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The Leni-Lenapes Became Delawares and Citizens

By WILLIAM HEIDT, JR.

Tompkins County Historian

1971

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DEDICATED
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to the historical record
of the Delaware Valley

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Contents

Preface

This brief account of the Leni-Lenape Indian nation is designed to provide the casual reader with sufficient backrgound to enkindle an interest in this ancient nation or to fulfill a limited existing desire to know more about its history. So long widely dispersed from its haunts in the lower Hudson and Delaware valleys, today little remains as a reminder of the importance in regional history of the Leni-Lenape.

Notwithstanding the almost total absence of monuments, there exists an adequate older literature, but it is not readily available to the non-academic public. For this reason it is hoped that the contents of this pamphlet will prove adequate for the needs of a majority of its readers. To be somewhat more helpful to those who may wish to pursue further study, a list of source material is included.

Of all the tribes of northeastern United States that fell subsequently to Iroquoian conquest, the Delawares, as the Leni-Lenapes came to be known, resisted longest despite being called upon to resist inroads of the Europeans while at the same time undergoing incessant harassment by their upstate adversaries. They fought a losing two-front war.

An old and loosely knit nation formed long before the historical era, the Leni-Lenapes had been forced steadily from the broad areas of their original occupancy to the region of the lower Hudson. By the advent of the historical period, these tribes occupied a section of western New England, eastern New York, New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania and southward to the Chesapeake Bay area. Once uprooted, the Delawares moved ever westward, to settle in Kansas.

In 1870, the Federal government removed them to Indian Territory, now a part of Oklahoma. At that time they consolidated with the Cherokees. Early in the 19th century the Delawares had adopted American customs so that by 1906 they were prepared to disband as tribes and become citizens of the United States.—WHjr.

Ancient Residents of Hudson Area

When Henry Hudson's *Half Moon* poked its prow into the forest-clad western shores of the Hudson River, it was September 1609. His welcoming committee consisted of Indians who were shocked by fright and egged on by curiosity. They were members of the Turkey or the Turtle tribe of the Leni-Lenapes who had long dwelt in the region about; their cousins of the Wolf dwelling in the distant Delaware River Valley were, naturally enough, not represented on this unannounced but auspicious occasion.

Although the aborigines may have expected Manitou to step ashore from the ship, it was an evil genie that emerged from a flask to upset them physically and mentally. Hudson's hardy seamen do not seem to have been overwhelmed by events attending their first encounter with these natives; nevertheless, the antics of the drunken Indians must have brought raucous shouts and suggestions for deportment when meeting these innocent natives personally.

There were three Leni-Lenape tribes: the Turtle or Unami, Turkey or Unalachtigo, and the Wolf or Munsee. The last were variously known under several different spellings as Munceys, Monsees, Munsees, and Minisinks. The Turkey and Turtle clans occupied the coastal plain stretching from the Upper Hudson to the Potomac, while the Wolf people had their council seat at today's Minisink on the Delaware River, west of Port Jervis.

Thus it was the Munsees who possessed the area which ultimately became Sullivan County. Their territory reached eastward to the Hudson; to the west and southwest it extended to the Susquehanna and to the headwaters of both the Delaware and the Susquehanna Rivers. The Wolf tribe's sway reached into the Catskills, and southward it ranged into New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Calling themselves "Real Men," the Leni-Lenapes were later known as the Delawares, a confederacy that once was the most important of the Algonquian people. Recognizing the rank of the Leni-Lenapes, the Algonquians called them "Grandfathers" to honor their political rank and occupancy of the central territory of the confederacy.

Geography provided the soil for trouble among the small but brave tribes of this branch of the Algonquian family, as European discovery and pre-emption expanded. First the Dutch and then their successors, the British, sought to use the Iroquois confederacy in Central New York as a bulwark gainst the French in Canada. Animosity of the local aborigines was aroused to the boiling point when the Dutch supplied the Mengwe, as the Iroquois were then commonly called, with firearms but refused weapons to the Mengwe's Algonquian foes.

Subsequently, the tables were turned. Over the centuries Mengwe had been at the mercy of the Algonquians but now, equipped with superior arms, they formed the Iroquois confederacy and began the conquest of their age-old foes. Before frontally attacking, the Mengwe promoted stratagems by which Leni-Lenape losses of men appeared to be the work of others tribes, a mode of warfare that continued until the time when the Algonquians, now usually termed the Delawares, were brought under submission to the Iroquois.

Where the Iroquois were organized into cooperating tribes, the Leni-Lenape lacked cohesion and centralized control. Each of the many small tribes which constituted their nation acted separately so that when in 1720 the Iroquois exerted domination over them, there was little the disparate tribes could do but sullenly submit. To pour salt into the wound, the victors bestowed upon their erstwhile opponents the opprobrious term "Petticoat Indians" and deprived them of the right to make war or sell their lands. The conquered tribes bided their time, nevertheless.

As early as 1611 the Dutch trading post at Lewis Creek on the lower Delaware was destroyed and the colonists wiped out one after another by Leni-Lenapes. At Esopus in 1658 there were attacks on the Dutch farmers, and two years later hostilities were vigorously renewed, but then several of the chiefs

were taken prisoners and sent to the West Indies village of Curaco. Early in 1663 the Indians attacked Wiltwyck, Niew Dorp and Hurley before assailing Kingston, where the attackers were beaten off after considerable damage was done.

The Dutch then pursued the marauders and destroyed two of their strongholds, food storages and fields of corn. By October the once-proud savages had been reduced to a miserable state of existence, with winter approaching and no food available from their former supplies. On May 4 of the next year the Esopus Indians made a treaty with the Dutch that was never broken.

This campaign has special interest to Sullivan County as it was waged in parts of the towns of Neversink and Mamakating.

September 3, 1664, the Dutch surrendered their colony to the British, and on October 7, 1665, a treaty between the new owners and the Esopus Indians was signed. This document contained a clause which sounds strange upon today's ears: "In consideration of the premises . . . pay to said Sachems and their subjects, forty blankets, Twenty Rounds of Powder, Twenty Knives, Six Kettles, Twelve Barrs of Lead, by which Pay't we acknowledge to have rec'd in full satisfacoon for the Premises."

A satisfactory date on which to introduce the Delawares formally into the historical period is 1682, the year when they made their first treaty with William Penn. At that time the Delawares had their council fire at Shackamaxon, near Germantown, Pa., and occupied territory along the Delaware River. This early English experience with the nation indicates that the many tribes were loosely banded together, and identifies them as Conoys, Mahicans, Shawness, Nanticokes and even others.

During the next twenty years, the Iroquois increased pressure on the "Petticoat Indians" by sanctioning incursions of the Europeans that crowded the Delaware from their ancient homelands. As early as 1724 a portion of the Lenapes, with a few other kindred of the Shawnees, removed from the Delaware and the Susquehanna to Ohio, and a score of years afterward the main Lenape nation moved to the Susquehanna and settled at Wyalusing, Pa. This stay was brief. They then

crossed the mountains to reach a site for settlement on the Alleghany River, where they had had a settlement a quarter century earlier.

But two could play the deadly game devised by the Iroquois to destroy the power of the neighboring nation. Some years after establishing themselves upon the Alleghany, the Hurons invited the Delawares to settle in Eastern Ohio, and in this area the nation developed fixed locations along the Muskingum River and neighboring streams.

Numbered among these Delaware tribes were the Munsees, or Wolf, which a century before were centered in the Delaware Valley, as well as the Mahicans who earlier occupied the region of the Upper Hudson near the shores of Lake Champlain. Under unrelenting Iroquois pressure, they had joined the Delawares' westward migration.

At this juncture in time and history, the persecuted Delawares were presented an opportunity to strike back at their tormentors. They were now within close range of the French and, having won support of the western tribes, asserted their independence from the Iroquois. For the next half century, however, Iroquois strategy led the Delawares to spend most of their efforts in opposing the westward movement of the whites and less against their long-time adversaries. It was during this epoch that the Delawares established six villages between the Piankishaw and White Rivers in Indiana.

When the French and Indian War broke out between England and France, the Delawares seemed ready to take the field against the French, but they threatened that if they were not employed under the English flag they would take the side of of the French. In July 1775, Shawnees and Lenapes attacked the border settlements in Virginia and Maryland, then crossed the Delaware to carry the war into Jersey and as far north as the settlements east of the Shawangunk Mountains of southeastern New York and those along the junction of the Neversink and Delaware Rivers.

Teedyuscung of the Lenapes now came to the front in dealing with Sir William Johnson, British agent to the Iroquois Confederation. In July Johnson had a conference with the Lenape chieftain, at which certain agreements were reached, but

history indicates most of them were forgotten. The war continued, gaining severity, until during September of that year when the principal chiefs of the Lenapes were killed, their families slaughtered and their town of Kittanning reduced to ashes.

This defeat did not terminate the war, however. Scalping parties spread throughout Pennsylvania and reached into Mamakating Valley of Sullivan County, New York.

The strife went on, and Teedyuscung became leader of ten or more Lenape tribes, a position he mainained at Easton where in 1758 the Six Nations, Delawares and other Indian tribes met in conference. When the Iroquois sought to revive the old claim of superiority, Teedyuscung retained the distinction he had acquired.

Although the Algonquians eventually were able to relieve pressure upon them from the Iroquois, that of the whites proved irresistible. During 1774, an old Leni-Lenape chief, Bald Eagle, had his village on the right bank of Bald Eagle's Creek near today's Milesburg, Center County, Pa. Sometime that year he was murdered, scalped and sent adrift in his canoe, a fair example of the deeds which occurred between the whites and the Delawares from the outbreak of hostilities in 1775, notwithstanding a great number of treaties for peace had been negotiated.

October 10, 1774, the battle of Point Pleasant was fought at the mouth of the Great Kanawha River in West Virginia. In this confrontation a thousand Algonquians and western Mengwe fought desperately but, though the latter were under Logan and Cornstalk, they were defeated.

Leni-Lenapes Were Algonquians

The several tribes of Leni-Lenapes occupying the Delaware Valley were members of the western branch of the widespread Algonquians. Called Delawares by the British, these Indians populated the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut and adjacent sections of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

It has been established that for more than 5,000 years this area had been the home grounds of human residents, but who were the occupants preceding these Algonquians can only be conjectured from archeological studies. Radiocarbon dating among Indian sites indicates that during the Early Archaic period some pre-Indian hunters were residents throughout the area. Perhaps 4,500 years ago an aggressive hunting people overspread the region and ultimately became the predominant Archaic occupants of the Northeast. It would appear that some 2,000 years ago representatives of the Algonquians had made themselves at home in this area. It is estimated today that there are 90,000 of these Indians who dwell elsewhere.

In discussing the slow-evolving development in this section of the United States, the New York Museum and Science Service comments:

"Among recognized, but still largely undescribed Late Archaic-period cultures, there is one marked by the use of cooking pots of steatite (soapstone) and narrow-bladed points with "fish-tail" bases, probably for tipping javelins, since it is doubtful whether the bows and arrows were yet known in this part of the world. The artifacts apparently pertain to a pre-pottery period of varying length in sundry parts of the Eastern United States, during which people with variations in some other elements of their culture were replacing perishable cooking receptacles of wood or bark with stone vessels."

This change from stone pots to pottery included adoption of

"stone, shell and copper ornaments, tubular smoking pipes, and a complex burial ceremonialism, utilizing extensive grave offerings, including ritualistic objects and symbolic ocher." There are indications that food production began at about this stage of cultural development of the Leni-Lenape tribesmen.

Archaeologists find support for the theory that these changes in culture were brought about by newcomers from the north and resultant intermarrages. The effect of these modifications in the life of the permanent residents of the area was to change them from small, nomadic bands, who searched for food, to larger groups that adopted a neo-village life. Thus, the Leni-Lenapes became "more or less sedentary village bands of pottery-making agriculturists."

With the coming of European explorers, the historical era of these ancient Algonquian people begins. Early explorers were Cabot in 1498, Contereals in 1501-1502, and Giovanni de Verrazanoe in 1524. But it was not until 1609, when Hudson sailed up the Hudson River, that a degree of permanency was established for observation of the Leni-Lenape.

In contrast to the neighboring Iroquois whose five tribes were closely united in a confederation, the Algonquians were "loosely organized into several confederacies, each under leadership of one strong band or tribe." In turn, these bands were made up of small villages, each "comprising one or more lineages or groups of families related by blood or marriage."

A common language did not exist. Early observers noted that tribes living scarcely fifteen miles apart could barely understand each other's speech. DeLaet, a Dutch observer, recorded that "The barbarians being divided into many nations and people, differ much from one another in language although very little in manners."

Some of these observers described the Leni-Lenape as "well-limbed, slender around the waist, and broad-shouldered," strong in physical constitution and rarely deformed. They shared, with American Indians generally, stralght black hair, dark eyes and swarthy skins, "resembling in color the Gypsies of Central Europe." Verrazano reported, "they are of a very fair complexion; some of them incline more to a white, and others to a tawny colour."

Denton observed in 1670, "They grease their bodies and hair very often, and paint their faces with several colors such as black, white, red, yellow, blew, etc., which they take great pride in, every one being painted in a several manner."

After the Leni-Lenape adopted a more sedentary type of living, they congregated in villages of various sizes. The preferred location of a settlement was naturally along streams, inlets or bays, for they were to depend on these for sources of food in spite of their attempts at food production. Dwelling sites were on higher elevations to afford drainage, but at convenient distances from fishing sites. For hunting they moved for the season out of the village to temporary shelters inland.

When invasion and infiltration threatened these primordial villages, the settlements were enclosed by log-stockaded walls for protection. This was a development found among numerous groups of aborigines of New York and Northeastern United States. Each group had its domain marked by such natural boundaries as afforded fishing and hunting grounds, garden land or other sites which offered harvests of nuts, roots, and other materials used in their simple fabrication of matting, thatching, as well as medicinal plants.

Within the villages the dwellings varied in size so as to accommodate an individual family or several related by blood, marriage or adoption. In general, these dwellings were of two types: a wigwam and a loghouse, of which the former was the more common. It was round and domed, ten to thirty feet or more in diameter, constructed of poles set in the ground and tied together with bark rope. These were covered with overlapping bark, grass or rush matting, to produce roofing and sidewalls. Entrance was by means of a small, round-shaped doorway on one side of the structure.

Upon entering the wigwam, a low pole bench, covered with matting or skins, circled the sidewalls and served as both bed and chair. Shallow and roughly bowl-shaped firepits scooped out of the dirt floor held the fire which provided heat for cooking, warming and lighting for the primitive shelter. There were no chimneys, but smoke was emitted through a hole at the top of the wigwam, its edges covered with mud as fire protection.

Verrazano reported dwellings made of logs split in halves

"without any regularity of architecture, and covered with roofs of straw, nicely put on." Another of his observations adds to our picture of their habits when he recorded: "They change their habitations from place to place as circumstances of situation and season may require; this is easily done as they have only to take with them their mats, and they have other houses prepared at once. The father and the whole family dwell together in one house in great numbers; in some we saw twenty-five and thirty persons.

Descriptions of dwellings on Cape Cod varied considerably from those in the lower Hudson Valley where domed wigwams prevailed. Some of Hudson's men visited a small community along the river and left this description of the dwellings:

"A house well constructed of oak bark, and circular in shape, so that it had the appearance of being built with an arched roof. It contained a great quantity of maize or Indian corn and beans of last year's growth, and there lay near the house for the purpose of drying enough to load three ships, besides what was growing in the fields. On our coming into the house, two mats were spread out to sit upon, and immediately some food was served in well-made red wooden bowls; two men were also dispatched at once with bows and arrows in quest of game, who after brought in a pair of pigeons which they had shot."

Just when the Leni-Lenape began producing food has not been determined, but charred corn and beans found in prehistoric locations indicate a change to a new economy. The early historic period offers corn, beans, squash and tobacco seeds to prove evidence of progress in the change.

Food producers of the Leni-Lenape were the women. They tilled the soil, sowed, cultivated, collected and stored the crops. Storage included making of grass or bast (Indian hemp) bags in which the foodstuff was placed before being stored in pits near the wigwam. These pits were lined with bark or grass. Kernels of corn were "ground" in several devices, including wooden mortars, pestles and stone. Bread from this meal was baked in the ashes or boiled in pottery vessels; it was a "poor" product. Mixed with colored beans, this meal produced succotash which, in turn, with johnnycake, hominy and samp, was adopted by early settlers along the New England coast.

"Into their stewpots and baking pits," says the New York State archaeologist, "went a wide assortment of mammals, birds, fish and even reptiles. While deer, bear, turkey, shellfish and waterfowl were highly favored, dogs, snakes, frogs, eagles, skunks, foxes, and other creatures repulsive to the European-trained tastes, were prepared for consumption, sometimes without bothering to remove the entrails."

As was the custom among the Iroquois, there seems to have been no set time for meals. The pot was on the fire at all times, and whoever passed by stopped to eat. "Food hopitality was a highly developed trait. The eater sat on a coarsely woven mat of grass or rushes; his equipment included a wooden bowl, and spoon, a stone, later iron knife, and a gourd of water, the only beverage served."

The Leni-Lenape used the bow with flint- or bone-tipped arrows, spears, clubs both in war and in hunting. Traps and snares were used in hunting, one effective form of the latter being the spring-pole and snare with leg catch, a device utilizing a sapling that was bent over and a noose attached. Fish nets, weirs and spears were used to catch fish.

For water transportation the dugout was employed; it was propelled with paddles also scooped out of wood. These dugouts carried as many as twenty persons. Fire and scraping were used in shaping dugouts and wooden bowls as well.

It appears that a clan organization among the Leni-Lenape, comparable to that of their neighbors, the Iroquois, was never developed. Basic to their social organization was the family which embraced the offspring of a couple, their spouses and their children, all living in one wigwam or longhouse when numbers called for larger quarters. Over each family an old man exerted control. Thus, there arose a village whose inhabitants were blood relatives in varying degree, and over which a chief presided. Over a group of chieftaincies authority was assigned to a hereditary sachem who ruled with assistance of village and tribal chiefs. War chiefs were elected by civil councils and superseded sachems in matters of warfare.

There is information to indicate that marriage was singular, except occasionally when a powerful chief had two, three or even four wives at a time. Presents from the bridegroom or his

parents to the bride's mother or parents, established the union. Divorce was a simple disavowal by the wife, who took the children to a new domicile. Affection for children was pronounced on the part of both parents.

Although archaeological evidences indicate warfare among the Leni-Lenape tribes, it was largely confined to feuds, murders and raiding. When Europeans first appeared, they were treated friendly, the natives bringing gifts of food which included corn, pumpkins, beans, oysters, and tobacco. Local disputes, however, and violence accompanied Hudson's trip down the river.

Leni-Lenape soldiers were reported as perfidious and as accomplishing their aims by treachery, deception, and favored night attacks. They made little of death, reported an early observer, who added "and despise all torture that can be inflicted upont them." Some prisoners were not put to death but adopted into the tribe, especially women and children. Other captives were ransomed by payment of wampum.

Originally white wampum was made of the hard-shell clam, called the quahog, and the whelk; it was the ordinary variety. The purple form from the dark spot of the hard-shelled clam possessed twice the value of the white wampum. The Dutch are credited with establishing size and value for use as money. Wampum circulated as loose beads or in strings, and was extensively used for ornamentation of person and in belts for treaty making, messages, mourning, and record keeping. They may be called the Indian's notebook in the latter uses.

When the Indians first saw Hudson's *Half Moon*, they anticipated a visit from the Manitos, one of their deities. Some of these spirits were good, others bad. Identified with various phenomena, "nature spirits," manitos represented the sun, fire, winds, lightning and thunder; some tribes considered these spirits as a good god, superior to others.

Green corn and harvest festivals were among ceremonial occasions observed throughout the year. Omens were sought far in advance of important undertakings; the women, who were the planters, especially studied the stars to ascertain favorable seasons for planting seed.

A shaman, or doctor, was relied upon as interpreter of the

supernatural. Believing that disease was caused by intrusion of a harmful body or evil spirt, the doctor blew upon the afflicted area or attempted to withdraw the infection by sucking on a bone tube applied to the patient. Herbal medicines and the sweat bath also were resorted to. Seated in a bathhouse, where steam was produced by throwing water on heated stones, the subject withstood the sweating as long as he could, then he plunged into a creek or a snowbank to check the process.

Ceremonial use of wooden masks and rawhide drums by the Leni-Lenape has been established, as has been pictographic writing. In this medium the *Walam Olum* or migration legend was recorded.

"When death came, the Leni-Lenape have been reported as demonstrative in their grief, and faithful to each other in illness. In some tribes they blackened their faces in mourning, and women cut off their hair and burned it on the graves of husbands and sons. Formerly, the corpse was interred in a fixed position on its side in a grave dug by old women and lined with bark. The body was dressed in the best clothes soon after death, laid on a mat or skin in the middle of the hut, and surrounded by the personal effects of the deceased. Between sunset and daybreak, female relatives assembled around the body to mourn over it."

During the 16th and 17th centuries, the Leni-Lenape population in southeastern New York and as far up the Hudson River as Cohoes, appears to have been the greatest ever attained. With the coming of the Europeans and their firearms, contests that ensued resulted in death for the inhabitants who had held the territory against infiltrators. But diseases carried by the newcomers were to wreak disaster among woods people before they developed immunities or means of overcoming the maladies. Epidemics of measles and smallpox by 1635 reduced their numbers so greatly as to break their resistance to white settlement in their land. A few years later they moved from their ancient homeland. Today some of the Delawares live in Oklahoma, Ontario (Canada), and elsewhere. With some of the Munsees residing in Shawano County, Wisconsin, a few descendants of their old neighbors, the Mahican, lived under the name of the Stockbridge Indians.

Peace Party and War Party

Commencement of the Revolutionary War was, among the Delawares as among their more civilized neighbors, a period of great excitement. Strong efforts were made by the British authorities on the northern frontier, and yet stronger ones by individual refugees and vagabonds in the British interest, to prejudice them against the American people, and induce them to make common cause wth their "Father" over the "Big Water," in correcting the sins of his disobedient children.

The Continental Congress, on the other hand, contented itself with keeping the Delawares, as far and as long as possible, in a state of neutrality. In consequence of these opposite influences and old propossessions entertained by various parties and persons in the Indian nation, a violent struggle ensued: for war on one side, and for peace on the other. In due course there developed some most remarkable individual traits and diplomatic maneuvers.

Leader of the peace party was Kochgaucawkeghton, called by the Americans Capt. White Eyes, who was head of the Turtle tribe in Ohio. Captain Pipe of the Wolf tribe, living and having his council fire fifteen miles northward from White Eyes' location, devoted his talents to promoting the plan of a belligerent union with the British.

Incidental circumstances, such as old wrongs or at least imagined ones, from the Colonists, on one side, and from old favors on the other, no doubt had their effects in producing this divesity of feelings. The ambition and jealousy of Captain Pipe whose spirit, otherwise noble, was of such a haughty order that he would not "have served in heaven" when he might "reign" elsewhere in the universe. These feelings are believed to have gone further than any other cause to create and keep up discontent among the Delawares, and disturbances between them and Americans.

Pipe was certainly a great man, but White Eyes was still his superior and his senior, besides having the advantage of a clear conscience.

Pipe, like other politicians, uniformly professed his readiness to join any measure proper "to save the nation." But the difficulty was bedded in the fact that these were precisely the same measures which White Eyes thought would destroy it. The former, like most of the Wolf tribe, whose temperment had been studied, was warlike, energetic, and restless. He brooded over old resentments, he panted for revenge, and longed for the coming of an era which should turn "rogues" out of office and bring "honest men" in.

With these feelings, his ingenuity could not be long without adequate arguments and artifices to operate on the minds of his countrymen. Their most remarkable effect soon became manifest: to attach them to himself rather than to any particular principles. They were ready to fight as men if need be, but Pipe was expected to monopolize the thinking and talking.

Better understanding of the principles of the peace party is clarified in the exposition made by White Eyes and others of the character of the contest between the British and Americans. Its effect was to convince the Indians that they had no concern with either party but that their welfare clearly suggested the policy, as well as the propriety, of maintaining amicable terms with both.

"Suppose a father," it was said, "had a little son whom he loved and indulged while young, but growing up to be a youth, began to think of having some help from him; and making up a small pack, bade him carry it for him. The boy cheerfully takes the pack, following his father with it. The father finding the boy willing and obedient, continues on his way; and as the boy grows stronger, so the father makes the pack larger in proportion. Yet as long as the boy is able to carry the pack, he does so without grumbling.

"At length, the boy having arrived at manhood, and while the father is making up the pack for him, in comes a person of evil disposition. Upon learning who is to be the carrier of the pack, advises the father to make it heavier, for surely the son is now able to carry a large pack. The father listening rather

to the bad adviser than consulting his own judgment and the feelings of tenderness, follows the advice of the hard-hearted adviser, and make up a heavier load for his son to carry. The son, examining the weight of the load he is to carry, addresses his parent: 'Dear father, this pack is too heavy for me to carry, do pray lighten it; I am willing to do what I can, but am unable to carry this load.'

"The father's heart having become hardened and the bad adviser calling to him, 'whip him if he disobeys and refuses to cary the pack.' Now, in a pre-emptory tone, he orders his son to take up the pack and carry it. Threatening to whip him, the father immediately takes up a stick to beat him.

" 'So,' says the son, 'Am I to be served thus for not doing what I am unable to do? Well, if entreaties avail nothing with you, father, and it is decided by blows, whether or not I am able or not to carry a pack so heavy, then I have no other choice left me, but that of resisting your unreasonable demand by my strength; so, by striking each other we may see who is the stronger.' "

But this doctrine, however sound, did not prove wholly effectual against the exertions of Pipe. He was continually either making movements or taking advantage of such as occurred, to discourage the influence of his rival, and, of course, to establish his own. He conradicted whatever was said, and counteracted whatever was done by White Eyes, until the whole system of intercourse of the Delawares with each other and with other nations became a labyrinth of inconsistencies and counterplots.

About the commencement of the war, White Eyes, with some of his tribe, visited the Americans at Pittsburgh, where they met in conference with a number of the Seneca tribe, a people particularly attached to the British interests at the time. The object of their visit probably was to ascertain and perhaps influence the policies of the Delawares, relying much on the power of the great confederacy to which they belonged. Not only did they fail to overcome White Eyes, politically and personally, but they could not prevent him from publicly advocating the principles he avowed. So angry were they at a speech he addressed to the meeting at Pittsburgh, that they undertook

to check him by hissing, in an insolent and insulting manner, that it ill became him to express himself thus independently, whose tribe were but women, and had been made such by the Five Nations. This woman illusion, of course, referred to an old reproach which had often before been used to humiliate the Delawares.

Frequently it had this effect. But White Eyes was not of a temper to brook an insult under any circumstances. With an air of the most haughty disdain, he sat patiently until the Seneca had done, and then rose and replied:

"I know," he said gravely, "I know well, that you consider us a conquered nation, as women, as your inferiors. You have, you say, shortened our legs, and put petticoats on us! You say you have given us a hoe and a corn-pounder, and told us to plant and pound for you, you men, you warriors! But look at me! Am I not full grown, and have I not a warrior's dress? Aye, I am a man, and these are the arms of a man (showing his musket); and all that country (waving his hand proudly in the direction of the Alleghany River), all that country, on the other side of the water is mine." (He was speaking, according to common custom, in the name of the nation).

A more courageous address was perhaps never made to a council of Indians. Indeed, it went beyond the spirit of the tribe, apprehensive as they were of the indignation of the powerful people he had thus bearded. Although many were gratified, many others were frightened or, perhaps, at Pipe's instigation, pretended to be frightened out of the ranks of the peace party into those of the war party. The Munsees took the lead in that movement, and they even humiliated themselves so much as to send word to the Five Nations that they disapproved of what White Eyes had said.

About the same time, Captain Pipe left off regular attendance at councils of the Turtle tribe. Probably this action was motivated by a conviction that his intrigues were becoming daily more manifest, and he endeavored to circulate an impression that White Eyes had made secret engagements with the Americans to aggrandize himself at the expense of his countrymen.

Meanwhile, White Eyes was laboring night and day to pre-

serve peace among the tribes by sending embassies and by other energetic measures. In some places, he succeeded, but in others the maneuvers of his adversary prevailed. A message sent to the Sandusky Wyandots in 1776 was insolently answered by a hint to the Delawares "to keep good shoes in readiness for joining the warriors."

White Eyes himself headed a deputation to the same people near Detroit, but they refused to receive his peace belts, except in presence of the British governor at that station. When they were tendered in his presence, the governor seized them vigorously, cut them to pieces and threw them at the feet of the deputies. Then he told White Eyes that if he set any valuation on his head, he must be gone within half an hour.

Indefatigable efforts were made by the war party and by those foreigners who cooperated with them, especially in circulating reports unfavorable to the American character and cause. This campaign brought White Eyes very near to being sacrificed to the hot-tempered rashness of his own followers.

In March 1778, a number of Tories of infamous character escaped from Pittsburgh and told the Indians wherever they went that the Americans were coming upon them from all quarters. These miscreants urged that now is the only time for saving themselves by commencing hostilities. The Delawares were filled with consternation and, for a day or two, White Eyes was unable to stem the torrent of popular feeling. But he recovered his influence as they recovered their composure, and knowing that his conduct in the affair would be closely watched by his rival, he called a general council of the nation, in which he proposed to delay committing hostilities against the American people for ten days, during which time they might obtain more certain information as to the truth of the assertions by these men.

Pipe, considering this a proper time for placing White Eyes in the background, construed his wise and prudent advice as though he was in on the secret. Pipe now proposed that his own council "declare every man an enemy to the nation, that should throw an obstacle in the way that might tend to prevent taking up arms instantly against the American people."

White Eyes perceived that the blow was aimed at himself,

but he parried it by immediately assembling and addressing his party by themselves.

"If you will go out in this war," said he, observing the preparations of some of them, "you shall not go without me. I have taken peace measures, it is true, with the view of saving my tribe from destruction. But if you think me in the wrong, if you give more credit to runaway vagabonds than to your own friends, to a man, to a warrior, to a Delaware; if you insist upon fighting the Americans, go! And I will not go like the bear hunter, who sets his dog upon the animal to be beaten about with his paws, while he keeps himself in a safe distance. No! I will lead you on. I will place myself in the front. I will fall with the first of you! You can do as you choose, but as for me I will not survive my nation. I will not live to bewail the miserable destruction of a brave people, who deserved, as you do, a better fate."

This spirited harangue had the desired effect. The assembly declared, with all the enthusiasm which a grave Indian council is ever willing to manifest, that they would at least wait ten days, as he wished. Some added that they would never fight the Americans but with their leader.

But Pipe and his party redoubled their efforts, and before the appointed term had expired, many of the Delawares had shaved their heads in readiness for the war plume. Though his request for delay was attended to, White Eyes was threatened with a violent death if he should say one word for the American interest. On the ninth day, vigorous preparations were made for sending out war parties, for no news had yet arrived to abate the excitement.

At this critical juncture it happened that the German missionary Heckewelder from Pittsburgh with some attendants, had arrived among the Christian Delawares in the nighborhood of Goshocking, the settlement of White Eyes. He became an ear-and-eye witness for the sequel of the affair and later reported in detail that is somewhat abbreviated here.

"Finding the matter so very pressing, and even not admitting of a day's delay, I consented, that after a few hours' rest and sleep, and furnished with a trusty companion and a fresh horse, I would proceed. Between three and four o'clock in the

morning, the national assistant, John Martin, having called on men for the purpose, we set out, swimming our horses across the Muskingum River and taking a circuit through the woods in order to avoid the encampment of the war party which was close to our path.

"Arriving by ten o'clock in the forenoon within sight of the town, a few yells were given by a person who had discovered us and intended to notify the inhabitants that a white man was coming. This immediately drew the whole body of Indians into the streets but, although I saluted them in passing, not a single person returned the compliment which, as many a conductor observed, was not a good omen. Even Captain White Eyes, and the other chiefs who had befriended me, now stepped back when I reached out my hand to them. This conduct, however, did not dismay me, as I observed among the crowd some men well known to me as spies of Captain Pipe, watching the actions of these peace chiefs. I was satisfied that the act of refusing my hand had been done from policy and not from ill-will towards my person.

"Indeed, in looking around, I thought I could read joy in the countenances of many of them, in seeing me among them at so critical a juncture, when they, but a few days before, had been told by those deserters, that nothing short of their total destruction had been resolved upon by the 'Long Knives' (the Virginians, or new American people). Yet as no one would reach out his hand, I inquired into the cause, when Captain White Eyes, boldly stepping forward, replied: 'that by what had been told them by these men (McKee and party), they no longer had a single friend among the American people; if therefore this be so, they must consider every white man who came to them from that side, as an enemy, who only came to them to deceive them, and put them off their guard for the purpose of giving the enemy an opportunity of taking them by surprise.'

"I replied, that the imputation was unfounded, and that, were I not their friend, they never would have seen me here."

" 'Then,' continued Captain White Eyes, 'you will tell us the truth wth regard to what I state to you!'

"Assuring him of this, he in a strong tone, asked me: 'Are

the American armies all cut to pieces by the English troops? Is General Washington killed? Is there no more Congress, and have the English hung some of them, and taken the remainder to England, to hang them there? Is the whole country beyond the mountains in the possession of the English; and are the few Americans who have escaped then now embodying themselves on the side of the mountains, for the purpose of kiling all the Indians in this country, even our women and children? Now do not deceive us, but speak the truth; is all true that I have said to you?'

"I declared before the whole assembly, that not one word of what he had just now told me was true, and holding out to him, as I had done before, the friendly speeches sent by me for them, which he however as yet refused to accept. I thought, by the countenance of most of the bystanders that I could perceive the moment bid fair for their listening at least to the contents of those speeches, and accidentally catching the eye of the drummer, I called to him to beat the drum for the assembly to meet, for the purpose of hearing what their American brethren had to say to them.

"A general smile having taken place, White Eyes thought the favorable moment arrived to put the question, and having addressed the assembly in these words: 'Shall we, my friends and relatives, listen once more to those who call us their brethren?'

"Which questions being loudly and as with one voice answered in the affirmatitive, the drum was beat, and the whole body quickly repairing to the spacious council house, the speeches all of which were of the most pacific nature, were read and interpreted to them. Then Captain White Eyes rose, and in an elaborate address to the assembly, took particular notice of the good disposition of the American people towards the Indians. He observed that they never as yet called them to fight the English, knowing that wars are destructive to nations, and they had from the beginning of the war to the present time always advised them [the Indians] to remain quiet, and not take up the hatchet against either side.

"A newspaper, containing the capitulation of General Burgoyne's army, having been found enclosed in the packet, Cap-

tain White Eyes once more rose up, and holding the paper unfolded, with both his hands, so that all could have a view of it, said:

" 'See, my friends and relatives, this document containeth great events, not the song of a bird, but the truth.' Then stepping up to me, he gave me his hand, saying, 'You are welcome with us, brother'; when everyone followed his example."

Thus White Eyes again triumphed over his rival, Captain Pipe, and the chagrin on the latter was the more keen because, relying on the improved prospects of his party, he had recently committed himself more openly than before. But the spies whom he kept constantly at Goshocking now brought him the doleful news that the predictions of Whote Eyes were all verified. The chieftain himself completed his success by sending runners, immediately after the council broke up, to the Shawnee towns on the Scioto, where the Tories had already gone for the purpose of trying their game upon the tribe.

"Grandchildren!" was the laconic greeting, "ye Shawnees! Some days ago a flock of birds from the East lit in Goshocking, singing a song here which had well nigh proved our ruin. Should these birds, which on leaving us took flight towards Scioto, endeavor to impose their song on you, do not listen to them, for they lie!"

Lichtenau, a German word signifying pastures of light, was a village of Moravian Delawares on the east shore of the Muskingum River, three miles from Goshocton, Ohio. Established in 1775, it was later abandoned because of the hostilities manifested by the Hurons and other warlike tribes, reoccupied by hostile Indians and named Indaochais. During 1781 it was destroyed by the Americans.

Captain Pipe

Captain Pipe was the name the whites bestowed upon this hereditary sachem of the Wolf tribe of the Delawares which once had its council seat at Minisink. Pipe's tribal name was Hopocan but after 1762 he was known among his people as Koniesschaguanokee, or Maker of Daylight. He was war chief of his tribe, and possessor of gifts of wisdom and oratory that made him prominent in councils.

During the French and Indian War (1756-1763) he fought against the British and was taken prisoner in 1764 after defeat of his plan to capture Fort Pitt. At conclusion of peace, he settled with his clan on the Muskingum River in Ohio, attended the councils of his tribe at Turtle Village and Fort Pitt until the Revolutionary War broke out, when he joined the British cause.

He informed the British that he would not act savagely toward the whites because he had no interest in the quarrel except to procure subsistence for his people. However, when Col. William Crawford was taken captive while leading a party of militia in retaliation for massacre of Moravian Indians, he fell into Pipe's hands and suffered torture before being put to death.

At Fort Pitt September 17, 1778, Pipe signed the first treaty between the United States and Indians. Eventually, he moved to Captain Pipe's village, near Upper Sandusky, where he died in 1794. There is a less well-established date for his death put forth in a statement that he visited Washington, D.C., as late as 1817.

Pipe, too, for all his talent, was obnoxious to some very plain strictures regarding his own morality, and of course had no theoretical partiality or lectures on that subject. One council was compelled to wait for him to become sufficiently sober to participate in deliberations.

He was inimical to White Eyes, especially because this captain supported the cause of reform. Rather than stand second to him and at the same time surrender his own bad habits, Pipe determined at all hazards to array a party in opposition. It was both a personal and a political movement, the objects being self-defense in the first place and, in the second, distinction.

Such being the character of the scheme, it must still be admitted Captain Pipe exhibited great energy and great ingenuity in promoting it. After his rival's death, his own declarations, particularly, were much more frequent and fearless, and therefore more effectual than they had been.

"Thus," says Heckewelder, "when a young man of his tribe who had received his education in Virginia under the influence of Dr. Walker, on his return home to the Indian country in 1779, spread unfavorable reports of the Virginia people, representing them as exceeding the Indians in vicious acts, beating their Negroes unmercifully. Pipe would mockingly enumerate such vicious and cruel acts as the benefits of civilization."

He could at the same time, with truth, set forth the poverty of the United States in not having even a blanket, a shirt or any other article of Indian clothing to give them in exchange for their peltry. "Whereas," he said, "were it not for the English we should have to suffer, and perhaps many of us perish for want."

Pipe and the Munsees were those most dreaded. The effect of his operations was such that one year after the decease of White Eyes in 1781 the peace chiefs had, for their own safety, to withdraw themselves from their own stations and take refuge at Pittburgh.

In regard to the personal habits of Pipe, it may be doing him, as well as several other Indians of distinction, no more than justice, to allude to the well-known nature of the temptations to which they have sometimes been exposed, especially so on the frontiers during the war, and the excitement of an attempt by one civilized party to engage their services against another. The peculiar physical circumstances which, together with the character of their education, go to diminish their power to say that it would be a task more easy than gratifying to prove that

their misfortunes in this particular has only followed the fault of their civilized neighbors.

"Who are you, my friend?" said a gentleman in Pipe's time to an Indian at Pittsburgh, who was not so intoxicated as not to be ashamed of his situation.

"My name is Black Fish," he replied. "At home I am a clever fellow—here, I am a hog."

No one is under the disagreeable necessity of apologizing for everything related about Captain Pipe. He gave many evidences of a natural honor and humanity, even amid the bloodiest scenes of the Revolution, and contrary to the dictation of those who were qualified by everything but feelings, to understand his duty better than himself. Under strong excitement he attached himself to the British interests, and toward the close of the war scalping parties went out from his settlement. He was prejudiced against the Christian Indians, and molested them much. But none of these things were done in his cooler moments. What is more creditable to him, among the missionaries there was good reason to believe that he repented of all. The evidence of this fact appears in a transaction which took place at Detroit in November 1781, particulars of which were furnished by Loskiel and others.

On the occasion a grand Indian council was convened, at which were present large numbers of various tribes, including Captain Pipe's Wolf warriors who had just returned from a scalping expedition. Four of the Moravian missionaries also were there, having been summoned to attend at the suggestion of Pipe and others, for the purpose of deciding on several charges alleged against the missionaries.

The hall was filled with the concourse, the tribes being separately seated around it, on the right and left hand of the commandant. The Delawares with Pipe and his councilors at their head were directly in front. A war chief of each of the two divisions of Indians held in his hand a stick three or four feet in length, strung with scalps which they had taken in their last fray on the American frontier.

The council was opened by the commandant's signifying to Captain Pipe that he might make his report, when the latter rose from his seat, holding a stick in his left hand.

"Father," he began, and here he paused, turned around to the audience with a most sarcastic look, and then proceeded in a lower tone, as addressing them. "I have said Father, though indeed I do not know why I should call him so—I have never known any Father but the French—I have considered the English only as brothers. But as this name is imposed upon us, I shall make use of it today and say:

"Father," fixing his eyes again upon the commandant, "some time ago you put a war hatchet into my hands, saying, 'take this weapon and try it on the heads of any of my enemies, the Long Knives, and let me know afterwards if it was sharp and good.'

"Father, at the time when you gave me this weapon, I had neither cause nor wish to go to war against a foe who had done me no injury. But you say you are my father, and call me your child, and in obedience to you I received the hatchet. I knew that if I did not obey you, you would withhold from me [meaning the tribe] the necessaries of life which I could procure nowhere but here.

"Father, you may perhaps think me foolish for risking my life at your bidding, and that in a cause which I have no prospects of gaining anything. For it is your cause and not mine; you have raised a quarrel among ourselves, and you ought to fight it out; it is your concern to fight the Long Knives; you should not compel your children, the Indians, to expose themselves to danger for your sake.

"Now, Father, here is what has been done with the hatchet you gave me. [handing the stick with the scalps on it]. I have done with the hatchet what you ordered me to do, and found it sharp. Nevertheless, I did not do all that I might have done. No, I did not. My heart failed me within me. I felt compassion for your enemy. Innocents [women and children] had no part in your quarrels; therefore, I distinguished—I spared. I took some live flesh [prisoners] which, while I was bringing it to you, I spied one of your large canoes, on which I put it for you. In a few days you will receive their flesh, and find the skins the same color as your own.

"Father, many lives have already been lost on your account, the tribes have suffered, and have been weakened; children

have lost parents and brothers, wives have lost husbands; it is not known how many more may perish before your war will be at an end.

"Father, I have said, you may perhaps think me a fool, for thus foolishly rushing on your enemy! Do not believe this, Father. Think not that I want sense to convince me, that although you now pretend to keep up a personal enmity to the Long Knives, you may before long conclude a peace with them.

"Father, you say you love your children, the Indians. This you have often told them; and indeed it is your interest to say so to them that you may have them at your service.

"But, Father, who of us can believe that you can love a people of a different color from your own, better than those who have a white skin like yourselves?

"Father, pay attention to what I am going to say. While you, Father, are setting me [the nation] on your enemy, much in the same manner as a hunter sets his dog on the game; while I am in the act of rushing on that enemy of yours, with the bloody, destructive weapon you gave me, I may perchance, happen to look back to the place from whence you started me, and what shall I see? Perhaps, I may see my Father shaking hands with the Long Knives; yes, with those very people he now calls his enemies. I may then see him laugh at my folly for having obeyed his orders; and yet I am now risking my life at his command! Father, keep what I have said in remembrance.

"Father, I hope you will not destroy what I have saved. You, Father, have the means of preserving that which would perish with us from want. The warrior is poor, and his cabin is always empty; but your home, Father, is always full."

During the delivery of this harangue, which is said to have produced great effect on all present, especially on those who understood the language in which it was spoken. The orator two or three times advanced so far towards the commandant, in the heat of his excitement, that one of the officers present thought proper to interfere and request him to move back.

The other war chiefs now made their speeches, and then the commandant, an honorable and humane man nowithstanding the orator's strictures on his Father, called upon Pipe to substantiate his charge against the missionaries.

Pipe, who was still standing, was unwilling to make the attempt, but felt embarrassed. He began to shift and shuffle, and bending towards his councilors, asked them what he should say. They all hung their heads and were silent. Suddenly recollecting himself and rising up, he addressed the commandant:

"As I said before that some such thing might have happened, but now I will tell you the plain truth. The missionaries are innocent. What they have done, they were compelled to do," alluding to their having interpreted letters which the Delaware chief received from Pittsburgh. "We were to blame; we forced them to do it when they refused."

After some further conversation, the commandant declared the missionaries to be acquitted of all the accusations brought against them.

Pipe expressed his satisfaction at the result, and on returning from the council house, he asked some of the Delaware chieftains who were present, how they liked what he said. He observed, that he knew it was true, and added:

"I never wished your teachers any harm, knowing that they loved the Indians; but I have all along been imposed on and now, when these were to speak, they hung their heads, leaving me to extricate myself, after telling our Father things they had dictated and persuaded me to tell him."

This declaration had decidedly the air of candor and truth, and Captain Pipe's subsequent conduct was much more in accordance with the spirit of it than it had been before. He did not, however, distinguish himself particularly after the close of the war.

Captain White Eyes

The fact that Captain Pipe and his associates began to gain the ascendancy in the Delaware nation immediately on the death of his great antagonist, Captain White Eyes, and that they afterwards supported it with almost uninterrupted success, is alone sufficient to indicate the influence and character of White Eyes. Indeed, Pipe himself paid to his memory the compliment of declaring with solemn air, that "the Great Spirit had probably put him out of the way so that the nation might be saved." That sagacious personage was well aware that not Chiefs Killibuck, Big Cat, Gilikkican, or even together, would adequately occupy the station of the deceased chieftain.

White Eyes was distingushed as much for his milder virtues as for his courage and energy. As to his friendly disposition towards the Americans particularly, on which some imputations were industriously thrown by his enemies, we could desire no better evidence of its sincerity than is still extant. In that curious document, the *Journal of Frederick Post,* who as early as 1758 was sent among the Ohio Delawares by the governor of one of the states for the purpose of influencing them to renounce the French allegiance, is recorded the "speech" which Post carried back. Its closing paragraphs were:

"Brethren, when you have settled this peace and friendship, and finished it well, and you send the great peace belt to me, I will send it to all nations of my color; they will all join it, and will hold it fast.

"Brethren, when all the nations join to this friendship, then the day will begin to shine over us. When we hear once more of you, and we join together, then the day will be still, and no wind or storm will come over us to disturb us.

"Now, brethren, you know your hearts, and what we have to say: be strong, if you do what we have now told you, and

in this peace all the nations agree to join. Now, brethren, let the king of England know what our mind is as soon as you possibly can."

Among the subscribers to this speech appears the name of White Eyes under the form of the Indian term Cochguacawkegton. We have not met with any proof that he ever from that time wavered for a moment in his attachment to the American interests, as opposed first to the French and afterwards to the English. Post himself in 1792 was permitted to build a house on the banks of the Muskingum, where he had a lot of land given to him about a mile distant from the village of White Eyes. So, when Heckewelder first visited that country during the same season, he informs us that "the war chief Cochguacawkeghton" kindly entertained and supplied him and his party.

About the beginning of the Revolutionary War, when some of the Indians were much exasperated by murders and trespasses which certain civilized ruffians committeed on the frontiers, an Ohio trader was met and massacred in the woods by a party of Senecas. In their rage they cut up the body and garnished the bushes with the remains, raised the scalp yell and marched off in triumph. White Eyes being in the vicinity and hearing the yell, immediately commenced a search for the body, the remnants of which he collected and buried.

The party returned the following day and, observing what had been done, privately opened the grave and scattered the contents more widely than before. But White Eyes was this time on the watch for them. He repaired to the spot again the moment they left, succeded in finding every part of the mangled body, and then carefully interred it in a grave he dug with his own hands. Here it was at length suffered to repose unmolested.

It was about the same time when this affair happened, that the chieftain saved the life of one Duncan, an American peace messenger, whom he had undertaken to escort through a section of the wilderness. A hostile Shawnee was upon the point of discharging his musket at Duncan from behind a tree, when White Eyes rushed forward, regardless of his own peril, and compelled the savage to desist.

In 1777 Heckewelder had an occasion to avail himself of a similar kindness. Rather rashly, that year he undertook to traverse the forests from the Muskingum to Pittsburgh, wishing to visit English friends in that quarter. White Eyes resided at a distance of seventeen miles, but hearing of this intended journey, he immediately came to see Heckewelder, accompanied by another chief, Wingemund, and several of his young men.

These, he said, his good friend the missionary should have as an escort. And, moreover, he must go himself. "He could not suffer me to go," says the missionary, "while the Sandusky warriors were out on war excursions, without a proper escort, and himself at my side." It should be observed, that besides the Sandusky warriors there were several other tribes who had already engaged on the British side and were spreading death and desolation along the whole of the American frontier. The party set out together and reached their destination in safety. An alarm occurred only on one occasion when the scouts discovered a suspicious track and reported accordingly. White Eyes, who was riding before his friend while Wingemund brought up behind, turned about and asked if he [Heckewelder] was afraid.

"No," said the missionary, "not while you are with me."

"You are right," quickly rejoined White Eyes. "You are right; no man shall harm you till I am laid prostrate."

"Not even then," added Wingemund, "for they must conquer me also; they must lay us side by side."

Heckewelder certainly did them justice in believing that both would have redeemed their promises.

The older Moravians, and the Indian congregation under their charge in Ohio, were still more indebted to the good chieftain. In 1774 the Christian party had become obnoxious to a majority of the pagan Delaware chiefs, and it was several times proposed to expell them by force. "But God brought their counsel to nought," Loskiel said, "and appointed for this purpose the first captain among the Delawares, called White Eyes," who kept the chiefs and council in awe, and would not suffer them to injure the missionaries. Finding his efforts still unavailing, White Eyes at length went so far as to separate

himself wholly from his opponents, and resolved to renounce power, country and kindred, for the sake of these just and benevolent men, whom he could not bear to see persecuted.

His firmness met with deserved success. Even the old chief, Netawatees, who had opposed him most fiercely, acknowledged the injustices which had been done White Eyes. Netawatees not only changed his views in regard to the Christians, but published his recantation in the presence of the whole council. White Eyes then again came forward and repeated a proposal for a national regulation to be made, whereby the Christians should be specifically put under Delaware protection. Although this had formerly been rejected, it was now promptly agreed to, and the act passed. The old chieftain expressed great joy on that occasion:

"I am an old man," said Netawatees, "and know not how long I may live. I, therefore, rejoice that I have been able to make this act. Our children and grandchildren will reap the benefit of it, and now I am ready to die whenever God pleases."

Netawatees died in Pittsburgh in 1776, much lamented by the Delawares and many neighboring nations. "This wise man spared no pains to conciliate the affections of all his neighbors. He sent frequent embassies to his grandchildren, admonishing them to keep the peace, and proved in truth a wise grandfather to them." Being the senior chief of the nation, his opinion was of great weight; he declared himself warmly in favor of the Christians and first invited them to settle on the Muskingum. His grandson, nephew and son and family also joined them.

Loskiel states that White Eyes was in his own heart convinced of the truth of the gospel, and adds: "This was evident in all his speeches in behalf of the Christians, during which he was so moved that tears frequently prevented his words. He likewise declared with confidence, that no prosperity would attend the Indian affairs unless they received and believed the saving gospel sent from God by means of the Brethren."

Not long before his death White Eyes took public occasion to repeat the last will and testament of Netawatees, that "the Delawares should hear the word of God." He held the Bible and some spelling books in his hand, and addressed the council in a strain of the most animated and moving eloquence.

"My friends, you have now heard the dying wish of our departed chief. I will, therefore, gather together my young men and their children. I will kneel down before the Great Spirit who created them and me. I will pray unto him, that he may have mercy upon us, and reveal his will unto us. And as we cannot declare it to those who are not yet born, we will pray unto the Lord our God to make it known to our children's children."

Still, White Eyes regarded Christianity more as a civil than as a religious system. He was a man of enlarged political views, and no less a patriot than a statesman. The ends he aimed at were far more his country's than his own. He observed the superiority of the white man to the red, and nearer home the prosperity and happiness of the Christian Delawares, and convinced himself thoroughly of the true causes of both. He, therefore, earnestly desired that his whole nation might be civilized, to which result he considered Christianity, as he had seen it taugh by the good Moravians, the best possible peace promotive.

But in this notable solicitude for his countrymen, he forgot himself. Hence, even Loskiel, on mentioning his decease, stated with an almost reluctant honesty:

"Captain White Eyes, who had so often advised other Indians with great earnestness to believe in the gospel of Jesus Christ, but had always postponed joining the believers himself, on account of being entangled in political concerns, was unexpectedly called into eternity." He added affectionately, 'the Indian congregation,' to which he had rendered very essential service, was much affected by the news of his death, and could not but hope that God our Saviour had received his soul in mercy."

Heckewelder sums up the matter by saying: "His ideas were, that unless the Indians changed their mode of living, they would in time come to nothing. To encourage them toward such a change, he told them to take the example of the Christian Indians who by their industry had everything they could wish for

"In a word, there was more philanthropy and more philosophy in the religion of White Eyes than there was piety. Hence,

his eloquence, his energy, his strong affection for the missionaries, and his sacrifices for them and for his countrymen. He was a good man, by the force of native conscience, as he was a great man by the force of native sense. Though to have yearned Christianity, in addition to loving some of those who professed it, might have made him both better and greater than he was. We cannot but hope, as it is with the Christian Delawares, 'that God our Saviour has received his soul in mercy.' It would give us very sincere pleasure to be able to say as much for the paganism of Captain Pipe who, on the contrary, was opposed to the religion of the white as inadvertently as any of the New England sachems of the seventeenth century, and apparently for similar reasons."

But White Eyes was not destined to enjoy the result of his labors. In the winter of 1779-80 he visited Pittsburgh for the purpose of consulting the Indian agent on the means for preserving peace. He accompaned General McIntosh and his army to Tuscarora, where a fort was being built to protect the Indians, took the smallpox at the place and soon died.

The event produced a sensation almost unprecedented in the Delaware tribe, and throughout a wide region in the vicinity. The intelligence was sent to various confederate or relative tribes at the distance of hundreds of miles, and counter deputations of condolence came from all quarters. Heckewelder's account of the embassy of the Cherokee strikingy indicates the reputation acquired by White Eyes during his life, as well as the great respect subsequently paid his memory.

The deputation, consisting of fourteen men, of whom two were principal chiefs, was accompanied from their country to Goshocking by a nephew of Captain White Eyes. Soon after the commencement of the Revolution, the Captain dispatched him thither by Delaware chiefs for the purpose of using his endeavors in keeping the national peace. When this deputation had arrived within three miles of Goshocking and within one of Lichtenau, they made a halt for the purpose of having the customary ceremony performed by them. This was done by one of the councilors from the village.

In an address and with a string of wampum, he drew the thorns and briars out of their legs and feet; healed the sores

and bruises they had received by hitting against logs; wiped the dust and sweat off their bodies, and cleaned their eyes so that they might both see and hear well; and finaly anointed all their joints that their limbs might again become supple. All of this ceremony was performed figuratively; they were then served with victuals brought from Lichtenau, and continued there for the remainder of the day.

Next morning, two of the councilors from Goshocking, deputized for the purpose, informed the missionary and national assistants at Lichtenau that, by order of their chiefs, they were to conduct the Cherokee deputation into the village. From the village they were expected to join the procession to Goshocking and there attend the condoling ceremonies. All being agreed to, the deputies soon brough them in, one leading them in front and the other bringing up in the rear.

Arriving within about two hundred yards of the town, but in sight of it and all marching Indian file, they fired off their pieces, which compliment was instantly returned by the young men of the town drawn up for the purpose. Then raising a melancholy song, they continued singing until they had reached the log house, purposely built for their reception, yet not without first having lodged their arms against some trees they had passed at a small distance from the town. Being seated on benches prepared for the purpose, the deputies on one side, a dead silence prevailed for about a half hour during which all present cast their eyes on the ground. At length one of the chiefs named Crow rose and with an air of sorrow and in a low voice, with his eyes cast up to heaven, spoke to the following effect:

"One morning, after having arisen from my sleep and according to my custom, I stepped out at the door to see what weather we had. I observed at one place in the horizon a dark cloud projecting above the trees. Looking steadfastly for its movement or disappearance, I found myself mistaken, since it neither disappeared nor moved from the spot, as other clouds do. Seeing the same cloud successively every morning, and that always in the same place, I began to think what could be the cause of this singular phenomenon. At length, it struck me that as the cloud was lying in the direction that my grand-

father dwelt, something might be the matter with him that caused him grief. Anxious to satisfy myself, I resolved to go to my grandfather and see if anything was the matter with him.

"I accordingly went, steering a course in the direction I observed the cloud to be. I arrived at my grandfather's and found him quite disconsolate, hanging his head with tears running down his cheeks! Casting my eyes around in hopes of discovering the cause of his grief I observed yonder a dwelling closed up, and from which no smoke (meaning no person was occuying the house) appeared to ascend. Looking in another direction, I discovered an elevated spot of fresh earth (the grave), on which nothing was seen growing; and here I found the cause of grandfather's grief. No wonder he is so grieved! No wonder he is weeping and sobbing, with his eyes cast towards the ground! Even I cannot help weeping with my grandfather, seeing in what a situation he is! I cannot proceed for grief!"

Here, after seating himself for about twenty minutes, as though deeply afflicted, he again rose and, receiving from the principal chief, who was seated by his side, a large string of wampum, said:

"Grandfather, lift your head and hear what your grandchildren have to say to you! These having discovered the cause of your grief, it shall be done away! See, grandfather, I level the ground on yonder spot of yellow earth, and put leaves and brush thereon to make it invisible! I also sow seeds on that spot, so that both grass and trees grow thereon!"

Here handing the string to the Delaware chiefs in succession and taking another, he continued:

"Grandfather! The seed which I had sown has already taken root; nay, the grass has already covered the ground, and the trees are growing!"

Handing the string likewise to the Delaware chiefs, and taking up a third string of wampum, he added:

"Now, my grandfather, the cause of your grief is being removed, let me dry up your tears! I wipe them from your eyes! I place your body which, by the weight of grief and heavy heart, is leaning to one side, in its proper posture! Your eyes shall be henceforth clear, and your ears open as formerly! The work is now finished!"

Handing this string likewise to the Delaware chief, he now stepped forward to where the chief of his councilors were seated, and having first shaken hands with these, he next did the same thing with all present, the whole embassy following his example. This being done, and again all seated as before, the Delaware chief Gelelemend, replied:

"Grandchildren! You did not come here in vain! You have performed a good work, in which the Great Spirit assisted you! Your grandfahter makes you welcome with him." After three hours the meeting broke up. The next day the chiefs of both nations finally made a mutual covenant to maintain the party and principles of White Eyes.

Upon the death of White Eyes, Gelelemend accepted the office of chief until George White Eyes, the young heir, should reach an age that qualified him to assume the important office. Gelelemend, a son of Killbuck, was often called Killbuck, Jr.

Gelelemend continued the measures followed by his predecessor, but in spite of all he could do, Captain Pipe succeeded in defeating his designs. Such was the power of Pipe that Gelelemend and his party abandoned their council house at Goshocking and moved to near Pittsburgh where they placed themselves under the protection of the Americans.

A murdering party of Indians fell upon this settlement, situated on an island, slew many of its members and frightened the remainder away. Gelelemend escaped by swimming the stream but lost all his papers. Later he joined the Moravian Indians, was baptised under the name of William Henry, and died in 1811, aged about 80.

It was honorable of the American Congress, that after the decease of their best friend among the Indians, Captain White Eyes, it took measures for the maintenance and education of his son. On the journals of that body, under date of June 30, 1785, it the following passage:

"Resolved, that Mr. Morgan [the Indian agent] be empowered and requested to continue the care and direction of George White Eyes for one year, and that the board of treasury take order of payment of expenses necessary to carry into execution the views of Congress in this matter."

The *Journal* of December 1775 records an interview of Congress with the father.

Tamenend, Illustrious Leader

When the Revolutionary War broke out, the Munsee tribe of the Lenape enlisted under the celebrated war chief Captain Pipe on the side of the British. On the other hand, the Unamis and Unalachtigoes under an opposing chief, Captain White Eyes, were inclined to neutrality, some even favoring the colonists. What this division meant to the colonists is delineated in the following account.

The most formidable antagonists the Five Nations ever had to contend with were the Delawares, as the English had named them, but generally styled by their Indian neighbors at Wapnachi, and by themselves as Leni-Lenape, or the Original People. Nevertheless, tradition is that they and the Five Nations both emigrated from beyond the Mississippi, and by uniting their forces, drove off the primitive residents of the country on this side of the river.

Afterwards, the Delawares divided themselves into the three tribes, called the Turtle, the Turkey, and the Wolf, or Munsee. Their settlements extended from the Hudson to the Potomac, and their descendants finally became so numerous that nearly forty tribes honored them with the title of Grandfather.

The Delawares were the principal inhabitants of Pennsylvania when William Penn commenced his labors in that region. Memory of "Miquon," their elder brother, as they called him, still in 1841 was cherished in their legends of all that remained of the nation. That remnant existed chiefly on the western banks of the Mississippi, to which ancient starting place they had been gradually approaching, stage by stage, ever since arrival of the Europeans on the coast. Their pricipal intermediate settlements had been in Ohio, on the banks of the Muskingum and other small rivers, whither a great number of the tribe moved about 1760.

The Delawares had never been without their great men, though unfortunately many of them lived at such periods and such places as to make it impossible for history to do them justice. It is within only about the eighteenth century, during which they had been rapidly declining in power, that a series of extraordinary events, impelling them into close contact with the whites as well as with other Indians, has had the effect of bringing forward their extraordinary men.

Among the ancient Delaware worthies, whose career is too imperfectly known to be the subject of distinct accounts is the illustrious Tamenend. This individual stands foremost in the list of all the great men of this nation in any age. He was a mighty warrior, an accomplished statesman, and a pure and high-minded patriot. It private life he was still more distingushed for his virtues than in public for his talents. His countrymen supposed him to be favored with special communica-

Ages had elapsed since his death, but his memory was so fresh among the Delawares of the eighteenth century that they shared his name with a white man whom they valued. This was at the time when Col. George Morgan of New Jersey was sent by Congress during the Revolution as an agent among the western tribes and when they conferred the title of Tamenend upon him. It was the greatest mark of respect they could show for the manners and character of that gentleman who, ever afterward, was known by this appellation.

About this time the old chieftain had so many admirers among the whites also that they made him St. Tammany, inserted his name in calendars, and yearly celebrated his festival on the first of May. On that day a numerous society of his votaries walked in procession through the strets of Phildelphia, their hats decorated with bucks' tails, and proceeded to a sylvan rendezvous out of town, which they called the Wigwam.

Here, after a long walk or a speech had been delivered and the calumet of friendship passed around, the remainder of the day was spent in high festivity. Dinner was prepared, and Indian dances were performed on the green. The custom ceased a few years after conclusion of peace at the end of the Revolution. Though other "Tammany" associations have sprung up. they retain little of the model upon which they were formed.

Teedyuscung or 'Honest John'

Among the Leni-Lenape chiefs who won a place in history is Teedyuscung, a Munsee, born about 1705 at Trenton, New Jersey. Known in early life as "Honest John," he died in a fire that destroyed his home at Wyoming, Pennsylvania, on April 16, 1763. It has been speculated that the fire was started by more than likely a Mohawk or Seneca Indian; others held it was the deed of a white man. Whoever was responsible for the death of the chief, the fire was set when he was recovering from one of his frequent drinking bouts. Thus died the last chief of the Eastern Delawares.

Teedyuscung attained no prominence in Indian affairs until after he was past fifty, when he was chosen chief of the Delawares along the Susquehanna. After that, however, he was until his death the most prominent Indian involved in the settlement of the problems with Pennsylvania. Facing the province was the dilemma of how to maintain peace with the Iroquois and simulaneously prevent the Delawares and their confederates, the Shawnees, from taking sides with the French.

Unrelenting pressure and wily strategems by the Iroquois had driven the Delawares from their natural haunts in the Delaware Valley and contiguous areas, as described earlier. Yielding river by river, the Deawares had first retreated to the Susquehanna but now were moving into Ohio country. There was no peace here, either, and the struggle between the French and the British interests for control of the Ohio convinced the Indians they would be driven from even this, their last resort. It is not illogical that they went on the warpath against the British because of the latter's Iroquoian allies, and began raiding frontier posts in Western Pennsylvania. In this campaign the Shawness took part.

When the British were preparing a campaign against Fort

Duquense, Teedyuscung assumed the role of a friend of the English and a patriot of the Delawares and Shawnees. Also to him chief credit has been assigned for the ultimate abandonment of the Ohio country by the French. But there was another side to the perplexing question: after the Albany conference in 1751, the Indians returned to Ohio only to learn that not alone had Mohawk lands in Wyoming Valley been sold but that the west branch of the Susquehanna had been purchased by Pennsylvania.

These sales and neglect by the provincial government led to complete alienation of the western Indians. Passage of the Scalp Act and a declaration of war against the Delawares led to a rebellion against the province and the appellation of "Petticoat Indians." A council, called at Easton in July 1759, was opened by the governor, with Teedyuscung in attendance and replying to the address, when he asserted:

"The Delawares are no longer the slaves of the Six Nations. I, Teedyuscung, have been appointed king over the Five United Nations. What I do here will be approved by all. This is a good day. I wish the same good that possessed the good old man, William Penn, who was the friend of all Indians, may inspire the people of the province at this time."

Of course, the Iroquois denied that they had authorized the Delaware chief to act for them.

At the previous council, which had opened in Easton in July 1757, Teedyuscung insisted on obtaining copies of the deeds of sales by the Delawares in an effort to substantiate claims of fraud in the Walking Purchase. Eventually, he was successful in procuring the sought-for copies; but a proffered present of 400 English pounds caused him to declare he had never made such a charge, for it had come from the French. The governor then told the wily old chief that if he made this statement public, the present would be made. The statement was made, the money paid, and Teedyuscung went to his Wyoming home where he was burned to death the next year.

Conrad Weisner wrote of this Delaware chief: "Though he is a drunkard and a very irregular man, yet he is a man that can think well, and I believe him to be sincere in what he said."

It was said that his opponents at the July 1757 Easton coun-

cil tried to get "the king" drunk every night, but it was noted that he went to the sessions each day with a clear head and perfectly able to compete with all the representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania.

Captain Bull, Teedyscung's son, believed the fire that took his father's life was the deed of a white man. Accordingly, he organized a war party to take revenge upon settlers from Connecticut who were migrating to Wyoming and as early as 1757 made a settlement, Tusten, on the Delaware River.

Located at the confluence of Ten Mile River with the Delaware, Tusten was on of the sites of the Delaware Land Company which operated under grants in the claim of Connecticut. Other settlements were at Cushetunk [Cochecton], Milanville and Damascus. It is believed the marauding party came up the Delaware and made its attack during an early October morning. The settlement of perhaps no more than twenty-two persons was completely wiped out; the exact number was never determined.

The Indian party continued up river to the Cushetunk fort at Milanville on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware where was a blockhouse to which one Witters, women and children fled for safety. Through strategems of shouting orders in a changing voice and using the women to load rifles, Witter held the attackers off during daylight, but anticipated an attempt would be made to burn the blockhouse under cover of darkness. Just as darkness was falling, the alert Witters discovered an Indian sneaking up to set fire to a haystack near the shelter, and shot and killed the savage. Then, after burying his body and firing undefended buildings, the Indians departed by way of the Cushetunck River. Two settlers, Jedidiah Willis and Moses Thomas were dead.

During 1768 the Iroquois Confederacy conveyed to the whites all the ancient territory of the Lenapes and some belonging to themselves. In 1774 about 300 warriors of the Leni-Lenapes were living below Albany, remnants of Long Island tribes, Esopus and Papagonks of Ulster County, and a scattering few of others.

In 1789 permission to move into Spanish territory was granted the Delawares, when a part of them moved first to

Missouri and then to Arkansas. By 1820 two bands numbering an estimated 700 reached Texas, but fifteen years later most of them had been settled on a reservation in Kansas. Then in 1867 they were again moved to Indian Territory and incorporated with the Cherokee Nation. Other bands joined the Wichitas and settled in Western Oklahoma; still others, more scattered, found their way to Canada where today they exist under the names Delawares, Munsees, and Moravians.

Populationwise, it has never been possible to determine accurately the number of these Indians because of their affinity for association with other tribes. An accepted estimate of their strength during the 19th century is 2,000 to 3,000.

In this manner and under such forces have the Leni-Lenape ranged far from their haunts where European explorers came upon them. Few are the monuments left to mark their occupancy, and these are but the names applied to natural features of the territory that was long home to them. One writer remarks, "Their language is distinguished by great beauty, strength and flexibility." Among names applied by them are Mahoning, Wyoming, Willowemoc, Mohunk, and Shawangunk, the last means "southern mountain" as Shawnee designates "southern people." To them the Delaware River was Lenapewihittuck.

Tammany Memorializes Tamenend

Proximity of the original Leni-Lenape territory to New York City, home of the modern-day Tammany Society, keeps alive a local interest in Tamenend, or Tammany, the Indian Nation's long-famed great chief. His name signifies "the affable one," we are assured by Heckewelder, the missionary. But there are no less than seven other spellings of his name, including Tamenend under which it appears as one of the signers of a deed to William Penn in 1683 for lands in Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

Writing in 1817, this missionary asserted: "The name of Tamenend is held in the highest veneration among the Indians. Of all the chiefs and great men which the Lenape nation ever had, he stands foremost on the list. Although many fabulous stories are circulated about him among the whites, but little is known of his real history. All that we know of him is that he was an ancient Delaware chief who never had his equal."

Continuing his appraisal, Heckewelder says: "He was in the highest degree endowed with wisdom, virtue, prudence, charity, affability, hospitality; in short, with every good and noble qualification that a human may possess. The fame of this great man extended even among the whites who fabricated numerous legends respecting him, which I never heard from the mouth of an Indian, and therefore believe to be fabulous."

During the Revolution Tamenend's many admirers renamed him St. Tammany, Patron Saint of America. Afterward, his name appeared on some calendars, the first day of May being observed as his festival. These celebrations were based on Indian motifs such as smoking the calumet pipe and open-air dances, and, proving popular, other St. Tammany Societies were organized.

But there is documentary evidence that the first such order

was formed in Philadelphia May 1, 1772, as the Sons of King Tammany. First a loyalist organization, it was transformed into today's fraternal and benevolent order of Improved Red Men.

The long-famed Tammany Society was originally started as a patriotic and charitable organization but for a century it has been recognized as the dominant factor in New York City's Democratic political party. A veteran of the Revolution, William Mooney, founded it in 1786 and regular organization was perfected three years later. Mooney had been a prominent member of the Sons of Liberty, and most members of the new society had been officers in the war.

The political overtones of the Tammany Society were recognized in opposition to the aristocratic elements as represented by Hamilton and the Federalists who sought to establish practically a monarchy with life tenure for the president and senate, and restricted suffrage. Its two main purposes were declared to be the perpetuity of the republican institutions and the care of the Revolutionary soldiers, their widows and orphans.

Although first organized as the Columbian Order, it soon took an Indian title and developed a ritual supposed to be based upon Indian customs. The name of the Delaware chief was selected, the meeting place was termed the wigwam, and the body was organized into thirteen tribes to represent the original states. New York was called the Eagle Tribe. The Tammany Tiger of later years was derived from the Tiger Tribe assigned to Delaware.

Carrying out the Indian motif, the chief officer of each tribe was called the sachem, and the head of the organization the grand sachem, the office held by Mooney for more than twenty years. Meetings were kept by moons and originally members wore semi-Indian costumes when attending sessions.

James Mooney of the Bureau of American Ethnology, in his contribution to the *Handbook of American Indians,* details the part paid by the Tammany Society in a long article. From his evaluation is excerpted this paragraph summation:

"For the first thirty years of its existence, until the close of the War of 1812, nearly the whole effort of the society was

directed to securing and broadening the foundations of the young republic. It is possible that without Tammany's constant vigilence the national government could not have survived the open and secret attacks of powerful foes both within and without."

In 1790 it was chiefly instrumental in the negotiation of a treaty with the Creek Indians, by which the peace of the southern border was made secure. About this time it took steps to establish an Indian museum that became the New York Historical Society. In the War of 1812 it furnished from its own ranks three generals for the U.S. Army, and 12,000 men for construction of defense works about the city. In 1808 it collected and gave suitable burial to the bones of the Revolutionary victims of the prison ships at Wallabout Bay, and nine years later it brought back from Canada and interred the body of Gen. Richard Montgomery.

In 1826 its years of effort secured full manhood suffrage in the state and abolition of imprisonment for debt in the city. At the outbreak of the Civil War the society in 1861 raised from its membership, equipped and sent to the front under its own grand sachem as colonel the 42nd New York Infantry Regiment.

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