

A Lecture Presented at the Sun Inn Indian Symposium

by
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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-

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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.

Archaeologists 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 called 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 WIKWAM 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 wikewam. 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 CHINGWIKAEON 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 tattooing. 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 satisfied 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 poverty 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 wigwams 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 harass 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 non-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 powerful 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. Friedenshütten 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 them 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 integrated 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 parcels, 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 wigwams 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 been 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 Committee 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 Committee with offices in Barthlesville, Oklahoma.

2. The Delaware Tribe of western Oklahoma also has its own Business Committee, 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 usable 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 Artikel behandelt 1. das Leben der Lenape oder Delaware (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 Delaware, 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 Pflanz- (Mais, Bohnen, Kürbis) und Jägersgesellschaft. Der Verfasser schildert ausführlich Lebensweise und Sitten der Delaware.

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 Befriedigungsversuch 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 Pennsylvania 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 aggressiveren 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)