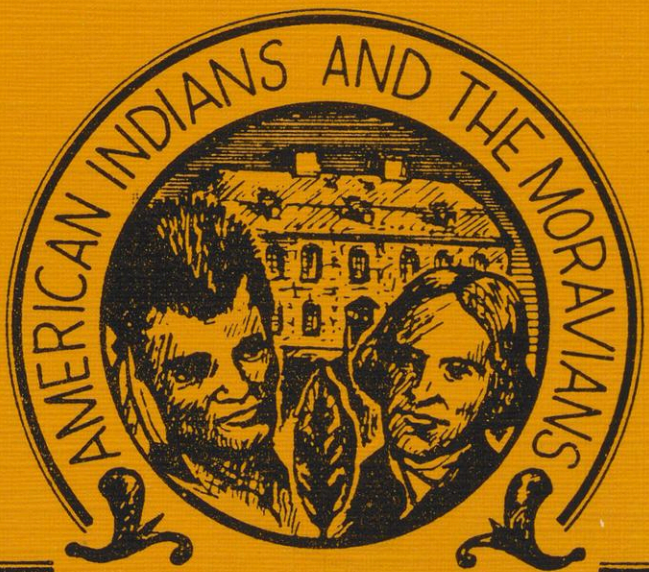
UNITAS FRATRUM

Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Gegenwartsfragen der Brüdergemeine



A SYMPOSIUM

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Zum vorliegenden Heft

Das vorliegende Doppelheft 21/22 ist der brüderischen Mission unter den nordamerikanischen Indianern gewidmet. Es enthält die Vorträge, die auf einem Symposium zu diesem Thema gehalten wurden, das im Herbst 1986 in Bethlehem, Pa. stattfand. Das Heft ist ein "amerikanisches" Heft; alle Beiträge stammen von amerikanischen Autoren und werden in englischer Originalfassung abgedruckt. Das mag für einige deutsche Leser, die hier auf sprachliche Barrieren stoßen, enttäuschend sein - immerhin informieren die deutschen Zusammenfassungen jeweil über die Grundlinien des Inhalts. Die Thematik des Symposiums erschien der Redaktion aber so wichtig und die einzelnen Beiträge so aufschlußreich und weiterführend, daß wir uns die Möglichkeit, sie insgesamt in UNITAS FRATRUM abzudrucken, nicht entgehenlassen wollten. Zu danken haben wir dem amerikanischen Herausgeber unserer Zeitschrift, Prof. W.A. Kohls, für die unermüdliche Arbeit bei der Beschaffung und Durchsicht der Manuskripte sowie der Sun Inn Preservation für einen namhaften Druckkostenzuschuß.

Das Zusammenstellen der Manuskripte, die Anfertigung der Zusammenfassungen sowie die zeitraubende Korrespondenz über den Atlantik haben den Erscheinungstermin des Heftes, der für Herbst 1987 geplant war, erheblich hinausgezögert. Wir hoffen, daß die Bezieher der Zeitschrift bei der Lektüre für ihre Geduld entschädigt werden.

Die beiden nächsten Hefte des Jahres 1988 sollen wieder termingerecht erscheinen: ein Doppelheft zum Herrnhaag-Jubiläum im Sommer und ein weiteres Heft in Herbst.

Foreword

This issue of *Unitas Fratrum* is dedicated in its entirety to the deliberations of the American Indian Symposium held in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (USA) on September 27, 1986. The articles printed here were originally presented as lectures and their publication, in this enlarged edition, was made possible by a contribution from the Sun Inn Preservation Association of Bethlehem. The editors of *Unitas Fratrum* gratefully acknowledge the support received and welcome this opportunity to collaborate in the effort to bring a subject of great mutual interest to the attention of a wider readership.

The Sun Inn Preservation Association sponsored the Symposium. Its realization, however, was accomplished primarily by volunteers who dedicated their personal time and skills without demanding public recognition and who took satisfaction in simply knowing that this conference was the fruit of their labors. All who helped deserve thanks even though not mentioned here by name.

The Bethlehem American Indian Symposium was the idea of Grethe Goodwin who also sparked the notion that the Symposium should be both a gathering of scholars and a *celebration* of the cultural richness of American Indian life. When it turned out that her departure from Bethlehem for retirement in the state of Maine would occur before all preparations were complete, her good friend Camilla Smith assumed conference responsibilities as chairman of the Sun Inn Association's Indian Committee and, in keeping with the plans of Grethe Goodwin, implemented the Symposium in collaboration with the Association's then executive director Rachel Osborn.

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Bethlehem is home for the Sun Inn and for the Moravian Church Archives which contain the eighteenth and nineteenth century mission records now so indispensable for a deeper understanding of American Indian life. The legacies which Moravian missionaries and church officials have left attest to the astuteness of their observations and to the care with which they recorded what they saw. As Herrnhut's emissaries, they were inveterate, prolific letter writers and compilers of detailed reports. They felt a moral commitment to give personal accounting to the Lord and to keep informed the brethren and sisters-in-faith at home who sponsored them. Their writings reflect the values they brought to their commitment. Missionaries shared many of the preconceptions of their time; and Western Europe, we must remember, on balance, considered itself superior to those it

sought to influence. To acknowledge this does not negate the assertion which is finding widening support, that Moravian missionaries, generally, had a better understanding of Indian customs and traditions than has for long been recognized. Indeed, Moravian missionaries were confronted with tasks and challenges beyond the scope of their primary assignments, and their accounts serve as significant sources of information beyond the range of missionary goals. Grethe Goodwin stressed it in planning the Symposium. It is the reason why, today, historians, ethnographers, musicologists, and linguists, to mention but a few, all come to Moravian archives to study and to learn.

The Sun Inn's legacy, too, is rich. Its golden age overlapped with many of the crucial years during which the American Colonies matured toward nationhood. Bethlehem's public inn, or *Gasthof* (guest house), was a hospitality center for its community and for its visitors, including many a distinguished American and European, and also several American Indian leaders who had come for ultimately futile negotiations. The inn still stands at its original site near the very heart of downtown Bethlehem. Entrusted to the care and management of the Sun Inn Preservation Association, it has been painstakingly restored. It is now a conference center, museum, restaurant, and informal gathering place. In short, it continues to enjoy a unique position in its region's life.

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The Symposium's keynote address was delivered by Professor Bowden and deserves special attention as both an important orientation and a superb assessment of the state of current research into American Indian history. The revisionist thrust of which Professor Bowden speaks, apparent in much modern historical scholarship and present in this Symposium's deliberations, and interest in the study of ethnic groups as demonstrated by this Symposium's success and its desire to celebrate their heritage, have become increasingly popular trends. Is there a link between the two? The answer suggested here is yes, because the mood for celebration and the urge to re-interpret history become most meaningful when recognized as manifestations of a deepening mainstream yearning. In much the same way in which the nineteenth century came to be propelled forward by the idea of progress, the twentieth century, in its waning years, is increasingly preoccupied with the notion of world peace. Inter-cultural understanding and the search for international stability - by means of revisionist history and the celebration of ethnic diversity - share it as a common psychological affinity. What gave such special force to it in our time? Most simply put, one answer is fear.

Trends which give expression to a psychological mood, of course,

rarely, if ever, derive from rational calculations or from single causes. (Unless, perhaps, we are speaking of the fashion industry?) And to identify fear as a common denominator imparting cohesion to the facts and forces molding human behavior is not to lay claim to its representing the single cause which now shapes history. To stress its primary importance, however, helps place this American Indian Symposium in the wider context within which it can be viewed with greater profit.

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Western technology, through warfare and modern communications, played an important role in effecting the conquest of the world by Europeans. It also helped spawn and strengthen interest within and outside Europe in cultural and political self-assertion. The hope for self-determination became a major issue in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth, it has become an uncompromising demand. As one consequence, the so-called forward march of technology produced the accelerated trend toward racial integration and the inclusion of peripheral elements in the main bodies of their societies, while at the same tame providing for those who controlled it the means to wield power others unable to resist intrusions in their realm.

Another consequence was that it intensified paranoia, which is to say, discrimination and efforts ruthlessly to preserve advantages held without regard to consequences. Technology was also placed in the service of genocide. But even such horrid manifestations as the Holocaust, in net effect, ended up promoting rather than weakening the trend toward integration! They oriented public opinion toward the stress where it now stands: the need for deepened and broadened sensitivity to the validity of traditons and heritages not conforming to one's own.

What is happening is generally more intuitively than consciously perceived. Yet, it is also clear that it is functioning as a counterbalancing response to the global alarm to which the impact of Western technology has given rise. Once dominant and hailed as the tool which secured for Europe its victories in almost all its confrontations with non-European societies, technology has become a force feared also by its originators. The very same technology which once provided so much of the fuel sustaining Western arrogance has become a reason for the rise within Western Civilization of much anxiety. The export or application of technology to non-European societies has ended its use as an instrument of force enjoyed by Europeans alone or primarily. Technology now threatens Western civilization as much as it once threatened others. It is this realization which is dawning upon ever widening segments of humanity and which links

the Symposium's invitation to celebrate another culture with the critique of Western conduct filling the publications of revisionist historians. Technological progress in its destructive capabilities has reached that dreaded point in evolution at which the potential dangers posed by abuse are so immense that they have created general awareness and become a driving and a molding force in public as well as scholarly deliberations. This is one reaon why this Symposium's conclusions, humiliating for Western Civilization's selfimage, do not arouse intense defensive urges toward denial and rejection but actually have become fashionable and foster a tendency to find fault also with Western Civilization's noble intentions as unwarranted arrogant expressions of the assumption that European values are *per se* superior and hence to be embraced. We now incline toward judging ourselves guilty in principle because we compounded our destructive impact by duping innocent, indigenous victims into accepting our notions at face value.

The cries of *mea culpa,* so often heard these days, serve a useful purpose. They promote sensitivity toward others. But they must not be allowed to subvert the study of history into an exercise in polemics. The encounters between European and non-European cultures have, indeed, produced many lamentable results. But to judge these historically (as distinct from morally) in a valid way, one question to be included among those posed must ask what really shapes historical development. Man's capacity for moral judgment has always existed and is at the core of what sets man apart from animals. Yet, in historical analysis, understanding must precede moral evaluation. Only a clearer understanding of the "Why" in history can truly place in focus our concern for consequences. Whether to our liking or not, our assessment of what forces shape events and patterns of development becomes distored when value judgments predetermine the agenda. To insist upon a separation of the two is not to advocate historical relativism. As human beings we are, indeed, endowed with the capacity for moral judgment; and by virtue of our knowledge of what is moral, we must apply moral standards to the justification of our actions and opinions. But how a question is posed (and why) influences the answer. We must take care to guard against self-deception. In short, we must admit that in the historical arena, our capacity for moral judgment has rarely proved sufficient to enforce moral behavior. The reason is simple: the absence of a superior force compelling compliance even where self-interests are at stake. Such is the human inclination that it does not respond only to moral instincts. Until our twentieth century, no challenges, other than those posed by philosophy and religion, ever existed to promote universal and mutually binding codes of conduct, despite much diplomatic language to the contrary, and our profession of religious or secular humanist faiths notwithstanding. Before the twentieth centu-

ry, technology was merely a tool and superior technology merely a superior tool as the record clearly demonstrates. The conclusion to be drawn is that the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were eras of imperialism and European arrogance not because humanity was handicapped by a less developed sense of morality. The twentieth century has become the age of self-recognition, in the sense of self-doubt, at least for Western Civilization, not because we have reached a higher moral plateau from which to judge ourselves. The inclination, in certain quarters, to deny Western values in favor of almost anything originating outside our cultural sphere has nothing to do with the discovery of an inherent weakness in our civilization's moral fiber. The real difference between the twentieth century and preceding ages is that our century is the first to use tools in the historical arena which are, or can be, so subsequential in their impact that no choice remains but to pause and reconsider. The question no longer concerns only the effectiveness of the tools used but the survival of the user, too.

In this context, moral questions become guiding principles because the fate of the user of technology as much as the fate of its object are at stake and not because of abstract principles. Neither policies of genocide and discrimination designed to assure the perpetrator total control and, somehow, elimination of the dangers posed by modern technology, nor the commitment to the search for peace by promoting pluralism and self-critique can ever bring lasting peace. Both, in totally divergent ways, accent the fear of annihilation. And this promotes the chances for success. It makes universal peace a categorical imperative. The explosion of the first atomic bomb, and the discovery that the power to use the atom as a tool of force cannot be monopolized helped make this clear.

The transition, still in progress, from the self-assertive and insensitive attitude of the former "imperialist" mentality to the notion of tolerance has so far been anything but smooth. Because human greed has played and, we may assume, will always play a crucial role in human conduct, we can only continue to plod forward by trying to deflect the actions of those whose policies and aspirations are really nothing more than collective expressions of the fear of loss of personal advantage. Human nature, in its quest for paradise, will always include the capacity for both good and evil. "Lone Bear" Revey, the Symposium's only American Indian contributor, underlined that greed was never a monopoly of the "White People" (to use "Lone Bear" Revey's terminology). But technology, for all practical purposes, once was! Hence "White man's" selfishness prevailed because it possessed the technological advantage.

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Technology, of course, also served and serves constructive ends. This understanding, too, is evident in the Symposium's presentations. No matter how overwhelming the evidence of the harm it helped inflict upon American Indian culture and to the Indians' heritage, technology also brought help, at the least in the hands of some participants in this confrontation of two cultures. The same generations which collectively shoulder blame for tolerating or contributing to abuse, provided from within their ranks those who helped and assured the indispensable preconditions needed for reconstruction and for the redemptive efforts of our present age, including, we must not forget, the technological means to create and preserve the Moravian missionaries' records so valuable now to our understanding of indigenous cultures and traditions. What restoration effort could hope to succeed today without the tools which Western technology placed in the service of this quest?

European Civilization in its interactions with other cultures and heritages appears in a poignant light when one hears "Lone Bear" Revey speak. His comments underline how much the value perceptions of Europe-originated civilization have become a *de facto* universal standard. As he provides fascinating insights into Indian life and history from the vantage point of Indian self-perception, his appalling and humiliating damage report concerning his people's encounters with Western man does not contain rejection of Western Civilization. Implicitly and explicitly it demonstrates how vitally dependent American Indian culture has become upon its "conquerors" for the resources and skills needed to nurture to success the Indians' own reawakening interest in their history and heritage. And precisely because this American Indian determination to recapture a lost heritage is resurging at this juncture in our century, it invites inclusion among the evidence we see today that we are moving toward fuller integration on a global scale. Will it ultimately also move American Indians away from their reservation-conditioned legally separate lives and erase their status as distinct from other ethnic minorities comprising American society? This possibility is mentioned here not for the sake of speculation but to stress that, as historical experience clearly demonstrates, the evolution toward integration begins with a conscious re-assertion of one's own heritage and the recapture of lost cultural pride.

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To understand history *"wie es eigentlich gewesen,"* to borrow Leopold von Ranke's phrase, "as it really happened," without accepting all its

implications, demands a willingness to accept valid conclusions even if they sober and hurt pride. Are there reasons, then, to reject the contention formulated here, that the primary, overriding impulse today conditioning much historical reflection and giving direction to the changes occurring springs from fear and not from noble impulse? If not, this recognition, rather than weaken, will strengthen efforts undertaken in behalf of tolerance and understanding. General public awareness that modern technology with its devastating potential for destruction has become a world property will help promote rather than handicap acceptance of the notion that it must be neutralized, indeed, transformed into an instrument of reparation. The damage it could once inflict while in the hands of Western civilization alone is being inflicted now also upon Western Civilization itself. Self-interest, in short, demands a sensitized worldwide perception of this fact. The shift in scholarly perspectives evidenced in the Symposium's presentations and the very staging of an American Indian Symposium as a celebration are promoting of this recognition. The wish to "celebrate" the American Indians' heritage becomes a desire to atone, that is to say, to advocate healing. It pleads for a future to be faced together. Either all succeed or none. There no longer are alternatives.

Public interest in historical preservation and restoration, the effort to help nurture back to health nearly lost traditions and heritages, symposia held to promote more balanced understanding, all are in their own curious ways manifestations of the fundamental change in course mandated for mankind as a whole by the changed role of technology. Rather than expressions of antiquarian interest, they are future-directed efforts which are proceeding against a background troubled by the destructive impact of technology. The evidence suggestes that the study of history is regaining popularity. This is a very positive sign. As the rejection of history as overburdened with the useless, harmful dust of centuries is giving way to a perception of humanity as co-passengers on an ocean liner on which all passengers, all cultures represented, are embarked upon the same journey, self-interests may even regain legitimacy, provided we have learned to look first at the wake our ship has left so that the pattern created in the past may guide our direction into the future.

In summary, our Age of Nuclear Fission is bequeathing to us an aversion toward the emotional and rational appeal once carried by such slogans as "survival of the fittest," or "to the victors go the spoils." Self-rejection and uncritical inclinations to discard one's own values as "bankrupt" may have become one consequence. But another is certainly what this American Indian Symposium made its heart concern: to learn from the past so that we may constructively help shape the future. Self-understanding and the understanding of cultures other than our own are inseparably intertwined.

Unitas Fratrum, presents the selections printed here as an invitation to its readers to participate. May the study of history inform and entertain. But may it also meet the more crucial assignment outlined here. May it inspire reflection, elicit challenge, and demand re-thinking.

Winfred A. Kohls
Professor of History
American Editor,
Unitas Fratrum

Zeisberger-Heckewelder Medal (face and tail)

Achievements and Prospects in Studying Indian Missions

by
Henry W. Bowden

Events leading up to this important conference on Moravians and American Indians are rooted in a variety of important developments. One contributing factor has been a significant shift in perspective among those who study religion as a particular aspect of general cultural exchanges. During the past two decades major writers about native American life and Euro-American late-comers have made considerable revisions in our general understanding of interactions between those major systems. It is my undeserved honor to consider with you today some of the intellectual achievements won through such modifications and further to suggest some possible avenues for continued advance in this area of humanizing studies.

Taking a broad overview of literature concerning Indian missions, it is accurate to say that both historians and missiologists approached their topic from the same one-sided perspective during most of the years in which this kind of literature has been produced. Whether backed by secular or sacred criteria, each group generally viewed the Indians from a vantage point that assumed the superiority of white culture: its technology, social patterns, customs, values, and beliefs. There were a few notable exceptions to this dominant attitude, but by and large early twentieth century scholarship conformed to a remarkably tenacious prejudice that was first imported by New England Puritans, Virginia tobacco planters, and Spanish conquistadors. Indians have perennially been considered inferior, whether described by colonial divines, homesteaders in the early national period, reservation agents after the Civil War, or Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) officials in our own century. Students of westward expansion stressed the theme of superior white culture: its agrarian economy, republican politics, mechanical know-how, literacy, and uniform justice

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* Keynote Adress delivered at the American Indians and the Moravians Symposium, September 27, 1986, Foy Hall, Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pa. (USA)

under statutory law. Native lifestyles were seen as deficient in every category, with the only options being either assimilation to white cultural standards or extiction as the juggernaut of American civilization spread over the continent. Generations of historians have depicted Indian-white interaction along the general lines of "adapt or get our of the way" because they never had any serious doubts about the superiority of American culture.

In the area of religion too, Indians have customarily been viewed as inadequate. Denounced as devil worshippers by early observers or, perhaps worse, as benighted peoples who had no religion at all, Indians were rarely taken seriously in their belief systems and applied ethics. The study of Christian missions has usually proceeded from some variation of this dominant theme. Natives have been portrayed as superstitious, misguided, beguiled by pagan rituals, slow to recognize biblical truth, truculent in error, given to backsliding after conversion, and dependent on white clerical leadership into the foreseeable future. By contrast missionaries have been described as heroic, long-suffering, altruistic, sacrificial, and high-minded. Mr. Schattschneider, one of our essayists today, will undoubtedly touch upon this perspective in analyzing missions in his presentation. For 450 years of the half millennium known as the "historical period" of North american experience this triumphalist attitude predominated. It was simply taken for granted that lesser civilizations must give way to superior ones, and missions studies conformed to this stereotype because Christianity was manifestly preferable to any other religion. If superior to Judaism, Islam, and "higher religions" of the Far East, how much more so to the "unsophisticated" vagaries found in the American woodlands and plains.

At about the middle of our own century portions of the scholarly community began to rebel against this dominant way of thinking about native Americans. Instead of continuing the civilization-versus-savage motif, many historians reversed priorities and pursued studies that assumed all virtue to lie with unspoiled aborigines, all corrupting influences to stem from white invaders who entered unbidden and destroyed indiscriminately. Without getting into the factors in American culture that stimulated such historiographical changes, we can note that by mid-century some scholars were presenting vigorous indictments of white activity in the New World. Sometimes Euro-American policy was condemned as ethnocentric and exploitative from its inception. If stated aims were less ruthless, at least the actual practices of people on the scene came under censure, and agencies responsible for not keeping white settlers under control.

Historians who wrote in this vein displayed missionaries in a bad light, as they did most white intruders. Evangelists were regarded as either hypocritical or stupid. They either knowingly placed a mantle of piety over ruthless land hunger and political domination, or as

dupes they allowed themselves to be manipulated by secular interests, softening up native groups with gospel messages before government and real estate agents swooped in for the kill. Missiologists rarely went along with this revisionist view. Those who concentrated on missions per se generally remained within the earlier framework of ideas and continued to write apologetics. They stuck to such tried-and-true themes as reporting missionary attitudes, their observations about native life, their hardships, their various attempts to improve both the daily lot and future destiny of native peoples under their care.

This fairly recent addition to American scholarship was not an important achievement. While it succeeded in breaking the stranglehold of long-standing prejudice, the alternative viewpoint was almost as one-sided as its predecessor. No longer blinded by triumphalist attitudes, the replacement still suffered from exaggeration. In its eagerness to condemn imperialism, to bemoan the slaughter of the innocents, to bury our hearts at Wounded Knee, this kind of revisionism was just as prejudiced in its zeal to expose white crimes as the earlier genre had been to celebrate white progress. Both perspectives failed to present either a balanced understanding of native American life or a full appreciation of the complexities involved in intercultural exchange. The end result of such polemics was biased reporting that did little good in helping to grasp the realities of culture conflict. We might recognize that an expose of American expansionism differs from an ode to it, but either one of them yields lamentably biased information.

Materials offering a way out of this apparent dilemma had been gathering for decades on library shelves in the form of anthropological field reports. Without getting into the schools of thought and revisionist battles within that professional circle, suffice it to say that students of Christianity and American Indians have finally noticed the rich potential available to them in works on ethnography and ethnohistory. Anthropology has provided raw data and new insights into questions related to the importance of religion in daily human behavior, patterns of cultural cohesion, and the fascinating phenomena of personal conversions. Since the study of missions focuses on one of the most dynamic areas where two cultures interact, the current stage of missions scholarship in America constitutes an achievement of crucial importance. Anthropology has made it possible to study missions with more complete information and with better procedures than ever before. The advantages of using ethnographic materials in analyzing missions are numerous, and several studies since 1965 have demonstrated some of the potential. Without paraphrasing any specific publication in detail, let me mention some of the areas where the study of Christianity and American Indians has been considerably strengthened.

Probably the most important lesson we have learned from these detailed compilations is that native American societies are knit together by complex, highly sophisticated ideas and behavior patterns. Their manifold world views comprise intricate conceptions of reality, and their different norms for practical action afford pragmatic confirmation of what is real, true, and good. Recognizing this to be the case in our own lifetime, it takes only brief reflection to acknowledge that native life has been this way all along. We can admit that our cultural and theological predecessors slighted Indian civilizations in one-sided characterizations, and until recently we have failed to see what was actually there in half of the intercultural exchange process. We are at the beginning of an era when Indian cultures can be seen to have integrity, coherence, and respectable rationales all their own. By a process known colloquially as "backstreaming", we can see that these varied civilizations have been this way from the beginning, no matter how much the dominant white perspective has maligned or ignored them. This realization allows us a fresh start in studying cultural interaction. It places us in a position that embraces a wider spectrum of evidence and grants some measure of utility to every human civilization as it coped with varying environmental contexts.

Learning about tribal mores and aboriginal concepts has helped us appreciate native patterns in and of themselves. No longer quick to judge all lifestyles by a single standard, we can observe a particular Indian world view and ethos for its own sake, like the Delaware combination of beliefs and values to take one example. We can appraise the intricacies of indigenous rituals, myths, visions, and prophecies along lines of their internal logic, as will one of the presentations by Mr. Revey to which we look forward today. In estimating the importance of native patterns we can see that they have resisted the incursion of white alternatives. They help explain the remarkable persistence of tribal life despite appalling pressures from white society to accept some alien standard categorized as "the American way of life".

The dynamics of cultural interchange are still at work today, and we can inquire into ways in which those resilient native values have operated. Such inquiries can shed light on processes through which native patterns spread from one tribal group to the other as well as from white donor to Indian recipient. But that fruitful area is ancillary to our main concern today. Anthropology has given us greater knowledge of what really existed in native lifestyles. This affords us a heightened awareness of their survivability, and that leads to an improved working hypothesis: we cannot understand what actually happened in exchanges between Indians and missionaries unless we use every possible resource to learn about native life on its own. We must try to grasp tribal patterns as they existed before the whites

arrived if we hope to discern what was at stake in subsequent interaction. There were two cultures involved in each episode, and we have to know about both of them if we expect to do justice to the people involved, the interests at issue, and the consequences that emerged through centuries of contact.

A value judgment often accompanies the intellectual discovery that native worlds exist apart from dominant American attitudes about what is real and proper. I submit that no value judgment is necessarily involved, but people usually espouse one or another of them in any event. Some observers evaluate precontact lifestyles quite positively and deplore the influence of anything brought from Europe. Others admire native patterns and simply regret their deterioration in settings where circumstances brought about inevitable ruin. Others still can admit to plausibility in native views about kinship, ritual purity, land ownership, warfare, and regard for the natural world, but they nevertheless prefer their own orientation to attitudes they consider childish and unworkable. My simple point here is that, whether one endorses or rejects Indian views, they must be taken seriously as a factor of equal importance to white patterns. There is no way to speak meaningfully about interchange unless we take both sides into account. No matter what our personal evaluation is of the alternatives at issue in cultural conflict, we must in this new era of missions study expand our database to include all the relevant information. Indians are real; their cultures have integrity; they always have, and they will continue to do so. Students who ignore this fundamental axiom will produce only self-serving treatises that will obscure our understanding, not clarify it.

Value judgments aside, the study of missions has been greatly aided in our day by inquiries into the role religions have played in Indian life. We have partial knowledge of the myths that explain validating reasons for tribal preferences, and we need to know a great deal more. One of the great tragedies of our time is that, now recognizing the need for such information, we see that white culture has already destroyed most of the sources that could have afforded invaluable additions to our learning. But much surrives, and with that we can glean important material regarding the internal dynamics of private visions and corporate solidarity, individual initiative, and group worship. Such features as these will undoubtedly be mentioned in another essay by Mr. St. John provided for us today. These sorts of studies help us better to understand the religious factor in human experience and expression. They show us that attitudes about the supernatural have been basic to all human civilizations. And they provide an essential ingredient for comparative analyses where we must know about both forms of religion if we ever hope to understand what was at issue in their confrontation.

Granting a fundamental integrity to precontact native folkways

and ideology, and recognizing their postcontact persistence, we can also begin to appreciate the contribution of Indian religions in the history of Christian missions. We are now in a position to see value in native critiques of Christianity as it was presented to them. Local tribesmen were quick to point out the gap between biblical precepts and the way nominal Christians actually behaved. They were not the first ones to notice that white churchgoers failed to live perfect lives inspired by the gospel, but native observations now rescued for us by less biased scholarship show that they took religion seriously and that they were deeply concerned about what the evangelists discussed. Similar studies also teach us that conversions involved a retention of many familiar images and thought categories as well as accepting significantly new concepts. When Indians became Christian, they adopted the new faith selectively, and this opens up many avenues for continuing research. We know a little, and need to know much more, about what parts of Christinity natives accepted, what was most amenable to indigenous habits and what so alien that it seldom transferred. Selective borrowing is something all of us engage in, and perhaps a better understanding of the accounts derived from Indian missions could instruct us about ourselves and the continuing pilgrimage each of us pursues as we try to reflect Christ in our lives.

Whether we take a specific example in biographical focus or expand our horizon to include whole tribes, ethnologically informed studies allow us to broach questions of cultural exchange in a manner rarely anticipated before. If a Delaware Indian in eighteenth century Pennsylvania or Ohio remained an Indian after adopting pacifism and learning to sing German hymns, is not a Delaware in twentieth century Oklahoma or Kansas still an Indian though he drives a pickup truck and watches Jimmy Swaggart on television? What are the roots and essential characteristics of cultural identity? If a Delaware embraces Christianity and continues to depend on guidance through personal visions, is that religious expression qualitatively different from one that depends on New Testament phrases and prayers in English? What are the elemental drives and recurrent patterns in religious identity? Considering those questions about cultural integrity and religious identity are difficult enough when dealt with in isolation. But what are the relationships between the two? What, at bottom, is Indian identity? What is Christian affirmation? How do they interact? Are they exclusive, or can they reinforce each other?

Does conversion to Christianity demand complete cultural transformation to white ideas and behavioral standards? Most missionaries over the past 500 years certainly thought so, but such transformation rarely occurred. Have missions, then, been a complete failure, or does the end result force us to recognize something more important? I submit that we should abandon the old assumptions derived from

religio-cultural aggression and look at missions records with less prejudgment about what must be found there. Then we can learn about how native peoples have incorporated Christian ideas and practices into their own systems of images, rituals, behavioral priorities, and group dynamics. The standard word for this kind of process is "syncretism", and I suggest that missionary activity over the years has provided us with a window through which to observe varieties of syncretistic religious expression. Every type of Christianity exists in some cultural package. We now see the futility of judging all cultures by a single set of human standards, and it is equally impossible to evaluate various Christian forms by means of one rule for theology, worship, or ethics. The challenge before us is to understand manifold combinations of Christian life and native cultures, not to judge their adequacy. We must stretch our understanding of the ways the Gospel can invigorate Indian existence, not appoint ourselves as critics who can decide which expressions are genuine and which do not measure up to God's standards. To presume the latter function is, in my view, both philosophically impossible and theologically blasphemous.

Ethnohistory also teaches us that cultural encounters are an ongoing phenomenon. We are past the era when observers thought Indians had vanished, just as we have superseded the cultural prejudice that assumes they should give way to a superior lifestyle. The process of intercultural exchange involves sophisticated persons on both sides, and their complex dialogues regarding land, manufactured goods, natural resources, political alliances, foodstuffs, and divine powers have been open-ended exchanges. They were never one-way and are not terminal. Indian tribes were often overwhelmed by whites, but their fate was not inevitable or due to internal flaws. Physical destruction did not stem from cultural deficiency. More times than not a tribe's deterioration was due to accidents like viral infections or economic pressures in Europe. But disease and immigration did not extinguish most tribes; they just highlighted demographic factors that displaced natives to areas where missionaries followed and continued their work. My point in this rather rambling discourse is this: we accept Indian patterns as having integrity; we recognize that they have not disappeared under the onslaught of white aggression; the same thing holds in the religious sphere, and there has always been exchange between strong ideological systems; conversions have manifested a blend of biblical idioms and native forms of expression. This interaction opens many possibilities for further inquiry into the nature of religious experience, the standards for evaluating missions, the qualitative and quantitative criteria for defining Christianity itself.

In pointing out avenues for future research, I know I run the risk of emphasizing pet projects. The next few paragraphs do not cover the field adequately, but they raise a few questions that might pos-

sibly enhance missions studies during the rest of this century. The most obvious and least controversial suggestion to make is that we need more of the same sorts of studies that have been produced recently. It has been only a short time since we turned away from biased works that were overwhelmingly pro-white and anti-Indian or stridently pro-Indian and anti-white. Our hard-won neutrality is still fresh, and we shall benefit from a great many more studies conducted from this more balanced perspective.

Moving beyond that and concentrating more specifically on the area of missions and religious interchange, I suggest that we can learn a tremendous amount from ethnograophical data. What were native beliefs and values like before missionaries encountered them? What was at the core of their values and what was marginal? What were the standards of orthodoxy and mechanisms for conformity? These sorts of questions can help us understand what the missionaries confronted upon their arrival and the nuances they faced every day of their evangelical efforts.

Beyond the point of contact and generation of early dialogues, what persons converted to Christianity and why? What reasons did they give (or what factors can we discern); what aspects of the new religion did they adopt and what parts of their old customs did they retain; .what consequences did these decisions have for individuals, kinhip relations, and the tribe at large? I confess to having a personal fascination with the phenomena of syncretism and selective borrowing. We know that it happened all the time, and I submit that it is wrong to indulge any longer in trying to decide what is "really Christian" and what is not. So we are left with a panoply of individual examples whereby we may learn how others have defined Christianity for themselves.

Taking this one step further, I suggest that missions studies has the rich potential for displaying a variety of ways Christianity has been expressed. As important historical phenomena worth our notice, Christianity in North American cultures does not need to depend on a few languages like English or German, use symbols like doves and vineyards, worship in permanent structures with pipe organs, have an ordained clergy, partake of communion with bread made from wheat flour, or rely on images of God as a white man with a beard. Native American Christianity can utilize local dialects, indigenous plant and animal life in imagery, tribal architecture and simple preferences such as sitting in circles on the ground instead of in pews, leadership structures based on something other than educational credentials, the sacred host made from corn meal, and images of God that underscore native images of the Holy Spirit more than anthropomorphic emphases derived from Judaism. All these and more can be found in missions history and in anthropological field reports. These types of Christianity have existed over long periods of time, and they flourish

today. Our understanding of the way faith blends with cultural idioms will be richer the more we learn about these creative expressions. We can become more aware of how Christianity reinforces the kaleidoscope of cultures in America by observing these multiple expressions of native life that continue with such astonishing persistence.

A lamentable fact of missions history is that whites have dominated it for centuries. Generations of evangelists insisted that converts were not yet prepared to incorporate the gospel into their lives or to lead their own church services without supervision. What would Indian Christianity become if whites ceased their control over native proclivities? Admittedly this is speculative, but let me suggest some possible areas where we might see the emergence of distinctive emphases in Indian Christianity. Precontact patterns give us some orientation; their survival after conversion points to vitality in spite of white restrictions; their possible growth outside of white sanctions suggest areas for future inquiry.

In the realm of plastic arts we would see biblical themes depicted with fresh vigor. Imagery derived from native fields and forests would enliven painting, carving, frescoes, clothing and ceramics. A Delaware madonna with the infant Jesus strapped to her back might evoke more native piety than some Caucasian woman who is traditionally dressed in blue robes. The apostles could wear buckskin as easily as Roman togas. Vestments for worship could be beaded instead of embroidered. Pottery and baskets could replace brass and silver on an earthen mound rather than an altar. One could go on and on, but my point is simply this: native art would enhance the dimensions of Christian expression if given the chance to demonstrate indigenous piety through its own forms and materials.

In speculating about liturgical possibilities there is one thing of which I am certain. However much music would find new outlets, whatever new forms prayers would take, Indian worship would incorporate a dimension rarely seen in other types of Christianity. Dancing would become a focal point of praise, thanksgiving and communion with the Almighty. Dancing has been ubiquitous in native life. The earliest explorers and traders noted the importance of dances, and contemporary anthropology continues to indicate their central place in community activities. Dances serve to solemnize significant events like rites of passage, warfare, planting, and harvest. The rhythms of individual and corporate life are celebrated and manifested in the rhythms of collective dance. They are mechanisms for integrating people with their sense of spiritual power, exhibiting that contact through proper action. This form of ritual response would be prominent in a native Christianity at last free to express itself without outside interference. I am at a loss to say what forms these sacred dances would take, but Indians have known about the reli-

gious value of such activity for quite some time, and they would employ that wisdom if left to themselves in developing liturgical priorities.

Ethics is another area that would receive a great deal of attention if native Americans could accentuate their own values without outside influence. Traditional emphases on sharing goods and services were reinforced by kinship relations, clan loyality, and tribal solidarity. Subsequent historical experiences of deprivation, insecurity, and poverty have underscored these deep-seated attitudes. Indian Christianity would have a solid foundation for stressing love of the individual and concern for the community. Values oriented toward sharing, collective solidarity, and corporate wholeness would submerge individualism and self-sufficiency in an ethic of broader parameters. Just as in arts and worship, Indian ethics would enhance the variety of Christian formulations, each adding dimensions not similarly represented in other versions.

Precontact impulses continue in historic times. Basic ethnographic dynamics persist to keep Indian life dynamic. These traits will survive in religion too, and if given a chance would create distinctive features unparalleled in other types of Christianity. I suggest that this process has already begun in a moderate way, and those interested in pointing out noticeable aspects of indigenized Christianity could hardly do better than to investigate native arts, worship, and ethics.

A final suggestion about future research seems at first glance to contradict what I've just said. The difficulty is resolved by distinguishing between cultural traits and separate institutional forms. Culture traits persist in compartmentalized pockets despite variable settings. Institutional forms constitute a more perceptible entity, and this raises a question that, for me at least, bears looking into in some detail. To put the matter on a simple level, why is there no Indian church? Missions ever since Pentecost have planted Christianity in lands that had no knowledge of the Gospel. People in England and Germany, to take just two exemples, abandoned their pagan beliefs and incorporated the new faith into their cultural patterns. We speak eventually of traits discernible as British Christianity or Moravian Piety exemplified at Herrnhut. European churches were transplanted to the New World, and over time mission work among African slaves and freed men has produced a rather loosely defined Black Christianity. Why then can we not point to a Red Christianity with similarly distinctive theological emphases, separate religious institutions, and internally developed leadership? Every culture touched by Christian missions has developed its own version of the faith. Why has this not happened among Indians?

Perhaps the best answer to such questions is that there is a Red Christianity, and asking about it only reveals our ignorance about

the Indian church that is already there. That may be the case, and all I can do is suggest that we need elementary data on the basic facts. But if Indian Christianity exists in institutional form, it does not have a very high profile, and one might ask why that is so. Given the possibility of embryonic Indian churches, what impedes their emergence as a distinctive pattern of religious expression with separate leadership, bureaucratic structure, and associations with different tribes or denominational agencies? Is this state of arrested development another result of white paternalism, or does it point to forces at work but not yet understood in tribal life?

Many people have suggested why Indians would never become Christian in the first place. Upon contact their cultures were whole, and people were not vulnerable to alternate life-styles as were Africans who were snatched away from their cultures and brought here involuntarily. There was, says a second suggestion, plenty of space for them to move away from whites when the intruders became too oppressive. Native ideologies were too different, says a third answer, and their fundamental assumptions did not prize a salvation for which they saw no need. White governments, armies, and swarms of unmanageable backwoodsmen obtruded on every missionary enterprise ever attempted, thus ruining in practical terms any prospects for conversion that evangelists might have contemplated in isolation.

But the bare fact is that some natives in almost every tribe ever mentioned did become Christian. What happened to their successive generations? They did not assimilate into American culture, so were they perpetuated on reservations? Putting my own interest in a nutshell: why did Indian converts, active preachers and often ordained clergymen, not take steps to secure leadership in the generation that followed them? Again the answer may be that they did, but of the few prominent Indian spokesmen that I know of, such as Samson Occom, not one of them showed any concern for building up a cadre of Christian leaders who could have developed a more visible church among native constituents. So my question for continuing investigation has two parts: is this the case, and if so, why. Does this point to some subterranean reverence for shamanism where leaders are expected to emerge without deliberate training, or does it indicate once again the dead hand of white control where missionaries refused to accept fellow believers as equals by not recommending Indian youths for the ministry? Whatever the hypothesis and possible answers, I suggest this category of separate Indian churches as an area worth further inquiry.

So we stand at an important juncture in the field of missions studies. Previous debilities have been at least partially overcome, and we have a great deal more information to use in our investigations. Materials are available for us to learn about indigenous religions and their different combinations with Christian truths. Future

studies are promising in the areas of previous interactions and in future expressions too, whether made in separate Indian churches or in concert with denominations that subsume peoples who retain many ethnic identities. It is invigorating to be associated with such studies at a time like this, and it is a privilege for me to be able to discuss the achievements and prospects of missions studies with an audience as discerning and attentive as this one.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Stand und Aufgaben der Erforschung der Indianermission

Der größte Teil der zwischen 1650 und 1950 erschienenen Literatur zum Thema Indianermission hegte entschieden "weiße" Vorurteile. Die zugrunde liegende Vorstellung von der Überlegenheit der europäischen Technologie und europäischer kultureller Werte führte zu einer entsprechenden Haltung hinsichtlich der Überlegenheit des Christentums über die einheimische amerikanische Religiosität. Nach 1950 kehrten einige Historiker diese Betrachtungsweise um; sie traten für die einheimische Lebensweise ein und machten die euroamerikanische Kulturaggression für den geistigen und materiellen Verfall bei den Indianern verantwortlich, der sich über Jahrhunderte hin vollzog. Jede dieser beiden historischen Sichtweisen hat nur begrenzten Wert, weil jeweils vorgefaßte Überzeugungen sorgfältige Berichterstattung und ausgewogenes Urteil verhindern.

Während der letzten zwei Jahrzehnte hat die wissenschaftliche Erforschung der christlichen Mission einen neuen Weg eingeschlagen. Der neue historiographische Ansatz wertet anthropologisches Material aus, um soweit nur irgend möglich in Erfahrung zu bringen, wie indianisches Leben vor der Berührung mit der Kultur der Weißen aussah, und verfolgt den Prozeß der kulturellen Wechselbeziehung. Dies ist dann besser möglich, weil man die Eigenart der Kulturen vor ihrer gegenseitigen Beeinflussung kennt. Ein anderes Merkmal dieser neueren Forschungen ist eine höhere Wertung der einheimischen Religiosität und deren Funktion, Weltsicht und Lebensvollzug in ihrer Einheit darzustellen. Für die Zeit nach der Einführung des Christentums richtet sich das Hauptinteresse dieser Forschungsrichtung darauf festzustellen, wie Wertvorstellungen und Symbole aus der vorchristlichen Zeit bei den Bekehrungen und in nachfolgenden synkretistischen Ausdrucksformen weiterlebten.

Da die gegenwärtige Missionsforschung sich erst vor kurzem von einer langen anti-indianischen literarischen Tradition und einer kurzen pro-indianischen Phase gelöst hat, müssen die gewonnenen Erkenntnisse noch durch weitere, auf anthropologisches Material gestützte Arbeiten konsolidiert werden. Darüberhinaus darf man neue Forschungen über die Religiosität der Indianer erwarten, besonders in den Bereichen von Theologie, Ethik und Kult - Bereiche, in denen sich die amerikanischen Ureinwohner frei und von der Kultur der Weißen ungehindert ausdrücken. Es bieten sich vielfältige Möglichkeiten, und jetzt, da Vorurteile geschwunden sind, scheinen die Historiker besser dafür gerüstet, ihre Aufgabe zu erfüllen.

John Heckewelder (1743–1823), Moravian Missionary
Lithograph; Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut/GDR

A Brief Survey of the Moravian Mission to the North American Indians

by
Henry L. Williams

The history of the Moravian Mission to the Indians of North America spans nearly two hundred fifty years. It is complex and is usually well documented in its various strands. Even concentrating only on the work among the Eastern Indians, which covers a period of one hundred sixty years, it is possible to give only an outline. We can scarcely touch, let along linger, on its great events, its continuities and transitions, its great tragedies, its devoted servants, both Indian and white, and its great accomplishments which ended in failure.

In 1732 the Moravian community of Herrnhut was only ten years old and had passed through a common spiritual experience in 1727 that had welded together the religiously intense people who had brought their various backgrounds and loyalities to Herrnhut. Of the population many were recent refugees and descendants of the old *Unitas Fratrum*, the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, and many were from the various Protestant churches of Europe. The former, already pilgrims in a strange land, were to become the pioneers of the Moravian Mission Movement which exploded on the European Church secne in the decade following 1732. In these years they launched or explored possible missions to St. Thomas, 1732, Greenland, 1733, Georgia, 1734, Surinam, 1735, Lappland, 1734, South Africa, 1736, Gold Coast, 1735, Algeria, 1739, Arctic Russia, 1737, and Ceylon, 1740, and envisioned a further string of missions on into Asia and the Orient.

Not all of these, or those that were established afterward, were successful, but those that did succeed account for the fact that the large majority of the Moravians in the world today are of dark skin and of the Third World.

The first Moravian Mission to the Indians was in the new colony of Georgia, for which the first Moravians set out late in 1734 with the aim to establish a place near the Indians among whom they might work. The work in Georgia was short lived but in the five years there they did establish a school for Creek children above Savannah. Here the Moravians taught the children English and the chil-

dren taught the missionaries Creek. They hoped to go the Cherokees eventually, but the clouds of war broke up the settlement and the Moravians turned toward Pennsylvania where new Indian work was soon taken up again. Among the less than fifty Moravians who had made up the Georgia venture there were two whose names were large in the later Indian mission. John Martin Mack, later a bishop, was one of the leaders of the Mission in New York, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania until he went in 1760 to the West Indian Mission. And young David Zeisberger, a great name in the mission history of all time.

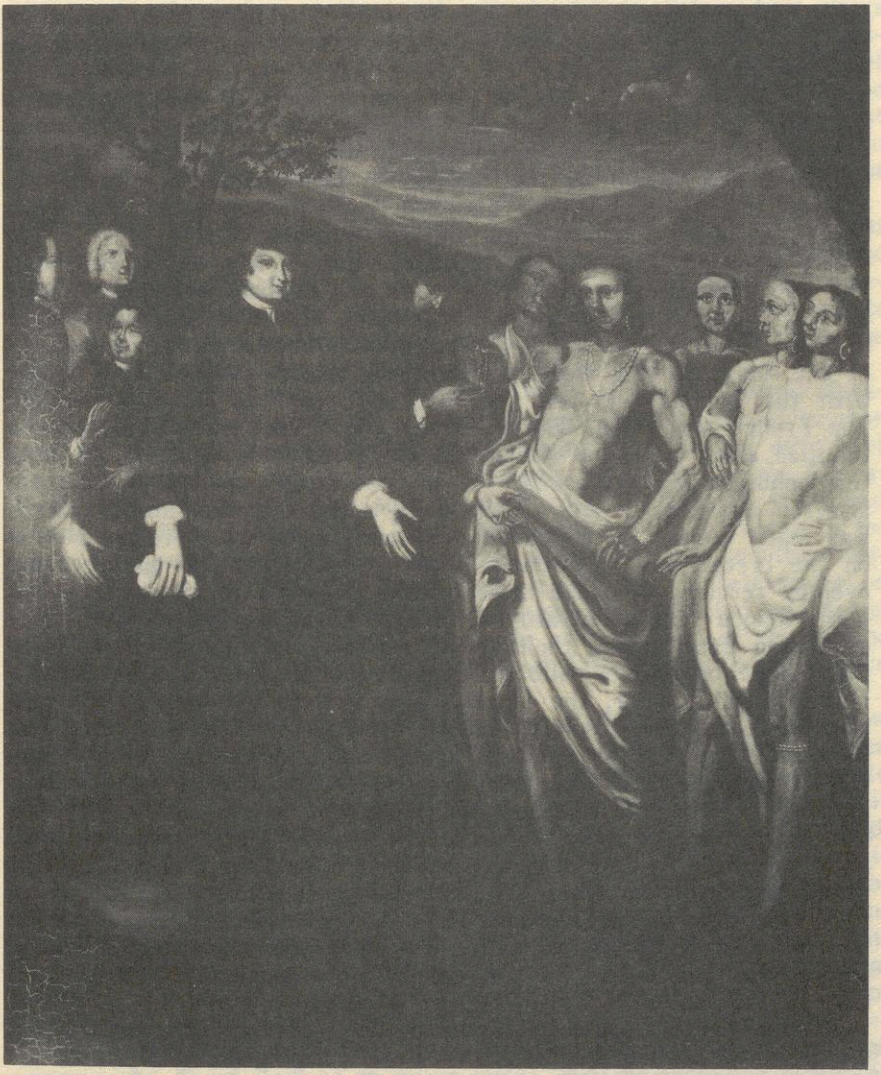
The Mission to the Eastern Indians actually began before the Moravians were permanently established at Bethlehem. In 1740 the twenty-two year old Christian Henry Rauch was sent from Europe to look for an opportunity to minister to the Indians. Soon after arriving in New York he was introduced to Mohican Indians who were there to see the governor. He found he could converse with them in Dutch, and within the month was with them in their village of Shekomeko on the New York-Connecticut border. He found a response and the first congregation among the Indians was established here.

After Bethlehem was established other missionaries came to assist Rauch. Some ventured into the New York wilderness to preach and to study Indian dialects, especially among the Iroquois. Near Shekomeko, mission stations were established at Wechquadnach and Pachgagoch. But the very success of the mission brought the Moravians unexpected opposition. White traders, whose rum business suffered, spread false rumors about them. An extended period of harrasment began and eventually involved the New York Assembly itself.

Because of this opposition, the Moravians decided to move the Mission to Pennsylvania beyond the line of white settlement. The Moravian leader, Spangenberg, accompanied by David Zeisberger, Conrad Weiser, and Schebosch, a native convert, journeyed to Onondaga to secure the assent of the Six Nations. Assent was given but the Christian Indians did not want to move from Shekomeko and the Wyoming Valley was becoming dangerous because of the French.

However, the hostility of the whites encroaching on Shekomeko and the uncertainty of land ownership forced ten Indian families to leave there. The Moravians settled them temporarily on the north bank of the Lehigh and named the place Friedenshütten, Tents of Peace. It was a hopeful name for what would prove to be a long and tragic migration lasting a century. Within the year they moved to a tract of land beyond the Blue Mountain at the confluence of the Lehigh River and Mahoning Creek. The settlement was called Gnadenhütten and by 1748 ministered to five hundred converts, about the population of Bethlehem and Nazareth of that time.

In December, 1741, Count Zinzendorf, the leader of the Moravians, arrived in America and spent the following year, during which he



Zinzendorf, Conrad Weiser, and Indian chiefs of the Five Nations. The original painting, probably by John Valentin Haidt, was formerly preserved in the London Moravian Archives, but destroyed in World War II. The copy shown above is by Anna Arndt; oil on canvas, 93 : 75,5 cm.
Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut/GDR, Cat. No. 389

made three excursions into Indian Country. The first, with his daughter Benigna and eleven brethren, was to Meniolagomeka beyond the Blue Mountain.

At Tulpehocken he made a pact with leaders of the Six Nations by which the Brethren could pass through the Iroquois Confederacy territory as friends. The Wampum belt the Indians gave him to seal the pact was useful to the mission in later contacts. The second journey was to Shekomeko. The third and longest was a six week trip to Shomokin (now Sunbury) and the Wyoming Valley.

The work at Gnadenhütten prospered but its life was to be short. The final struggle between the French and English for North America was about to begin and the assistance of the Indians was sought by both sides. In the area of the Moravian settlements in the Forks of the Delaware the Walking Purchase chicanery still rankled deeply with the Indians who felt they had been cheated and dispossessed. The French and Indian War broke and there were massacres of farm families along the Blue Mountains. On November 24, 1755, at dusk Gnadenhütten was attacked, the mission house and village burned, and ten missionaries and a child were killed. The next day Nazareth was made uneasy by the smell of burning wood which reached them on the breeze and in Bethlehem the congregation was gathered for evening service when the news of the massacre reached them. For more than a year afterward the refugee Christian Indians from Gnadenhütten lived among their white brethren and then began to build the village of Nain a mile west of Bethlehem. In this time of war, fear and wild rumor, the Moravians as well as their Indian brethren were often under suspicion among the other whites. In 1763 the Pontiac Conspiracy in the west again brought pressure on the Moravian Mission and the Governor of Pennsylvania ordered the Moravian Indians of Nain and Wechquetank removed to Philadelphia for their own safety. But of the one hundredtwenty-five who reached the city, fifty three died there of small pox and dysentery. The government would not let them return to their former settlements and instead they settled on the Sesquehanna River where the Wyalusing converges with it. Ever hopeful, they called the place Friedenshütten. A second village was founded in western Pennsylvania and called Friedenstatt, City of Peace.

The unrelenting pressure of the advance of the white settlement continued and when the Indians on the Wyalusing received an invitation from the Grand Council of the Delawares in the Tuscarawas Valley in Ohio, David Zeisberger recommended they should migrate. In 1772 they established their new home there and named it Schoenbrunn. The next year the Indians at Friedenstatt followed them to Ohio and called their new village Gnadenhütten in memory of their ill-fated home on the Mahoning. In 1776 a third village was established and called Lichtenau, Meadow of Light, which proved to be in

the path of waring parties and was moved to Salem four years later. Again the Indian life and the mission flourished and again disaster beyond their control overtook them. It was at the very end of the Revolutionary War when the Indians and missionaries were uprotted in September and taken as prisoners to Sandusky without provisions for winter. The missionaries were taken to Detroit to stand trial as spies. They were released but the damage could not be undone. It was a winter of unbearable cold and near starvation.

In early March, 1782, about one hundred fifty Moravian Indians received permission to return to the Tuscarawas to try to salvage what might remain from the last year's corn. At Gnadenhütten ninety Christian Indians were massacred by American frontiersmen out to avenge an earlier massacre by savage Indians. Those harvesting the fields at Schoenbrunn received warning and escaped.

Several years of wandering followed. Many of the scattered Moravian Indians would never return, turned forever from the white man and his religion after Gnadenhütten. But many of them did drift back to their teachers. They could not immediately return to the Tuscarawas and places of their sojourn were named Pilgerruh, (Pilgrims' Rest) and New Salem. New Salem prospered but again threat of Indian warfare made its future doubtful and Zeisberger led the Christian Indians into Ontario where they established a settlement on the Thames River which they named Fairfield. A Mission was begun on the White River but suffered greatly at the hands of the Indians themselves. Several ot the converts and faithful old helpers were burned as witches.

In 1797 a number of the Indians from Fairfield, led by the now aged Zeisberger returned to the Tuscarawas and established Goshen but by the 1820's it had dwindled away. Fairfield itself was not to be left in peace and was destroyed in the War of 1812. In 1815 it was rebuilt on the south side of the river and called New Fairfield. It remained in the care of the Moravian Church until 1900 when it was turned over to the Methodist Church in Canada. In 1837 two-thirds of the Indians of New Fairfield, accompanied by the missionary Jesse Vogler, migrated to Kansas to found Westfield. This remnant moved twice more before disappearing as a separate group near Ottowa, Kansas. A Moravian pastor remained to care for the last of them until 1905.

When the Moravians first came to Georgia they wanted to go among the Creek Indians as missionaries, but the way was closed at that time. After they made their settlements in North Carolina in 1753 there was occasional contact with the Cherokee and an interest to begin work, but again the way was not open. It was not until 1801 that they were able to establish their first station at Springplace, Georgia, and another in 1821 at Oochgelogy. The mission, like others among the Indians, flourished at first, but fell victim to the

encroaching whites and the removal of the Southern Indians to Oklahoma and the infamous "Trail of Tears". New Springplace was established in Oklahoma, and other stations as well, but that work was again disrupted by the Civil War and Brother Ward, a native Cherokee minister, was killed by maurauding Federals. The work was again revived after the War but the throwing open of the Indian lands in the 1890's disrupted Indian life. The work ceased in 1898.

As the 19th Century came toward its last two decades and the old missions to the Indians were fading, a new interest in mission work was arising among the American Moravians, especially in Bethlehem. It was a challenge to enter two new fields among native Americans. In 1885, having been interested by Sheldon Jackson, they established pioneer work on the Kuskokwim river in western Alaska among the Eskimo called Yupic. One of the first missionaries was John Kilbuck, a Delaware Indian and a descendant of the first converts of the Moravian Indian Mission among the Delaware. This work in Alaska continues today in the autonomous Alaska Province of the Moravian Church which has its full native ministry and native bishop and its own ministerial training institute. It is the one successfull on-going work of the two hundred fifty years of Moravian missionary effort among the native Americans, and has celebrated its centennial.

The same decade that saw the work in Alaska begun, saw the beginning of a new mission among the Indians of Southern California. It was called the Ramona Mission after the romantic novel of Helen Hunt Jackson that had drawn attention to these neglected people. There were at one time five small stations but the work did not prosper for various reasons. The economic dislocation of the Indians during the First World Was was a major one. However one congregation on the Morongo Indian Reservation continues and is now part of the Pacific Coast District of the Moravian Church. It is still partially supported by the Society for Propagating the Gospel, the Society established in Bethlehem in 1745 to support the Moravian Mission among the Indians.

The Moravian Mission among the Indians, in most of its history through the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, was caught in the relentless forces that shaped America. It was the technologically advanced civilization of one race replacing the primitive civilization of another, the intensive land-use of farming replacing the hunting economy. It was the clash between European forces in America; the English and Spanish in Georgia; the English and French in the French and Indian War; the American and the British in the Revolutionary and the War of 1812. It was the Civil War in Oklahoma and the economic dislocation of the First World War in California.

In the story of the Mission to the Indians there was great faith and much hope and shining moments of success. But there was much tragedy and sadness too. And the failure of the mission to the east-

ern Indians seems to have been one price of the success of the American frontier.

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Herrnhuter Mission unter den nordamerikanischen Indianern Ein Überblick

Die Geschichte der Herrnhuter Indianermission umspannt faßt 250 Jahre, die Arbeit unter den östlichen Indianern 160 Jahre.

Die Mission unter den nordamerikanischen Indianern begann 1734 mit der nur kurzlebigen Arbeit in Georgia und fand ihre Fortsetzung

in Pennsylvania und im Gebiet von New York und Connecticut, später in North Carolina und Oklahoma. Als Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts ein neues Missionsinteresse erwachte, richtete es sich auf die Yupic-Eskimos im westlichen Alaska und die Indianer in Südkalifornien (heute besteht eine Gemeine auf dem Morongo Indianer-Reservat).

Die einzelnen Etappen der Herrnhuter Indianermission zeigen, wie diese immer wieder in das erbarmungslose Kräftespiel geriet, das der Entwicklung Amerikas das Gepräge gab: Die technologisch überlegene Zivilisation der Europäer verdrängte die indianische Kultur; die intensive Landbewirtschaftung verdrängte die Jagdwirtschaft. Hinzu kamen die Auseinandersetzungen der europäischen Mächte auf amerikanischem Boden: der Engländer und Spanier in Georgia, der Engländer und Franzosen im Französischen und Indianischen Krieg, der Amerikaner und Briten im Revolutionskrieg und im Krieg von 1812 und schließlich der Nord-und Südstaaten im Bürgerkrieg. Auch die wirtschaftliche Erschütterung des Ersten Weltkriegs zeitigte negative Folgen.

In der Geschichte der Indianermission begegnen Glaubensstärke, Hoffnung und glänzende Augenblicke des Erfolgs, aber nicht minder Tragödien und viel Leid. Das Scheitern der Mission bei den östlichen Indianern erscheint als ein Preis für den Erfolg an der amerikanischen Front.

Moravians Approach the Indians: Theories and Realities

by
David A. Schattschneider

On June 19, 1772, the Reverend David McClure, a recent graduate of Yale College and would-be missionary to the Indians, set out on a 4,268 mile round trip from New Hampshire to the Indian towns of eastern Ohio. As historian James Axtell notes, he "wore out three horses, and converted no one."(1) The reasons for his dismal performance are another story, but it is interesting for us to note that he and his party did visit a Moravian Delaware Indian town. As he noted in his diary, the Moravians had

> the best mode of christianizing the Indians ... they go among them without noise or parade ... & by their friendly behaviour conciliate their good will. They join them in the chace, & freely distribute to the helpless & gradually instill into the minds of individuals, the principles of religion. They then invite those who are disposed to harken to them, to retire to some convenient place, at a distance from the wild Indians, & assist them to build a village, & teach them to plant & sow, & so carry on some course manufactures. <In a later conversation with a resident Moravian missionary, he was told that they tried,> to carry the knowledge of Jesus Christ among pagans, & not to build on other's foundations, or enter on other men's labors.(2)

The theoretical framework for this kind of Moravian mission activity in the eighteenth century was constructed by the two outstanding leaders of the movement, Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf and Bishop Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg.

As a German nobleman, Zinzendorf's academic training was in law but his first love was theology. As a leader in the Protestant reform movement of Pietism, his emphasis was on the joyful experience of the living Christ in one's life. Creeds and institutions were secondary. The Count was a classic charismatic leader and as such he inspired immense love and loyality among those he attracted. He also stirred up much controversy and criticism among his contemporaries. Many historians have tried to capture the personality of the man in

a few words. One of the more colorful attempts was by Paul Wallace who wrote in his biography of the Count's Pennsylvania Indian guide Conrad Weiser, "Zinzendorf was a kind of Christian mastodon, trampling ruthlessly over all obstacles that stood between him and the Lamb of God. He had enormous energy, grandiose conceptions, a flaming poetical vision. He was always planning things on a tremendous scale, and his mind leaped ahead defying time and space, geography and ethnology, in the imagined accomplishment of his designs."(3)

Spangenberg, although equally committed to the Moravian cause, was by temperament and training quite different. A university trained Lutheran theologian and professor, he joined the Moravians in 1733 and remained with them until his death in 1792. Though only four years younger than the Count, he outlived him by thirty-two years. Although Zinzendorf visited with both native Americans and colonists during his visit to America, it was Spangenberg who was really responsible for leading Moravian work in the eastern colonies. The Bishop also carried out the task of publicist for the Moravians through his many books: a biography of Zinzendorf, instruction manuals for missionaries, a systematic theology, and other publications. The functional relationship between the two men is summarized by Ernest. Stoeffler in his important study of the German pietist movement. Spangenberg, he claims,

> emerged as the most incisive apologist of the Moravian understanding of Christianity. In the process of defending it, however, he toned down, or even eliminated what he regarded to be the Count's more startling theological aberrations and antinomian sentimentalities ... Spangenberg succeeded in bringing the Zinzendorfian movement back under the roof of an essentially pietistic understanding of the Lutheran confessions.(4)

This direction of Spangenberg's work will become more apparent as we consider first the theory of mission work developed by the two men and then consider some of the realities within which Moravians had to work - particularly among native Americans in the eastern colonies.

Both leaders agreed, initially, that a call to missionary activity was inherent in the Christian faith. For Moravians, "the glad celebration of the love of God and his gift of redemption in Christ called for the simple preaching everywhere of this story of salvation."(5) Any generation of Christians was but participating in God's ongoing plan for the salvation of humanity. Christ's activity might be recorded in the Bible, but it is not captive there. He continues to meet persons where they are, at all times. So, Zinzendorf declared, "preach the gospel to all creatures, all nations ... no nation excepted, no people has preference here, no place in which they were born, not their language nor sex."(6)

Based on his understanding of such New Testament passages as the story of the encounter between Peter and the Roman centurion Cornelius (Acts 10:1-14) and Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:26-39), Zinzendorf developed a rather unique understanding of how conversion happens. The only real missionary is the Holy Spirit. The Spirit is constantly operating in the world and is never captive of the Christians or the institutional church. The Spirit stirs within people what we would call religious questions. The people wrestle with them and may even suddenly find peace and joy and answers to their questions though they do not know why they feel that way. At the same time the Spirit is stirring up the Christian missionaries and sending them out everywhere. The crucial juncture is when the seekers and the missionaries meet and the missionaries speak of Jesus as the one who has brought peace and joy. If the seekers accept what the missionary says about Jesus, baptism follows. The whole process is under the direction of God through the work of the Spirit. The Holy Spirit finds those people whom Christ selects for membership in his community, and these people respond to the preaching of the missionary. This community is never restricted to institutional Christianity exclusively since such responsive souls are always found everywhere in the world. This process operates the same way in a German parish church or in a native American village in Pennsylvania. "It is never the responsibility of the preacher", wrote Zinzendorf, "that one is awakened, but rather the Holy Spirit acted at least a minute, an instant, before a word touched me, before words fall into my heart, before a sentence, a paragraph, a conclusion, a proposition becomes my text, my principle, upon which I can rely ... to one this happens distinctly, to another indistinctly."(7) Finally, the people who do respond were described by Zinzendorf, using biblical language, as being "the first fruits" of "a holy beginning."(8) Actually, the Count initially felt that only a small number of people in each missionary situation would respond in this way. He began to question that assumption during his own lifetime as the Moravian mission work in the West Indies grew to involve large numbers of people.

Shortly after Zinzendorf's death, Spangenberg was involved in leading the movement formally to abandon this restrictive understanding. Spangenberg also had trouble with the Count's idea of the Holy Spirit operating totally independent of human cooperation. He would eventually argue that the seekers can never truly know peace and joy until they have a chance to respond to the verbal proclamation of the missionary.

Both men could agree wholeheartedly, however, about what it was that the missionary was to say at that crucial juncture when meeting the seeker. In simple terms, the only thing different or new about Christianity was Jesus, and how he shows God's love for hu-

manity. Talk about Jesus and that will naturally lead to a discussion of all the other topics of Christian theology. A relationship with the Savior was considered more important than conceptual knowledge of theology. As Spangenberg phrased it, "the blood and death of Jesus must remain our diamond in the golden ring of the gospel."(9) Zinzendorf was, as usual, a bit more verbose in his comment on this point.

> I can never wonder enough at the blindness and ignorance of those people who are supposed to handle the divine word and convert men ... who think that if they have them memorize the catechism or get a book of sermons into their heads, or at the most, present all sorts of well-reasoned demonstrations concerning the divine being and attributes, thus funneling the truths and knowledge into their head that this is the sovereign means to their conversion.(10)

The report of a conversation, first recorded by Spangenberg(11), illustrates how this insight was suppsed to work out in practice. A member of the Christian Mahican congregation at Shekomenko, in the Berkshire region on the New York and Connecticut border, was present at a conference in Bethlehem and told how he first became interested in the Moravians. He had heard various preachers before the Moravians arrived. One came and started out to prove that there was a God. The Indians said, "well, and dost thou think that we are ignorant of that? Now go again whence thou camest." A second arrived and told his hearers they should not steal, drink, or lie. To him they said, "Fool that thou art; does thou think we do not know that? Go and learn it thyself, and teach the people thou belongest to not to do those things. For who are the greater drunkards, or thieves, or liars, than thine own people?" Finally the Moravian Christian Henry Rauch came, went into his hut, sat down and began to speak.

> The contents of his discourse to me were nearly these: I come to thee in the name of the Lord of heaven and earth. He acquaints thee, that he would gladly save thee, and rescue thee from the miserable state in which thou liest. To this end he became a man, hath given his life for mankind, and shed his blood for them, etc. Upon this, he lay down on a board in my hut, and fell asleep, being fatigued with his journey.

This action caused his host to reflect on the situation. What kind of a man is this who makes his speech and then goes to sleep? As he continued, "I might kill him immediately, and throw him out into the forest; - who whould care for it? But he is unconcerned." The missionary's words and his action had made an impression. Indeed, the storyteller continued, "I dreamed of the blood which Christ shed for us." He eventually expressed faith in the God Rauch spoke about and at the conference, he concluded his testimony by saying, "I tell you,

therefore, brethren, preach to the heathen, Christ, and his blood, and his death, if ye would wish to produce a blessing among them." This story appears in several of the early histories of Moravian missions where it is offered as illustrative of the preaching emphasis of the era.

Commitment to this approach is also implied in the remarks attributed to a group of Moravians in Bethlehem when news reached them in 1748 of the death of the Rev. David Brainerd, a Presbyterian missionary in areas to the east of this town. "Mr. Brainerd's decease and his honest labours amongst the Indians were spoken of. It is to be feared that the Indians he has laboured amongst, being now fallen into the hands of Presbyterians, will be filled with head knowledge, and therefore the distrest call of these poor souls we have particularly on our hearts."(12)

Based on their understanding of the nature of the missionary enterprise and the content of the missionary message, the eighteenth-century Moravians drew certain consequences about how missionaries were to live in cultures different from their own. In this area, Zinzendorf tended to be the generalist while others, including Spangenberg, had to work out the specifics in local situations. While there are may nuances to this subject, it may be appropriate here to concentrate on a maxim of Zinzendorf recorded in a set of instructions for missionaries in 1736: "Do not measure souls according to the Herrnhut yardstick."(13) In the early eighteenth century the Moravian settlement of Herrnhut, Germany was the headquarters of the Moravians. The Count was suggesting that one not impose European cultural patterns everywhere, especially when working outside of that geographical context. Yet, as a later Moravian historian would comment in a review of Moravian activity among native Americans, "missionary activity can no more be divorced from its cultural consequences than can a man dissociate himself from his shadow when he walks in the sunlight."(14) Zinzendorf himself had trouble keeping the Herrnhut yardstick out of sight; Spangenberg hardly tried.

Consider this extended narrative, taken from the Count's description of a journey from Bethlehem to Shamokin in September, 1742.

> Hitherto I have felt no freedom to operate directly upon the Iroquois in their seats, as I have been unable to discern any promising indications or signs of grace among them, excepting in the case of a few individuals. Their intercourse with the French and English has not been for good. In addition to the vices of civilized life they have thus acquired, I find they have adopted erroneous views of religion. ... They are apt to infer from my speech, and from my connection with these two nations, that I am one of the same sort of people, - which I am not. The Dutch in Japan are afraid, and I among the Indians am ashamed, to pass for a European Christian.

He then goes on to recount his first conversation with Iroquois leaders and his presentation of his "different method" and

> begged them to have patience with me, in case I failed at once to preach long sermons. I remarked furthermore that I was especially and intimately acquainted with the Great Spirit, and asked them finally to permit me and the Brethren simply to sojourn in their towns, as friends, and without suspicion, until such time as we should have mutually learned each other's peculiarities.(15)

Zinzendorf was a least suggesting the possibility of a mutually beneficial cultural interchange between the Iroquois and the Moravians as each group came to learn "each other's perculiarities".

Spangenberg was less optimistic about the possibility of such a relationship. He could, for example, argue that the one thing which united all the non-Christian people, among whom the Moravians worked as missionaries, was their moral curruption. So, Indians were very hospitable towards strangers not out of love but out of fear that an offended stranger would seek revenge at a later date.(16) Indian attire, to him, reflected perverse human pride. Of course, Indians could counter the effects of snake bite; but these cures were frequently administered under the guise of magic. Therefore, Spangenberg believed, Christians would soon leave the old healers and come to the missionary to use his medicine even for physical cures.(17)

Although they possessed a theoretical framework which might have allowed a genuine interchange of cultural understanding and values between themselves and the Indians, the realities here soon forced the Moravians into another course of action. The Moravians arrived in this area in the early 1740's after an unsuccessful attempt to establish themselves in Georgia. They were relative latecomers to the colonial scene. Although one of their professed purposes in coming was to missionize the native Americans, the first reality they confronted was that most of the Indians with whom they worked already had had contact with other settlers. Many of the quotations already read also allude to this from both Indian and Moravian viewpoints. From the Moravian viewpoint, they often regarded such contacts with disfavor, since other settlers frequently presented poor examples of how Christians ought to behave.

The Moravians dealt with this reality through their attempt to gather the Christian Indians in isolated autonomous villages under church control. The features of these towns are well known: log houses, a school, a church, a missionary's house, craft buildings and so on, all laid out in neat rows so pleasing to the Germanic eye. Lists of rules governing community life were drawn up. Missionaries learned native American languages and spoke, taught and wrote in

them. Schools were begun, crafts using European tools developed and the entire liturgical life of the church was introduced.(18)

Yet even these well-defined villages could not protect their inhabitants - Indians and missionaries - from the second major reality of the time: war. Events connected with the French and Indian War, the Revolutionary War, and the War of 1812, all conspired to wreak havoc among various Moravian settlements and martyrs for their faith, both Indian and missionary. A crucial element of that faith which called for so great a commitment was a belief in pacifism. From the Moravian point of view, pacifism was never a formal condition for church membership; yet it was a view shared by many within the denomination in that era.

Theological reasons aside, the Moravians also tended to favor the British cause until the Revolution was well under way. The British government had been good to them in its colonial relations. The issues which stirred up the colonies often seemed to be squabbles between groups of foreigners. Thus, most Moravians did not identify even the Revolutionary War as "their" fight though many of their patriot neighbors often tended to equate their silence with support for the crown.

From the native American point of view, commitment to pacifism was a part of the religious message preached by the Moravians. Those who accepted that message frequently held to it with great tenacity, despite the hardships it brought. Acceptance of the message did allow an escape from the seemingly incessant warfare and harassment which plagued Eastern Indians in this area. But it also did force converts to it, to leave their traditional tribal structure and frequently placed them under pressure in the colonial powers' manipulative search for native American military allies.

In retrospect, we can agree that what was occurring during these times between American Indians and Moravians was a meeting of two cultures both of which were in transition. The culture of the various groups who together comprised the Eastern Woodland Indians was under severe stress. The threat of entanglement in military alliances framed in Europe, and the never ending pressure from land-hungry settlers in the colonies, had severely circumscribed the Indians' ability to observe the traditions of their culture. Even such details of life as their traditional views about housing, clothing and food were subjected to new pressures and interpretations. By 1755 when Christian Indians were showing up in white settlements in this area as refugees from destroyed mission villages, a dress and behavior code had to be developed to identify the Christians. "They are always clothed. They are never painted, and wear no feathers, but hats on caps. They let their hair grow naturally. They carry their guns on their shoulders, with the shaft upwards." When meeting a settler, "they will call to him, salute him, and coming near, will

carry their guns either reversed or on the shoulder."(19) The Eastern Woodland Indians were becoming strangers in their own land.

The culture of the Moravians was also under severe stress. They were German immigrants really just embarking on their journey toward acculturation in the midst of English, Scotch-Irish, other German groups, and the Indians, and were in a political arena transforming itself from colony to independent nation. The Moravians were confronted with all these diversities more or less simultaneously. Qualitatively, their desire to establish isolated villages of Christian Indians was no different from their Moravian desire to establish closed communities, like Bethlehem, for themselves. Moravians, in short, still felt as strangers in their new land.

But both cultures continued to change and adapt. Native American culture, for many years to come, experienced great pressure to accommodate to white culture. Yet elements of that culture would retain their vitality and appear with new vigor in the mid-twentieth century. As the Moravians moved along the road towards increased acculturation to the religious and social standards of their neighbors, their commitment to pacifism faded. By the end of the eighteenth century, this was apparent; also, that the German language would gradually be dropped in favor of English. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Moravians had emerged as an American Protestant denomination.

Perhaps one can even assert that, at the time of the eighteenth century meeting, the cultures of both groups had really been more alike than different.

Endnotes

1) James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 263.
2) *Diary of David McClure, Doctor of Divinity, 1748-1820,* ed. Franklin B. Dexter (New York, 1899) as quoted by Axtell, *ibid.*, p. 265.
3) Paul A.W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), p. 136.
4) F. Ernest Stoeffler, *German Pietism during the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973) p. 165.
5) R. Pierce Beaver, "American Missionary Motivation Before the Revolution", *Church History,* XXXI, No. 2 (June, 1962), 225.
6) E. Beyreuther and G. Meyer, eds. *Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf Hauptschriften,* vol. 3: *Zeister Reden - Vom Grund-Plane Unserer Heiden-Missionen* <Foundation of Our Mission to the

Heathenl (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1963), p. 190.

7) N.L. Count von Zinzendorf, *Nine Public Lectures on Important Subjects in Religion, Preached in Fetter Lane Chapel in London in the Year 1746*, trans. and ed. George W. Forell (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1973), p. 29
8) S. Baudert, "Zinzendorf's Thought on Missions Related to His View of the World", *International Review of Missions*, 21, No. 83 (July, 1932), 399.
9) A.G. Spangenberg, *Von der Arbeit der Evangelischen Brüder unter den Heiden* (Barby: Christian Friedrich Saur, 1782). Published in English translation as *An Account of the Manner in which the Protestant Church of the Unitas Fratrum or United Brethren, Preach the Gospel, and Carry on their Missions among the Heathen*. Translator not known. (London: Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospesl, 1788). The quotation is from the *Account*, p. 69.
10) Zinzendorf, *Nine Public Lectures*, p. 35.
11) Spangenberg, *Account*, pp. 62-63.
12) Minutes of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for June 4, 1748 as quoted by Arthur J. Brown, *One Hundred Years, A History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* .., 2d ed. (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1936), p. 165.
13) E. Beyreuther and G. Meyer, eds. *Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf: Ergänzungsbände zu den Hauptschriften*, vol. 8: *Büdingische Sammlung. Band 2 - Eine Heyden-Boten Instruction nach Orient* <Instructions for Missionaries to the East> (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), p. 634.
14) Kenneth G. Hamilton, "Cultural Contributions of Moravian Missions among the Indians", *Pennsylvania History*, XVIII, No. 1 (January, 1951), 3.
15) "Zinzendorf's Narrative of a Journey from Bethlehem to Shamokin, in September of 1742", as found in William C. Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1870), pp. 64-65.
16) Spangenberg, *Account*, p. 47.
17) *Ibid.*, p. 104.
18) See Hamilton, *op. cit.*
19) "Extracts from the Diary of Nazareth Relating to the Indian Converts from Wechquetank, 1763" as quoted by Eugene Leibert, "Wechquetank", *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, vol. VII (Nazareth, PA: The Moravian Historical Society, 1906), pp. 71-72.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Der Herrnhuter Weg der Indianermission: Theorie und Wirklichkeit

Die theologischen Grundsätze der Herrnhuter Mission im 18. Jahrhundert sind von Zinzendorf und Spangenberg entwickelt worden. Diese beiden herausragenden Gestalten der Brüdergemeine waren hinsichtlich Ausbildung und Temperament ganz verschieden. Spangenberg, der Zinzendorf um 32 Jahre überlebte, wurde zum Apologeten des Grafen und der Brüdergemeine. Diese Tendenz tritt offen zutage, wenn man sowohl die Missionstheorie betrachtet, die von den beiden entwickelt wurde, als auch die realen Bedingungen, mit denen die Herrnhuter bei den einheimischen Amerikanern in den östlichen Kolonien arbeiten mußten.

Zinzendorf und Spangenberg stimmten darin überein, daß der Auftrag zur Mission im christlichen Glaube selbst begründet ist. Gestützt auf die Auslegung von neutestamentlichen Stellen wie Apg 8, 26-39 und 10,1-14 entfaltete Zinzendorf seine Auffassung, daß der Heilige Geist jede Phase der Missionsarbeit lenke. Spangenberg betonte später stärker die Rolle der mündlichen Verkündigung des Missionars.

Das Herzstück der christlichen Botschaft ist nach der Auffassung beider die in Christus offenbarte Liebe Gottes zu der Menschheit. Dies ist es, was die Leute hören müssen, und daher soll der Missionar mit der Christus-Botschaft den Anfang machen. Das Zeugnis eines christlichen Mohikaners von Shekomeko über das Auftreten des Missionars Christian Heinrich Rauch veranschaulicht die Wirksamkeit dieser Missionsmethode.

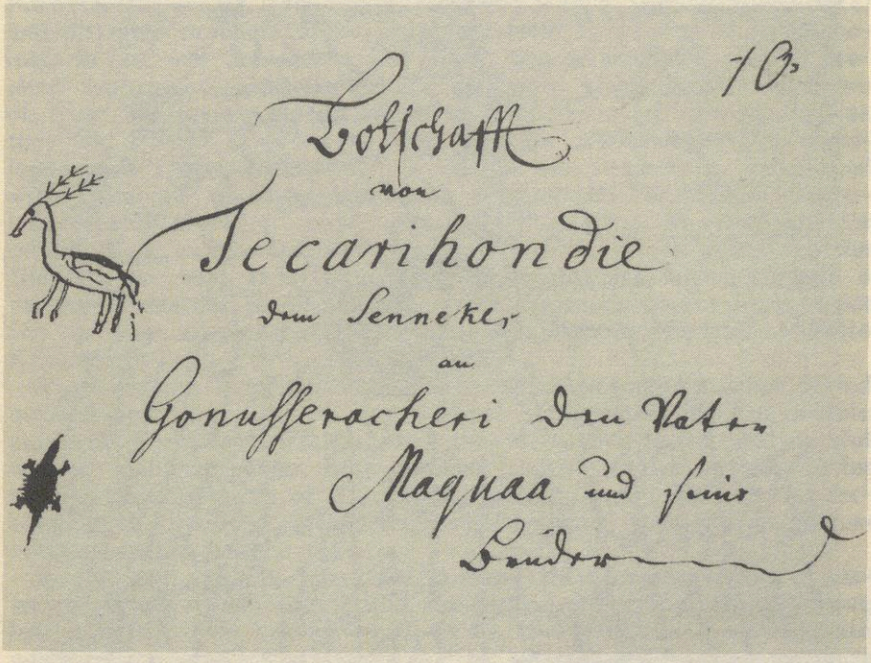
Zinzendorf und Spangenberg zogen aus ihrem theoretischen Ansatz gewisse Schlußfolgerungen für das Verhalten der Missionare, die in fremder kultureller Umgebung leben. Zinzendorf fiel es trotz seines 1736 formulierten Grundsatzes: "Messet nicht die Seelen mit der Herrnhuter Elle", schwer, die einheimische amerikanische Kultur nicht nach europäischen Maßstäben zu beurteilen. Spangenberg gab sich kaum Mühe, solche Urteile zu vermeiden.

Die Herrnhuter verfügten über eine Missionstheorie, die ihnen einen echten Austausch von kulturellem Verstehen und kultureller Werte zwischen sich und den Indianern ermöglicht hätte; doch die Realitäten zwangen sie bald, andere Wege einzuschlagen.

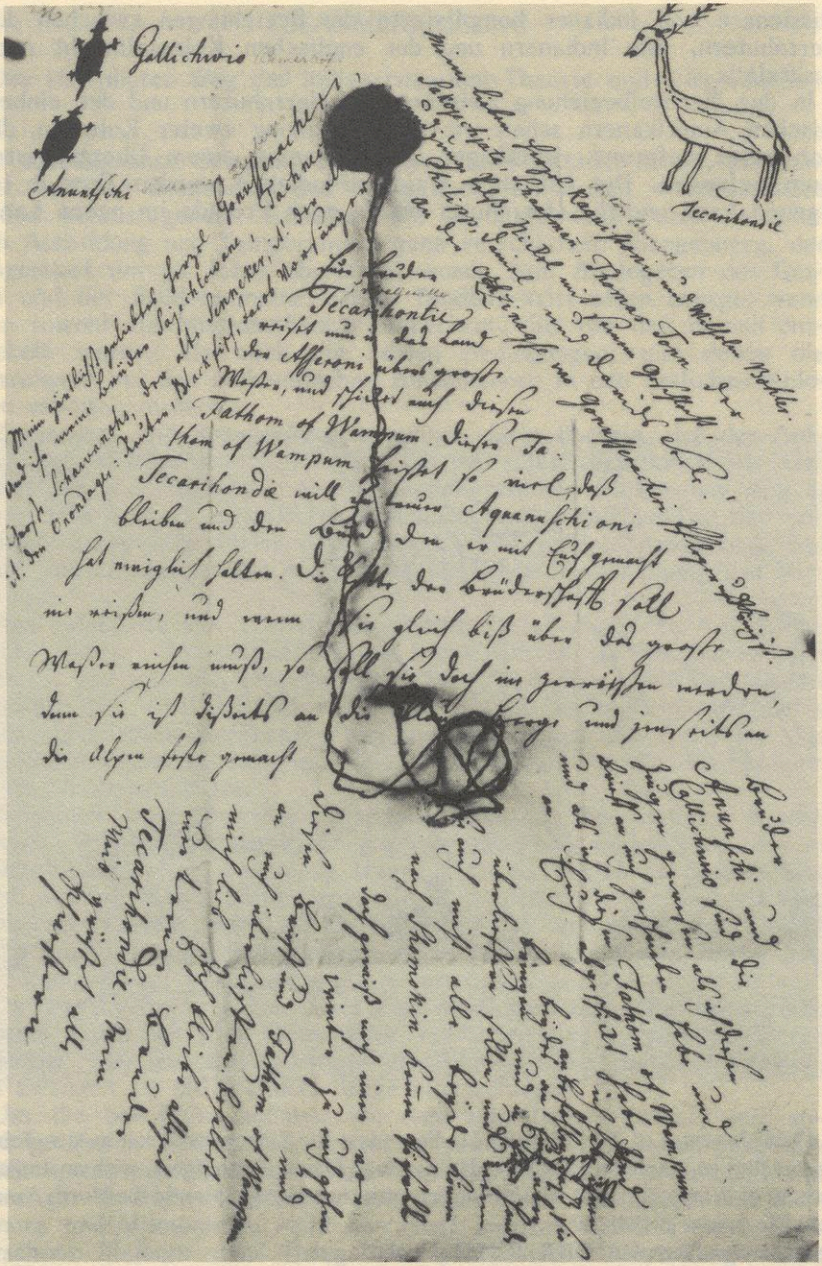
Um die bekehrten Indianer vor dem schädlichen Kontakt mit anders gesinnten Siedlern zu bewahren, sammelte man sie in geschlossenen autonomen Siedlungen nach dem Herrnhuter Gemeinmodell und unter gemeindliche Kontrolle. Aber auch diese Maßnahme ließ Missionare und Missionierte nicht von einer zweiten Realität dieser Zeit verschont bleiben: dem Krieg. Die pazifistische Einstellung vieler

Missionare und Indianer komplizierte die Beziehungen zwischen den Herrnhutern, den Indianern und der englischen Kolonialmacht noch zusätzlich.

In der Wechselbeziehung zwischen den Herrnhutern und den einheimischen Amerikanern sehen wir die Begegnung zweier Kulturen, die sich beide aufgrund vielfältiger Spannungen in einem Übergangsstadium befanden. Die östlichen Waldland-Indianer wurden Fremde im eigenen Land und die Herrnhuter waren noch Fremde im neuen Land.



p. 47/48: Message of Tecarihondie (Indian name for Zinzendorf's son-in-law, John Wattewille) to Genusseracheri (Indian name of David Zeisberger), with an Indian Fathom of Wampum. John Wattewille was on a tour of inspection to the North American Moravians in 1748/49.
Unitätsarchiv Herrnhut/GDR, R 15 H. I. a. 7. 9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The Regeneration of Time: Indian Prophets and Frontier Pressures, 1760–1820

by
Donald P. St. John

Between the years 1760 and 1810 a number of Lenape (Delaware) and Shawnee prophets arose along the frontier west of the Alleghenies. In one way or another and to one degree or another these prophets influenced Moravian history and were influenced by it. Some of them are known almost solely through Moravian sources, such as the "Old Priest" reported by Hays and Post at Assinisink on the Allegheny in 1760(1); Wangomen, a Lenape who listened to and argued with Zeisberger at Goschgoschink in 1767(2); and the Munsee prophetess, Beade, operating on the White River, Indiana, in 1805.(3) While others, such as the Delaware Prophet, Neolin, in the 1760s and the Shawnee prophet, Tenskwatawa, in the 1800s, are known through a variety of sources, such knowledge would be much poorer were it not for the likes of Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and the brothers at White River.(4)

Prophets and missionaries shared a turbulent unpredictable period marked by French, British and colonial antagonisms, the ineluctable march of voracious settlers, and the slow, frustrating and painful decline od Indian power. Both prophets and missionaries struggled for the hearts and minds of the Indians. Their radically different understanding of the situation and its resolution made them wary and suspicious of each other.

In the end, both prophets and missionaries became victims of historical forces which they could not control. Nevertheless, they have left a legacy that belongs to all of us. If we whites, especially, are going to appreciate that legacy and be enriched by it, then we must look beneath and beyond the traditional cliches and hasty judgments concerning these prophets. What they proclaimed as divine revelation was quite intelligible when understood in terms of their traditional religious worldview, and rightly able to elicit strong loyality.

The prophets, as spokespersons for the traditional religious world, used its categories to interpret the current situation and to present

a plan for its resolution. But since the traditional religion of the Indians permeated and guided all facets of life, a return of this world would involve concrete changes in the economic, political and social orders. Let us look briefly at the traditional sacred Cosmos shared by Eastern Woodland Indians.

Religious life was made up at the bottom of a web of relationships with the sacred beings and forces of earth and sky. Through a myriad of rituals and ceremonies people enacted, celebrated and dealt with these beings, including the spirits of various animal species, the medicinal and nourishing powers of plants, and the guardian spirit won through fasting and prayer associated with an initiation ritual. These spirits and others would appear to individuals in a dream, giving them guidance and power. Thus, human life unfolded amidst and as a part of larger and sacred life system that was the Cosmos.

This Cosmos, moreover, operated in a cyclical manner. There was the annual cycle of the seasons, the monthly lunar cycle marking human time, the cycle of plants - and for coastal peoples the tidal cycles. Human activity also was understood in terms of cycles, whether one speaks of the annual hunting seasons, the cycle of planting and harvesting, or the larger human cycle from birth to death. These mysteries of personal, economic, and social life were marked by rituals. Rituals taught the correct attitude and method to use in approaching these mysteries and the sacred beings and forces dynamizing them. Rituals allowed one to cope with the anxieties in the human cycle through rites of passage as well as with unexpected diseases and disasters. Shamans and medicine men and women helped in the latter situations.

For most tribes the Master of Life, or Great Manitto, had created all and had given duties to the lesser Manitto who filled the universe. Myths related how various objects, customs, institutions and rituals began. Human life was lived in accordance with patterns established long ago by these sacred beings or by cultural heroes. Rarely was it the case that tradition could not deal with the unexpected - even if it was after the fact.

As the prophets looked around at late eighteenth century America they saw their traditional World splitting apart, under intense pressure caused by the diseases, armies, settlements and religions of the Europeans. Large tracts of Mother Earth no longer belonged to her original children; the herds of buffalo and deer that shared the Eastern Woodlands were disappearing and the beavers were few in number. And the prophets saw how their own people had conspired in the selling of land, of furs and pelts to the whites for clothes, tools, guns, powder, adornments and, worst of all, whiskey. The spirits of earth and sky no longer seemed so close and the rituals that had empowered existence were falling into disuse. Certainly, they thought,

we must learn to live again as a part of and vitally related to this sacred universe. Their visions and teachings centered on the theme of the return of that world, the return of Paradise.

The belief that this Paradise would return rested on a cyclical view of time - a view sometimes called the myth of eternal return, or, the regeneration of time. The events of human experience, whether personal or social, were to be interpreted accordingly. Thus the events of the recent past that brought so much pain and anxiety to Indian life did not reflect the inevitable decline of Indian culture as whites insisted. Rather, they symbolized the state of chaos before Creation or the painful experience of initiation before the passage to a higher state of being. Time *could* be regenerated and the vision received by the prophets promised such regeneration if the Indians would but follow these revelations.

Let us look at some of the teachings of the prophets and relate them to this return of Paradise and the regeneration of time.

1. Return of the Animals

The Moravians at White River Mission report that they had heard that the "Schwano" teacher "assured the Indians that God had shown him the deer were half a tree's length under the ground and that these would soon appear again on earth if the Indians did what he told them to do, and then there would be an abundance of deer once more."(8) E.A. Kendall heard a similar remark by the prophet.(9)

Tenskwatawa, therefore, called for an end to sales to the whites of skins and furs. In addition, Indians must give back to the whites all cattle, clothes and cats.(10) The Delaware prophet had also forbidden any trade with the whites and admonished the Indians to return to their forefathers' way of clothing and providing for themselves. Through the Delaware prophet, the Great Spirit had proclaimed:(11)

> Before those whom you call your brothers had arrived, did not your bow and arrow maintain you? You needed neither gun, powder, nor any other object. The flesh of animals was your food, their skins your raiment. But when I saw you inclined to evil, I removed the animals into the depths of the forests, that you might depend on your brothers for your necessaries, for your clothing. Again become good and do my will, and I will send animals for your sustenance. Do not sell to your brothers that which I have placed on the earth as food.

What led to the depletion of game according to the prophets? First, of course, was the easy acceptance of the white presence on this continent.(12) Second, however, was the neglect of sacrifices and rituals. Over and over again the prophets speak of the ingratitude of

the Indians for their land and animals reflected in their abandoning of many ancient ceremonies.(13) These sacrifices and rituals were not superfluous adornments of a purely economic enterprise. In traditional Indian thought hunting was a holy occupation that involved rituals of respect and regret as well as feasts of thanksgiving. As anthropologist Irving Goldman puts it:(14)

> The encounter between the chiefly hunter and his prey seems to involve a vital interchange. The animal yields its life for the welfare of the hunter and of his community. The hunter dedicates himself in turn to the rituals of maintaining the continuity of the life cycle for all.

The Shawnee prophet's claim that the Great Spirit was holding the souls of the animals underground may also refer to the widespread belief that the animals, if treated harshly, will withhold themselves from the hunters. Certainly the decimation of the herds of deer and the populations of beavers from New York, Pennsylvania and now Ohio symbolized a serious abuse of traditional customs. This theme of the return of the animals and hence the abundance of food as indicative of Paradise is universal. As Mircea Eliade points out(15):

> A whole series of religious relationships between man and the Cosmos can be deduced from the acts by which he seeks, obtains or produces his food. For the religious man, to exist necessarily means to have a place in ... a Cosmos that is alive, strong, fruitful and capable of periodical renewal. But ... to renew the world is equivalent to reconsecrating it ... a return to the paradisiacal stage of the world.

2. The Return of the Dead

Both the Moravians at White River(16) and E.A. Kendall(17) refer to the prophet's promise that if people followed his teachings, the dead would return to life. One must understand this against two backgrounds, one historical and the other, archetypal or mythical.

The interminable wars, the strains of migration and the frequent attack of white diseases had taken a heavy toll on the population of Lenape and other tribes. Few families had not experienced pain and grief over the loss of a loved one. Catastrophe on such a scale had not been known before.

However, such a catastrophe could be given meaning within the context of a new Creation, a regeneration of the Paradise situation existing before contact with the whites.

Both the return of the members of the animal tribes and the return of the members of the Indian tribes were to be signs of this new age. As in the Melanesian cargo cults, "the coming of the dead is taken as a sign of cosmic renewal."(18) The experience of loss

and pain was itself a negative sign pointing forward to a positive experience of new life and joy.

3. Crisis and Cosmos

How the traditional world linked chaos and a new Cosmos can be seen in the efforts of the Munsee prophetess Beade to revitalize the traditional universe.

The Moravians at White River Mission, Indiana, noted in 1805 an increase in visions among the Lenape calling for a renewal of sacrifices. A woman prophet, Beade, who had been baptized at Friedenshutten as a young girl but had moved to Indiana and taken up the traditonal ways there, was especially effective in getting people excited. At the core of her teachings was the call for the renewal and elaboration of traditional rituals.(19) The Moravian Brother, Luckenbach, at the end of April, 1805, witnessed a ceremony "in accordance with an appearance recently given" and describes it in his autobiography.(20) It is strikingly similar to the Big House ceremony later described by Speck.(21) Anthony F.C. Wallace, the noted anthropologist and historian, suggests that "the Munsee prophetess revealed the final and organized form of the Big House ceremony which has been preserved until recent times."(22)

What is of significance for our present discussion is the myth of the origin of the Big House ceremony and the cosmic symbolism involved. The story of its origins as reported to Speck has its setting in a crisis period. "There was a quaking of the earth throughout where the Delawares lived, ... everyone was greatly disturbed of mind ... even the animals were terrified; they say even the animals prayed." It continues, "The Delaware ought to pray, for it would seem that we have very seriously angered the Great Manitou."(23) Then, in a dream, it is revealed to them how they should build the Big House and what should be done in the twelve nights of ritual (each night symbolizing 1 lunar month). It is obvious that the Big House is a microcosm. The roof is the sky, the floor, the earth, the four walls the four directions, the twelve masks within are the twelve Manitto and the center pole represents the Creator as well as the *axis mundi* linking Heaven and Earth. The Big House ceremony in the Fall of the year celebrates the end of the old year and the beginning of a New Year, a New Creation. Prayers are offered that the coming year will be good to the people and that it will unfold its blessings as it should.(24)

Each night is filled with the recitation of guardian spirit dreams, a reminder of the closeness and care of the spirit beings. Dreams were the primary mode of revelation and power, both for common people and for prophets. Relationships with the game animals are

reenacted from the fourth to the seventh day when the hunters are ceremonially sent forth and then greeted on their return.(25)

A new fire is also lit, representing a yearly purification of people and Cosmos and the power of new life. In this regard it should be noted that both the Delaware prophet, Neolin, and the Shawnee prophet, Tenskwatawa, placed great emphasis on "pure" fire, one made from rubbing sticks together as in olden days rather than by the use of the whites' flint.(26)

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Having seen in the myth and construction of the Big House how crisis is resolved by a New Creation, let us turn our attention to the symbolic purity of individual and community preparing one for this transition. Let us begin with the concept of Purification.

In application to personal purification, David Zeisberger, referring to prophets he knew, reports as follows:(27)

> They declared to the Indians that God had commanded their cleansing from sin and to this end they gave them twelve different kinds of Beson to drink, supposed by causing vomiting to free them of sinful taint. ...
>
> Other teachers pretended that stripes were the most effective means to purge away sin. They advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats.

Both the emetic and striking methods revolve around the number twelve, the most sacred number to the Delaware. There are twelve major Manittos worshipped in the Big House ceremony, the major spirit forces of the universe. Purifying oneself with twelve different emetics or twelve different sticks symbolizes a purification of the Cosmos and a total self-purification that brings one into proper harmony with the Cosmos. Also, in getting rid of sins, one is getting rid primarily of impurities caused by contact with and dependency on the whites and returns in spirit to the pristine condition of the beginning or the Paradise situation. This reference to religious purification is central to moral teachings proclaimed by the prophets.

What were these "sins" manifesting the crisis faced and denounced by the prophets? The most common were drunkenness caused by the whites' whiskey, sexual promiscuity caused by the breakdown of traditions, in-fighting and family violence (often exacerbated by alcohol and frustration over powerlessness), and witchcraft practiced by those who had aligned themselves with the evil forces (Great Serpent or evil Manitto) and also supported the white attack on the Indians.

Witchcraft also was of major concern when it came to the purifi-

cation of the Community as an entity. Indeed, perhaps the most controversial injunctions of the prophets were those against medicine bundles and witchcraft. The use of medicine bundles and other forms of magico-religious power was widespread among male and female Indians. The dividing line between the beneficial use of such power and its maleficent use was not always clear. Equally unclear, therefore, was how someone was labeled a "witch" as distinct from someone who merely used bundles or other rituals for multiple purposes. Innocent people were unjustly condemned. But, as one ethnologist points out, such obsession with witchcraft and rallying against its dangers is not coincidental(28):

> ... When cultures are undergoing extreme stress, as Shawnee culture was in the early nineteenth century, witchcraft tends to burgeon, and witchcraft has always been but a hair removed from ordinary Indian medicines and its practitioners, and therefore difficult to detect. For this reason the Prophet was compelled to proscribe *all* medicine bags and medicine rites.

Apart from the obvious and routine aches and pains of life, tradition interpreted suffering as a result of malevolent forces. These forces could only be countered with more powerful spiritual methods. While the recent and widespread setbacks of the Indians caused so-called witchcraft to sprout, it was proving ineffectual not only in dealing with these problems but in dealing with the larger issues underlying their misfortunes. The adequacy of their traditional religious universe as a source for explanations which gave meaning to suffering was itself now in question.

Seen from a comparative religion perspective, a pattern becomes apparent. When desperate situations arise, people turn to the High God, But "only as a last resort when every address to gods, demons, and sorcerers to the end of banishing suffering ... has failed."(29) It is therefore of interest to note that the prophets usually received their revelations from the Master of Life, or Great Manitto, rather than from a lesser spirit being or a guardian spirit. The Creator was, in a sense, the guardian spirit of the whole community and concerned with overall welfare. A revelation from the Great Spirit, as Eliade observes, usually involved demands for a recognition of guilt and an increase in sacrifices, because the High God was punishing the people for their faults. Rather than explaining events in terms of malevolent forces, they were now explained in terms of the displeasure of the Great Spirit.(30)

In this context it should also be pointed out that Tenskwatawa himself had been a medicine man prior to his becoming a prophet and had failed to stem the epidemic his people experienced in the winter of 1804-1805. Out of and in response to his personal anguish

may have come the recognition that something more fundamental was at the root of these problems.(31)

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Prophets demand acceptance of their authority if their people are to overcome the crisis on hand. This is reflective of the conviction that other ways of dealing with the given situation have not worked and only present obstacles to the regeneration willed by the Great Spirit and advocated by the prophets.

This brings us to eschatology. A consideration of the use of the imagery of Heaven and Hell by the prophets (The "Old Priest", the Delaware Prophet, Wangomend, and Tenskwatawa) is revealing. Although there were traditionel beliefs concerning "Heaven" and even a place outside of Heaven for unworthy Indians, it was, as Zeisberger notes, undoubtedly their contact with white missionaries that hastened and shaped this aspect of the prophets' teachings.(32) Details of their teachings differ, but, in general, the prophets taught that a happy afterlife could no longer be assured. Their moral depravity prohibited their automatic acceptance of many by the Creator or Great Spirit. Both the whites and the evil Manitto, or devil, conspired to drive Indians to Hell.

The Delaware Prophet pictured Heaven in a traditional way as a land of rich game and happy people. But the whites had blocked easy access to it. After their death, Indians now had to go on a longer and very dangerous route to get to this Happy Hunting Ground. And even when they got close, they still faced a great gulf between them and heaven where the devil was waiting to snatch them away and take them to his land, a land marked by humans whom the devil had changed into starving, gaunt animals. The only hope for reopening the easy road to Heaven was through divine help in driving the whites from Indian land.(33)

This vivid imagery of what would happen to bad Indians after death is probably borrowed from missionaries. It seems to have had a powerful effect on the Indians. As the prophets very skillfully linked the present condition on earth with the condition in the other world, the perception of heavenly paradise became almost identical with the image of an earthly paradise that would return if the renewal called for by the prophets was successful.

In this sense, then, we can say that their encounter with the Europeans and Americans was for the Indians a "Fall" into history. But this history as such was not to be redeemed as was the case with the Biblical Fall from Paradise. It was to be overcome. In the act of overcoming would lie the return of Paradise on earth as well as the reopening of Heaven.

There were not two worlds colliding in early America, that of the Biblical World and that of the Native American World. There were three Worlds. The third was represented by the entrepreneurs and political figures of the British and then American Empires. These three visions of America still struggle for our hearts and minds. In many ways, the Moravian missionaries and the Indian prophets were closer to each other than either is to the commercial secularized world of the Empire.

The missionaries and the prophets both held that life is meaningless without some transcendent frame of reference. That the health of a people cannot be measured by its G.N.P. or technological expertise but by those ideals that transcend computer printouts or market trends. Both would be taken aback by what has happened to the American Earth, although I feel that the prophet would more immediately recognize its religious significance. American Christians are just beginning to develop the ecological insights in their traditions.

What separated the two visions of Indian and Christian that we have discussed was their evaluation of the "natural" condition of humankind. The traditional Indians were children of nature, the Christian missionaries children of history. The latter had left homeland and place, to wander as pilgrims and messengers of a Heavenly home. The former were sometime migrants only by force and were more tied to the spirit beings of place, land, animals and plants.

For the prophets, humans are a part of a sacred universe and find their deepest fulfillment in relating properly to it. To lose this universe is to "Fall" into meaninglessness, symbolized by "sin". For the missionaries, humans are already Fallen and cannot find spiritual fulfillment except in the blood of a Savior, being washed from their sinful condition and becoming a member of a community not organized by kinship or geographical place but by their condition of being saved. One may be born a Delaware but that is not enough. One must be baptized as a Christian.

However that may be, it is time for Christians and all people of good will to protect, encourage and nourish those movements and peoples who want to return to or maintain this traditional religious universe. We continue to meet Indian prophets in the American Indian Movement and in a host of less radical but equally valid expressions of Native American traditions. Any serious student of Native American religions cannot come away without the realization that he or she has met a tradition as profound, enriching and meaningful as any of the world's religions. If we reject the prophets of America, what do we say of the prophets of Israel? If we reject the visions of Tenskwatawa, are we not calling into question the vision of Isaiah?

Endnotes

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2) John Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations* ... (Philodelpha: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1876), pp. 291-295.
3) Lawrence Henry Gipson, ed., *The Moravian Indian Mission on White River* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1938), pp. 333-355, "Autobiography of Brother Luckenbach", Ibid., pp. 612-617.
4) A summary of the teachings of the prophets of the Lenape is provided in Archer B. Hulbert, ed. *David Zeisberger's History of the Nothern American Indians* (Ohio State Archaelogical and Historical Society, 1910), pp. 133-136. Heckewelder comments on the Delaware Prophet and in *op. cit.*, 291-293; the brothers at White River give us a firsthand account of the events surrounding Tenskwatawa's early prophetic career in *op. cit.*, pp. 392-420.
5) James H. Howard, *Shawnee!: The Ceremonialism of a Native American Tribe and Its Cultural Background* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1981), pp. 204-207
6) Oliver LeMere in *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205.
7) Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return, or, Cosmos and History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp. 51-53, 85-86.
8) Gipson, *op. cit.*, p. 392.
9) Cited in Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
10) Letter by Thomas Forsyth to General William Clarke dated 23 December 1812, quoted in Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
11) Pontiac's version from an unknown recorder, in Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Algic Researches* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1839), pp. 246-247.
12) Delaware Prophet, in Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, p. 292.
13) These were the teachings of all the prophets. See Zersberger, Heckewelder, Gipson, Howard.
14) Quoted in J. Donald Hughes, *American Indian Ecology* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1983), p. 25.
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16) Gipson, *op. cit.*, p. 392.
17) Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
18) Eliade, *The Two and the One*, p. 137.
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20) Ibid., p. 611-615.
21) Frank G. Speck, *Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Cere-*

mony (Harrisburg: Publications of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission 2.).

22) "New Religions Among the Delaware Indians, 1600-1900", *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 12(1) (Spring, 1956): 10.
23) Elisabeth Tooker, ed. *The Spirituality of the Eastern Woodlands.* The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), p. 105.
24) *Ibid.*, p. 107.
25) *Ibid.*, p. 109-121.
26) McCullough's Narrative in Archibald Loudon, *A Selection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of Outragess* ... 2 vols. (Carlisle, 1808, 1811), I, 321-322 cited in Howard H. Pedham, - *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising* (Chicago, Phoenix Books, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 99. cf. also Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 204.
27) Hulbert, *op. cit.*, p. 133-134.
28) Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 202.
29) Eliade, *Myth of the Eternal Return*, p. 97.
30) *Ibid.*
31) R. David Edmunds, *The Shawnee prophet* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), pp. 28-41.
32) In Hulbert, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 133, 134.
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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Erneuerung der Zeit
Indianische Propheten und die Notlage im Grenzgebiet. 1760-1820

Die Jahre vor und nach der amerikanischen Revolution waren für die Indianer entlang der Nordwestgrenze (besonders im Gebiet des Ohio Valley) eine Zeit großer Unruhe und eines tiefgreifenden kulturellen Wandels. Das Auftreten einer Reihe von "nativistischen" Propheten, die sich für die Wiederbelebung der einheimischen Kultur einsetzten, war eine Reaktion auf die erfahrenen Veränderungen, die das soziale Gefüge der Indianer schwächten. Diese Propheten verkündigten neue Offenbarungen vom Großen Manitto, die eine Wiederherstellung ihres angestammten Landes und ihrer alten Lebensweise verhießen.

Unter den zahlreichen Quellen, die über diese Ereignisse berichten, sind die Beiträge der Herrnhuter von zentraler Bedeutung für unser Verständnis der Vorgänge. Herrnhuter Brüder wie Zeisberger und Heckewelder, aber auch Angehörige der White River-Mission im frü-

hen 18. Jahrhundert, waren ebenso wie die einheimischen Amerikaner von dem Umbruch jener Zeit betroffen. Sie beschreiben ihre Kontakte zu den "Delawaren-Propheten" Wangomed, Tenskwatawa (Bruder des Tecumseh) und zu anderen Propheten. Unser heutiger Kenntnisstand von den Glaubensvorstellungen und religiösen Bräuchen der einheimischen Amerikaner ermöglicht es, die Botschaft dieser Propheten oder "Lehrer" in den Zusammenhang ihrer eigenen Kultur zu stellen und so ihre wirkliche Bedeutung und Überzeugungskraft zu erhellen.

Das Grundthema ihrer Lehren war die Rückkehr des Paradieses durch die Erneuerung der Zeit. Sie betrachteten die damalige Notlage der Indianer als eine Folge der Aufnahme der Europäer und des Kontaktes mit ihnen. Dieser Kontakt habe sowohl zu einem Zusammenbruch ihrer moralischen Normen und ihrer religiösen Riten geführt als auch zum Verlust ihres Landes, das eng mit ihrer kulturellen Stabilität verbunden war. Um diese Enwicklung rückgängig zu machen, müßten sich die Indianer einer Reinigung unterziehen und zu ihren traditionellen Zeremonien und Lebensweisen zurückkehren. Der Große Manitto werde ihnen zu einer Rückkehr in die paradiesischen Verhältnisse verhelfen, die vor dem Kontakt mit den Europäer bestanden hätten. Die sinnentleerte, chaotische und religionslose Zeit, in die sie "gefallen" seien, werde sich ins Gegenteil wenden und die heilige Zeit mit einem Leben in der urtümlichen Welt wiederhergestellt werden. Die geschichtliche Zeit, "gefallene" Zeit, werde nicht erlöst, sondern beseitigt.

Auf diesem Hintergrund können Verheißungen wie die Wiederauffüllung der Jagdgründe mit Tieren und die Wiederbelebung von toten Verwandten als "Zeichen" dieser neuen Schöpfung gedeutet werden. Gleichermaßen sei auch die Abschaffung der Zauberei, die große Verwirrung unter den Indianern stiftete, nötig, um den Einfluß des Bösen Manitto auszuschalten, der auch die Weißen zu ihren Angriffen auf die Indianer anstifte. Wie das Paradies auf der Erde wiederhergestellt werde, so werde sich auch wieder der Himmel für die Seelen der Verstorbenen öffnen. Der Verfall der indianischen Kultur und das Gespür für den bedrängenden Charakter des Zeitgeschehens trugen dazu bei, daß diese Lehren von vielen begeistert aufgenommen wurden.

A Lecture
Presented at the Sun Inn Indian Symposium

by
James Lone Bear Revey*

Please allow me to introduce myself. My name is JAMES LONE BEAR REVEY. I am a LENAPE or DELAWARE Indian from the state of New Jersey. I am chairman of the New Jersey Indian Office in Orange, New Jersey, which is the headquarters for the New Jersey Delaware Indians.

I feel very privileged to have been invited to this Moravian Symposium and to be able to talk about the Lenape or Delaware Indians, past and present.

I should like to start out by telling you about how life was for the Lenape before the coming of Europeans to these shores. The scholars call this prehistoric time THE LATE WOODLAND PERIOD. Next I should like to talk about the contact period that brought Dutch, English and Swedish people here, at first to trade for fur and later to colonize. For the Lenape it brought vast cultural changes. As their land was being occupied by settlers, the Lenape found themselves forced to leave, being pushed away from the East Coast westward into Pennsylvania, and from there into Ohio, Indiana, Missouri and Kansas. Some even moved to Texas; but most ended up in Oklahoma. Others, mainly Munsee, went to Canada. A splinter group from New Jersey resettled in Wisconsin.

It is also important to relate how the Quakers, and the Presbyterian and Moravian missionaries sought to convert the Lenape. Finally I should like to relate to you something about the present-day Lenape or Delaware Indians, including where they now live in the United States and Canada.

I.

All of the territory of eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, the north-

*) Reviewed and revised for publication by author

ern part of Delaware and the south eastern part of New York state was LENAPEHOKING or "the land of the Lenape". The people of Lenapehoking belonged to the northeastern branch of the ALGONKIAN speaking people. Two Dialects were spoken in Lenapehoking. In the southern area were the UNAMI and in the northern area the MUNSEE.

It is believed that humans have occupied Lenapehoking since 10,000 B.C. Paleo and Archaic people preceded the Algonkian speaking people of the Woodland Period.

Archaelogists and other scholars estimate that there were about 11,000 to 12,000 people living in the area when the first Europeans arrived. But some native-American Indian scholars believe the number to have been between 20,000 to 25,000.

Before proceeding, it is necessary to explain also some of the names I shall be using. I already mentioned that Lenapehoking means "the land of the Lenape". The name LENAPE is a composite. Translated, LEN means "common" or "ordinary" and APE means "person". It is the name that the Delaware Indian people used in conversation when describing themselves. The plural of the word is LENAPEYOK. The name LENNI-LENAPE, often used when referring to the Lenape or Delaware people, is never used by the Lenape or Delaware Indians themselves, because LENNI means the same thing as LEN in Lenape, and to be called a Lenni-Lenape or common-common person, would be redundant to anyone familiar with the language.

Since early colonial times the Indians of Lenapehoking have been called Delaware Indians by the English because they lived on both sides of the Delaware River. The name Delaware is not an Indian word. The Delaware Bay and the Delaware River were named in 1610 by the English to honor Sir Thomas West, the third Lord De La Warr, who served as the appointed governor of the English colony at Jamestown, Virginia. For the Lenape, the Delaware River was the LENAPEWISIPU or LENNAPEWIHITTUK. (In modern Lenape SIPU refers to a creek.)

While talking about rivers, it would seem appropriate also to remind ourselves that the early Dutch settlers cslled the Delaware River the South River and the Hudson River the North River. The names were changed after the English took over the territory from the Dutch. The North River became the Hudson. For the Indians of the region, the Hudson River was MAHIGANWISIPU or the Mahicans River. As for New Jersey, it was called SHEOPI which means "border of the sea".

The Lenape had no concept of themselves as a nation in the European sense of the meaning of this word. They lived in scattered villages of from forty to 200 or more inhabitants. Their WIKEWAM or bark houses were placed at random and not set up according to any specific plan. Most villages were near streams or rivers so that they

would have fresh water for drinking and bathing. Rivers were also important for traveling by dugout canoe and a source for fish.

The Lenape were horticulturists. They cultivated several types of corn (maize), beans and squash which served as staples in their diet. Different types of gourds were grown and served as bottles, dippers and rattles. Sunflower seeds were eaten as such or pressed to extract sunflower oil. Sacred tobacco was grown by the holy men for ceremonial purposes.

The holes in the ground for planting were made by means of wooden and stone dibbles. Hoes consisted of shoulder-blade bones of elk and deer attached to long wooden handles. Hoes with stone heads were also used, probably to break up the ground.

It was the men's job to clear the land of trees and undergrowth. Once this was accomplished, the women took over, sometimes assisted by children and older men. Planting and harvesting were ceremonial occasions for thanking the Creator for His gifts of the many plant foods, including the gathered wild berries, nuts, edible roots and wild-growing green plants.

Hunting was the men's job. Hunters would roam the forests long distances from home in search of deer, elk and bear. The meat from these animals provided needed protein and the hides to make clothing. It was very hard work and the men were often forced to remain away for long periods of time. Once an animal had been killed, it had to be carried home, usually on the hunter's back. Large animals like elk were cut up and parts were hung in trees until additional trips could be made to transport them home. Where possible, killed animals were also dragged to rivers for loading onto dugout canoes.

Bows and arrows were the primary hunting tools with the occasional use of spears. Arrow and spear heads were made of stone or antler points. Bolos and blow guns with darts were used to shoot squirrels and other small game, in addition to birds, were also caught in various types of snares and traps. Turkey, quail and a variety of duck species were popular foods. Their feathers served as ceremonial fans and for decoration. Their bones were fashioned into beads for necklaces and earrings.

An important source for protein was the endless supply of fish found in the streams, rivers and lakes. Different types of weirs were constructed to trap fish, which would then be speared and scooped up in large scoop-shaped baskets. Since many Lenape lived near the Atlantic Ocean, its large supply of shell fish and sea foods could be gathered easily to be dried in the sun before transporting them home. Some of the larger dugout canoes were seaworthy and groups of Indians are said to have gone after whales, sharks and other large sea creatures. Last but not the least, all types of turtles were caught and processed into stews. The shells of the box and snapping turtles also were fashioned into ceremonial rattles.

Lenape villages remained at their locations for up to 10 years before depletion forced a move and new fields had to be opened up by the men and new bark-covered wikewams had to be built. Since the only means of transportation was the dugout canoe or walking, canoes were used for long distances to visit other Indians or the transport of trade goods. Trails, often no wider than a man, pointed in every direction. Some had been made by deer and elk. Indians, when traveling, moved in single file. Many of our roads to-day follow old Indian trails known to the Indians when the European settlers arrived.

The dog was the only domesticated animal. However, many other animals and birds were captured and kept as pets, including otter and bear cubs, especially for children. It was a common belief that a pet dog would sacrifice itself to protect a child. Animals and birds often played an important part in religious stories and ceremonies.

The wikewam or Indian house varied in size from the one-family house (twelve feet by perhaps twenty feet), to the multi-family house measuring twenty feet wide by perhaps sixty feet or more. All of the old houses were dome-shaped or loaf-shaped and they were constructed of bent-over saplings covered with elm, chestnut and other types of bark. Single-family houses had a smoke hole in the roof and one entrance. the larger, multi-family houses had several smoke holes to accommodate the fires of several families. Fire pits dug into the center of the floor and also under the other smoke holes, were used for cooking during bad weather. They also gave off heat and light.

Benches about eighteen inches high and maybe thirty-six or more inches wide were built around the walls of the interior of the wikewam and were used as places to sit during the day. The areas underneath were used for storage. Mats and sacks filled with grass were used as mattresses. Bear, elk and deer furs provided the bed covers. A series of horizontal poles, attached to the sapling frame on the inside, allowed personal possessions, drying food, and weapons to be hung up within the wikeman. During good weather, life was lived outdoors. The Indian house served mostly as a place for sleeping and shelter. In winter it was insulated for added protection with woven corn-stalk mats. Corn husk mats were used on the floor.

Various types of stews and soups were prepared in large, clay pots and were the prevailing practice for food preparation. Broiling and roasting were used to process meat and fish. Corn was prepared in many ways and corn bread and corn cakes were consumed in large quantities. The main beverage was water, but different types of teas were known. Nuts and berries were used to flavor food. Large and small mortars and pestles, made of wood or stone, were used to mull the corn, nuts, etc., and even dried meats.

During war or battle, the bows and arrows and spears were used as weapons for distant fighting. War clubs made of hard wood twen-

ty to twenty-two inches long with a large ball-shaped protrusion at one end, were used in hand-to-hand combat. Knives made of stone and bone were also used. Armament made of raw hide or bark was used in war, especially for the making of shields. Wars and the need to combat were rare. Because there were so few people and so much land, there were few occasions for getting into one another's way. But when fighting was necessary, it was a man's job.

Medicine men and women were skilled in curing many minor illnesses and wounds by means of various herb and bark concoctions and with roots made into medicines. The Lenape believed also that various chants and shouts could scare sickness away. Eagle tail-feather fans and fans made from the tails and wings of others birds were used to sweep away evil and to spread the sacred smoke. For snake-bite, sucking tubes made of bone were used to draw out the venom. Lenape also believed in scratching the body in specific ways in order to cure fatigue and help alleviate circulation problems.

The Lenape were a very religious people. They relied on KISHE-LEMUKONG the Creator, and many lesser spirits, or MANITU. Great emphasis was given to the interpretation of dreams and visions and signs in nature. An evil spirit called MAHTANTU was always around to stir up trouble. When visions were received during a dream, a special chant was created to be sung in the CHINGWIKAON or Big House, the Indian church. Here the people would chant their personal chants, accompanying themselves by shaking a box turtle rattle with pebbles inside. the chants were then repeated by the holy men to the accompaniment of special drum beaters who beat the sacred, folded deer-hide drums. Much more should be told concerning such ceremonies, but time will not permit this now.

Lenape believed the land, forests, rivers, streams, lakes, sun, moon and stars existed to serve all creatures and could not be owned by anyone. The Lenape believed that by living in accord with nature one would assure the good life for oneself and for one's children. In short, the pre-contact Lenape lived life peacefully as an integral part of their natural environment.

The Lenape were very clean and pure people. Baths were taken daily in nearby streams and lakes or rivers. They also practiced the custom of taking stream baths to keep in good health. Hunters took great care to prepare themselves with baths before leaving for the hunt in order to wash away all human scent so that animals would not detect them and flee before the hunter could take his shot. Sweet-smelling grass was used by women as well as men to give themselves a pleasant odor. Both sexes practiced tatooing. Various designs, as well as animals, birds and snakes, etc., were put on the face, chest, arms and legs.

There is evidence that Lenape women knew how to make a type of woven cloth from Indian hemp. The men made fish nets. There

was also a special close-netting which was used as the foundation for the capes and cloaks made from turkey feathers. But soft-tanned deer and elk hides were the primary materials used for making clothing.

In warm weather men and boys wore only a belt around the waist and a buckskin breech cloth hanging down in front and back. Around home everyone went barefooted. Soft deer and elk moccasins, with top seams, were worn for longer walks. During winter for added warmth, moccasins tanned with the fur were worn with the fur on the inside. When the weather became cold, deer buckskin leggings that extended from the moccasin tops to the belt were worn by men and robes made of bear fur, deer fur and sometimes beaver hides sewn together, were wrapped around the upper body to keep warm. Men also always wore medicine pouches around their necks which contained special charms and sometimes clay pipes.

A man's hair was allowed to grow full length at the back and left side. The right side was kept short so that it would not get tangled up with a bow's strings. In war time, both sides of the head were shaved and the top part cut short to stand up straight forming a roach. Red dyed deer tail hair and eagle feathers were used to decorate this roach hair style.

Various types of necklaces were worn and were made of bear and eagle claws and various types of animal teeth. Earrings, arm and leg bands completed this costume. On special occasions, such as religious meetings, elaborate regalia decorated with dyed porcupine quills and deer and elk hair were used.

In warm weather women and girls wore only a short wrap around-skirt that usually opened on the right side and was made of a rectangular shaped piece of buckskin. These skirts were tucked under a belt to hold them up. Nothing was worn on the upper body. Women and girls also went barefooted at home. When the weather became cold, moccasins and short leggings reaching just below the knee were added and it is probable that a deer skin yoke was also worn to shield the upper body. Fur robes like the men's gave additional warmth.

Women usually let their hair grow full-length, drawing it back into a pony tail tied with a buckskin ribbon or thong. For dress-up occasions fancy bone-combs and slate hair-bows were worn.

For special events, the women, too, sported fancy outfits trimmed with deer and elk hair and porcupine quills. Earrings and necklaces, made of various natural materials, completed also the women's costumes.

By stature, the Lenape people were, on the average, tall and of tan-colored complexions. All had black or dark brown hair and eyes. But both, the men and women, used several types of red stains and paints to color their bodies. These stains and paints were usually

mixed with bear grease which, during the summer, helped keep mosquitoes away and in the winter provided extra insulation against the cold. And when the European settlers saw them thusly adorned, they took to calling them redskins, a name still used for the American Indian today. It is a name the Indian people greatly resent.

II.

Probably the first Europeans to enter Lenape territory were the Florentine navigator, GIOVANI DA VERRAZANO and his crew, commissioned by France, and sailing in 1524. The next to have been in contact with the Lenape, as early as 1598, are believed to have been Henry Hudson, an Englishman, and his crew who sailed his ship, the Half Moon, on September 3, 1609 into what is now New York Bay and the lower Hudson River. Hudson, too, was sailing under the Dutch flag. In 1614 a Dutch trading company established a trading post on Manhattan Island. The settlement of New Amsterdam was started by the Dutch in 1624. In 1638 Swedes and Finns established a settlement called New Sweden on the lower Delaware River.

One of the main reasons for these settlements was the prospect for a lucrative fur trade in beaver and otter hides. The Europeans could make huge profits by giving the Indians trifles, beads, needles, scissors, metal tools, coarse woven cloth, etc. (but also liquor) in exchange for hides. That the Lenape Indians were fascinated with the Europeans' superior technology, their tools and knowledge, and greatly sought after these items was certainly true. Both sides were therefore initially happy and satisifed with the trading arrangement. But the situation was soon to change. The Lenape, wanting the items offered in trade, began to hunt and trap in their territory with such ruthless disregard for their natural balance, that the numbers of animals killed soon exceeded their reproductive capacity. Trade became a question of supply and demand marked by greed on both sides. The Lenape, of course, were hurt the most. Their territory became barren of the animal resources needed. But they could not dare trespass into the territories of their powerful Indian Neighbors without resorting to warfare.

The Dutch, the English and the Swedes faced no such limitation. They turned to the Iroquois, Susquehanna and Mahicans for trade. The Iroquois controlled much of the territory in Upper New York as well as in upper Pennsylvania. The war-like Susquehanna to their west in Pennsylvania, as they searched for hides to trade, had no difficulty in over-powering the neighboring small tribes as far south as the Chesapeake Bay and beyond. The Lenape, small in number and scattered over a large area, were no match for either the Iroquois or the Susquehanna.

The year 1664 marks a very important political change also for the Lenapehocking. In 1664, the English defeated the Dutch and took over their former colonial territories. The Dutch, Swedes, and Finns who had traded with the Indians under separate agreements were now subject to the English Crown; and the Lenape, or Delaware Indians, as the English called them, living within this English Empire, found that their former treaties with the Dutch and Swedes were no longer valid. That all these changes were confusing to the Lenape is understandable. Tensions between Europeans and Indians had begun to arise already while the Dutch were still in control of the Delawares' land. Massacres resulted and in combination with the spread of epidemics quickly and drastically reduced the size of the native Indian populations. With English control of these territories, there began also the intense effort to buy, I should say to acquire through barter, the Delaware Indians' land. By 1710 most of it was already accounted for in deeds owned by Europeans kings. By 1681, Charles II, had already also granted William Penn large parcels of land in Pennsylvania as well as portions of Southern New Jersey. Penn, being a Quaker, did try to treat the Delaware living in his territory fairly. But with his death in 1718 his sons took over and major changes occurred. Beaver and similar fur products were by then no longer in vogue. The Indians, consequently, were offered less for these hides. On the other hand, the demand for deer skins to make clothing, both in America and Europe, had increased greatly. The Indians, consequently, turned to hunting deer and elk.

The early sixteen hundreds were also years when the Indians began to leave New Jersey territory in order to settle in Pennsylvania. This migration pattern accelerated as it became more difficult for the indigenous population to supply their own needs from the forest. In addition, hostility between the Europeans and the Indians, resentful of no longer owing their land, also began to increase.

By the 1740's most of the Delaware had moved to Pennsylvania, leaving only a few hundred in New Jersey. Among those who had stayed behind, some successfully turned to English-type farming. But since Indian men traditionally looked down on farming as "women's work", the majority of the Indian population did not make the transition and became desperately poor. It was this very sad situation which the visiting missionaries tried to alleviate. The Quakers had actively sought to Christianize the Delaware in New Jersey already earlier. But it was to be left to the Presbyterians there and to the Moravians in Pennsylvania eventually to achieve the greater success, although at times, their efforts also met resistance.

Having learned of the plight of the Indians remaining in New Jersey, Prebyterian clergymen in New York and New Jersey were instrumental in effecting the establishment of a "Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge" in Scotland whose objective it became to

convert Indians to Christianity in order to lift them out of their proverty and misery. The Presbyterian missionary, David Brainerd, who had been trying to spread his message to the Delaware and Munsee on the upper Delaware with little success, in 1745 redirected his efforts to trying to help and convert the Delaware Indians still remaining in New Jersey, probably about 400 scattered throughout East and West Jersey. Brainerd established his first mission at a location called Crosswicks by the English and Crossweeksung by the Delaware (located in Northern Burlington County in West Jersey). It was not long before twenty Indian families had built their wigewams there. By 1746 the Delaware population at crosswicks numbered 130. The land available was insufficient for so many people. A new location was found about fifteen miles to the north, in Middlesex County, near the town of Cranbury, and was named Bethel. David Brainerd, a sickly young man, died of lung disease in 1747 at the age of 28, and his brother John, also a Presbyterian minister, took his place at Bethel. Concurrently, the Quakers were giving help to the Indians in New Jersey by means of their organization called the "New Jersey Association for Helping the Indians". This Association also gave John Brainerd some financial assistance while at the same time looking for a large tract of land suitable as a permanent homeland where the Delaware in New Jersey could live in peace. This Quaker sponsored reservation, however, was never established.

The Christian Delaware lived peacefully at Bethel until the time of the French and Indian War. Then other Delaware, former residents of New Jersey who felt that they had been cheated in land transactions, began to attack White farmers in Pennsylvania and Northern New Jersey with the support of the French. For the Indians at Bethel it meant that some White neighbors began to regard all Indians as enemies and began to harrass them. Once again, John Brainerd, by now their leader, faced the task of trying to find a new place to settle his Christian Indians.

The English were aware of the mistreatment Indians had experienced in previous times and knew why they were hated. In 1756 the Provincial Government of New Jersey decided to address the problem. A meeting was called and Delaware Indians from both the North and the South sent delegations to hear what the Provincial government intended to propose.

A second meeting was held in 1758, this time also with Delaware representatives from New Jersey and with Teedeyuscung from Pennsylvania, by then called the "King of the Delaware". Already during the first meeting, the colonial government agreed to appropriate money to settle Delaware and Munsee claims north of the Raritan river. Additional sums were furthermore earmarked for the acquisition of a 3044 acre tract in Burlington County, New Jersey to be used as a reservation for those Indians living south of this river. The

Christian Indians at Bethel were transferred there in 1759. The less than 100 New Jersey Delaware among them were also mostly Christian. The majority of the New Jersey Indians did not move to this reservation, called Brotherton, for fear they could be more easily killed by Whites if gathered in one location.

For the Christian Delaware who had settled on the reservation, all did not go well either. Their land turned out to be only marginally productive and they were harrassed by neighboring colonists who allowed cattle to graze in the Indians' gardens and cut down trees on reservation property.

In 1801 the reservation's inhabitants petitioned the government of the newly created State of New Jersey for permission to sell their reservation land and, with the proceeds, to move north in order to join with the Stockbridge Indians. The Stockbridge, i.e. Mahican Indians formerly from Stockbridge, Massachusettes, had been granted permission by the Oneida to settle in Oneida territory at the location which became New Stockbridge, New York.

In 1802 their reservation land was sold to White settlers. As it turned out not all Indians had participated in the move to the Stockbridge location or, if they had, had not remained at Stockbridge. Those who had remained behind or had returned became none-reservation Indians scattered around various locations within the State of New Jersey. The Brotherton Delaware who had joined in the move to Stockbridge, from there eventually moved West with their hosts and settled in what has become the State of Wisconsin.

We do not yet have an exact count of the New Jersey Brotherton Indians who moved north but hope to learn their number once a survey of land allotments at New Stockbridge has been accomplished. The descendants of those New Jersey Delaware who had remained or returned to New Jersey, for the most part still live there and, according to the 1980 census, represent a population of 740.

What became of the main body of the Delaware tribe that had migrated into Pennsylvania territory? Most of the New Jersey Delaware settled in the Susquehanna Valley in territory controlled by the Iroquois. By 1709 we find a number of them established at PAXTANG, the present day location of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania's capital. During the next 30 years they were joined there by others moving in from the area now known as the State of Delaware, or from locations along the Delaware River both in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

In 1737 the infamous "Walking Purchase" deprived the Delaware of their land in Eastern Pennsylvania. By 1742 they, too, had moved to settle on the Susquehanna under the protection of the Cayuga and Onaida of the Iroquois Nation. During this historical period, other tribes from the east and south were also migrating into Pennsylvania in search of the protection offered by the poverful Iroquois or the

Six Nations, as they were known, since the Tuscarora from the Carolinas had joined with them. With the addition of the Delaware and these other tribes, the number of Indians under Iroquois control increased significantly. This made them more powerful as allies of the English in the war against the French who were trying to establish control over portions of this part of North America. It should be mentioned that there were also other Delaware who settled at Wyoming and Shamokin, the present day cities of Wilkes-Barre and Sunbury (Pennsylvania).

Being under the control of the Iroquois also had a shadow side. Their loss of independence reduced them to the status of "women", which meant that their right to speak in council in their own behalf was curtailed. This was hard for the Delaware to accept. But they were, at the least, once again living free of White harrassment according to their former ways by hunting, fishing, and planting their gardens. The French and Indian War produced new tensions and induced some of the Delaware, together with their Indian allies to evade the conflict by moving further West and ultimately beyond Pennsylvania into the Ohio River Valley. There they allied with the French and Shawnee Indians under the leadership of Shingas. Teedyuskung, "King of the Delaware", who had remained on the Susquehanna but still enjoyed influence in New Jersey, his birth place, although, as already mentioned, he cooperated with the Provincial Government of New Jersey in 1758 in the search for peace between the Whites and the Indians. At one point, too, Teedyuskung joined Shingas in an alliance with the French against the English. By attacking White farmers and killing many White families, both leaders had once again become "men" who had taken off the skirts put on them by the Iroquois in order to reclaim their independence and to bring together the Delaware Nation. Pennsylvania and New Jersey responded by branding all Delaware under their leadership as enemies. Special certificates were issued to the Delaware who had remained in New Jersey in confirmation of their peaceful nature. They were issued red ribbons to be worn around their heads to distinguish them from hostile Indians and were forbidden to leave New Jersey to join their brethren in Pennsylvania, most of whom just then were in the process of moving out of Pennsylvania for locations further West or, as in the case of the Munsee who had remained allies of the English, north into Iroquois territory and beyond to Canada where most eventually settled.

The bulk of the Delaware Nation concentrated in eastern Ohio where Coshocton became its capital. Although it was hoped a permanent homeland had been found, involvement in the Pontiac War of 1765 placed the Delaware, who fought with Pontiac, on the losing side. And when the Revolutionary War began, the Delaware nation - forced to submit to the English - at first tried to remain neutral,

but finally split into two hostile camps with Captain Montour's company of Indians fighting for the Americans. Documents still exist showing the time of service and the pay received by each Delaware member of this fighting unit.

The first treaty, concluded in 1778 with the Delaware Nation by the newly formed United States, promised to make the Delaware Nation the 14th state of the Union and to assign to them Ohio as their territory. The likelihood that this pledge would ever be fulfilled quickly disappeared in part because most of the Delaware had joined the opposing English side, responding to that faction's greater ability to supply guns, powder and many other supplies which the poor Americans lacked.

The Moravians and their Indian converts overwhelmingly remained loyal to the United States. Having settled in Pennsylvania to teach the Gospel, these Protestants from Germany, in 1741, had purchased 500 acres at the junction of the Lehigh River and the Monocacy Creek and established a settlement called Bethlehem. From there they sought to bring Christianity to the Delaware and other Indian tribes and to convert them to the European ways. Between 1745 and 1746 FRIEDENSHÜTTEN (Huts of Peace) (1747) and GNADENHÜTTEN (Peace Huts) as well as NAIN were founded as Indian villages in which the Moravian converts were settled.

The King of the Delaware, Teedyuskung, became a Moravian convert together with his family and several other Delaware. In 1754 Teedyuskung and a Mahican Indian named MARNALATASECUNG (the first convert made by the Moravians in America), together with about sixty-five other Indians left Gnadenhütten to resettle at Wyoming, Pennsylvania. The French and Indian War was then in progress and several other Algonquin speaking groups of Indians had also come to live in such Indian settlements for mutual protection. Nonetheless, Gnadenhütten was attacked and, including the Moravian church, was destroyed by non-converted Indians. Several Indian village inhabitants and White Moravians were killed, among them the two converted former New Jersey Indians Samuel Moore and Tobias. The Tobias name is still a last name among the Moraviantown Indians living in Canada today.

As for the Moravian missionaries, they remained faithful to the Delaware they sought to serve, moving West with them as they migrated. The Reverend David Zeisberger was the most important. He took it upon himself to become proficient in several Indian dialects so that he would be able to preach in the idiom of his audience.

In 1771 Zeisberger was joined by John Heckewelder at Friedenstadt. Friedenhütten and another village, Sheshequin, had been abandoned and its then 200 or more Indian residents moved to Friedenstadt. David Zeisberger stayed with the Delaware Indians also during their trek to Ohio where he founded Schönbrunn (Beautiful Spring)

near the present-day New Philadelphia to serve as their new home. A major segment of the Delaware Nation lived by they in Ohio along the Tuscarawas River. The Indians held Zeisberger in great esteem and conversions to Christianity occurred almost daily. Zeisberger was ultimately even adopted into the Munsee tribe and became a member of its council. An Ohio settlement called Gnadenhütten was founded in commemoration of its Pennsylvania namesake. The mission town of Lichtenau (Meadow of Light), was established near the Delaware Nation's capital of Coshocton, Ohio where much Delaware Indian history remains preserved to this day. 1778 marked the year of the founding of yet another Moravian community which was called Salem. It was clear that the earlier Presbyterian influence had by the 1770's been displaced by the Moravians as the prime movers in efforts to promote Christianity among the Indians.

But the trials and tribulations were by no means over even for these peaceful Indians. During the Revolutionary War, the Moravian missionary Heckewelder, upon hearing of a planned attack on Pittsburgh by pro-English Delaware, felt compelled to warn his American compatriots, thus giving rise to the punitive expedition by American troops, which burned the Delaware capital of Coshocton to the ground. Even though most of the Christian Delaware had remained either neutral or pro-American, their towns, New Gnadenhütten, Salem, and Schönbrunn also were destroyed by American forces in 1782 and many of the occupants slaughtered. Although Gnadenhütten and Schönbrunn were rebuilt, much trouble continued to plague the young United States and, in 1792, David Zeisberger resolved to lead his 150 Indian converts into Canada for resettlement at the newly founded town of Schönfeldt (Fairfield) on the Thames River in the Province of Ontario.

During the War of 1812 several mid-western Indian tribes sided with the English against the Americans. Once again, American troops launched a retaliatory expedition, this time marching north into Canada. Following their victory in the Battle of the Thames, they destroyed Fairfield (also called Moraviantown). Two years later it was refounded on the opposite shore of the Thames River by returning Indian Moravian refugees. The main body of the Delaware tribe continued to settle along the Tuscarawas River in Ohio.

A treaty signed in 1778, had made the Delaware allies of the United States, but had also placed them in the rather difficult situation of having become enemies of the Iroquois and other Indians who were allied with the English. Thus when the Americans proved unable to supply the Delaware with their needs, they chose to switch sides and in doing so invited massacres by the revolutionary Americans.

The massacre of Christian Indians by Americans represents a turning point in American-Indian relations. David Zeisberger, as already

mentioned, having left the Tuscarawas Valley with most of his converts in response, resettled them in Canada. The other Moravian towns established in the Ohio region, under these conditions could also not survive, and the territory of the Delaware and the other tribes hostile to the American cause, became the State of Ohio within the New American Nation to which the Indians could lay no claims.

The upshot was that the new wave of White settlers entering former Indian territory, again created tensions and led to hostile actions in the Ohio frontier region. The United States, to protect its citizens, launched expeditions against the Indians, one in 1789 and a second in 1791. (It might interest some of you that one of my ancestors, Thomas Reavy, participated in the War of 1791 under General St. Clair.)

General Anthony Wayne put down the uprising by defeating the Indians at the Battle of Fallen Timbers and in accordance with the stipulation of the Treaty of Greenville, Ohio, signed in 1795 between General Anthony Wayne and the defeated Indians, the latter agreed to move further west into territory located between the Cuyahoga and the Mississippi rivers. Since this land was not owned by the Indians in fee simple, they thus became de facto wards of the United States who could sell their land only to the government. The complex and difficult situations, arising for the Delaware and other Indian tribes as a consequence, have left questions not yet answered to this day. To give but one example, the act passed by Congress in 1790, which was intended to protect Indian land, states that no land occupied by Indians may be sold without Congressional authorization and thus still mandates negotiations between the government and a least some Indian tribes even now.

The Treaty of Greenville, described the Indian lands as located in western Ohio and Indiana, giving rise to the belief that that area was to be permanent homeland for the Indians, and a number of Delaware began to settle along the White River in Indiana. Moravian missionaries, continuing their conversion efforts, by then faced increasing resistance. The belief had spread among Indians that conversion to Christianity was but a ruse to weaken them so that the Whites could overpower them. Whiskey also once again became a problem when American traders began to sell their evil liquid to the Indians.

The administration of President Jefferson sought to deflect the mounting pressure exerted by White settlers hungry for Indian land by promoting a policy which aimed to bring Whites and Indians into peaceful coexistence by means of integated farming. But by then the Indians wanted no part of such an approach and Jefferson determined that the Indians would once again have to move and make way for White settlers, this time west beyond the Mississippi River.

The Indian chief Tecumseh tried to resist the tide of White influx

into Indian territory. He united various Indian tribes and his brother, known as "the Prophet", obtained guns, powder, and other supplies, from the English in Canada. But Indian resistance proved no match for the well organized American force under General Harrison and collapsed at the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811. Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, were forced to flee to Canada. The Delaware Indians, having remained neutral during the war, received American support for their people. But with the start of the War of 1812 (June 18th) between the United States and England, a war declared by the United States, the situation once again became difficult. Many of the mid-western Indian tribes became allies of England. The pro-American Delaware were therefore evacuated for their own protection to the Piqua Agency, until the American victory and the killing of Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames in Ontario, Canada, in 1813, made possible their return to the White River area.

With the administration of President James Monroe serious efforts were initiated to implement the Act of 1804 and to move all Indians west of the Mississippi River. The stipulations of the Treaty of St. Mary (1818) provided that the Delaware were to give up all land in Indiana and to move across the Mississippi for resettlement there. The great trek out of Indians was implemented in 1820. The Delaware Nation moved across the "Big River" into Illinois and eventually onto land set aside for them in southern Missouri in 1822. Their eight years in Missouri was a time when they faced conflicts with such other Indian tribes as the Osage who already occupied land there and resented new intruders, but also with their former friends, the Miami. But it was also a time spent in efforts to get the many Delaware splinter groups to rejoin the main body. One such group, however, which had settled in Cape Girardeau, Missouri, decided not to join but to migrate still further west. It came to be known as the Absentee Delaware.

Since the land in Missouri turned out to be of lesser quality than the land the Delaware had left behind in Indiana, they began to feel that they had been betrayed once again. This gave rise to renewed dissatisfaction and in 1829 the Treaty of Council Camp, concluded between the United States and the Delaware, tried to address this problem by providing new land, approximately 1,900,000 acres, in two parels, in Kansas Territory. Several small bands of Delaware moved there to rejoin the main tribe. For example, about 30 members of the Sandusky Band in Ohio and about 70 Moravians from Canada came in 1837, but left the reservation again in 1859 to join the Chippewa, also formely from Canada but settled in Franklin County, Kansas. The hope for a permanent homeland on which to reunite the Delaware National could not be realized.

The so-called Absentee Delaware ended up in Texas while still part of Mexico. When Texas became a state in 1854, they joined a reser-

vation established on the Brazos River for a number of smaller bands or tribes. From there a few of these Absentee Delaware, now also known as Texas Delaware, returned to Kansas but most remained in Texas for a while longer.

In Kansas, meanwhile, the Delaware life-style began to change. Children were sent to school and some of the Indian men tried farming. Their bark wigewams gave way to log cabins and frame houses. Moravian influence, strong until then, declined and yielded to the more aggressive efforts of the Methodists and Baptists who came to the reservation in search of converts. In the end, only a small conservative group clung to the old "Big House" religion, meaning their Moravian practice.

Kansas did not remain home for the Delaware Nation. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 allowed White settlers who soon again overran Indian lands. In addition, new, powerful railroad lobbies won rights to lay their tracks across Delaware land. In the settlement of the conflicts which arose, Congress sided against Delaware interests.

New territory was set aside for Indians in what is now the State of Oklahoma. Several southeastern tribes had already moved there, including the Cherokee Nation, and joined tribes native to the territory. According to a new plan now devised, the Delaware were to sell their Kansas reservation and with the proceeds to buy land from the Cherokee in Oklahoma in order to merge with them into one nation. The land price was to be $1.00 per acre. The Treaty of 1866 forced implementation of this plan, and in 1867 an agreement between the Delaware and the Cherokee granted the Delaware Cherokee citizenship and equal rights in the Cherokee Nation. For the Delaware it would certainly have ben a solution of their perennial problem. After all the many moves made to preserve their heritage, they were now expected to give up their own identity and become part of another Indian Nation for, officially, the Cherokee and the Federal Government regarded them as Cherokee. Delaware pride and a sense of self-identity did not allow this. They continued to insist upon maintaining their separate tribal Business Commitee and fought to keep their own language, religion, and culture alive. The Delaware Indian Business Committee continues to be active to this day. Indeed the Delaware are experiencing a strong resurgence of interest in Delaware culture among at least some segments of its nation.

As to the Delaware who remained in Kansas, they became United States citizens in order to be allowed to stay. The United States government promoted this development by allotting each new American Indian citizen 80 acres per every adult and child in exchange for the renunciation of the right to membership in the Delaware Nation. In 1901 all Indians living in Oklahoma, on the former Indian Territory, excepting the Osage, also became citizens of the United States but were also allowed to keep some of the land allotted for Indian use.

Descendants of the first Absentee Delaware who had chosen to remain in Texas can still be found there. The others, who had moved to western Oklahoma, are still there and live near Anadarko. They are now known as the Delaware Tribe of Western Oklahoma. The long, sad, multi-directional journey of the Delaware Tribe has ended. The efforts to gather the Delaware Nation did not succeed. But as a people, the Delaware remain strong and vital.

III

Where are the Delaware or Indians living today (1986)? The following, general summary is possible:

1. The main body of the Delaware Nation now is located in northeastern Oklahoma where it is governed by its own Business Commitee with offices in Barthlesville, Oklahoma.
2. The Delaware Tribe of western Oklahoma also has its own Business Comittee, and in addition, an elected chief. Its offices are at Anadarko, Oklahoma.
3. The Moravian Munsee, who, in 1911, were still led by their Moravian pastor, the Reverend Joseph Romig, remain in the area of Chippewa Hills west of the city of Ottawa in Franklin County, Kansas, where other descendants of the Delaware Indians who opted for United States citizenship can also be found. Kansas has a Delaware-Munsee Indian Office at Pomona, Kansas.
4. Some of the Delaware who worked with the White People as guides or traders continued their migration westward where many eventually married or merged with the Indians of the high plains. A contingent of Oklahoma Delaware Indians, having also moved West, is now settled in the State of Idaho where it is known as the Delaware Tribe of Idaho. Its tribal headquarters are at Boise, Idaho.
5. The Delaware Indians who had come from New Jersey and the Munsee Indians from Canada merged with the Stockbridge Tribe. They are now known as the Stockbridge-Munsee Tribe and live on the Stockbridge-Munsee reservation near Bowler, Wisconsin.
6. The Delaware Indians who remained in New Jersey after the Brotherton Indians left in 1802 are still in New Jersey. According to the 1980 Federal Census there are 740. This number, however, includes also several Oklahoma and Canadian Delaware Indians who had moved to New Jersey at a later date. The New Jersey Indian Office in Orange, New Jersey is their headquarters.
7. There are also Delaware Indian descendants living in the

State of Delaware and in Pennsylvania where their cultural heritage is actively being preserved by the Lenni Lenape Historical Society at Allentown, Pennsylvania.

8. The Delaware and Munsee Indians in Canada, collectively known as the Thames Band, live on three reservations. Their largest cohesive tribe, or band, are the Moravians who are descendants of the Indians who came to Canada with the Reverend David Zeisberger. They live on a reservation at Bothwell, in Kent County, Ontario, Canada. Another segment, the Munsee, live about 30 miles away from the Moravians' reservation, i.e. near the town of Melbourne. The third component lives on the Six Nations reservation in Brant and Haldimand Counties of Ontario, Canada. They are concentrated in the area of Ohsweken and Hagersville (formely known as Smithtown).

Although the Delaware and Munsee who were compelled to move from their ancestral locations in search of security and a better life ended up scattered across the United States and Canada, they continued to keep in touch, or at least seek to reestablish ties with each other. When on October 9th and 10th, 1987, the Delaware Indian Heritage Committee of Dover, Ohio holds its planned Delaware Indian Symposium, representatives from most of the groups I mentioned in this presentation will make every effort to attend. And the former village of New Gnadenhütten at New Philadelphia, Ohio, located very near Dover, has been recreated to give witness of and stand as a memorial to the Indians' heritage.

Postscript

Since it belongs in the context of what has been described here and is not merely interesting but a significant, historically important event for symbolic as well as concrete reasons, a brief summary of the celebration that took place in 1986 at Moraviantown, or New Fairfield, Canada, seems justified here as an addendum. Its historical matrix is clear. When, as previously mentioned, the town of Fairfield was destroyed by Americans in the War of 1812 (during the Battle of The Thames in 1813), the Moravian Church then was also burned to the ground, leaving only the old bell remaining in usuable condition. When the Moravians returned to their destroyed community in 1815, you will recall, they built New Fairfield on the opposite, i.e. the south side of the Thames River. The new church, erected in 1827, uses the old bell, rehung to symbolize the resolve of the community's inhabitants to resume life as before.

In 1845, with the arrival of new Moravian leadership in the person

of the Reverend Jesse Vogler, a mission house was built for Pastor Vogler's family and in 1848 a new, larger church was built and given a new bell. Moravian pastors continued to serve their Indian flock at New Fairfield until 1902 when, after 160 years of service among the Delaware and Munsee people, the Moravian Church discontinued its mission there and the Methodists took over. The Methodists, in turn, gave way to the United Church of Canada. But the Moravian church, historically important, has been preserved and, in 1986 the mission house, built by Pastor Vogler, too, was restored and completely renovated. Its re-dedication took place on June 22, 1986. Chief Richard Snake, a member of the Moraviantown Band of Indians, designated Jasper Hill (Big White Owl) and his wife Kathleen to become the resident occupants of this house and to serve as its curators. Jasper Hill was born on the Moravian reservation in 1901 when it was still controlled by Moravians. He is very knowledgeable about Delaware Indians, their culture and language and thus gives great promise of assuring a happy continuity also for this chapter of Moravian-Delaware history. It is an observation which seems to me very appropriate for ending my presentation about the Delaware Indians past and present. "Wahneeshe!" (which means "Thank you!")

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Eine Vorlesung auf dem Sun Inn Indianer-Symposium

Der Verfasser, ein Lenape-Indianer, ist Vorsitzender des New Jersey-Indianer-Büros in Orange, New Jersey. Der Arikel behandelt 1. das Leben der Lenape oder Delawaren (engl. Bezeichnung) vor der Ankunft der Europäer, 2. die Zeit der ersten Kontakte und die Missionsbemühungen der Quäker, Prebyterianer und Herrnhuter und gibt anschließend einen Überblick über die gegenwärtige Situation der Lenape in den USA und Kanada.

Das Land der Lenape oder Delawaren, die zur Sprachgruppe der Algonkin gehörten, umfaßte das Gebiet des östlichen Pennsylvanien, New Jersey, den Norden von Delaware und den südöstlichen Teil des Staates New York. Die in verstreuten Dörfern mit 40-200 Bewohnern lebenden Lenape (die Schätzungen ihrer Gesamtzahl schwanken zwischen 11.000 und 25.000) waren eine Pflanzer- (Mais, Bohnen, Kürbis) und Jägergesellschaft. Der Verfasser schildert ausführlich Lebensweise und Sitten der Delawaren.

Die ersten europäischen Niederlassungen der Holländer, Schweden und Engländer dienten zunächst dem Handel mit den Indianern; seine

Anreize verleiteten die Lenape aber bald zu einer schonungslosen Ausbeutung der Jagdgründe ohne Rücksicht auf das natürliche Gleichgewicht. Zugleich führte die Ausweitung des Handels zu Konflikten mit den Nachbarstämmen, in denen die Lenape unterlagen. Dies sowie die Expansion der europäischen Siedlungen zwang die Lenape zum Verlassen ihrer Heimat. Der Verfasser schildert im folgenden detailliert die Wanderbewegungen bzw. die von der Regierung den Lenape angewiesenen Reservate oder Homelands. Bis 1740 wanderte ein großer Teil nach Pennsylvanien und begab sich unter den Schutz der Irokesen, was freilich eine Einschränkung ihrer Rechte bedeutete. Die kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen mit den Franzosen ließen sie in das Ohio-Tal weiterwandern, wo ihre Hauptstadt Coshocton entstand. Vorübergehend war Ohio als 14. US-Staat für die Delawaren im Gespräch. Der amerikanische Unabhängigkeitskrieg ließ Zeisberger mit einer Gruppe nach Kanada abwandern, wo sie die Siedlung Schönfeldt oder Fairfield gründeten. Nach dem Vertrag von Greenville, 1795, wurde ihnen das Gebiet im westlichen Ohio und in Indiana zugewiesen. Unter Präsident Jefferson, der einen neuen Befriedungsversuch unternahm, sollten sie westlich des Mississippi angesiedelt werden, doch hatte der Boden eine schlechte Qualität, so daß seinem Versuch kein rechter Erfolg beschieden war. Eine Gruppe wanderte nach Kanada ab, die sich dem amerikanischen Lebensstil öffnete. 1866/67 wurde Oklahoma als Bleibe für die Delawaren, Tscherokesen und andere Indianer bestimmt. Die Delawaren haben sich mit Erfolg einer Vermischung der Stämme widersetzt und ihre eigene Sprache, Religion, Kultur und sogar Verwaltung zu bewahren versucht.

Heute leben die Delawaren oder Lenape in folgenden Staaten oder Regionen: 1. Der größte Verband besteht in Nordwestoklahoma, von einem eigenen Geschäftskomitee in Bartlesville geleitet. 2. Die Lenape von Westoklahoma haben ein eigenes Geschäftskomitee mit einem gewählten Häuptling in Anadarko. 3. Die brüderischen Munsee, die noch 1911 von dem brüderischen Prediger Joseph Romig betreut wurden, leben in dem Gebiet der Chippewa Hills bei Ottawa/Kansas mit einem Büro in Pomona. 4. Ein kleiner Teil der Oklahoma-Delawaren findet sich auch in Idaho mit Zentrum in Boise. 5. Abkömmlinge der New Jersey-Delawaren verschmolzen mit den kanadischen Munsee und dem Stockbridge-Stamm und leben heute bei Bowler in Wisconsin. 6. Die in New Jersey ansässigen Delawaren haben ihren Sitz in Orange/New Jersey. 7. Zentrum der in den Staaten Delaware und Pennsylvanien lebenden Nachkommen ist die Lenni Lenape Historical Society in Allentown/Pennsylvania. 8. Die Delawaren in Kanada leben in drei Reservaten, deren größtes das der brüderischen Gruppe in Bothwell in Kent County/Ontario ist.

Als die ersten Missionare auf die Indianer stießen, befanden sich diese bereits in einem sozial gesehen heruntergekommenen Zustand der Verarmung, da sie als Jäger nicht den Übergang zu der engli-

schen Farmwirtschaft fanden. Unter den Presbyterianern war David Brainerd (gest. 1747) der bedeutendste, auf dessen Missionsstation Crosswicks im Jahre 1746 130 Indianer lebten. Ein Teil der in Pennsylvanien lebenden Delawaren schloß sich mit dem "König der Delawaren", Teedyuskung, der Brüderkirche an. Trotz der Zerstörung der brüderischen Indianersiedlung Gnadenhütten blieben die Brüder den Indianern treu. Zeisberger, der mit ihnen nach Ohio zog, genoß solches Ansehen, daß er vom Stamm der Munsee adoptiert und in ihren Rat aufgenommen wurde. Er gründete in der Nähe von Coshocton die Missionssiedlung Lichtenau, die bis heute ihr Erbe bewahrt hat. Unter ihm wurden auch die Missionsstationen Neu-Gnadenhütten, Schönbrunn und Salem errichtet. Gegen Ende des 18./Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts zeigten sich die Indianer der christlichen Mission zunehmend ablehnend gegenüber. Die nach Kansas abgewanderte Gruppe wurde von den agressiveren Methodisten und Baptisten gewonnen und nur wenige blieben der "Big House Religion", d.h. der Brüderkirche treu.

Der Aufsatz schließt mit einem kurzen Bericht über die Feierlichkeiten 1986 in New Fairfield (Schönfeldt) oder auch Moraviantown/ Kanada. Brüderische Prediger haben die kleine Indianergemeinde bis 1902 betreut und dann den Methodisten übergeben. 1986 wurde nun das alte, von Jesse Vogler erbaute Missionshaus wieder restauriert und neu geweiht. Jasper Hill, der 1901 in der Brüdersiedlung geboren wurde, übernahm das Haus als Kurator, um das Erbe der brüderischen Delawarengemeinde zu pflegen.

James Revey (Lone Bear)

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

by
Marshall Joseph Becker

Introduction: Identification of a "Culture"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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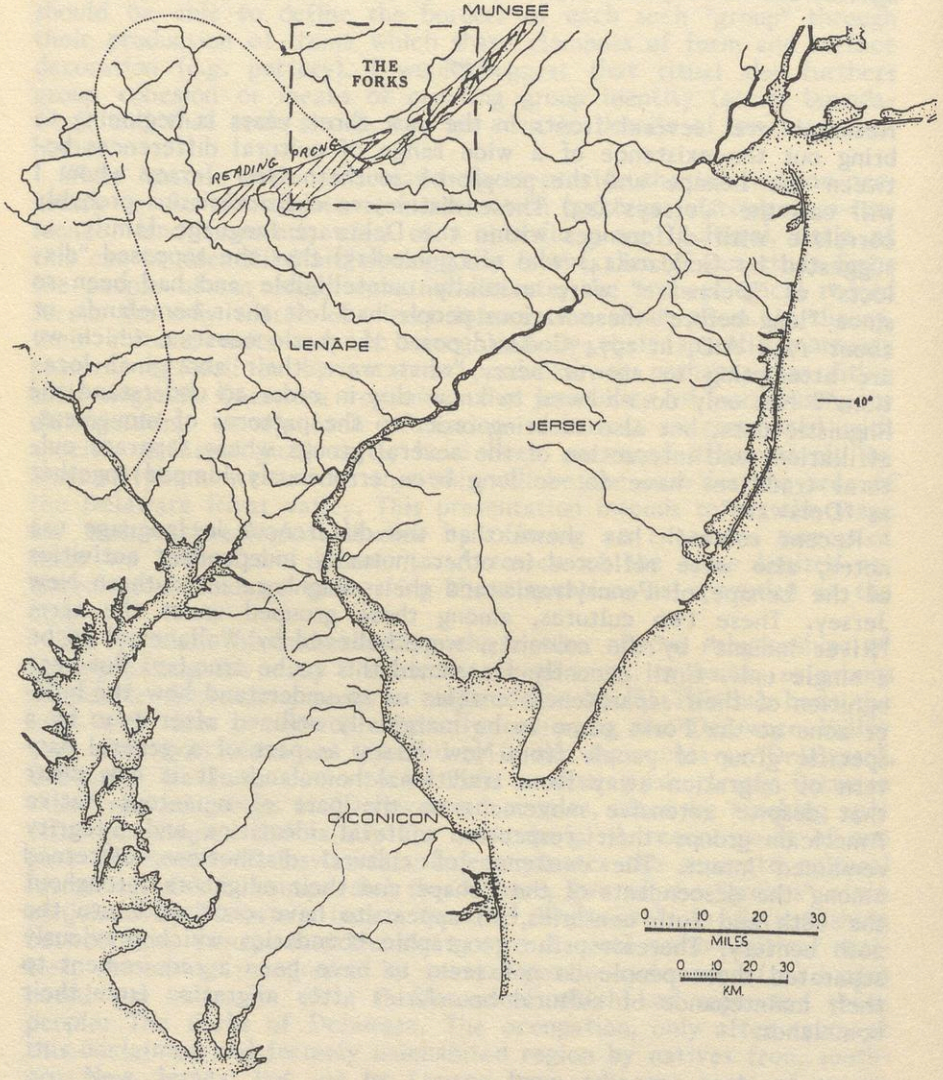
The "Forks of Delaware", the area central to our concern, denotes the area between the Lehigh and Delaware Rivers above Easton,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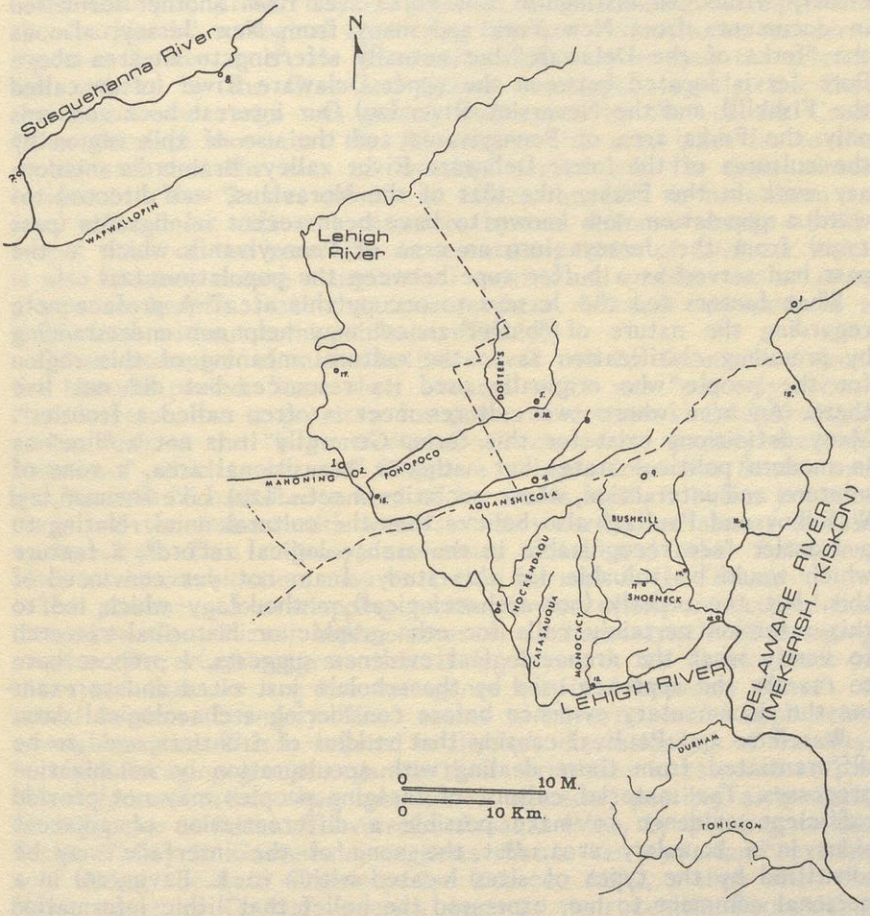
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TOHOPOCO
AQUANSHICOLA
BUSHKILL
SHOENECK
HOCKENDAQUA
CATASAUQUA
HONOCACY
LEHIGH RIVER
DELAWARE RIVER
(MEKERISH - KISKON)
DURHAM
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Pennsylvania. The "Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania..." was recognized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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Forks Buffer Zone: Its Economic Basis

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Lenape Bands of Pennsylvania

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Distinguishing between Lenape and Jerseys

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

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

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

The Forks as an Uninhabited Buffer Zone

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Forks of Delaware: Early Occupants

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Shawnee in the Area: Further Events in the Forks Region

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

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

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

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

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

Munsee: The People North of the Forks

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

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

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

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

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

The Extent of Lenape Territory

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Jerseys Move into the Forks: The Moravian Records

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lenape in the Forks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Treaty of 1742: Expulsion from the Forks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

After the Forks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Archaeology and Culture History

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusions

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

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

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

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

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

Endnotes

*) We are deeply grateful for the research support received from National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), the West Chester University Research and Publications Committee, as well as from the numerous colleagues who generously shared their own research findings or by other means lend their support to this investigation. Their recognition, by name, is well deserved. Space limitations, however, compel such to be postponed to a future opportunity. Be it known, however, that the years of research completed by the late William A. Hunter yielded a great deal of basic information about the Jersey people who took residence in Pennsylvania. William A. Hunter's kind sharing of these data stimulated my research and it is to his memory that my work on this subject is dedicated.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

25) *Ibid.*, p. 316.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

41) Lavin, *op. cit.*

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

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

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

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

46) Cashdan, *loc. cit.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

158) Cf. endnote 67.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

165) John Lopresti (personal communication).

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

167) *Ibid.*, MS 341.

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

169) John Lopresti (personal communication).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

200) *Ibid.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

208) *Ibid.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

216) Is this Cornelius Spring or possibly Tishcohan?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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266) Cf. endnote 219.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

279) Ives Goddard, personal communication.

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

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

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

283) *Ibid.*, p. 358.

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

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287) *Ibid.*, p. 141.
288) William M. Beauchamp (editor), *loc. cit.*
289) Dolores Elliott, *loc. cit.*
290) Cf. also endnote 219.
291) E.B. O'Callaghan. *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, Vols. 1-3. Weed Parsons and Co.: Albany, 1850. Here vol. 1, p. 24.
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296) On 30 January 1777, in Philadelphia, "An order was sent to Hayman Levy, to make up an assortment of articles fit for a Treaty with 70 Indians, (exclusive of women & children,) he accordingly pack'd up the following Goods ... 9,600 White Wampum, 20,500 Black Wampum, 30 Moons & 30 Hair Pipes of Conk shell, 6 Pair arm Bands, 12 Gordiots, 100 Broaches, 37 Pair Ear bobs, all of Silver, which w'th 15 Camp Kettles, were this day forwarded to Cols. Bull & Dean, ... at Easton." (Colonial Records, <Binder's title> *loc. cit.*, 1853, vol. XI, pp. 108-109; cf. also Henry Martyn Kieffer (translator), *Some of the First Settlers of The Forks of the Delaware*, First Reformed Church: Easton, Pennsylvania, 1902, p. 23).
On 8 March Colonel John Bull and Colonel Dean were reimbursed over 273 pounds sterling for sundries bought by them for the Indian Treaty held at Easton (Colonial Records, <Binder's title> *loc. cit.*, (Vol. XI), p. 142). Three days later Col. Bull was paid over forty-four pounds sterling "for Guard of Stores at Nortington, & Sundries supplied by Col. Butler at Wyoming, to the Indians returning from the treaty at Easton, ..." (Colonial Recores, <Binder's title> *loc. cit.*, (Vol. XI), p. 143.
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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mahican and Lenape Moravians and Moravian Music*

by
Paul Larson

When the Moravian missionaries traveled on the North American continent in what are now the states of Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania they encountered a musical culture of great age. The Northwoods Indians enjoyed singing, dancing, and playing musical instruments. Their musical culture was marked by vitality. It was distinctive and capable of expressing a wide range of feelings including profoundly religious ones, and it was fully integrated with the activities and cosmologies from which it had sprung.

Their musical instruments, some with direct counterparts in the ancient Orient, were also of great age. In contrast, the music and most of the musical instruments the 18th century Moravians introduced to them were very new. Now called the classical style, it was still in its infancy in 1742, the year the Moravians arrived. Joseph Haydn (born 1732) was just a youth. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was yet to be born (1756). With the exception of the organ and the harpsichord, the missionaries played musical instruments developed after 1600. For example, the clarinet, which Abraham Luckenbach, one of these missionaries, played, dates from the late 17th century. But as a performance instrument, it did not find wide application until the middle of the 18th century.

Moravian and Indian musical cultures differend also in respect to musical notation. The music of the Mahicans and the Lenapes was not notated. It was transmitted orally, surviving to this day much as it would have been heard by Abraham Luckenbach and David Zeisberger, another missionary. On the other hand, we have only begun to be able to reconstruct the performance style of 18th century Moravian musicians as they might have played and taught it to their

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Indian converts even though Moravian music was transmitted by musical notation.

What was the Mahican and Lenape music like which the Moravian missionaries heard? What was the style of the Moravians' music heard and soon also performed by Mahican and Lenape Indians?

Because music was so major a component of American Indian life, anyone who had contact with Indians was bound to hear it often. For example, when the Nanticokes wished to establish closer relations with the Moravians, a large group of Nanticokes and Shawnees traveled to Gnadenhütten near Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Loskiel, in his *History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians in North America*, recounts their arrival, 107 strong, in the middle of July 1752:

> The Indian Brethren having sent them (delegation) four large loaves, they appeared some time after, slowly moving towards the place, in Indian file; the leader singing a song, till <sic.> he came to the first house, where they halted. (Loskiel 133-34)

They were formally welcomed to Bethlehem five days later, on the 20th of July. The "Bethlehem Diary" describes the event as follows:

> Just at mid-day the whole procession of Nanticokes and Shawnees arrived from Gnadenhütten ... Br. Joseph (Spangenberg) welcomed them at our fence, from which point one of the chiefs sang his song of joy before the whole troop. (July 20, 1754)

According to this same source, there were numerous subsequent meetings at which the Indians sang:

> At the meeting with the Indians concerning their propositions on the preceding Friday, an elderly Indian sang a song of thanksgiving in his language and style. When he came to Br. Joseph <Spangenberg>, as he went around the table, he stopped for a while and sang, and then continued on singing to his place, and reseated himself. Then a shout of joy resumed. One chief after the other would begin, and the people gave a response, from which we could understand that they were very grateful and happy. (July 24, 1752)

The Indians departed from Bethlehem the next day. But a month later David Zeisberger, Gottfried Rundt, and Martin Mack traveled to Onadago, the capital of the Iroquois Nation where an agreement was reached to permit Zeisberger and Rundt to take up residence among the Iroquois so that the two might learn their language. As their diary tells us, during the Indian council session which they attended, "... parts of the transaction were sung by the Indians in their language and manner." ("Bethlehem Diary" 456-57)

The Moravian, John Heckewelder, has left us with some of the most complete early descriptions of the music of the Northwoods

Indians. His *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States,* includes and entire chapter devotedto Indian singing and dancing. Of the Lenape song he wrote:

> Their songs are in general of the warlike or of the tender and pathetic kind. They sing in short sentences; not without some kind of measure, harmonious to an Indian ear. The music is well adapted to the words, and to me is not unpleasing ... Their singing always begins by one person only, but others fall in successively until the general chorus begins, the drum beating all the while to mark the time. (Heckewelder 203-04)

Lenape songs are available on tape and distributed by *Touching Leaves Indian Crafts* in Dewey, Oklahoma as "Songs of the Lenape or Delaware Indians". The third song of several recorded in this collection is called a "Woman's Dance" and because it demonstrates so clearly what Heckewelder meant by his description, its transcribed melody is appended to this essay as our example. Its phrases are indeed short. Its rhythm is clearly in a measure of two. A drum plays throughout to mark the beat. The song begins with a solo singer who is then joined by others. For the most part the melody is descending in undulating pitch patterns but is generally diatonic, that is it can be accommodated on the Western music-staff and by the Western major-minor tonal system. Its range is one octave. These are aspects which are characteristic of Northwoods Indian music in general. But they do not diminish the fact that specific music, here the Lenape example, did not also possess its own distinct identity.

American Indians were generally limited in the variety and number of musical instruments used. The music of the Northwoods Indians, of which the Mahican and the Lenape were a part, was primarily vocal. Singing and dancing - these two activities were almost inseparable - were accompanied by drums of various sorts and rattles made from bark and animal parts. The only melodic musical instrument known to them appears to have been the flagolette, which somewhat resembles the modern recorder. But contrary to the prevailing assumption, flagolettes were not used for ceremonies or courtship but were played only for personal pleasure.

This limitation in scope and variety probably accounts for part of the profound effect the Moravians' instrumental performances had on Native Americans, indeed continued to have into the nineteenth century. Again, the Moravian diaries may serve as our source for an instructive account of how moved a Delaware chief and his wife were when hearing Moravian instrumental music:

> <July 25, 1803> The chief's wife <the wife of the first chief of the Delaware, Tedpachsit> told us that as a girl, she heard a spinnet in a meeting of the believers in Gnadenhütten (Ohio), and that it moved her to tears, and that she still remembered

it with pleasure. Thereupon the old Chief related how he had heard a great deal of beautiful music in the church of the believers while visiting Lititz: that a large instrument - he meant the organ - had especially pleased and moved him. The music so touched Pakantschilies that he was nearly moved or made tender. He reminded himself however that he was a war chief whose business it was to see everything without being moved or made tender. He never had an experience like that in the Lititz Church. The Chief returned to say that he believed the most hard hearted Indians would become tender if we had an organ like that.

Br. Kluge told him: "The impression which the organ or any other music makes upon you is of short duration and will save no man, because the wicked heart is not changed thereby. Music has no other purpose than to make song pleasant and agreeable to hear..." Furthermore: "If we shall have the joy of seeing you Indians turn to God with all your heart ... we will also try to secure an organ; otherwise, we will not." Thereupon he answered: "Very well; I will do what I can and admonish the Indians to hear the word of God diligently." Time will tell whether this promise has any foundation. We do not believe what the chiefs say anymore because they have made so many promises already and never kept them. (Gipson 246-7)

Perhaps, what the Lenape chief had heard was the very organ now in the gallery of the Brothers' House in Lititz. That organ, recently restored, was built by David Tannenberg, the great Moravian organ builder, and dedicated for service on August 13, 1789 by Johannes Herbst (1735-1812), organist, prominent composer, copyist, and collector of Moravian music. As a Lancaster, Pennsylvania, newspaper recalled at a later date, the audience included:

> ... the most prominent people of all religious denominations of Lancaster borough and county far and wide. The harmony of the vocal and instrumental music, as well as the excellent and harmonious organ, manufactured by Mr. David Tannenberg, in addition to the devout singing of the entire congregation, made one's heart feel sublime. (As cited in the rededication program)

Even if it was not this organ which the Lenape chief had heard, it would have been a very similar instrument. For David Tannenberg, the first full-time organ builder in America, had set up his organ-building studio in Lititz in 1765. As to the spinet heard by the chief's wife, it was undoubtedly the instrument made and played by Joshua, junior, the Mahican discussed at length in a subsequent passage of this essay.

Unlike Lenape music, sacred music in Moravian churches was con-

certed music, that is, music for voices and instruments in which both are combined and performed in alternation within the same piece. The Moravians were famous throughout the American colonies for the excellence of both their sacred musical compositions and their musical performances by choirs, instruments, and congregations. Performances of cantatas, arias, and accompanied chorales were part of Moravian services and festivals whether in Bethlehem, Lititz, Nazareth, or elsewhere. And among the Moravian church attendants were also Indians. Some were converts, others visitors.

Every Indian Moravian mission cultivated hymn singing. As the following two examples stress, if at all possible, hymn singing was always accompanied by instruments. The first, dated Dec. 31, 1802, comes from the mission on the White River: "At this love feast as well as that on Christmas Eve, Dr. Luckenbach accompanied the singing on the violin. The Indians were very fond of that (Gipson 136)." The second makes the same point by lamenting the absence of instruments. It is taken from an entry in the Fairfield Church diary of 1798:

"Spinet music had not been heard since the far away Muskingum days, though the members expressed a wish for those days when they could praise the Lord with instruments of music." (Wilderness 134)

The diaries of the Morvians contain also innumerable accounts of Mahicans and Lenape participating in the performance of German sacred music. One such event took place in Bethlehem on Sept. 4, 1745, when hymns were sung in 13 languages:

> Academicians, missionaries and residents of Bethlehem from various European countries: men who were masters of three or four languages and Indian converts, uniting their voices in the strains, accompanied by the music of wind and stringed instruments. (Levering 205)

The previous month, in August, the Indians had also sung alone in their native tongue on the occasion of a service at a synod meeting. It is not clear what Indian language was used, but as the report stresses, they sang well and expressively: "At the Second Synod Session the Indians sang in their native language, and caused tears to be shed ("Bethlehem Dairy" August 19, 1745)."

Having the Moravian Indians sing hymns in their own various languages was a major part of the Moravian mission conversion policy. The rationale for this policy was stated clearly by David Zeisberger in the *Foreword* to his hymnal in the Delaware language:

> As the singing of psalms and spiritual songs has always formed a principal part of the divine service of our Church, even in congregations gathered from among the heathen ... All our converts find much pleasure in learning verses with their tunes

by heart, and frequently sing and meditate on them at home and abroad. (Zeisberger *Foreword)*

Hymn singing in the Mahican lnguage was also not neglected. As the "Bethlehem Diary" for February 15, 1746 tells us:

> At the midday we had a lovefeast with all those who are connected with heathen matters, which the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel gave. We sat our Indians at a table in the middle and we all seated ourselves around them. We had music and our Mahican friends also sang little hymns. (February 15, 1746)

Another account comments on the fine singing at a lovefeast celebrated on May 1, 1746, but, adds one important stress, namely that the singing was done in harmony and thereby raises a question concerning the general assumption that congregational singing in parts did not take place in Moravian churches. If the Mahicans mentioned were trained by Moravian missionaries to sing in harmony, and if, as the Delaware song already discussed makes clear, harmony was not an element of Woodland Indian music, then we may also assume that it is likely that the European Moravians did sing their own congregational chorales in parts. Another diary passage would seem to lend strength to this assumption. The diary reports that:

> Sixteen Indians from Checomeko had a lovefeast with the Bethlehem ones and some from Nazareth ... The Indian brothers and sisters sang many verses in Mahican in quite lovely and for them hardly to be expected harmony. ("Bethlehem Diary")

That the Moravians were not the only ones who professed themselves impressed by the quality of the singing of the American Indian converts is clear from David Zeisberger's diary accounts. One describes the reaction of the citizens of Detroit to the hymn singing of the Indian Christians as:

> ... something extraordinary, which in the case of Indians they had never seen nor heard. Hymn after hymn rolled out ... The more daring and agile got upon the palisades in the shipyard to watch. (Gray 77-78)

The British governor had ordered the Ohio Moravians to travel there in 1781 to defend themselves against accusations, soon proved without substance, that they had conspired with Americans against the British.

The second account notes the favorable response to the singing which the Governor of Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe and his party demonstrated on the occasion of their visit to the Fairfield, Canada mission:

> Along with his officers, he also attended a service which he requested, and it just happened that most of the brothers and sisters were at home. He took notice of everything. The singing of the brothers and sisters pleased him very much and

> afterward he bade us, when the Indians again assembled, to express his satisfaction to them on their devout worship and to tell them that he had been greatly edified to see Indians who served God with such devotion and reverence. (Mueller 173)

Because of the desire of the Moravian missionaries to have their converts sing hymns in their native languages, a number of prominent Moravians made translations of hymn verses into Mahican and Lenape. Booklets containing translations of German-language texts into Mahican are preserved in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem and Herrnhut. In Bethlehem there is also a copy of the text of a cantata in which two arias and one choral are written in both German and Mahican, along with a duet in which Mahican words appear alongside the German ones. Unfortunately there is no music to the cantata, so it is not possible to know how it was performed.

A draft copy for a booklet of hymns in Mahican, dated 1746, exists in Herrnhut. It contains translations probably made by Gottlob Büttner and Johann Pyrlaeus with the assistance of several Mahicans. (Masthay, *Mahican Language)* Translations of hymns into Delaware by Bernard Grube were published in 1763; also in the form of a booklet. Johann Brandmueller of Friedensthal near Bethlehem, is presumed to have been the publisher. Only one copy seems to have survived and it is unfortuately incomplete. The booklet contains single verses for 27 hymns. Each verse is preceded by the title of the melody to which it is to be sung.

Grube's booklet was superceded by David Zeisberger's Delaware-language hymnal printed in 1802. This hymnal contains single verses as well as sections from the liturgy. As with Grube's booklet, the hymn tunes are indicated by a title in German which preceeds each verse. But the Zeisberger hymnal is more than merely an expansion of Grube's. Its texts are revised. The verses were retranslated and the words respelled. In fact it gives rise to the possibility that it is actually a hymnal written in a different dialect. Abraham Luckenbach eventually revised the Zeisberger Hymnal, and this revision was published in Bethlehem in 1847.

The Mahicans and Lenape not only sang Moravian hymns in their own languages, they sang them in German as well. In fact learning hymn verses came to form a major part of the education of Indian children. The account quoted here indeed suggests that singing was used to instruct the children in the German language:

> In December <1750> the school matters in Gnadenhütten were organized according to the plan formed long ago, and a beginning was made so that even the smallest children of 3, 4 years could hardly wait to come into the classes. They learned to read and to sing Indian and German verses. On Sabbath days various older brothers and sisters come together in order to

> have a singing exercise in their Indian verses. During these exercises they always learn some German. ("Bethlehem Diary" March 15, 1749 and May 26, 1750)

Indian children responded eagerly to such schooling, even going so far as to demand it, as the "Bethlehem Diary" tells us, at unscheduled times:

> The children came into our huts, sat down, and wanted their ABC book, and we held a nice little Singstunde with German and Indian stanzas. (September 23, 1756)

How effective the Moravian instruction was is brought out by a vivid account of a meeting between the prominent missionary, Martin Mack, and an Indian girl:

> On the 16th February, 1758, Brother Mack visited the Indians across the Lehigh River, as he often did. Little four-year old Martha, an Indian girl, stopped him and asked if he was going to have a meeting today. When he said no, she must have been disappointed because she liked to sing. She sat down on a bench and started to sing one of the hymns she had learned from the Moravians: "Ach, mein herlich Jesulein, mach dir ein mein sanft bettlein." After she finished her song in German, she sang it in the Indian language, and then she walked away. (Goodwin 11)

Despite the innumerable accounts which exist, telling of the importance of musical activities in the Indian schools and how students and bystanders responded to them, we have to this date only a superficial understanding of the role Moravian music education played among the Mahican and the Lenape children and adult converts. The biography of Joshua, junior, mentioned at the beginning, underlines the significance of the neglected topic by offering a more penetrating glimpse which is unique. Joshua, junior, was a Christian Mahican who became musically fully acculturated. Joshua, senior, his father, was the Mahican Tassawachawen who, in 1742 in a ceremony conducted by Count Zinzendorf and the Missionary Gottlob Büttner, became one of the first two Indians to be baptized in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, at which time he also received his Christian name Joshua (senior). According to John Heckewelder, "Joshua <the father> was from the time of his baptism, unto his death in 1773, a faithful and useful member of the church; being both a national assistant, or warden, and also interpreter of the sermons presented to the Indians (*Narrative* 412)." His son, Joshua, junior, born in 1741 at Wachquetnach, an Indian settlement on the Connecticut River in New England, was fourteen when, along with many members of their settlement, and his parents moved the family to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. During his three-year stay in Bethlehem, Joshua, junior, received his first instruction on the spinet, a type of harpsichord, and on the organ. We may assume that he also learned to sing hymns in Ger-

man and Mahican then. After their move to Gnadenhütten, a permanent settlement for Moravian Indians near Bethlehem, Joshua, junior's music education was continued by the chapel musician there:

> A present of a spinet having been made for the use of the chapel at Gnadenhütten, the singing of the congregation was improved, and Brother Schmick played upon it, to the satisfaction and edification of all. He also taught a young Indian to play, who succeeded him. (Loskiel, *History of the Missions of the United Brethren*, Vol. 2, 133)

Joshua, junior, probably also received instruction in music and singing from Bernard Grube, author of the booklet of hymns already mentioned, for Grube was in charge of teaching the Indian boys at the Gnadenhütten school. "Teaching", as we have seen in Moravian mission schools included much singing. The young Joshua, as Heckewelder points out "... had a genius for learning, both languages and the mechanical arts (*Narrative* 411)", but received so excellent a musical education also because of the fortunate coincidence that two of the finest Moravian Missionary-musicians served as his teachers.

When in response to the deeping war crisis the governor of Pennsylvania offered more secure shelter to the Moravian Indians, Joshua, junior, was among those who moved to Philadelphia. While there, he played the spinet for the governor and performed at the home of the commissary, Mr. Fox, who professed himself to be greatly impressed. During his Philadelphia stay, Joshua also married his first wife, Sophia, a recent convert who had been baptized in Philadelphia. Her father, incidentally, was John Papunhank, the first Indian to be baptized by Br. Zeisberger at the Moravian settlement on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania and a prominent Indian preacher and moralist. Joshua and Sophia's marriage produced 10 children.

Upon the conclusion of the French-Indian War, the Mahicans were moved for settlement to Friedenhütten on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania. Joshua, junior, was able to continue his musical instruction with his teacher Johann Schmick and, as already stated, ultimately succeeded him as chapel musician. The prominent European Moravian musician, composer, and compiler, Christian Gregor, visited Friedenhütten while touring America. Although there is no known record of the music played nor who played it for Gregor's visit, it is likely that Joshua, so musically talented and well-trained, participated. With Schmick's help Joshua, using his skills in the mechanical arts, even constructed a spinet which was first played during the Friedenhütten Christmas Eve service of 1767.

When the group was moved again, this time to Ohio, to found Gnadenhütten there, Joshua went along. Gnadenhütten was the second Moravian settlement in Ohio. The spinet which Joshua played there is probably the instrument he had built in Pennsylvania and taken along to Ohio.

> Though Schoenbrunn <Ohio> was more important and its church much larger (it held five hundred), the Gnadenhütten Chapel was more remarkable. Its plain walls were relieved by colored strands of basket work, and Joshua, now a noted cooper and gun-stock maker, provided an atmosphere of cultured refinement hitherto unknown to savages as he brought forth hymns from his treasured spinet. (Gray 51)

The Indian chief's wife, cited earlier as having heard a spinet for the first time at Gnadenhütten, Ohio, was undoubtedly referring to Joshua's instrument. And since Joshua had served as chapel musician at both Gnadenhütten and Friedenhütten, her recollection was probably in reference to spinet music personally played by Joshua, junior.

In 1782 many of the Indian Moravians who belonged to the Gnadenhütten congregation were massacred by a group of American soldiers who reportedly used Joshua's carpentry tools to kill many of his fellow Indian brethren. Two of Joshua's daughters were among the slain. According to Heckewelder, the murder of Joshua's daughters, "was a hard stroke for him to bear. Often, very often has be been shedding tears, on this account, though he was never heard to utter a vengeful statement against the murders..." (*Narrative* 410)

As a mission, Gnadenhütten in Ohio had been very successful. Many Lenape were converted. The main body of the Lenape, however, pressured by the influx of white settlers, had moved further west. In the belief that the Lenape would continue to be responsive to their message, Br. John Heckewelder and Br. Kluge also moved west and established a new mission on the White Clay River. Joshua, junior, followed with his wife and son. But this mission did not prosper and Joshua was visited by renewed tragedy. Soon after their arrival at the White River Mission, his wife died, and the following year his son. Joshua remarried, but his second marriage was unhappy suffering from problems of incompatibility. While we know that he continued to serve as interpreter at the mission, he is mentioned frequently in the White River diaries, his dialect caused frequent language problems and there is no evidence extant indicating continued musical activities. The Lenape, in any case, were no longer receptive to the Moravians' Christian message. Reacting to their repeated dislodgements by the white man, they became receptive to the call of Delaware Indian prophets to return to the Lenape's former mode of life. Joshua was caught up in the backlash this produced. Accused of witchcraft by his own people, he was tried by fellow Indians not far from the Moravian mission. Br. Luckenbach proceeded there in the hope that he could intercede in Joshua's behalf but did not reach his destination in time. The mission diary includes this account of what took place:

> March 18, 1806. With high courage he left here early in the morning. He had hardly gone half way when he was met by

an Indian who gave him the terrible news that, on the day before, our poor Joshua had become a victim of their cruelty. They likewise had struck the hatchet into his head two times and then burned him. With this terrible news Br. Luckenbach came back in the afternoon. This was the severest blow that could be given us. We were filled with terror and the horror of it all robbed us of all thought. We could do nothing but sigh and weep. As soon as we recovered somewhat our first thought was to sell everything and flee from here to Goshen as soon as possible. (Gipson 417-18)

The diary concludes with an entry on September 15, 1806, "... With this our mission here came to a close (Gipson 454)." Was the fate of Joshua symptomatic of the fate of the Moravian mission effort? What were the net results of its missionary efforts in musical education?

While the Moravians, judging by the evidence, respected the native American music they heard, they found no room for it in their Christian celebrations. The conclusion presented by the evidence is therefore that no musical integration took place between the European Moravians and the Mahicans and Lenape. The message of Christianity could be told in speech and song in the language of the native population, but the messages sung were clad in European melodies. None of the missionary-musicians appears to have ever notated a Lenape song, even though their published Indian language hymnals appeared in many editions. They were fine musicians. They unquestionably possessed the skills required to record the Indian melodies of the songs and dances. But they made no effort to do so and we can only regret that Moravian diligence and effort did not produce a record of the Indian musical heritage as part of the rich documentary historical legacy of Indian life which the Moravian missionaries did indeed preserve for us. Not only musicians but ethnomusicologists as well would be enriched in their study of the music of Woodlands Indians. Such a record would also be invaluable now to the Lenape themselves as they attempt to restore and revitalize their own ethnic heritage.

It certainly would not be reasonable to criticize the Moravians for having lacked a perception of the value of Lenape and other Indian songs. The Indians to them were heathens to be converted, and the Moravians serving as missionaries could not be expected to share the cultural mentality of a later age. Romantic nationalism began to sweep Europe only a century after the founding of Bethlehem. The cultural climate needed to turn European musicians toward valuing even their own folk heritage did not yet exist. Indeed, while painters and photographers, in contrast, had become sensitized to the need much earlier and were already actively recording Indian life, non-Western musical traditions were not to be taken seriously until the

beginning of the 20th century despite the fact that, in the United States, the first systematic effort to change this attitude dates from the collection of American music undertaken in the 1880s by Alice Cunningham Fletcher, a teacher and lecturer who, though raised in New York City, began to record native American melodies. By the 1880s, however, the Lenape were already widely scattered, thus seriously handicapping the study of the music of the Northwoods Indians in general, to say nothing of the ethnomusicological study of distinct branches of such music as, for example, represented by Mahican and Lenape songs. Despite such obstacles, the Moravian archives, although devoid of Indian music *per se*, may nonetheless prove significant in the quest to recapture lost Indian ethnic musical traditions. The written records which yielded information for this essay, provide a matrix upon which to build.

To balance this conclusion the question must also be reversed. In other words, how did the Lenape and Mahicans receive and integrate European music? The answer is clear: The Lenape and Mahican Moravians' reaction was the opposite of that of the European Moravians. Lenape and Mahican converts totally assimilated European music. Many who did not convert nonetheless found the Moravians' music impressive and moving. Indian Moravians not only accepted European music but appear to have done so willingly, indeed eagerly, at least in the case of children. Even so, it, too, did not produce cultural integration. How is this to be explained? There was very little in their musical tradition that could have prepared Indians to be receptive for the greatly increased complexity and the technological superiority of European music. That the Morvian Indians assimilated European music at all is therefore more than astonishing. It is phenomenal, especially because assimilation was so complete. Performance of European music by Indians was impressive and moving also to the Moravians and other European colonists. David Brainerd, a non-Moravian missionary working among the Lenape wrote in his diary on March 5, 1746:

> They have likewise queried with me respecting a proper *method*, as well as proper *matter of prayer*, and expressions suitable to be used in that religious exercise; and have taken pains in order to the *(sic)* performance of this duty with understanding. - They have likewise taken pains, and appeared remarkably apt in learning to sing *psalm-tunes*, and are now able to sing with a good degree of decency in the worship of God. (Edwards 272)

A similar comment can be found in another record, the so-called "Fairfield Diary":

> The Indians have in general good voices for singing; and evince a fondness for music, and a capacity to learn it. When the Indian Congregation was at Gnadenhütten on the Mahony, and

Friedenshütten, they had a spinet in their church, which was played on in their meetings by late Br. Schmick (June 22, 1798).

The expert guidance provided by the Moravians in this process of musical assimilation must not be underrated. The Mahicans and Lenape Christians received the best musical instruction available in the colonies then. In addition, the Indian Moravians were treated, on a daily basis, to the most superior performances of sacred music available anywhere in Colonial America.

But after all has been said, the fact remains that this meeting of two music systems - one of great age, one of great complexity - both capable of expressing profound sacred experiences, confronting each other in the conditions described, suggests but one conclusion: as the 18th century drew to its close Moravian music and the music of the Mahicans and Lenape had remained unchanged by their encounter and have remained so to the present day. The Mahicans and Lenape who included European music in their own cultural practice did so without alterations. Moravian missionaries, although able to appreciate and respect American Indian music, likewise found nothing in it they wanted to adopt and make part of their own cultural traditions.

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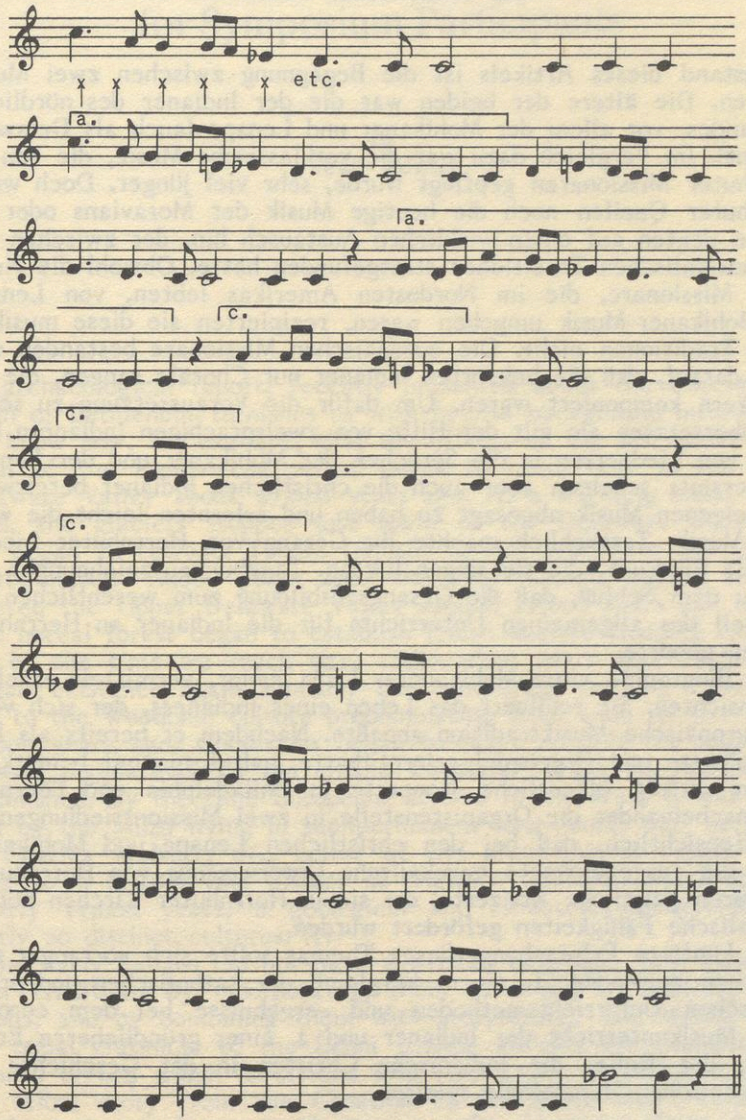

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das Verhältnis der bekehrten Mohikaner und Lenape zur brüderischen Musik

Gegenstand dieses Artikels ist die Begegnung zwischen zwei Musikkulturen. Die ältere der beiden war die der Indianer des nördlichen Waldlandes, vor allem der Mohikaner und Lenape (auch als Delawaren bekannt). Im Vergleich dazu war die vorklassische Musik, die von den Herrnhuter Missionaren gepflegt wurde, sehr viel jünger. Doch weder Herrnhuter Quellen noch die heutige Musik der Moravians oder der Lenape deuten auf einen wirklichen Austausch hin, der zwischen beiden musikalischen Traditionen stattgefunden hätte. Obwohl die Herrnhuter Missionare, die im Nordosten Amerikas lebten, von Lenape- und Mohikaner-Musik umgeben waren, rezipierten sie diese musikalischen Traditionen nicht. Die europäischen Missionare bestanden vielmehr darauf, daß die bekehrten Indianer nur Choräle sangen, die von Europäern komponiert waren. Um dafür die Voraussetzung zu schaffen, übersetzten sie mit der Hilfe von zweisprachigen Indianern hunderte von Liedversen in die Sprachen der Mohikaner und der Lenape. Andererseits scheinen aber auch die christlichen Indianer bereitwillig ihrer eigenen Musik abgesagt zu haben und erlernten leicht die westliche Musik. Tatsächlich machte ihr Gesang von Herrnhuter Liedern auf alle Eindruck, die sie singen hörten. Tagebuchaufzeichnungen führen zu dem Schluß, daß die Gesangsausbildung zum wesentlichen Bestandteil des allgemeinen Unterrichts für die Indianer an Herrnhuter Schulen gehörte.

Die Biographie eines Mohikaners, Josua junior, vermittelt erhellende Einsichten. Sie schildert das Leben eines Indianers, der sich völlig der europäische Musiktradition anpaßte. Nachdem er bereits als Kind das Spinett- und Orgelspiel erlernt hatte, gab Josua mit bemerkenswertem Erfolg öffentliche Konzerte in Philadelphia und übernahm dann nacheinander die Organistenstelle in zwei Missionssiedlungen. Es ist offensichtlich, daß bei den christlichen Lenape und Mohikanern durch die ausgezeichnete musikalische Unterweisung von Herrnhutern und durch geistliche Konzerte, die sie in Herrnhuter Kirchen hörten, musikalische Fähigkeiten gefördert wurden.

Die künftige Erforschung dieses Themas sollte sich vorrangig zwei Bereichen zuwenden: 1. einem Vergleich der katholischen und protestantischen Unterrichtsmethoden und -ergebnisse bei dem europäischen Musikunterricht der Indianer und 2. einer gründlicheren Erforschung der Rolle, die indianische Christen in der Geschichte der amerikanischen Hymnologie spielten.

American Indians and Moravians
Commentaries made during a guided tour for Symposium Participants

by
Jean Wesner

I.

An archaeological report, recently presented about the Pocono area north of Bethlehem, furnishes us with helpful background information. We know now, for example, that the effects of the last great glaciation of the Pleistocene period began to occur here in the Upper Delaware Valley about 27,000 years ago. As a warming trend developed, the glaciers stopped just south of the Delaware Water Gap and began to retreat. Tundra (Arctic Circle) conditions lasted until approcimately 12,000 years ago. The first humans appear to have entered the Upper Delaware Valley around 11,000 years ago when a true boreal forest began to establish itself. Massive flooding followed; but by the time we reach 9211 radiocarbon years ago, evidence of human existence again appears. The continuing warming trend gave rise to the Woodland culture predominating from 4500 to 2000 radiocarbon years ago. Conditions began to make possible the support of growing populations. By the middle Woodland period, horticulture was established. By the time Europeans arrived in the area, it was inhabited by the Minsi living in semipermanent long-houses and, according to Charles McNett, Jr., editor of the archaelogical report cited, heirs to a history (the history of Shawnee Minisink) which spanned "nearly 11,000 years, 6 geological and climatological periods and nearly 20 distinct cultures."(1)

The early Indians did not have a written language. They passed on their traditions by incorporating them in songs, by drawing pictographs, and by combining them with storytelling. The *Walum Olum*, the tribal chronicle of the Lenni Lenape Indians, for example, is a painted record which is divided into five books, or songs. It relates the tribal story from the Creation to the White Man's coming to North America. Its main themes are the migration from Asia to Alaska and from there south and east across the North American

continent. It was transferred from generation to generation in the form of pictorial symbols painted on sticks and kept in order by bundles. None of the original sticks appear to have survived to our time. But copies of pictographs, and a Delaware text, are included in a manuscript prepared by the botanist and natural historian, Constantine S. Rafinesque in 1833 and now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. These consist of some of the *Walum Olum* which Rafinesque had received from a Dr. Ward in Indiana in 1820 and "the songs anexed thereto in the original language" which some other unnamed individual had given him in 1822. Rafinesque, who learned the Delaware language, prepared English translations of the songs and published the latter in 1836.(2)

We know more about the life and habits of the local Indians since the comming of the Europeans and certainly much more once the Moravians began to work with them in Bethlehem and surrounding areas. The early Lenape Indians lived in huts made of rods or twigs woven together with a rounded top, thatched with mats made of long leaves of corn or of tree bark. The huts were built in groups and were surrounded by a palisade for protection. A mound in the center often served as an observation post. Remains of such circular ramparts have been found in the Lehigh Valley. The men hunted and fished; the women planted, hoed and harvested Indian corn, beans and pumpkins. The women also cut and carried - or hauled on handsleds - the winter supply of firewood for the settlements. When necassary, they walked considerable distances through woods and over mountains, despite wintry weather, to the supply bases where venison and bear meat had been cached for future use. They went to sugar camps in early March. In the Summer and during autumn, they gathered flag and rush to make mats, and wild hemp to make carrying bands and reticules. They harvested huckleberries, cranberries, ginseng, and wild potatoes - sometimes several days' journey away from their village. The men hunted summer and winter, trapping beaver and wolf, and taking shad with the "bush-net".(3) The Moravian store at the Rose Tavern, in what is now Upper Nazareth Township, became their marketplace for pelts, deerskins, horns, tallow, mats, brooms and baskets. There, bounties were paid for wolf scalps. William Edmonds, storekeeper, kept the records of such transactions with the Wyalusing Indians. Their route, from Wyalusing by water, then by land across the Broad Mountains, then through Wind Gap of the Kittatinny Hills down to Nazareth and Bethlehem, became the route used by our missionaries.(4) Distances were not measured in miles but in increments of a day's journey, each covering about fifteen to twenty miles per day.

The languages spoken by the local Indians have been identified as dialects of the Delaware and Iroquois. Since their dialects and languages differed, communication was often made difficult.

As mentioned earlier, Indian history was related by drawing pictures, usually on tree bark pulled from a tree and scraped clean and white. Beaded belts were also used for communication. A black belt with the mark of a hatchet in red paint was a war belt. When presented with a twist of tobacco, it represented an invitation to a "Nation" to join in a war. If the "Nation" thus invited smoked the tobacco and commented that it smoked well, it signaled its alliance for the battle. To decline to smoke meant to reject the alliance offered.

Indian braves carefully painted their faces and sometimes their entire head. Vermillion was a favored color, but colors varied for different events. They greased themselves with bear and other animal fats, sometimes colored, to prevent perspiration and keep away mosquitoes, Men wore few clothes in summer, frequently only a breech cloth of deerskin and moccasins, at times supplemented by blankets or capes of turkey feathers woven together with thread of wild hemp. In the winter men wore the skins of animals - bear, beaver, etc. - with the furry side worn inward. With the introduction of cloth by Europeans, the Indians soon adopted it. Women wore skirts fitted at the hips and hanging below the knees. Women of rank wore fine white linen shirts with collars of red or printed cotton. They folded their hair and tied it with a cloth or snakeskin. Their use of paint was much more modest - a small spot on each cheek, red on the eyelids and at the top of the forehead.

Indians always cooked their meats. Annually, they also celebrated with a feast of locusts. They knew and used strawberries, black currants, black and red raspberries, bilberries, and two kinds of cranberries. At the time the Moravians arrived, they had peach and plum trees and cultivated fields of corn and pumpkins. Dancing, accompanied by drum beat, was a favorite amusement consisting of the women simply stepping back and forth, standing straight with arms at their sides, while the men shouted, leaped and stamped energetically.(5)

The only domestic animal kept by the Lenape was a small species of dog. Until the white man arrived, they had no metal tools or weapons and did not use the wheel. The whites also introduced liquor to the Indians; they, being great smokers, in turn taught Europeans the tobacco habit. If they could attack from shelter, which was their way of fighting, these Indians were brave in battle. But the gleam of bayonets in open field warfare was a condition foreign to them which they could not face. Their ability to endure pain was extraordinary, and they faced death without fear or weakness. Their skill and cunning in following trails and guiding through starless nights and trackless forests was impressive.

Indians respected and cherished their elders, as this example demonstrates: An older Indian was leading a group with the Moravian

missionary Zeisberger across the Blue Mountains to the Wyoming settlement on the Susquehanna. The group included a young Indian, David who had travelled the route before but was not leading. As they went the wrong way, they eventually reached an impasse. When Zeisberger asked David why he had not pointed out the mistake, he was told that "it does not become an Indian to instruct his elders."(6) Indians believed in dreams and omens. They believed they could be bewitched. And the position of the moon at planting time was as important to the Indians as it was to Pennsylvania farmers.

II.

When Sir William Penn, who had distinguished himself as an admiral in the cervice of Charles II, left at his death claims against the crown for 16,000 £, his son, William, requested a tract of land in the New World in consideration of this claim so that he might provide asylum for his Quaker brothers. Confirmed in April, 1681 by royal proclamation, the charter of March 4 gave William Penn the Younger the tract of land which became Pennsylvania - "Penn's Woods". the Indians' name for Penn became "Miquon" meaning "quill" or "pen".

When Penn arrived in the 1680's, there were at least ten native tribes in Pennsylvania, with a combined population of about 6,000. Those established along the Delaware River were the Lenni Lenape who were considered the grandfathers of nearly forty tribes. The others, also nearby, were the Mengwe, usually called Iroquois. They were more forceful than the Delaware; the name which the Europeans gave the Lenni Lenape. There were three Lenapi tribes: the *Unami* or Turtle, the *Wunalachtikos* or Turkey, and the *Minsi* or Wolf. The Minsi were the most warlike of these three. Their area extended from the Minisink on the Delaware to the Hudson in the east, to the Susquehanna in the southwest, and to the headwaters of the Delaware and Susquehanna Rivers in the north and the Lehigh Hills, respectively. The *Unami* lived on the right bank of the Delaware spreading southward from the Lehigh Valley and were among the groups with whom William Penn bargained for land. Their totem, as mentioned, was the turtle which they considered superior to other totems because the Great Tortoise was the Atlas of their mythology and bears the land on his back. He could live on land or in the water, something neither of the other totems could do.

III.

The early Quakers dealt fairly with the Indians. However, after William Penn's death trouble began. Thomas Penn, who held a power of

attorney also for his brothers John and Richard, and his associates took over and wanted more land. In 1737 the Walking Purchase took place. According to the agreement, the whites were to get a tract of land the size of which a man could circumvent in a day and a half. But instead of the leisurely walk which the Indians envisioned, the whites not only cleared a path but also hired professional walkers. Solomon Jannings was one of them. In 1737 he lived on land along the Lehigh River about two miles above Bethlehem, a tract which later became the Geisinger Farm but then represented the extreme frontier. James Yeates was the second professional walker and Edward Marshall the third. The walk began at Wrightstown at sunrise on September 19, 1737. Indians as well as whites were stationed as observers along the way. Solomon Jennings gave up on the first day. James Yeates got as far as the south side of the Blue Mountain before collapsing. But Marshall covered a distance of 50 miles on the first day and by noon of the next day had walked 74 miles, reaching a point a few miles east of present-day Lehighton.

The Indians protested the manner of the walk, especially that the men had never sat down to smoke nor taken time out to hunt or shoot a squirrel, but, instead, had run all day long. the result of the walk was that Penn received an area of land comprising what is today a large portion of Carbon and Monroe Counties, as well as Northampton County. This represented the bulk of the Indians' hunting and fishing grounds, and their resentment of the size of territory lost ultimately culminated in the Indian uprisings in 1755 and 1763-64.

IV.

The Moravians settled Bethlehem in 1741 as a missionary group intent upon propagating the Gospel among the Indians and unchurched. In 1745-46 they erected a number of log houses at the foot of the hill southeast of Bethlehem's Female Seminary and west of today's Public Library. Their purpose was to serve as a temporary Indian village which they called *Friedenshütten*, "Habitations of Peace".

The dread disease of smallpox struck the little Indian community in 1746 and caused many deaths. The Moravian cemetery, which is indexed from the northwest gate, offers us a sad but important record of the early years.(7) Row 5 contains the graves of David Nitchman who, arriving in 1740, had purchased the original 500 acres upon which Bethlehem was built. There we also find Timothy Horsfield, whose service as the first justice of the peace carried the settlers through many difficult times with the Indians; David Nitchman, Sr. ("Father Nitchman"), the pioneering leader of the ancient Brethrens' Church. John Cammerhoff, whose many perilous journeys

to the Indians culminated in his death at 30 years of age, is also buried there, as is John, or Tschoop, the Indian Wasamapa who, following his baptism in 1742, served as evangelist among his people until his death in 1746 due to the smallpox epidemic. Grave 324 is Simeon's. Simeon, a Delaware from Oak Harbor, New Jersey, lived from 1680 to 1756. Once a noted witch doctor he had come to reject his avocation and faithfully attended the services for Christian Indians. Simeon, incidentally, was present in Gnaddenhütten on the Mahoning on the evening of the massacre. He spent two nights hiding in the forest before the Moravian bishop, Spangenberg found him. If one proceeds to Section "C" of the Old Moravian Cemetery, one finds the graves of Indian girls and women, each with their own interesting story.

V.

The first and very temporary housing for the Indians, constructed in 1745/46, was but a small part of the beginnings of Bethlehem. By 1751 the community also had a chapel and by 1752 the Gemeinhaus, the first tannery building, a second gristmill, a first fulling mill, the dye house, the first Single Brethren's House, the Crown Inn, the oil mill, the Bell House, as well as a second Single Brethren's House. Bethlehem, as far as can be confirmed, by then had seven stone buildings and at least 200 residents: In 1752 it also received its *Indianer Logis*, i.e., the Indian Lodging House.(8) Erected on the west bank of the Monocacy, immediately north of the stone bridge by the mill, it consisted of a one-story stone building, 52' x 40' in size. Its overseers were chosen from both the white as well as the Christian Indian population. Eventually, it became also a lodging house for any traveller who deemed crossing the river to reach the Crown Inn too difficult or dangerous. The Sun Inn had not been built as yet. The *Indianer Logis* began its service on October 25, 1752 when about twenty Indians were moved in procession from Friedenshütten to this new residence, partaking in a meal and singing songs of praise. In 1756 a log building, 63' x 15', was added as an Indian chapel. Built just south of the Lodging House near the creek, it was later moved to the Indian village of Nain.

VI.

After the Walking Purchase of 1737, the region became settled and Northampton County was formed on March 11, 1752, out of land taken away from Bucks. The area thus designated then included what is now Lehigh, Carbon, Monroe, Pike and Wayne counties, and parts

of Luzerne, Wyoming and Susquehanna counties. The act creating Northampton County also established Easton as the county seat and site for a county courthose and a prison.

Since a more permanent Indian residential area was needed than *Friedenshütten* represented, *Gnaddenhütten* (Habitations of Grace) was founded in 1747 on the Mahoning, 26 miles northwest of Bethlehem, on the site of today's Lihighton.(9) There missionaries and Indians jointly operated a sawmill, cutting many logs which were floated down the Lehigh to be used for Bethlehem's buildings. Indians were brought in from Shecomeco and Pachgatgoch in New York by Christian Henry Rauch who "rescued" them there from among debauched Mohicans. Gnadenhütten became a thriving community.

VII.

The French and Indian War, begun in 1754, was the fourth intercolonial war between the English and French in America. The English population was much greater than the French but, as traders, the French had considerable influence among the Indians. Following their capture of Louisburg in Canada in 1745, the French had also taken measures to strengthen their control over territories to their south. In 1753 they built Fort Presque Isle on the site of present-day Erie, Pennsylvania and added two other forts nearby. This alarmed the English and a young, 21-year-old officer named George Washington was sent to the French commander of these forts to demand an explanation of the French intent. Told that this inquiry would be forwarded to the Governor-General of Canada for a reply, a company of English militia was dispatched in January, 1754, to assist the Ohio Company in securing its occupancy of territory and resulted in the beginning of the building of an English fort. On April 16, 1754, however, a large force of French under the command of Contrecoeur surprised the English and defeated them. The French took over the fort, completed it and named it Fort Duquesne after the then Governor-General of Canada, Marquis de Quesne. The British cabinet responded by immediately directing English governors of provinces to defend their rights with arms and to expel the French from their position on the Ohio. Major General Edward Braddock came from England with the 44th and 48th regiments of Royal troops (1,000 men), arriving in Alexandria, Virginia, on February 20, 1755. Gathering additional local troops, he crossed the Alleghenies with 2,200 men and a "train" of artillery with 200 Indians. Benjamin Franklin's assistance secured 150 wagons and 2,000 horses from Pennsylvania which were added to Braddock's supply train. About 150 Senecas and Delaware Indians joined their leaders and white interpreters to accompany the train. Colonel Washington becam aide-de-camp to Gen-

eral Braddock, advising him to disperse his troops in open order and to employ Indian fighting methods, i.e. to attack out of hidings in the forests. Braddock, however, opted in favor of traditional techniques, was surprised, ambushed, and defeated by a combination of French regulars, Canadians and Indians. Every field officer and everyone on horseback, excepting Colonel Washington, was either killed or wounded. As he reported to his mother later, Washington received four bullets through his coat and had two horses shot from under him. General Braddock was less fortunate. He was mortally wounded, leaving it to Washington to rally the remaining troops and to retreat. The French and their allies lost only 3 officers and 25 soldiers, with about as many wounded. British casualties were 714 killed. Out of a total of 85 officers, 64 were either killed or wounded. In 1758 the English were at last successful in a counter-move. General Forbes was sent on an expedition against Fort Duquēsne, was able to surprise the garrison there, to set the fort afire and force its occupants to flee. This repossessed fort became Fort Pitt and later the site of the city of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. A fortunate consequence of these military activities was the building of a road to get men and supplies west. This road became the Pennsylvania road now U.S. 30. It was developed out of an Indian trail which had become the path used by the early Indian traders with their wagons. The need for a military supply road led to its expansion and improvement. An unfortunate consequence for the colonists resulting from Braddock's defeat was that the Indians began to realize that the white man was not invincible. This led to Indian attacks on colonial settlements which continued until 1758 with the urging and support of the French and frequently included the taking of prisoners by the Indians to replace their dead.

VIII.

At the commencement of the Indian Wars, all members of the family of Edward Marshall, the man who had completed his walk in the "Walking Purchase", and living then near the present Stroudsburg, were killed by Indians. In November, 1755, the Moravian settlement at *Gnadenhütten* on the Mahoning was attacked, leaving ten people and forty head of cattle dead and its buildings burned. The survivors, with the Christian Indians, took refuge in Bethlehem where they were cared for until their resettlement. In December, 1755, in Northampton County alone, 50 houses were burned and 100 people murdered; and the county was overrun by hostile elements to within twenty miles of the county seat at Easton. Indeed, a large body of Indians, under the direction of French officers, headquartered itself

within the county for better security for their prisoners and to facilitate their plunder.

The October-December crisis gave rise to an independent guard force paid for by the citizenry, and Benjamin Franklin was finally dispatched from Philadelphia in 1756 to build a chain of forts along the Blue Mountains.

To deal with this unrest and to help find solutions, the square in the heart of Easton became the location for the first "council-fire" held from July 23-31, 1756, and consisted of several meetings with Thomas Penn. Twenty-four Indians attended this meeting at the Forks of the Delaware with their leader Teedyuscung. Present were interpreters, four members of the Assembly, and a group of concerned Quakers. But instances of intermittent terror continued to plague the country, and as the time drew near for the third treaty with the Indians to be signed in Easton, anxiety was especially great. For on July 8, 1757, an unoffending baptized Indian youth, walking toward Easton, was deliberately shot by a white youth of the area and was severely wounded. The incident was reported to the Governor. Dr. Otto of Bethlehem attended to the wounded young man while all of Bethlehem prayed for his recovery. At the council meeting which began on Juli 21, 1757, Teedyuscung formally demanded from the Governor that the perpetrator of the shooting be tried in a court of law if the youth, Bill Tatamy should die. The Governor agreed. Tatamy eventually did die but survived to the closing of the council which produced a treaty of peace. He was given a Christian burial.

IX.

To find more land for the settlement of local Christian Indians, a 700-acre tract was purchased from the Benezet estate in what is now West Bethlehem approximately where Bethlehem Steel's headquarters building now stands. It was there in 1758 that the Indian village of Nain was built. The village was most likely near what is now Kimberly and Stanford Roads. John Martin Mack, in charge of planning, laid out the village with a heavy heart, convinced that neither the Indians nor the area's whites would be satisfield and that the project would therefore not succed. His forebodings came true but only after he spent three years in an effort of which he wrote: "These years brought me the hardest experiences I ever made among the heathen."(10)

The village consisted of log houses and the chapel which once stood next to the Indian House and which as mentioned earlier was moved there. It presented a pleasing appearance. Arranged in the form of a square, three sides were lined with dwellings. The south side was left open to permit its inhabitants to fetch water from the

stream that bordered it. In the center of the square there was a well. The houses were made of squared timber and had shingle roofs and gardens at their backs. In addition to the chapel and a schoolhouse, there was also a public building for indigent widows whom the congregation supported.

The settled Indians lived at Nain for five relatively peaceful years. But continued problems with Indians and unabated resentment and revenge acts by whites gave reasons for concern. For example, in 1763 friendly Indians who had come to sell pelts and were staying about seven miles outside Bethlehem at a tavern were robbed by whites. The Indians who had gone to Bethlehem to lodge a complaint with a justice of the peace upon their return were told to leave the area if they did not wish to be killed. The decision was made to move the Christian Indians to greater security in Philadelphia. This was accomplished in 1763. John Jacob Schmick, who had worked with the Indians at Nain, followed them into Philadelphia and on their release from there in 1765 led them to resettlement at Wyalusing, assisting David Zeisberger in this effort. Nain's log structures were sold at public auction. Six, including the chapel, were dismantled and re-erected on the south side of what is today Bethlehem's Market Street. Only one still stands and bears an appropriate marker at 429 Heckewelder Place.

Within a period of 75 years, from 1681 to 1756, the Delaware Indians, owners and occupiers of vast territories, had lost or been deprived of all of it. Indians, facing mounting troubles caused by more and more whites who had come to regard all Indians as bad, in turn paid back with equal coin. The fight became "Pontiac's War" which witnessed the grandson of the peace-loving William Penn offering, by proclamation, bounties for the capture, scalps, or death of Indians until the Indians sued for peace in 1764.

Incidents were to continue for many years. As late as March 8, 1782, renegade whites slaughtered 90 Moravian Indians, men, women and children, together with six other Indians, in cold blood, this time at another Gnaddenhütten, located in the present state of Ohio on the Tuscarawas River.

In March, 1792, representatives of the Six Indian Nations, 51 chiefs and warriors, including Red Jacket and Cornplanter, and accompanied by Samuel Kirkland lodged at Bethlehem's Sun Inn as they proceeded toward Philadelphia to meet with George Washington in conference. Thus, although the Indian population itself was largely removed from the Bethlehem area, our community continues to harbor evidence and memories of their time in what was once their homeland.

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Indianer und Herrnhuter
Erläuterungen bei einer Exkursion für Tagungsteilnehmer

Archäologische Beweise bestätigen die Existenz von menschlichen Siedlungen (Gartenbau und Behausungen) im Gebiet von Bethlehem-Pocono vor bereits 10.000 Jahren. Über die Geschichte der Indianer liegen keine schriftlichen Aufzeichnungen vor; eine geschriebene Sprache gab es nicht. Zeugnisse der indianischen Geschichte sind die Gesänge, Piktogramme und die von Generation zu Generation weitergegebenen Erzählungen. Die Stammeschronik der Lenni Lenape besteht beispielsweise aus einer Reihe von Piktogrammen, "Walum Olum" oder "Rote Zeichnungen" genannt.

1681 gründete William Penn den Staat Pensylvania - ein Grundbesitz, den ihm die Krone als Entgeld für die Verdienste seines Vaters, Sir W. Penn, geschenkt hatte. W. Penn behandelte die Indianer, die in diesem Gebiet lebten, fair; anders verhielten sich einige seiner Nachfolger. Das wird in dem sog. "Walking Purchase" von 1737 deutlich. Zur Klärung der Eigentumsverhältnisse vereinbarte man, daß das Land der Weißen Siedler das Gebiet umfassen solle, das ein Mann in einer Zeitspanne von 1 1/2 Tagen umschreiten könne. Doch anstatt des von den Indianern erwarteten normalen Schrittempos hatten die Kolonisten professionelle Läufer angeheuert, von denen einer 75 Meilen in der vereinbarten Zeit zurücklegte. Es überrascht nicht, daß dieses Ergebnis die Indianer verstimmte. Das Land, das sie auf diese Weise verloren, umschloß ihre besten Jagd- und Fischereigebiete.

Die Herrnhuter, die sich 1741 hier ansiedelten, trafen auf drei Lenape-Stämme: die Unami (Schildkröte), die Winalachtikos (Truthahn) und die Minsi (Wolf). 1745 gründeten sie Friedenshütten, ein Dorf zur vorübergehenden Unterbringung für bekehrte Indianer. Es lag westlich der heutigen öffentlichen Bibliothek von Bethlehem, südlich des ehemaligen Mädchenseminars. 1752 erbauten sie ein steinernes Indianer-Logis, ein Gästehaus für Indianer, jenseits des Monocacy Creek, nördlich der kleinen Steinbrücke zwischen der Luckenbach-Mühle und der Gerberei (im heutigen sog. historischen Gewerbegebiet). 1756 wurde eine Kapelle hinzugefügt.

Schon 1747 begann man 26 Meilen nordöstlich von Bethlehem am Mahoning Creek mit dem Bau einer Siedlung mit Gebäuden, Scheunen, Ställen und einer Sägemühle, wo christliche Indianer auf die Dauer leben sollten. Als die Truppen von General Braddock in dem Krieg mit Franzosen und Indianer, der 1754 begann, eine Niederlage erlitten, erkannten die feindlich gesinnten Indianer, daß die Weißen keineswegs unbesiegbar waren. Einer der zahlreichen schweren Überfälle, die folgten, richtete sich in seiner ganzen Zerstörungswut gegen die brüderische Siedlung am Mahoning Creek (Gnadenhütten).

1755 wurden die Gebäude niedergebrannt, zehn Menschen und das gesamte Vieh der Siedlung getötet.

Um den christlichen Indianern Schutz zu gewähren, erwarben die Brüder 700 Morgen des Benezet-Besitzes im heutigen Gebiet von West-Bethlehem. Dorf wurde eine neue Siedlung, das Dorf Nain, gegründet. Aber anhaltende Angriffe der Indianer und Vergeltungsaktionen der Weißen gegen die Indianer ließen es bald als geraten erscheinen, die christlichen Indianer weiter weg nach Philadelphia zu bringen, 50 Meilen südlich. Dieser Vorgang wurde 1763 abgeschlossen, ein Jahr bevor wieder Frieden einkehrte. 1765 führten Zeisberger und Schmick diese christlichen Indianer nach Wyalusing, um sie dort anzusiedeln.

In einer Zeitspanne von 75 Jahren, von 1681 bis 1756, war aus den Lenape, den einstigen Eigentümern eines riesigen Gebietes, ein landloses und vertriebenes Volk geworden. Eines der Häuser von Nain existiert noch in Bethlehem am Heckewelder-Platz, wohin es verlegt wurde. Dieses Gebäude und das restaurierte "Sun Inn", das einst auch viele Indianer-Besucher beherbergte, sind alles, was noch aus jener Zeit übriggeblieben ist, als dieses Gebiet die Heimat der Lenape war.

William A. Hunter: In Memoriam

The recent death of William A. Hunter has deprived us of a good friend and one of the most important students of the Native Americans who were the original inhabitants of Pennsylvania. His careful scholarship, gentlemanly tact, and great linguistic talents were among the endless list of characteristics for which he was both loved and admired.

Bill was born and raised in northwestern Pennsylvania. He attended Allegheny College, where he began the study of modern German which later allowed him to study the part played by the Moravian colonists in the history of his native state. His interest in languages and in medieval Europe were nurtured at the University of California at Berkeley where facility in Latin, French, and Flemish was added to his skills in German. His M.A. thesis (*Robert the Frisian: Count of Flanders*, 1935) was an account of an 11th century noble, and continued Bill on the path toward Moravian and Native American studies in Pennsylvania.

In 1946, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission utilized Bill's considerable facility with documentary research with an appointment as Assistant Historian. By 1961 he had attained the rank of Chief of the History Division. There Bill applied his skills to various aspects of Pennsylvania's colonial history, including several important contributions to studies of Native Americans and their relations with the Moravians and other colonial people. Bill's study of the forts along the Pennsylvania frontier (1960) is a thorough, penetrating, and complete analysis of the reasons why this line of structures was built, and of the many factors involved in the colonial relations with the many Native Americans who lived in, or came to Pennsylvania in the 18th century. Among the many brilliant deductions derived from this study was Bill's recognition that Teedyuskung and his kin, who were erstwhile grantors of lands in the famous "Walking Purchase" confirmation treaty, actually did not have traditional rights to the lands which they sold in 1737.

In the course of reading and searching through the vast collections of historical documents in Pennsylvania, Bill had taken great care to note every original, contemporary and direct reference which he found made to any Native Americans. This search took Bill into the Moravian Archives, where his facility with the German script of the 18th century and his great lingusitic talents enabled him to elicit in unequalled trove of data about the "Jerseys" and other Native Americans who were in the area later colonized by the Moravians. These studies have become fundamental to all subsequent work in the Forks of Delaware.

The data which Bill had retrieved from the Moravian Archives

forms the basis for all present studies concerned with the Moravians and their early relations with the people who were occupying this portion of Pennsylvania. No aspect of the Moravian missionary activity can be understood, from the Native point of view, without reference to the data bank which Bill Hunter assembled. Putting his datra into an anthropological perspective has given us an entirely new understanding of these events and of this important part of the history of the effects of the Moravian missions on the history of Pennsylvania.

Marshall J. Becker, Ph.D.

Personenregister/Index of Persons

Ortsregister/Geographical Index

Contributors:

MARSHALL JOSEPH BECKER, PhD. (University of Pennsylvania), Professor of Anthropology at West Chester State University (Pennsylvania). Symposium related research contributions: The Lenape Indians; a symposium held in 1984 at the Archeological Research Center of Seton Hall University (New Jersey). Professor Becker's additional contributions to American Indian research are numerous and extensively cited in this issue of *Unitas Fratrum*. (cf. Professor Becker's endnotes)

HENRY WILLIAM BOWDEN, PhD. (Princeton University), Professor of Religion at Rutgers University. Symposium related research contributions: *American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural conflict.* (Chicago, 1981).

GRETHE GOODWIN, (Mrs. Francis B.) was born in Norway. She studied German (B.A. Moravian College, M.A. Lehigh University) before choosing dentistry (D.M.D. Tufts University Dental School). In 1950, after practicing dentistry in Norway for one year, she married Francis B. Goodwin and moved to Bethlehem where she has taught German in Bethlehem area schools. Dr. Goodwin, served for nearly a decade as a member of the Sun Inn Preservation Association's Board of Directors. As the recipient of several research grants she has actively studied ethnic groups in Bethlehem and the history and architecture of the Sun Inn. Her tangentially related publications include: *Moravian Innkeepers At The Sun Inn, 1760-1830;* (Bethlehem: 1982). "Moravians in Maine." *(New England Quarterly,* 1979), and several articles about Bethlehem's history published in *The Globe Times,* a Bethlehem daily newspaper.

WINFRED A. KOHLS, PhD. (University of California at Berkeley); Professor of History at Moravian College. Professor Kohls serves as the American Editor of *Unitas Fratrum* and as Book Review Editor of *Russian History/Istoire Russe.* His professional area of concentration is in Russian history. He is a China-born son of German missionaries and in accordance with then prevailing mission practices received most of his primary and secondary education as a Moravian boarding schools student. (Kleinwelka: 1937-1942; Königsfeld: 1943-1949) His personal research interests include the history of the Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine. Tangentially related published research: "German Settlement on the Lower Volga; a Case Study: The Moravian Community at Sarepta, 1763-1892." *(Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society,* vol. 22, No. 2, 1971); "The Sarepta Charter of 27 March/7 April 1767" *(Transactions of the Moravian Historical*

Society, vol. 24, 1987). A German language version of this article appeared in *Unitas Fratrum:* "Der Donationsbrief der russischen Kaiserin Katharina II. vom 27. März/17. April 1767 für Sarepta;" Heft 19/20, 1987.)

PAUL LARSON, Doctor of Musical Arts (Temple University); Associate Professor of Music and Music Education at Moravian College. Professor Larson's general interest and training are centered in non-western music, a subject he teaches at Moarvian College. His specialized research includes the Jew's harp as an Eastern Indian trade item, and Moravian music, architecture, and culture.

The Rev. **JOHN THOMAS MINOR,** MLS (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill); Certificate in Archival Administration (US National Archives); M.Div. (Christian Theological Seminary, Butler University); ordained minister of the Moravian Church; Director of Library, Moravian College and Theological Seminary. Mr. Minor's primary Symposium related efforts include the building of Moravian studies collections at Reeves Library (Moravian College) and the preparation of quarterly listings of "New Books in Moravian Studies." He also serves as Abstractor for *Religious and Theological Abstracts* and as promoter of and renewal agent for North American subscriptions to *Unitas Fratrum.*

RACHEL B. OSBORN, B.A. in Linguistics (University of Pennsylvania), Graduate level work, M.A. in Folklore, thesis pending (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill); Executive Director, Sun Inn Preservation Association (1985-1987). Ms. Osborn's active field work experience is extensive and includes five years of service as consultant and field worker for the State of North Carolina Division of Archives and History. Her scholarly publications are centered in Folklore and include the prize-winning article "What to Make of Tradition? The Hugh Dixon Homestead in Snow Camp, N.C." *(North Carolina Folkore Journal,* 1984, vol. 32 #1)

JAMES "LONE BEAR" REVEY attended Bacone College for Indians in Oklahoma. He is currently chairman of the New Jersey Indian Office and works as an Indian craftsman who is listed with the Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the US Department of Interior. He is the owner of LONE BEAR INDIAN CRAFT CO. His heritage is part Cherokee, part Lenape Indian. By his own account, his active research interests are not restricted to Lenape, or Delaware, Indian history and genealogy but include Moravian-Indian relations with the Miskito Indians of Nicaragua and the Delaware in Ontario, Canada. James "Lone Bear" Revey is a frequent and much sought after speaker at symposia, churches, and schools. The genuine Indian cos-

tume which he often wears at such functions was hand-crafted for him by his mother. (Cf. picture) The contribution published in this issue is based on the illustrated lecture which James "Lone Bear" Revey presented at the Symposium.

The Rev. **DAVID A. SCHATTSCHNEIDER,** PhD. (University of Chicago), M.Div. (Yale University); ordained minister of the Moravian Church; Professor of Historical Theology and World Christianity at Moravian Theological Seminary, Bethlehem, Pa.; Acting Dean, Moravian Theological Seminary; editor, *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society.* (Whitefield House, Nazareth, Pa) Symposium related research contributions: "Pioneers in Mission: Zinzendorf and the Moravians." *(International Bulletin of Missionary Research; vol. 8, No. 2; April, 1984);* "Moravianism as an American Denomination." *Methodist History,* vol. 24, No. 3; April, 1986); articles in *The Encyclopedia of Religion.* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co.: The Free Press, 1986): "Moravians"; "Zinzendorf, Nikolaus."

CAMILLA SMITH, (Mrs. David), has been a member of the Sun Inn Preservation Association for ten years and served one term on its Board of Directors while also chairing the Association's Tour-Guide Committee.

DONALD P. ST. JOHN, PhD. (Fordham University), Assistant Professor of Religion at Moravian College. Symposium related research contributions: *The Dream-Vision Experience of the Iroquois: Its Religious Meaning.* (Doctoral Dissertation) Articles in *Encyclopedia of Religion* (16 vols. Macmillan 1986): "'Handsome Lake' (Seneca Prophet)"; "The Iroquois"; "'Neolin' (The Delaware Prophet); "Tecumseh"; "The Eastern Woodland Indians" (co-authored with John Grim).

JEAN P. WESNER, MLS (Wayne University, now Wayne State). Before retiring, Miss Wesner served as chief librarian for Bethlehem Steel Corporation's Charles M. Schwab Memorial Library. Although her career demanded specialization in the field of ferrous metallurgy, she did not neglect her interest in history. She has coedited several books and was actively associated with the publication of *Bethlehem of Pennsylvania,* (2 vols. 1968 and 1976). Miss Wesner continues to be active in local preservation efforts and served as a bus tour guide for Symposium participants. The contribution published in this issue is based on the comments which she prepared for her services as tour guide.

The Rev. **HENRY WILLIAMS,** MLS (Rutgers University), M. Div. (Moravian Theological Seminary), is an ordained minister in the Moravian Church. Rev. Williams also pursued graduate-level studies in

history at the University of Pennsylvania and at the University of Manchester in England. He has conducted extensive research in American and British Moravian archives, with special concentration on Moravian bibliography, hymnology, and liturgy. Before retiring, he served as Director of Library, Moravian College. For many years he also was president of the Morvian Historical Society and editor of its journal *Transacitions of the Moravian Historical Society*. His lifelong academic interests include, specifically, Irish literature and Moravian Church history and culture.

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Das 1930 in Hamburg gegründete Deutsche Bibel-Archiv hat es sich zur Aufgabe gestellt, Traditionen besonders der deutschsprachigen Bibel in europäischen Zusammenhängen fachübergreifend zu untersuchen. Zum andern soll die Wirkungsgeschichte der Bibel als Forschungsaufgabe beachtet und bewußt gehalten werden. Diesem Zweck dient das 1979 von Professor Heimo Reinitzer gegründete und von ihm redigierte Jahrbuch »Vestigia Bibliae«, dessen bisher vorliegende acht Jahrgänge schwerpunktmäßig ein Thema behandeln. Seit 1984 enthalten die Jahrbücher als wichtige Arbeitshilfe die »Bibliographie zur Wirkungsgeschichte der Bibel im deutschsprachigen Raum«, die Kirchen-Bibliotheksdirektor Herwarth von Schade bearbeitet.

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FRIEDRICH WITTIG VERLAG HAMBURG

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Band 4 / 1982

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Band 5 / 1983

Peter Martin

Martin Luther und die Bilder der Apokalypse

Die Ikonographie der Illustrationen zur Offenbarung des Johannes in der Lutherbibel 1522 – 1546

208 Seiten mit 93 Abb., Efalinbroschur mit Schutzumschlag 65 DM ISBN 3-8048-4267-4

Die Wittenberger Bilder zur Offenbarung des Johannes, vor allem die ersten zum Septembertestament 1522, waren schon mehrfach Gegenstand kunsthistorischer Forschung. Im Mittelpunkt des Interesses stand meist Martin Luthers Verhältnis zu Entstehung und Inhalt der Illustrationen, vor allem zur darin enthaltenen Bildpolemik. Die Forschungsergebnisse gehen hier weit auseinander. In diesem Buch sollen die Wittenberger Zyklen zur Apokalypse erstmalig ausführlicher nach kunsthistorischen und theologischen Kriterien untersucht werden. Und es will einen Beitrag leisten zur Klärung der Frage nach dem Verhältnis von Bild und Text, Theologie und Kunst in der Reformationszeit. Zugleich soll etwas Licht auf ein selten behandeltes Randgebiet von Luthers Theologie geworfen werden, das aber viele der großen Themen mit einschließt: Luthers Stellung zur Heiligen Schrift und zum biblischen Kanon, sein Geschichtsverhältnis, seine Eschatologie und sein Kirchenbegriff. Am Beginn steht eine Übersicht über die Tradition der Exegese und Illustration der Offenbarung vor Luther, um zu zeigen, wie die Wittenberger Apokalypse-Zyklen einerseits noch von dieser Tradition geprägt sind, andererseits aber mit ihr brechen und ganz neue Formen und Bildinhalte in die Bibelillustration einführen.

Band 6 / 1984

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Band 7 / 1985

Werner Schwarz – Schriften zur Bibelübersetzung und mittelalterlichen Übersetzungstheorie

196 Seiten. Efalinbroschur 68 DM ISBN 3-8048-4306-9

Dieser Band ist dem Altphilologen und Germanisten Werner Schwarz (1905 – 1982) gewidmet und steht unter dem Titel »Schriften zur Bibelübersetzung und mittelalterlichen Übersetzungstheorie«. Seine Beiträge wurden unter Mitwirkung von Reinhild D. Wells und Jochen Bepler von Heimo Reinitzer übersetzt und herausgegeben, um diese wertvollen Schriften auch in dem Land zugänglich zu machen, aus dem Werner Schwarz einst kam und das er so früh verlassen mußte.
Inhalt: Vorwort von Leonhard Forster, Cambridge. Die Bibel im Abendland – Geschichte der Übersetzungsprinzipien – Prinzipien der Bibelübersetzung – Aspekte der Übersetzungstheoprie im Mittelalter – Die Bedeutung des »fidus interpres« für die mittelalterliche Übersetzung – Humanismus und Sprache – Humanistische Tendenzen im 15. Jahrhundert in Deutschland – Das Übersetzen ins Deutsche im 15. Jahrhundert – Die Übersetzungstheorie in Deutschland im 16. Jahrhundert – Proben von Luthers Bibelübersetzung – Untersuchungen über Luthers Einstellung zum Humanismus (Reuchlin und Erasmus) – Die Knox-Bibel.
Herwarth von Schade, Bibliographie zur Wirkungsgeschichte der Bibel 1982.

Band 8 / 1986

Johann Melchior Goeze 1717 – 1786

Abhandlungen und Beiträge

224 Seiten mit 6 Abbildungen. Efalinbroschur 78 DM ISBN 3-8048-4332-8

Anders als sein theologisch-philosophischer Gegner Lessing hat Goeze nie die Gunst und das Verständnis des breiten Publikums gefunden. In der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Aufklärung und kirchlichem Glauben gilt er seit jeher als Symbolfigur eifernder erzkonservativer Anschauung. Die 200. Wiederkehr seines Todestages legte nahe, aus heutiger Sicht zu untersuchen, was einst Voraussetzung, Anlaß und Gegenstand der Kontroverse war. Herauskam dabei ein differenziertes Bild nicht nur der beiden Kontrahenten sondern des gesamten Jahrhunderts, das wegen seiner vielen Bibeleditionen und -sammlungen – Goeze besaß selber eine der größten – als »biblisches Jahrhundert« zutreffend charakterisiert werden kann.
Inhalt: *Hans-Otto Wölber,* Einspruch gegen die Vernunft – Goeze kontra Lessing – *Peter Stolt,* Warum immer Streit um die Wahrheit? Goezes Verantwortung am Beginn der Moderne – *Bernhard Lohse,* Johann Melchior Goeze als Theologe des 18. Jahrhunderts – *Georg Syamken,* Adiaphora – Ein Erbteil Luthers in Lessings und Goezes Händen – *Rose-Maria Hurlebusch,* Pastor Julius Gustav Alberti – ein Gegner Goezes in der eigenen Kirche – *Peter Stolt,* Johann Melchior Goeze – ein Portrait aus Texten zusammengelesen – *Herwarth von Schade,* Johann Melchior Goezes Schriften. Eine Bibliographie – *Herwarth von Schade,* Bibliographie zur Wirkungsgeschichte der Bibel im deutschsprachigen Raum, 1983.

HEIMO REINITZER

Biblia deutsch

Luthers Bibelübersetzung und ihre Tradition

Handbuch und Katalog einer Ausstellung
der Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel,
der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg
und des Deutschen Bibel-Archivs Hamburg.

333 Seiten mit 5 Farbtafeln
und 216 Abbildungen,
Fadenheftung, Efalinbroschur 40 DM
ISBN 3-8048-4268-2

Anhand ausgewählter Bibelausgaben und Dokumente aus den bedeutenden Bibelsammlungen der beiden großen Bibliotheken entsteht hier ein vielfältiges Bild der Geschichte und Wirkung der Luther-Bibel im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Vorlutherische Übersetzungen in Handschriften und Frühdrucken zeigen die Voraussetzungen und Grundlagen, auf denen Martin Luther sein Übersetzungswerk aufbaut. Danach wird Luthers ständiges Bemühen um eine Verbesserung der Bibelübersetzung dokumentiert, seine Grundsätze und Vorstellungen, seine Zusammenarbeit mit den anderen Wittenberger Reformatoren und der Wittenberger Fakultät. Die Druck- und Illustrationsgeschichte wird an ausgewählten Beispielen ebenso deutlich gezeigt wie die Verbreitung der Luther-Bibel im niederdeutschen Sprachgebiet und deren Übersetzung in fremde Sprachen. Dazu kommen konkurrierende Übersetzungen, die Kritik von katholischer, reformierter und später auch »lutherischer« Seite, schließlich die Geschichte des »Beiwerks«, der Randglossen, Vorreden und Summarien.
In seiner Material- und Bildfülle wird dieses Handbuch bald zu einem Standard- und Nachschlagewerk werden und unentbehrlich sein für alle Leser, die sich über Geschichte und Tradition der Luther-Bibel genauer informieren wollen.

FRIEDRICH WITTIG VERLAG HAMBURG