mary E. DeFreese

John DeGroate (born 1792) is found in Warwick, Orange County, New York, in 1850 (U.S. NARS, 1850c, 13, #203) and last appears in 1870 when he is living in West Milford, Passaic County, New Jersey (U.S. NARS, 1870b, 65, #442). Neither John nor his family are enumerated as "Indian."

The other three DeGroat men lived in Hohokus Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, where they and their families are found in the 1850 through 1900 Federal Censuses. "Indian" was never found for these RMI DeGroats in the Federal Census records. A Richard DeGroat in Orange County, New York in the 1875 State Census says his father was three-fourths Indian (RMI 1993, Genealogical Documentation, Supplement to the Petition).

The surname DeGroat appears at least 132 times in the vital records from New York and New Jersey submitted by the petitioner. None of the DeGroats were identified as Indian in these vital records. Again, as in the DeFreese line, references to "colored" or "mulatto" could imply some Indian ancestry; however, an Indian ancestor has not been identified for the DeGroats.

The Vineland Study mentions several DeGroats that have an Indian appearance, but it does not identify any as being an Indian or as being from a particular tribe. Some of the Vineland observations are:

- (1) Ransom DeGroat - "strong, able bodied man of Indian type" (Vineland Study, 1917, 37)
- (2) Anna DeGroat, wife of John Powell - "decided Indian type" (Vineland Study, 1917, 43)
- (3) Richard DeGroat, husband of Anna L. DeFreese -" she told me that her husband was pure Indian and that he had straight red hair" (Vineland Study, 1917, 71) There is some question as to the identity of this Richard DeGroat among the many other men of the same name, but the Vineland Study states that Richard and Anna L. had a son William who married a distant cousin. In 1899, William DeGroat, 22, of Hohokus Township, son of Richard DeGroat and Hannah DeFreese married Jessie DeGroat, 19, daughter of Richard DeGroat and Sally M. Jennings. (RMI, 1993, Genealogical Documents, Supplement to the petition). Both William and Jessie are identified as "colored" in the record. Richard DeGroat is in the 1900 census of Hohokus Township, Bergen County, New Jersey with wife Hanna L. (sic) and sons Charles, and John A (both single) and son Willie, 23, (married) plus Jessie, 18, enumerated as a daughter-in-law. No one in the household is identified as Indian (U.S. NARS, 1900a, #264).
- (4) Hang Bert DeGroat - "with Indian characteristics not found in the later generations" (Vineland Study, 1917, 127). This nickname probably refers to Ebbert/Albert DeGroat, son of James DeGroat and Susan DeGroat, who was born about 1827. He is consistently identified in the census records of Hohokus Township from 1850 through 1870 as "mulatto." This reference to "mulatto" may refer to some degree of Indian blood, but no documentation was found to prove descent from a particular Indian or an historic tribe. As far as could be determined, Hang Bert has no known descendants on the current RMI membership lists.

No documentation was submitted by the petitioner or found by the BAR to prove a particular Indian ancestor or line of descent from an historic tribe through the DeGroat surname.

James DeGroat was baptized 1775 at the Reformed Dutch Church at Paramus, New Jersey. About 1806, he moved to Onondaga, New York, where he bought land that had once been a part of the Oneida Indian Reservation. He died in Onondaga in 1840 and his descendants moved to Canada, Wisconsin and Minnesota.

Several of James' descendants made applications to the Kansas Indian Claims Commission in 1901. All applications were based on the Indian ancestry of Philinda Fowler, the second wife of James DeGroat; not on the line of James himself. No documentation was

submitted to show that James was an Indian. These DeGroat claims were rejected because descent was not through the male line.

Furthermore, there is no proof of the exact relationship of the James DeGroat who went to Onondaga to any of the DeGroats of the four major ancestral lines of the RMI. As the DeGroat surname existed in the northern New Jersey area for over 100 years before James left for Upstate New York. He may have been a distant cousin of the Ramapough Mountain DeGroats or no relation at all. The same is true of Richard DeGroat, possibly a brother of James, who was with James in Upstate New York. Again, the evidence found was insufficient to connect the Upstate DeGroats to the RMI DeGroats.

In the 1773-4 tax lists of Bergen County, New Jersey, there are nine DeGroats: Conradt, Cornelius, Henry, Jacob, John, Jost, Peter, Peter A. and Samuel. No documentation has been found to show whether or not they were all related. The petition appears to assume that all the families the same surname who live in the area are closely related; however, the documentary evidence does not support the assumption.

There was in fact another DeGroat family in the Ramapo area which does not seem to connect to any of the RMI. A John DeGroat, born about 1784, is listed in the 1850 census of Ramapo Township, Rockland County, New York with his wife Margaret aged 56, two daughters Elizabeth and Mary, and Margaret's mother Agnes Forsha (U.S. NARS, 1850d, 371, #365). This John DeGroat left a will in which he names a son Peter DeGroat who was still living in Ramapo Township in 1865. This family is consistently recorded as "white" in the records.

Mann

The surname Mann is found in the New York - New Jersey area before the Revolutionary War. The earliest record found was the baptism of Jan Man, "an aged person" in October 1706 at the Bergen (now Jersey City) Reformed Dutch Church (Holland Soc. 1913, 55).

The first record of a Mann in the Ramapough area is Michael Mann who was taxed in Bergen County, New Jersey in 1776 (Stryker-Rodda, 1972, 137). No connection was found between either of these men and the earliest RMI Mann ancestors.

Of the 201 RMI five-generation Mann ancestor charts submitted by the petitioner, 163 or 81 percent, trace back to a William Mann, born 1827, in New Jersey who married Fanny Mira DeGroat, born 1832. William's death certificate gives his parents as Elias Mann and Maria DeGroat. Probably this is the same Elias Mann who was taxed for 20 acres of unimproved land, four cows and a dog in the 1821 tax list of Franklin Township, Bergen County, New Jersey (NJ State Department of Education, Roll 1, 10). In the 1830

Federal Census of Franklin Township, Elias has nine "free colored people" in his household: 2 males and 2 females under the age of ten, 2 males and 1 female between the ages of 10 and 23, 1 male and 1 female between the ages of 36 and 54. (U.S. NARS, 1830a, 107) Elias was not found in the 1840 or 1850 census records, so it is not known whether he died or moved away from the area.

In the 1860 Federal Census of Bergen County, New Jersey, William Mann and his wife Fanny and their first five children are enumerated in Hohokus Township (U.S. NARS, 1860a, 278, #780/855). In the 1870, the family is still in Hohokus township (U.S. NARS, 1870a, 62-3, #464/572). By 1880 the family had moved to Ramapo Township, Rockland County, New York (U.S. NARS, 1880d, 31, #260/275). In all three census records the entire family is indicated as "mulatto."

William Mann died February 17, 1890, in Ramapo Township. The New York death certificate submitted for him has no indication of race (RMI, 1993, Genealogical Documents, Supplemental to Petition). By the time of the 1900 Federal Census, his widow Fanny had moved back to New Jersey where she was found living with her daughter Maria Elizabeth and the son-in-law Ezra Conklin in Hohokus Township, Bergen County (U.S. NARS, 1900a, 135, #245). Everyone in the household is indicated as "black." Ezra Conklin and Maria Elizabeth Mann were married 1896 at Ramapo. Their marriage license gives their race as "colored" (RMI, 1993 Genealogical Documents, Supplement to Petition). No evidence of Indian ancestry was found in the line of William Mann and Fanny Mira DeGroat.

Of the remaining 38 Mann charts submitted, 26 are descendants of Hannah Mann born 1850 in New York or New Jersey who married Theron Powell, born 1846 in Washingtonville, New York, through their son George Edward Powell born 1872 in New York. (All dates in the first generations are from the RMI five-generation ancestor charts submitted with the petition.)

Theron Powell and Hannah (Mann) Powell were never found together in the Federal Census, but were on the 1865 New York State Census with Samuel and Matilda Mann. Everyone in the household was listed as "mulatto." In the 1900 Federal Census of Hillburn, Ramapo Township, Rockland County, New York, (U.S. NARS, 1900d, 131, #313) George Powell is living with his wife Sarah Emma Milligan, born 1879 in Ringwood, New Jersey, and their son Kenneth. In the 1905 New York State census and the 1920 Federal Census the family was still living in Ramapo Township. The race is indicated as "black" in 1900, 1905, and 1920. There is no reliable evidence that the descendants of Theron Powell and Hannah Mann have Indian ancestry.

One RMI five-generation ancestor chart was submitted on the line of Elias Mann, born about 1824 in New Jersey who married Fanny

Jane DeGroat, through their son Henry born about 1855 who married Martha Miller. Elias was possibly a brother of William Mann who married Fanny Mira DeGroat, but no documentation was found to prove this theory. Elias and his family are found in Hohokus Township, Bergen County, New Jersey, in the 1850 through 1880 Federal Census records. The race of the entire family is indicated as "mulatto" in all four records. In the 1900 census of New Jersey, Henry is living with his wife and three children in Hohokus Township (U.S. NARS, 1900a, 137, #272/289). Everyone in the family is indicated as "black." Vital records were not submitted for Elias or Henry, but two were found for Henry's children. The death certificate of Harvey Mann, who was born in 1907 and who died 1918 of influenza in Hohokus Township, gives his parents as Henry and Martha and his race as "black." The birth certificate of Kenneth Mann, born in 1912 in Mahwah, New Jersey, son of Henry and Martha is marked "colored." No evidence of any Indian ancestry was found in the line of Elias Mann and the Fanny Jane DeGroat.

Of the 201 Mann five-generation charts submitted, 190 (94.5 percent), trace back to William, Hannah or Elias Mann, none of whom were found to have any evidence of Indian descent. The remaining 11 charts, 5.5 percent, showed a Mann ancestor in their line but the charts were too incomplete to trace to an early Ramapo ancestor.

The Vineland Study does not mention of any Mann in particular with Indian blood. The only citation is "some of the DeGroats have married men by the name of Mann. The Indian predominates in this branch..." (Vineland, 1917, 46). It is unclear whether the author of this statement is referring to the DeGroat branch or the Mann branch.

The surname Mann occurs at least 179 times in the more than 200 birth, marriage, and death records submitted with the petition. The individuals on these records are not identified as Indian. The references to "mulatto" or "colored" in the census and vital records to the RMI Mann families could possibly mean a degree of Indian ancestry, but no documentation was submitted by the petitioner or found by the BAR staff to identify the Indian ancestor or to confirm tribal association.

Van Dunk:

The surname VanDunk first appears in the New York-New Jersey area June 26, 1717, in Tappan, Orange (now Rockland) County, New York, with the baptism of Augustine Van Donck (Junior), son of Augustine and Sophia Van Donck "free negroes" (Youngs, 1925?). Augustine Van Donck, Junior, was son of the original patentees of Kakiat Patent which covered parts of Bergen County, New Jersey, and Rockland County, New York (Durie, 1970, 50-51). Kakiat Patents were issued by the New York Colonial Government to land speculators.

There are three references to the name John VanDunk between 1802 and 1810 in the Ramapough Mountain area. The information is insufficient to determine whether these references are all to the same man, or if any of them are the John VanDunk mentioned as the grandson in the 1774 Orange County will of Augustine VanDunk of the Kakiat Patent (New Jersey Archives, 1942, 37: 369).

- (1) 1800 Federal Census of Orange County, New York - John VanDunk (U.S. NARS, 1800a, 380).
- (2) 1802 tax list of Franklin Township, Bergen County, New Jersey- John VanDunk (NJ State Department of Education, Roll 1).
- (3) 1810 Federal Census of Orange County, New York - John VanDunk (U.S. NARS, 1810a, 366).

One or more of these three references may be to John VanDunk who married Clarissa DeFreese about 1800 and who is the earliest proven VanDunk ancestor of the RMI. Documentation has been submitted to prove that John and Clarissa were the parents of John VanDunk (Junior) born about 1802, Samuel VanDunk born about 1804, Eleanor/Ellen/Helen (VanDunk) DeFreese born about 1808, and Rebecca Cole? (VanDunk) Morgan born about 1814. The petition gives possible additional children as Elias born 1806, Margaret born 1807, and Charles Thomas (Charles F?) born 1811.

A total of 231 RMI five-generation charts were submitted by the petitioner which trace to the VanDunk surname. Of these, only one was completely filled out with names, dates and places, but enough information was obtained to show that nearly all the charts can be traced to a VanDunk ancestor who was in the Ramapo area before 1900. In the 1900 Federal Census of the area, there are a total of 106 persons with the surname VanDunk. Of these 102 (96 percent) were identified as "black" and the remaining 4 as "mulatto."

The only evidence of possible Indian ancestry found for an RMI VanDunk was in the 1920 New York census of Ramapo Township, Rockland County, New York where Tena Gertrude VanDunk, wife of Edward Morgan, is listed as "Indian" (U.S. NARS, 1920d, 2301A, family #20). She was the only one in her family/household identified as Indian.

In an attempt to find the origin of possible Indian lineage of Tena VanDunk, a study was made of previous census entries for Tena, her parents and grandparents. In 1920, Tena's parents William George VanDunk and Anna Amelia (Milligan) VanDunk were listed in Ramapo Township on the same page as Tena. Both are listed as "black" (U.S. NARS, 1920, 2301a, #24).

In the 1900 Federal Census, William George VanDunk, Anna Amelia and three of their children William George Junior, Thomas Herbert and Mary A. are living in Pompton Township, Passaic County, New

Jersey (U.S. NARS, 1900b, 70, #196). Both households are enumerated as "black."

The 1880 Federal Census of Pompton Township, Passaic County, New Jersey shows William George VanDunk as "black" and his wife Anna Amelia as "mulatto," but Anna Amelia's parents, Silas Milligan and Lavina Edminston (family #5) who live next door are both indicated to be "black" (U.S. NARS, 1880b, 44, #4). At present, there is no evidence to explain why Tena Gertrude was identified as Indian on the 1920 census. The question is not of crucial importance to understanding the RMI, as only 25 RMI members (less than 1% of the 1992 enrollment) descend from Tena Gertrude VanDunk.

In the more than 200 vital records submitted, the surname VanDunk occurs at least 198 times. None are indicated as "Indian" in these records. As previously stated, that although references to "colored" and "mulatto" could define a racial mixture that includes Indian, it can not be automatically assumed that the terms mean "Indian" or of Indian ancestry.

No evidence was found as to the origin of an Indian in the RMI VanDunk line of descent.

Summary:

The documents submitted with the petition to prove Indian descent have not done so. The Vineland Study was a sociological study written about 1910-1914 by persons connected to the Vineland Training School in Vineland, New Jersey. The study relied almost exclusively on oral interviews to find what was perceived as "degeneracy." It contains no supporting documentation of any kind. The author used such terms as "Indian characteristics", "mixed Indian-Negro blood," and "Indian type." All of these descriptions were apparently based on appearance of each individual and on stereotypes rather than on actual heritage. None of the descriptions can be supported by primary evidence such as death records, marriage licenses and census records that are available today.

Thousands of hours of research by professional genealogists have failed to produce any primary documentation linking any of the four major surnames of DeFreese, DeGroat, Mann and VanDunk to a particular Indian or an Indian tribe. The tribes mentioned by the petitioner as possible ancestors include the Brotherton, Seneca, Oneida, Mohawk, Tuscarora, Munsee, Creek, Hackensack, Delaware, and Lenape. Although there is evidence that some of these tribes resided in the New York/New Jersey area, there is no proof that the DeFreese, DeGroat, Mann, or VanDunk families, or the Cisco, Castaloni, Dennison, Maguiness, Morgan or Powells who marry into the four main families, descend from any one of the tribes mentioned. Neither is there evidence that any of the

tribes mentioned combined at some historical point and that the RMI descend from a resulting entity.

Non-Indian men named Jan or John DeFreese appear in the records as early as 1640. Dutch DeGroats appear in the church records as early as 1695. Non-Indian Mann families arrive in New York before the Revolutionary War. Non-Indian VanDunks are baptized in Dutch Reformed Churches as early as 1717. Since these families can be established as residing in the New York/New Jersey border area, and since there is no verifiable evidence that connects the modern RMI to Indians with these same names, it is logical to assume that the RMI descend from the non-Indian families.

The many references in the census and vital records to "mulatto" and "colored" could possibly indicate some degree of Indian blood, but no documentation has been submitted by the petitioner or found by the BAR to show a connection to any particular Indian or Indian tribe.

VIII. Census Information

The Federal and State Census records for New York and New Jersey were used heavily to compile the descendant charts of the four major families of DeFreese, DeGroat, Mann and VanDunk, as well as the associated families of Powell, Macginnis, and Morgan. As none of these names were found on any of the separate Indian census, the regular census records had to be relied upon.

The first Federal Census record to specifically mention "Indian" was that of 1870 when the Assistant Marshalls were instructed to write "Ind" in the column marked "Color" in order to identify Indians not living on reservations. A page by page reading of the 1870 census for the entire Ramapough Mountain area produced only one potential RMI Indian ancestor. The family of Florence Maguiness, including his wife and children, of Bloomingrove Township, Orange County, New York was marked "Ind" (U.S. NARS, 1870C, #343/325). The petitioner submitted extensive research on this family, but no descendants are found on the current membership list.

IX. Dual Enrollment

No evidence was found that anyone on the current RMI membership list is enrolled concurrently in a federally recognized tribe.

X. Potential Membership

The potential membership of this group is enormous, depending on how the RMI applies their membership criteria. If they require only descent from an RMI family listed on the Federal Census and do not apply the requirements of being known to the council as a way of excluding potential members, descendants of collateral

relatives who long ago left the core community would qualify for admission.

Nearly all the current membership trace their line to the same 10-15 people. The majority of the persons found in the 1850 census of the four major surnames, are not represented in the current membership. Many families had ten to twelve children in the 1850 through 1920 census, but the current membership often comes through only one of two of these children.

For example, there are 59 persons with the surname Mann in the 1850 census of the Ramapough Mountain area, but 81 percent of the current membership, who trace their line to a Mann surname, descend from William Mann who was not yet a head of household in the 1850 census, but who was married by the 1860 census. If each of these 59 persons had the same number of descendants as William Mann, there is a potential additional membership of 9,617 persons on this line alone.

As another example, James DeGroat (1792-1859) and his wife Susan (DeGroat DeGraot), who were married in 1816, have at least 16 children indicated in the census records, but only 2 or 3 of these 16 children have descendants on the current RMI membership list. Even allowing for infant deaths and intermarriage, there is a potential to add thousands more to the membership lists on this line.

XI. Analysis

An analysis of the petitioner's records and other primary documentation reveals that the RMI have not demonstrated descent from an historic Indian tribe. While a few references have been found to suggest that individual members of the RMI may have some Indian ancestry, there is no evidence to show exactly when or where it might have originated.

The names "Ramapo" and "Ramapough Mountain Indians" are very recent terms adopted by the group to replace the local use of the term "Jackson-Whites" which is perceived as derogatory. The first use of the name of Ramapo Mountain People does not occur until the 1960's. No primary documentation has been submitted by the petitioner to prove from what historic tribe the RMI might have descended. Many tribes have been mentioned as possible ancestors: Brotherton, Seneca, Oneida, Mohawk, Tuscarora, Munsee, Creek, Hackensack, Delaware and others but no evidence has been offered to make a definite connection to any one of these.

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