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LENAPE ETHNOLOGY FROM WILLIAM PENN'S RELATION OF 1683

by

C. A. Weslager

Introduction

A renaissance of interest in the Lenape Indians in recent years has supplemented the work of such ethnographic pioneers as Daniel G. Brinton, Mark R. Harrington, Truman Michelson, James Mooney, Lewis H. Morgan, Alanson B. Skinner, and Frank G. Speck. It is regrettable they could not have lived to see the extension of their studies in two symposia sponsored by the Archaeological Research Center at Seton Hall University where archaeologists, historians, ethno-historians, non-professional students, and native Lenape speakers, participated in informative discussions (Kraft 1974;1984).

A definitive tribal history and a companion volume giving a detailed account of the Lenape westward migration have been published; a bibliography is also now available with critical comments on 224 titles dealing with the Lenape (Weslager 1972; 1978a; 1978b). If my friend Becker were more familiar with this literature he would never have written in 1982 that, "The historical record in fact derives almost completely from documents dating to after 1740 - by this time the various Lenapean bands had left their lands forever, and had either been absorbed into the fringes of colonial culture, or had moved further west and become known as the Delaware" (Becker 1982:10).

This was such a remarkably naïve statement that the writer wrote Becker and told him that a great deal was known about the Lenape from primary historical documentation prior to 1740 including such sources as William Penn's letters to Robert Spencer, Henry Savell, Robert Boyle, and the Free Society of Traders. The writer pointed out these and other sources had been cited in the writer's history of the Delawares published ten years before, and the first six chapters dealt with the period prior to 1740 (Weslager 1972). Becker appreciated the constructive criticism and frankly admitted some of the Penn letters were unknown to him.

Two years later Becker published another paper in which he reversed himself by saying, "Recent studies of the Lenape have revealed a great deal about these people and their lifestyle prior to 1740" (Becker 1984:29). One infers from reading the second paper that Becker has taken his readers from the murky unknown of history into the bright light of anthropological hypotheses in a surprisingly short span of time. What has actually happened is that Becker is beginning to catch up with

the historian although he still has a long way to go. After all he is an anthropologist and it is as unfair to ask him to be well versed in colonial history as it would be to expect a historian to be knowledgeable in anthropology. Nevertheless, so far as the Lenape are concerned, one should be wary of applying anthropological theory to the protohistoric and prehistoric periods unless he is well grounded in reliable historical sources.

One example will illustrate how one can be misled by superficial historical reading: Becker tells his readers with regard to the early history of the Lenape, "The best evidence derives from the writings of Johan Campanius (Du Ponceau 1834)" (Becker 1984:20).

What he is referring to is a book entitled A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden Now Called by the English Pennsylvania in America. It was published in Stockholm in 1702 not by Johan Campanius but by Thomas Campanius Holm, the former's grandson. The elder Campanius died in 1683 nine years before his grandson's book was published. The book was translated into English in 1834 by Peter S. Duponceau, a lawyer then the president of the American Philosophical Society (Holm 1834). Thomas Campanius Holm's book is based on notes left by his grandfather, and the manuscript and maps made by Peter Lindeström.

Holm's book is full of errors self-evident to the historian. He writes that Delaware Bay derived its name from "Monsieur Delaware one of their [English] captains who discovered the river in the year 1660 under Admiral Jacques Chartier" (Holm 1834:39). It would be difficult to find history so badly garbled. He gives the wrong date for the building of Fort Christina by his own countrymen (ibid., 79). Even the most imaginative anthropologist cannot be expected to believe that the American rattlesnake "has the head of a dog and can bite off a man's leg as clean as if it had been hewn down with an axe" (ibid., 53). In his descriptions of the "American Indian" Holm is frequently unspecific and the reader does not know whether he is referring to the Susquehannock Minquas or the Lenape.

To make matters worse, Duponceau's English translation is faulty. Dr. Amandus Johnson, the leading American-Swedish scholar of our time, stated the work was "poorly translated" by one "unequal to the task" (Johnson 1930:n.23-24). Thus, Becker's "best evidence" is a questionable English translation of an unreliable Swedish text based in a large part on hearsay by an author who was never in America and never met a Lenape Indian!

In sharp contrast, Becker gives no indication of his familiarity with two significant essays by Jennings, an outstanding Indian historian, dealing with seventeenth century Lenape-English relations in the Delaware valley based largely on reliable unpublished manuscript sources (Jennings 1968; 1970). Moreover, the bibliography in Becker's 1984 paper does not

include the William Penn letters the writer brought to his attention two years earlier. It does not include Luther's Catechism published by Johan Campanius in 1656 in the Lenape dialect, containing a lengthy Lenape-Swedish vocabulary that Thomas Campanius Holm tried to copy almost fifty years later after his grandfather's death (Campanius 1937). Johan Campanius after six years in America (1642-1648) was conversant in the Lenape dialect; Thomas Campanius Holm never heard a Lenape speaking in his native tongue.

This paper is not intended to discredit an eager young anthropologist trying to make his contributions to knowledge, but to emphasize the importance of basing judgments on reliable historical sources. It is vitally important to assess the veracity of the scribe in the context of what his contemporaries have observed about the same ethnic group. It is with this caveat that William Penn's relation of 1683 will be critically examined.

Before discussing Penn's account the writer should point out that a careful reading of reliable documentation leaves little doubt that the Swedes were the first to refer to the Indians they encountered in the Delaware River valley with an identifying name used by the natives - the Renappi. The term appears for the first time in documents recorded by Swedish visitors to the Delaware between 1642-1648 (Johan Campanius's Catechismus 1696), and in 1654-1655 (Johan Rising in Myers 1912:157, and Lindeström 1925:204).

One of the peculiarities in the Renappi dialects was the non-differentiation between the liquid consonants l and r as these sounds registered on Swedish ears; there was also a marked difference between the English and Swedish pronunciation of the letter r (Holmer 1946:14). The word pronounced Lenape (Le-nah-pay) by the Indians (meaning "common people" or "ordinary folk") was recorded by Swedish scribes as Renappi, although in one instance Lindeström referred to a "Lenappian" dialect with an l instead of the r he usually used (Lindeström 1925:161).

Swedish observers were also the first to note that the natives living in the Delaware River drainage system constituted numerous autonomous bands, some bearing the same native names as the streams on which they resided. All were called Renappi=Lenape with no reference to a tri-partite division each having a tribal or clan animal associations. Of course, no informed student today believes that the Lenape were divided into three political subdivisions at the time of white contact, i.e., Unami, Unalachtigo, and Munsee, each having its own animal eponym. These terms did not make their appearance until the early eighteenth century. The earliest recorded date for the word Munsee was 1727; Unami, 1757; and Unalachtigo, 1769 (Hunter 1974:148-49).

The term Delaware Indians (which became a synonym for Lenape) was not used at the time of white contact to designate the natives living in the Delaware valley nor does it appear in early Swedish literature. However, it was used in the late seventeenth century by the English; the writer found it recorded at a meeting of the Pennsylvania Council with Lenape chiefs who were called "Delaware Indians" on July 6, 1694 (Colonial Records 1852,1:447).

Much still remains to be learned about the Lenape. Concepts are remolded all the time in both the Humanities and the Sciences in the light of newer investigations. Further ethno-historical interpretations will undoubtedly be made as new data come to light. Also careful scrutiny and rereading of known contemporary sources may reveal nuances that have been overlooked. The information presented in this paper is offered as an example of a reliable contemporary source worthy of more careful examination and analysis than has been given to it by ethno-historians. If we expect to advance the frontier of knowledge such historical data will be augmented by the cultural ecological aspects of prehistory through archaeology (Custer 1984). Prehistory by definition is a backward extension of history and progress must be made in both disciplines before an admissible linkage can be achieved in the study of the Lenape.

Discussion

By the time William Penn landed at present New Castle, Delaware on October 28, 1682 the Lenape had been in direct contact with Swedish and Dutch settlers for more than fifty years. The latter equated civilization with their own cultures applying such terms as savage, heathen, and wildlings to those whose customs differed from European practice. With few exceptions seventeenth century documentation reveals more anomosity than genuine friendship in Lenape-European relations.

As a Quaker, Penn was motivated by goodwill and affection toward all men, and in this context it is not difficult to understand why his attitude toward the Lenape differed from that of his predecessors. Penn's exemplary treatment of the Indians is well known and he writes of them without racial prejudice. The intent of this paper is not to extol Penn, but to examine the ethnological data he included in a letter he wrote after ten months of close and friendly association with the Lenape in their homeland.

Shortly after he landed at New Castle, Penn toured Pennsylvania and the Three Lower Counties (now the state of Delaware) on foot, on horseback, and by boat. An energetic man aged thirty-four Penn had full proprietary rights to the land patented to him by Charles II (Myers 1912:371-373). He had no obligation to compensate the Indians for territory that legally belonged to him. Nevertheless, on his own volition he negotiated

with the chiefs and great men of a number of the Lenape bands to extinguish their rights to the lands.

The Indian deeds conveying land to Penn (that he already owned by virtue of transfers from the king and the Duke of York!) are an important auxiliary source of ethnographic data because they delineate territories in Delaware and Pennsylvania under the control of each Lenape band, give the name of the chiefs and councillors, and specify the kind and amount of trade goods and other compensation paid to the Indians. These deeds are all on record and still remain to be studied in full detail but are beyond the purview of the present paper. The writer intends to cover this topic in another paper.

The letter under examination in this paper is dated August 16, 1683, and although several versions have appeared in print the sections dealing with the Indians have never before been annotated fully to extract their full meanings. Usually referred to as the "Letter to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders" the original manuscript draft is in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and was recently published for the first time (Dunn and Dunn 1981:443-457).

Penn refined this draft in a second manuscript although he did not destroy the original draft. The refined copy was published in London in 1683 and reprinted in Dutch, German, and French editions. A transcript of the 1683 English edition was republished in America in 1912 (Myers 1912:224-243). Myers later reprinted the sections pertaining to the Indians as a self-contained narrative eliminating the Roman numerals Penn originally used to separate the various topics (Myers 1937a:25-46).

In the present paper the writer decided to base his annotations on the 1912 transcript of the first English edition of 1683 including the Roman numerals. The manuscript from which this edition was published contained thirty folio pages and Myers published all of them although only fourteen of the folios discussed the Indians. The writer decided to omit the non-Indian material relating to the natural resources and the opportunities available in Pennsylvania for new settlers. The letter was obviously written to attract settlers to buy land in Pennsylvania.

The sections of the original text are given below followed by the writer's annotations focusing on the ethnographic material. Despite its brevity the account is one of the most important primary references to the Lenape written in the English language by a well-informed, sympathetic contemporary observer.

In cross-checking Penn's details the writer has included comparative references appearing in the writings of three Swedes who preceded Penn to the Delaware valley, Johan Campanius, Johan Printz, and Peter Lindeström, as well as the observations of two

Moravian ministers conversant in the Lenape dialect who lived with the Indians after they had moved west from their home hearth, David Zeisberger and his associate John Heckewelder. Some of Zeisberger's extensive diaries have been translated into English; others in German script remain to be published in English.

As previously indicated the first ten and last seven sections of Penn's letter have been omitted because their contents do not specifically relate to the Indians. Thus we begin with Section XI and end with Section XXVI.

XI. The *Natives* I shall consider in their Persons, Language, Manners, Religion and Government, with my sence of their Original. For their Persons, they are generally tall, streight, well-built, and of singular Proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty Chin: Of Complexion, Black, but by design, as the Gypsies in England: They grease themselves with Bears-fat clarified, and using no defence against Sun or Weather, their skins must needs be swarthy; Their Eye is little and black, not unlike a straight-look't Jew: The thick Lip and flat Nose, so frequent with the East-Indians and Blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them of both, as on your side the Sea; and truly an Italian Complexion hath not much more of the White, and the Noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.

Penn's observation that the facial features of some of the Lenape resembled Europeans tends to negate the stereotyped impression of the appearance of the Lenape. By 1683 many of them had white increments. His reference to variations in skin pigmentation from swarthy to black, and that their lack of protection from the sun may have been partially responsible should not be overlooked. He does not explain why "clarified" bear fat was used as an unguent, but Lindeström who had observed the Lenape thirty years earlier than Penn in the same habitat, wrote that they applied bear fat to their hair to make it shine (Lindeström 1925:195). Prior to Lindeström's visit to America, Governor Johan Printz, writing in 1643, said they besmear their hair daily with bear fat (Johnson 1930:153).

Zeisberger who lived with the migrant Lenape on the Muskingum River in Ohio wrote in 1779-1780 that the women still annointed their hair with bear grease to make it shine (Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:15). The persistence of the practice over such a long period of time suggests it was of ancient origin. Archaeologists should take this into consideration when they uncover bear remains on a prehistoric site.

XII. Their Language is lofty, yet narrow, but like the Hebrew; in Signification full, like Short-hand in writing; one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the Understanding of the Hearer: Imperfect in their Tenses, wanting in their Moods, Participles, Adverbs, Conjunctions, Interjections: I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an Interpreter on any occasion: And I must say, that I know not a Language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in Accent and Emphasis, than theirs; for Instance, *Octorockon*, *Rancocus*, *Ozicton*, *Shakamacon*, *Poquerim*, all of which are names of Places, and have Grandeur in them: Of words of Sweetness, *Anna*, is Mother, *Issimus*, a Brother, *Netap*, Friend, *usque ozet*, very good; *pone*, Bread, *metse*, eat, *matta*, no, *hatta*, to have, *payo*, to come; *Sepassen*, *Passijon*, the Names of Places; *Tamane*, *Secane*, *Menanse*, *Secatereus*, are the names of Persons. If one ask them for anything they have not, they will answer, *mattâ ne hattâ*, which to translate is, not I have, instead of I have not.

Penn's statement that he had learned to communicate with the Lenape in their own language was an unusual accomplishment even for a scholar who had written several books, learned to read and write Latin and Greek at Oxford, had a Dutch-speaking mother, and was proficient in French. He also had some knowledge of German (Penn 1878).

Daniel Pastorius, founder of Germantown, confirms that Penn did not need an interpreter. Pastorius was a dinner guest when Penn entertained a Lenape chief, and he wrote that Penn "can speak the language fairly fluently" (Pastorius 1700:400).

Penn correctly characterizes the Lenape polysynthetic dialect wherein thoughts of several English words were often conveyed in one Indian word. *Shakamacon* (*Shackamaxon*), a major Lenape village is translatable as "place of eels." *Passijon* (usually spelled *Passyunk*) which can be translated as "in the valley" was also a Lenape village; both were in present Philadelphia.

Octorockon was a variant of *Octorara*, a tributary to the Susquehannock River. *Rancocas* was a creek in Burlington County, New Jersey shown on Lindeström's Map A as *Rancoqueskiyl* (Lindeström 1925, map insert). *Ozicton* (also spelled *Oricton* or *Orectons*) was the Indian name for Biles Island near Trenton. *Poquerim* is a form of *Poquesim* or *Poquessin*, a tributary of the Delaware near Philadelphia. *Sepassen*, referred to on Lindeström's Map A as *Sipaessingzland* ("plum tree land") was in present Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

Tamane (also written *Tamenend* or *Tamany*, *Secane* (*Siccane*), *Menanse* (*Menangy*), and *Secatereus* (*Secatarius*) were four Lenape band chiefs who participated in land sales to Penn. *Secatarius* was one of the Indian owners of land from the Christina River north to Chester Creek (Myers 1937a:93). The well-known Lenape village in the Big Bend of the Brandywine named *Queonemysing*

("place where there are long fish" (Weslager 1956:168) was included in this territory.

Tamany was chief of a small band living in the area between Neshaminy and Pennypack Creeks; he had no greater authority than the other band chiefs. There was no great Lenape chief, contrary to popular belief, who ruled over all the Indians occupying the Delaware River valley. Each of the estimated thirty or forty unfederated bands had its own leaders (Weslager 1972:168).

The Indian translations of the above Lenape personal and place-names were made for the writer by the late Touching Leaves (Mrs. Nora Thompson Dean), a fluent speaker in one of the two extant Lenape dialects which linguists call the Unami. It is spoken by Lenape descendants living in Oklahoma; the second dialect, called Munsee, is spoken by Lenape descendants living in Canada. The vocabulary words given by Penn were also translated by Mrs. Dean who recognized them as words in her dialect. Modern Unami pronunciations are given below. Mrs. Dean's familiarity with these words leaves no doubt that the Lenape encountered by William Penn spoke the Unami, not the Munsee dialect originally spoken by the Lenape living in the upper Delaware valley north of present Easton. Kraft has published a map showing the approximate areas where the two dialects were spoken (Kraft 1984:2). Mrs. Dean's recognition of the words recorded by Penn supports Kraft's geographical placement of Unami speakers.

Native Words (Penn)	English (Penn)	Modern Unami (Mrs. Dean)
anna	mother	āna (a vocative when addressing one's mother)
1 issimus	a brother	xisēmēs (younger brother or younger sister)
2 netap	friend	nee-tab-pay (my fellow Lenape)
usquet ozet [olet]	very good	wus-kah-wul-let (it is very good)
pone	bread	ah-pone
metse	eat	mitse
matta	no	mah-tab
hatta	to have	hay-tay (to have or to exist)
payo	to come	pay-yo (he came)
3 matta na hatta	I have not	mah-tab-na-hay-tay

1. Lindeström, adding a suffix that Penn omitted, translates Netappi as "a good friend" (Lindeström 1925:233). Modern Unami speakers use the word nitis when one male refers to a male friend.
2. Johan Campanius in his Lenape vocabulary published in 1696 gives "anna" for mother and "hissimus" for brother or sister (Campanius 1937:139,140).
3. Since there was no international phonetic alphabet at Penn's time, one cannot be certain of the precise pronunciation of the words. For example, based on modern Unami the letter a in this word as given by Penn actually had two sounds, ah and ay, ā and ã.
4. The letter x represents a guttural that does not exist in English, it is comparable to the German ch in Bach. The assistance of James A. Rementer as an intermediary with Mrs. Dean in recording present Unami words is gratefully acknowledged.

XIII. Of their Customs and Manners there is much to be said; I will begin with Children. So soon as they are born, they wash them in Water, and while very young, and in cold Weather to chuse, they Plunge them in the Rivers to harden and embolden them. Having wrapt them in a Clout, they lay them on a straight thin Board, a little more than the length and breadth of the Child, and swadle it fast upon the Board to make it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat Heads; and thus they carry them at their Backs. The Children will go very young, at nine Moneths commonly; they wear only a small Clout round their Waste, till they are big; if Boys, they go a Fishing till ripe for the Woods, which is about Fifteen; then they Hunt, and after having given some Proofs of their Manhood, by a good return of Skins, they may Marry, else it is a shame to think of a Wife. The Girls stay with their Mothers, and help to hoe the Ground, plant Corn and carry Burthens; and they do well to use them to that Young, they must do when they are Old; for the Wives are the true Servants of their Husbands: otherwise the Men are very affectionate to them.

Immersing new born babies in cold river water may have had religious overtones as well as "emboldening" them. Lenape traditionalists in Oklahoma told the writer that their ancestors believed that running water possessed spiritual attributes not present in static pools of water. Some herbal decoctions owed their efficacy to being mixed with water from a running stream or spring. The final stage of the Lenape sweatbath required immersion in running water. In the above letter Penn does not refer to the sweatbath, but in another letter written to an English friend he describes visiting a Lenape chief named Tenoughan, "Captain General of the Clan of Indians of those

parts." (emphasis added)

Tenoughan who was ill with a fever crawled into the sweathouse and chanted while steam was generated by pouring water on hot stones. Meanwhile, his wife chopped a hole in the ice on the river. After Enoughan's body glistened in hot perspiration he plunged into the cold water. He then went into his house, wrapped himself in a blanket and lay in front of the fire until he was dry. Penn wrote that he then "fell to getting us our Dinner seeming to be as easie, and well in Health as at any other time" (Myers 1937a:55-57).

Penn says babies were tied to a cradleboard carried to the mother's back. Lindeström wrote earlier that, "Through this [custom] the savages become as straight as a candle and flat in the neck as a board" (Lindeström 1925:201). When the main body of the Lenape settled in Indiana the cradleboard was still in use in 1822 (Weslager 1978b:102). Some time later the custom fell into disuse.

Penn indicates boys were permitted to go fishing, but were not allowed to accompany hunting parties in the woods until they were about fifteen years of age. This must have been a very important milestone in the life of a young man. Only after exhibiting competency in hunting was he eligible to take a wife. A married man was expected to provide furs for clothing and meat for a wife and family.

Gabriel Thomas, an early colonist, writing in 1698 amplifies Penn's comments by stating that young men married at seventeen or eighteen after giving proof of their manhood "by a large return of skins" (Thomas 1698:334).

Girls were taught by their mothers to cultivate the soil, plant corn and other vegetables, carry burdens, and engage in domestic chores to prepare them to be good wives. Lenape women, not the men, were the horticulturists. For many years Lenape men stubbornly resisted governmental pressures to turn them into farmers (Weslager 1972:337-38).

(By A.D. 1000 the archaeological records in the state of Delaware indicate that hunting and food gathering activities of earlier periods were augmented by agriculture. In the Woodland II period intensification of agriculture resulted in pronounced changes in the settlement patterns and material culture (Custer 1984:146-54). One wonders if the prehistoric female did not provide the dominant influence in this transition?)

Penn's statement that the wives were the servants of their husbands, but that their husbands were affectionate to them was corroborated a hundred years later by the Moravian missionary John Heckewelder. During his ministry in Ohio he wrote that the Lenape woman does "everything in her power to please her husband particularly if he is a good hunter or trapper capable of maintaining her by his skill and industry and protecting her by

his strength and courage." He then went on to say that a husband took considerable pains to please his wife so that she would never want while they lived together (Heckewelder 1881:154-55).

Penn's letter and other seventeenth and eighteenth century accounts leave no doubt that horticulture was basic in the Lenape economy, supplemented by the gathering of nuts, berries, wild fruits, etc. by the women, but the men continued to be hunters and fishermen.

XIV. When the Young Women are fit for Marriage, they wear something upon their Heads for an Advertisement, but so as their Faces are hardly to be seen, but when they please: The Age they Marry at, if Women, is about thirteen and fourteen; if Men, seventeen and eighteen; they are rarely elder.

The above passage has often been interpreted to mean that marriageable Lenape girls wore some kind of ornament in their hair as a sign of their eligibility. The writer once listened to an archaeologist theorize that the ornament may have been a perforated stone or slate tablet usually termed a gorget. If the passage is carefully read it is apparent Penn does not refer to an ornament, but that young women wore something on their heads that concealed their faces if they did not want their features seen. Campanius made an earlier reference to the same custom by stating they "wear something on their heads by which it is understood they are ready for a husband."

A fuller explanation can be found in Zeisberger's later and more detailed description. He wrote that after her first menstrual period a girl was washed and dressed in new garments and wore a "cap" for two months after which she was eligible to marry. He describes the cap as having "a long shield [hood?] so that she can neither see anyone readily, nor be seen" (Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:77).

XV. Their Houses are Mats, or Barks of Trees set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a Man; they lie on Reeds or Grass. In Travel they lodge in the Woods about a great Fire, with the Mantle of Duffills they wear by day, wrapt about them, and a few Boughs stuck round them.

Penn's description of Lenape houses apparently applies to the dwellings in the lower Delaware valley particularly in and around present Greater Philadelphia. There were probably different house types above Easton on the Delaware River and north of the Raritan River where the Munsee dialect was spoken.

Penn's generalized description is not very useful. He simply says they were made either of tree bark or mats (probably of dried grass or corn husks) and resembled miniaturized English barns. This may mean they were rectangular with pitched roofs or they may have had arched roofs. They were no higher than a man,

but whether the floor space was extensive enough to accomodate more than a single family is not specified. One infers from Lindeström's description that some Lenape wigwams were longer than others and were built to accomodate more than one family (Lindeström 1925:211). A Dutch map De Zuid Baai in Nieuw-Nederland by an unknown cartographer dating in the early 1830s, facsimile in David Pietersen de Vries, Korte Historiae, etc., translated H.T. Colenbrander, 's-Gravenhage, 1911, shows the Dutch fort at Swanendael (present Lewes) and four Indian wigwams with arched roofs.

There is no suggestion in Penn's letter that the Lenape stockaded their settlements. A drawing simply captioned "Indian Fort" in Thomas Campanius Holm's book published in Stockholm in 1702 shows arched-roof Indian wigwams surrounded by pointed stakes. It is evident that Holm simply copied this from a map embellishment used by early cartographers having no specific tribal connection (Holm 1834:122). These and similar drawings of fortified Indian towns were distortions of John White's water colors and were redrawn as map ornaments.

Becker fell into the error of copying the drawing in Holm and publishing it with a caption reading in part "illustration of what is believed to have been a Delaware village" (Becker 1976:51). The writer has already emphasized that Holm is an untrustworthy source, and Kraft laid to rest Becker's error by reproducing three maps made by different cartographers between 1673 and 1676, each of whom illustrated his map with a variation of an almost identical drawing (Kraft 1984:4,5,6).

Penn notes that when the Indians went into the woods to hunt they built and lodged in what might be termed lean-tos with open fronts facing a central fire. His reference to the "Mantill of Duffills" means a coarse woolen fabric called duffel cloth obtained in trade with Europeans. It was worn by day as a sort of mantle around the upper parts of their bodies, and used at night as a blanket.

XVI. Their Diet is Maze, or Indian Corn, divers ways prepared: sometimes Roasted in the Ashes, sometimes beaten and Boyled with Water, which they call *Homine*; they also make Cakes, not unpleasant to eat: They have likewise several sorts of Beans and Pease that are good Nourishment; and the Woods and Rivers are their Larder.

In Penn's time, as well as during the period of Swedish control of the Delaware valley, corn was the mainstay of the Lenape diet. Governor Printz wrote in 1644 that "we have no beaver trade whatsoever with them, but only the maize trade" (Johnson 1930:117). During the latter days of their occupancy of their homeland prior to moving to the Susquehanna area the Lenape economic base was clearly in horticulture and food gathering, because of the destruction of the wild animal population to accomodate Euro-American fur traders. Of course the planting, cultivation, and harvesting of corn made it necessary for the

Lenape families to spend more time at fixed locations in contrast to the mobility of a non-horticultural community.

In another section of his letter referring to the flora of Pennsylvania not reprinted here Penn wrote that he had never seen an Indian community without peach trees, although he was uncertain whether they were indigenous (ibid., 227-28).

XVII. If an European comes to see them, or calls for Lodging at their House or *Wigwam* they give him the best place and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an *Itah* which is as much as to say, Good be to you, and set them down, which is mostly on the Ground close to their Heels, their Legs upright; may be they speak not a word more, but observe all Passages: If you give them any thing to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and be it little or much, if it be with Kindness, they are well pleased, else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

The Lenape, as well as other Eastern Woodland tribes, were known for their hospitality to visitors, an important trait in their culture. Penn says the Lenape gave the visitor the best place in the wigwam and "the first cut" meaning he was served first.

Lindeström confirmed this by saying the natives spread animal skins on the floor of their wigwams for a visitor to sit on, and immediately "bring forth such food as they have; namely, a bag full of their [corn] bread, deer meat, elk meat, and bear meat, fresh fish, bear pork and bear fat instead of butter" (Lindeström 1925:234).

Hospitality was so deeply engrained that a hundred years later Zeisberger wrote that when a stranger came to a Lenape house "the first attention shown is to put food before him if there is anything in the house" (Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:82).

Penn makes an interesting observation, namely that when the Lenape visited a European they expected like hospitality, but they did not ask for food or drink. If it were offered they were appreciative; if not, they left disappointed but said nothing. Since the Indians were not used to sitting on chairs they squatted down on the floor when visiting a European.

XVIII. They are great Concealers of their own Resentments, brought to it, I believe, by the Revenge that hath been practised among them; in either of these, they are not exceeded by the Italians. A Tragical Instance fell out since I came into the Country; A King's Daughter thinking her self slighted by her Husband, in suffering another Woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, pluck't a Root out of the Ground, and ate it, upon which she immediately dyed; and for which, last Week he made an Offering to her Kindred for Attonement and liberty of Marriage; as two others did to the Kindred of their Wives, that dyed a natural Death: For till Widdowers have done so, they must not marry again.

The Lenape were taught not to display their emotions publicly, but this should not be taken to mean that in their own family groups they did not express affection, resentment, or remorse. Penn considered Italians revengeful, a prejudice shared by other Englishmen, and he claimed the Lenape were likewise inclined to avenge a wrong. In the example he cites the chief's daughter who learned that her husband's affection was being shared by another female sought revenge by killing herself. The poisonous root she ate may have been the May Apple root (*Podophyllum peltatum*) which is known to have been used by the Lenape for suicidal purposes (Weslager 1973:20-21). The wife's suicide obliged the widower to present a gift to her family to atone for her death and qualify him to remarry. Penn says that even when a wife died from natural causes the widower was supposed to give a present to her family (probably wampum beads) before he was free to take a new wife.

Some of the young Women are said to take undue liberty before Marriage for a Portion; but when married, chaste; when with Child, they know their Husbands no more, till delivered; and during their Moneth, they touch no Meat, they eat, but with a Stick, least they should defile it; nor do their Husbands frequent them, till that time be expired.

Penn contrasts the loose morality among some unmarried women in exchange for presents (probably instigated by Europeans) with the virtuous behavior of wives after marriage. The writer's studies of seventeenth and eighteenth century documents indicate there was no formal wedding ceremony among the Lenape nor did a husband and wife take any formal vows of fidelity. Divorce occurred when one of the partners to the "marriage" decided to leave or when one put the other out of the house. If there were any children they remained with the wife. Either partner to the marriage was free to take another spouse. Penn is undoubtedly correct that when a man and woman were living together as husband and wife that adultery on the wife's part was considered a wrong. On the other hand, the writer has knowledge that polygynous "common law marriages" took place among some of the Lenape in Oklahoma as late as the early 1900s.

Penn observed that pregnant women refrained from sexual relations with their husbands and that such intimacies were also prohibited during the menstrual cycle. These taboos persisted for some time after the main body of the Lenape arrived in Oklahoma in 1867-68, according to the writer's informants.

Penn noted that during her monthly period a female was forbidden from touching food with her bare hands, and Mrs. Dean told the writer that when she reached puberty in 1907 or 1908 her mother isolated her in a separate room during her period and wrapped her hands in cloth so that she could not touch food. Among the taboos a menstruating female was not permitted to enter the Big House in Oklahoma during the annual ceremony (Dean 1984:48).

XIX. But in Liberality they excell, nothing is too good for their friend; give them a fine Gun, Coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands, before it sticks; light of Heart, strong Affections, but soon spent; the most merry Creatures that live, Feast and Dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much: Wealth circulateth like the Blood, all parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact Observers of Property.

Penn seems to mean that although possession of personal property was recognized and respected the Lenape were liberal in sharing their possessions with others. Amassing wealth was not a motivator among the Indians as it was among the whites. No Lenape became rich in the English sense of wealth, because money did not exist in native society, and recipients of goods shared their belongings with friends and relatives.

[Since Section XIX is a lengthy one and consists of a single paragraph the writer has divided it into three separate parts for the convenience of the reader.]

Some Kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of Land; the Pay or Presents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular Owners, but the neighbouring Kings and their Clans being present when the Goods were brought out, the Parties chiefly concerned consulted, what and to whom they should give them? To every King then, by the hands of a Person for that work appointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that Gravity, that is admirable. Then that King sub-divideth it in like manner among his Dependents, they hardly leaving themselves an Equal share with one of their Subjects: and be it on such occasions, at Festivals, or at their common Meals, the Kings distribute, and to themselves last.

Penn referred to the Indian chiefs as Kings although the European term did not appropriately apply to the Lenape political organization. Those band chiefs or Kings who conveyed land titles to Penn were compensated with blankets, kettles, coats, shirts, stockings, hoes, axes, knives, looking glasses, scissors, combs, needles, fishhooks, and other European goods in large quantities.

Penn makes it clear that the receipts were not all retained by the recipient, but were shared with neighboring band chiefs who were present at the transaction. The natives publicized a scheduled meeting with the Proprietor well in advance, and even though they were not directly concerned with ownership of the land being transferred, other Indians attended to witness the transaction. The visiting chiefs, as well as those directly involved in the transaction, shared in the goods, and then divided them among their "subjects." The latter term is also a misnomer because a band chief did not have subjects who obeyed his commands in the English concept of *noblesse oblige*. There were no crowns, sceptres, or palace guards in Lenape society.

The chiefs hunted in the woods like other members of the community and their wives and daughters worked in the corn fields and performed the other domestic chores delegated to females.

"Kings and their Clans" (emphasis added) is the second and the earliest reference to a clan organization among the Lenape. Unfortunately Penn did not amplify this, because at a much later date after the atomistic Unami-speaking bands, much reduced by disease, warfare, and alcoholism, consolidated into a single political unit in Oklahoma three specific clans were recognized, Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf (Weslager 1972:70,250-51). This may have been the vestige of a family clan alliance that originally existed in the Delaware valley communities.

Mrs. Dean was a member of the Wolf Clan and her mother belonged to the same clan, but her father was a member of the Turkey Clan. Traditionally an Oklahoma Lenape did not marry a member of his own clan, but this custom has not been observed for many years.

On May 6, 1972 the writer was privileged to be given a Lenape name by Mrs. Dean at a name-giving ceremony at Seton Hall University in South Orange, New Jersey. Since she was a member of the Wolf Clan he automatically became a member of the Wolf Clan as an adopted member of the tribe (Kraft 1974:135-45). This was the first name-giving ceremony performed east of the Mississippi River since the Lenape went west more than two centuries ago, and will probably be the last. Mrs. Dean, the last name-giver of the Wolf Clan, died November 29, 1984.

They care for little, because they want but little; and the Reason is, a little contents them: In this they are sufficiently revenged on us; if they are ignorant of our Pleasures, they are also free from our Pains. They are not disquieted with Bills of Lading and Exchange, nor perplexed with Chancery-Suits and Exchequer-Reckonings. We sweat and toil to live; their pleasure feeds them, I mean, their Hunting, Fishing and Fowling, and this Table is spread every where; they eat twice a day, Morning and Evening; their Seats and Table are the Ground.

Penn understood that Lenape lifestyles especially their economic needs were simple in contrast to business conduct in the English commercial world. As he assessed the situation the Englishman toiled routinely to make a living, whereas Lenape males leisurely obtained food for their families in the pleasurable sport of hunting, fishing, and fowling. This was an obvious over-simplification because the Indian male pursued game by necessity to feed and clothe his family and he was certainly not "free from Pains." Moreover, the Indian women worked in the corn fields and gathered nuts and berries for survival -- not pleasure.

Penn's reference to the Lenape eating only two meals a day

is confirmed in numerous sources (Heckewelder 1881:193; Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:82. etc.).

Since the European came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong Liquors, Rum especially, and for it exchange the richest of their Skins and Furs: If they are heated with Liquors, they are restless till they have enough to sleep; that is their cry, Some more, and I will go to sleep; but when Drunk, one of the most wretchedst Spectacles in the world.

The tragedy that resulted when the Indians overindulged in alcoholic beverages is well known, and acute alcoholism caused many deaths among the Lenape. Chapter 18 of Penn's Great Law passed by the first Pennsylvania General Assembly on December 10, 1682 prohibited the sale of intoxicants to the Indians (Weslager 1972:159), but as long as the Indians were willing to pay for liquor for the prized beaver pelts, and unprincipled traders were illicitly willing to supply them, the traffic could not be halted.

XX. In sickness impatient to be cured, and for it give any thing, especially for their Children, to whom they are extremely natural; they drink at those times a *Teran* or Decoction of some Roots in spring Water; and if they eat any flesh, it must be of the Female of any Creature; If they dye, they bury them with their Apparel, be they Men or Women, and the nearest of Kin fling in something precious with them, as a token of their Love: Their Mourning is blacking of their faces, which they continue for a year; They are choice of the Graves of their Dead; for least they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the Grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen Earth with great care and exactness.

Roots, as well as leaves, bark, seeds, blossoms, etc., were all found in Lenape pharmacology. Note that Penn confirms the writer's comments after Section XIII that running water was used by the herbalists. Note also that Penn says that only the flesh of a female animal was given to a sick person, and the writer has heard elderly Lenape in Oklahoma make the same statement, although no one could explain why.

A passage in Section IX of Penn's letter referring to the flora in Pennsylvania, states, "There are divers plants that not only the Indians tell us, but we have had occasion to prove by Swellings, Burnings, Cuts, etc., that they are of great Virtue suddenly curing the Patient" (ibid., 229). This is concrete evidence that European residents of the Delaware valley borrowed herblore from the Indians.

Penn's account of mortuary practices is not detailed; a deceased person was buried fully dressed; close relatives placed something precious to them in the grave as a token of love; mourners blackened their faces for a year; care was given to the grave so that it would not be overgrown and forgotten. Penn

makes no reference to grave markers such as the carved wooden ~~kee-keen-he-kun~~ still seen in the Delaware Indian cemetery near Dewey, Oklahoma (Weslager 1972:441-42).

One of Penn's contemporaries confirms the mourners blackened their faces for a year and buried "kettles" and other goods with the deceased (Thomas 1698:335). Lindeström had previously written that the Lenape was buried with a stone tobacco pipe and "the man's money," i.e., wampum beads (Lindeström 1925:249).

By the time the Lenape migrated to Ohio prior to the American Revolution no grave goods were buried with the dead according to Zeisberger. The head was turned to the east and the feet to the west and a post erected as a grave marker. If the deceased was a chief the post was "neatly carved but not otherwise decorated." If he was a war captain the post was "painted red and his head and glorious deeds are portrayed upon it. The burial post of a physician [shaman] is hung with a small tortoise shell which he used in his juggling [trickery] practice" (Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:89). After they left Ohio and settled in Indiana the Lenape continued the practice of interring the dead without grave goods (Weslager 1978b:100). Mrs. Dean, whose memory of Lenape funerals in Oklahoma dated back to her childhood c. 1911, said that nothing was ever placed in the grave with the deceased who was always interred with the head to the east (Dean 1984:65-66).

The data clearly indicate that goods were placed in Lenape graves during the early contact period, and one infers that this was a continuation of a protohistoric practice. In 1952 an investigating committee from the Archaeological Society of Delaware uncovered a Lenape grave in a burial ground on the Montgomery property at Glen Moore, Wallace Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania. It was not our intention to excavate the cemetery -- merely to confirm a tradition that the site was a historic Lenape burial ground. There were no grave markers of any kind. By applying archaeological techniques the disintegrated skeleton of a male Indian buried in an extended position was found and the grave contained three European white clay pipes, two gun flints, sixty-one glass beads, and an embossed brass button enabling us to date the grave between 1720 and 1740 (Weslager 1956:112-114).

In 1977 the location of the cemetery was disclosed to the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, and between 1978 and 1980 other graves were excavated and the trade goods accompanying the burials approximately confirmed the dates we had assigned in 1952 (Becker 1984:28-29).

At some stage of their western migration prior to establishing new homes in Ohio and Indiana (before finally reaching Oklahoma), the Lenape discontinued the practice described by William Penn of placing goods in the graves of the dead.

XXI. These poor People are under a dark Night in things relating to Religion, to be sure, the Tradition of it; yet they believe a God and Immortality, without the help of Metaphysics; for they say, There is a great King that made them, who dwells in a glorious Country to the Southward of them, and that the Souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again. Their Worship consists of two parts, Sacrifice and *Cantico*. Their Sacrifice is their first Fruits; the first and fattest Buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt with a Mournful Ditty of him that performeth the Ceremony, but with such marvellous Fervency and Labour of Body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their *Cantico*, performed by round-Dances, sometimes Words, sometimes Songs, then Shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by Singing and Drumming on a Board direct the Chorus: Their Postures in the Dance are very Antick and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal Earnestness and Labour, but great appearance of Joy. In the Fall, when the Corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another; there have been two great Festivals already, to which all come that will: I was at one my self; their Entertainment was a green Seat by a Spring, under some shady Trees, and twenty Bucks, with hot Cakes of new Corn, both Wheat and Beans, which they make up in a square form, in the leaves of the Stem, and bake them in the Ashes: And after that they fell to Dance, But they that go, must carry a small Present in their Money, it may be six Pence, which is made of the Bone of a Fish; the black is with them as Gold, the white, Silver; they call it all *Wampum*.

By characterizing the Lenape as being "under a dark Night in things relating to Religion" Penn leaves no doubt that he did not approve of their non-Christian beliefs. He was in a peculiar position. He was a dissenter from the established beliefs of the Church of England and knew the pains of intolerance. Although he felt the Indians should be converted to Christianity he did not portray them as pagans or devil-worshippers like his Swedish predecessors, but was willing to try to understand their theology. In Section XXI he gives the following main features in Lenape religion:

1. They believe in a Supreme Being; in immortality; and a place where their souls go after death.
2. They sacrifice their "first fruits" to the Creator. This means the first corn of the harvest, and the fattest buck deer killed in the first hunt. This ceremony was followed by what Penn called a *Cantico*

consisting of group singing, dancing, and drumming (Cf. Lindeström 1925:214). The word *Cantico* (a variant of *Kin-te-ke* ("dance")) is referred to in a number of early accounts. Governor Printz wrote in 1643 that the Lenape "serve Satan with their *Kintika* and sacrifice to him that he may give them success in their hunts and that he may do them no harm" (Johnson 1930:153).

Penn attended one of these ceremonies where twenty male deer and quantities of corn cakes formed in corn husks and baked in the ashes of an open fire were consumed by the participants. His description of the activities does not substantially differ from the Corn Harvest Ceremony which was still observed among some Lenape descendants in Oklahoma in the early 1900s (Speck 1937:79-92). The "Drumming on a Board" is Penn's way of describing the Lenape dried deerskin drum noted by Harrington in Oklahoma in 1921 as a ceremonial property in the Big House Ceremony. This was not a cylindrical drum with a head of stretched hide, but consisted of deerskin folded flat and bound with cordage to two wooden slats on the top and bottom (Harrington 1921:94).

Penn writes at the conclusion of the ceremony that all who attended were obliged to contribute money "made from the bone of a fish" by which he means shell beads known as wampum. He explains that the black (or purple) beads were considered more valuable by the Indians than those made from white shells, an observation made by other Europeans. Wampum beads were used in the Big House Ceremony in Oklahoma and in other ceremonies.

XXII. Their Government is by Kings, which they call *Sachema*, and those by Succession, but always of the Mothers side; for Instance, the Children of him that is now King, will not succeed, but his Brother by the Mother, or the Children of his Sister, whose Sons (and after them the Children of her Daughters) will reign; for no Woman inherits; the Reason they render for this way of Descent, is, that their Issue may not be spurious.

The above section is a succinct summary of the matrilineal succession characterizing Lenape society in the seventeenth century which probably dates back to the pre-contact period. As Penn intimates, a father's identity could always be questioned whereas kinship ties through the mother's lineage could be more readily substantiated. When the Lenape were later living in Ohio, Zeisberger noted that "children do not inherit tribal rights from the father but from the mother" (Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:98). The same custom persisted when the Lenape moved farther west to the White River in Indiana in the early nineteenth century (Weslager 1978:91).

Penn tells his readers that the name for a chief (in the Unami dialect) was *Sachema*, which modern Unami speakers in Oklahoma pronounce *Sock-ee-mah*, not *sā-chem* as given in twentieth century American-English dictionaries.

XXIII. Every King hath his Council, and that consists of all the Old and Wise men of his Nation, which perhaps is two hundred People: nothing of Moment is undertaken, be it War, Peace, Selling of Land or Traffick, without advising with them; and which is more, with the Young Men too. 'Tis admirable to consider, how Powerful the Kings are, and yet how they move by the Breath of their People. I have had occasion to be in Council with them upon Treaties for Land, and to adjust the terms of Trade; their Order is thus: The King sits in the middle of an half Moon, and hath his Council, the Old and Wise on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger Fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and in the Name of his King saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me, That he was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that now it was not he, but the King that spoke, because what he should say, was the King's mind. He first pray'd me, To excuse them that they had not complied with me the last time; he feared, there might be some fault in the Interpreter, being neither Indian nor English; besides, it was the Indian Custom to deliberate, and take up much time in Council, before they resolve; and that if the Young People and Owners of the Land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay.

The total Lenape population in the Delaware valley in the seventeenth century is not known in the absence of reliable statistical records. The writer has speculated that the aggregate population of all of the bands numbered 10,000 to 12,000 men, women, and children, and this is probably a conservative estimate (Weslager 1972:42). Penn uses the word "Nation" in the sense of an autonomous band or community having an approximate population of 200, each with its own chief and democratic council. He makes clear that the council was not an appointed or elected body, but consisted of all the old and wise men; the younger men also participated in discussions and decision-making with regard to war, peace, and land sales to Europeans. Penn makes no reference to female members of the council. At a later date when the Lenape were living in Ohio it was recorded that women were admitted to council meetings for the purpose of serving food and also to keep the fires burning, but they did not participate in any of the deliberations (Weslager 1972:288). This does not necessarily mean that a wife may not have privately had some influence on her husband.

Penn makes no reference to a council house where the Lenape conducted their negotiations. But in a short letter to a friend repeating some of the details in the above letter he specifically stated that the council sat "in a half moon upon ye Ground" (Myers 1937b:46). At a later period after they had moved west the Lenape conducted their negotiations in a large council house

(Weslager 1972:293).

A significant note in the above passage is the reference to a Lenape speaker serving as a surrogate for the chief. This seems to mean that an individual having oratorical talents and an unusual ability to express the thoughts of the chief and council was selected as the spokesman. Presumably he was multi-lingual in Indian dialects and in this instance he may have had knowledge of English.

Penn met with the same chief at an earlier conference following his arrival in America before he was familiar with the Indian dialect. He probably engaged as his interpreter a Swede named Lasse Cock who was conversant in the Unami dialect. Through some misunderstanding the land sale for which the conference was intended was not consummated. The interpreter was apparently not sufficiently versed in Lenape custom to realize it was the practice for the council to discuss the pros and cons of important issues in private deliberations before rendering an official reply.

[The writer separated Section XXIII into two parts because of the length of the paragraph. The remainder of the section reads as follows:]

Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the Bounds of the Land they had agreed to dispose of, and the Price, (which now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty Miles, not buying now two.) During the time that this Person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the Old, Grave, the Young, Reverend in their Deportment; they do speak little, but fervently, and with Elegancy: I have never seen more natural Sagacity, considering them without the help, (I was agoing to say, the spoil) of Tradition; and he will deserve the Name of Wise, that Outwits them in any Treaty about a thing they understand. When the Purchase was agreed, great Promises past between us of Kindness and good Neighbourhood, and that the Indians and English must live in Love, as long as the Sun gave light. Which done, another made a Speech to the Indians, in the Name of all the *Sachamakers* or Kings, first to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them, To Love the Christians, and particularly live in Peace with me, and the People under my Government: That many Governours had been in the River, but that no Governour had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such a one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong. At every sentence of which they shouted, and said, Amen, in their way.

Penn was impressed with the sagacity of the Lenape chiefs and council and their ability to drive a hard bargain. He emphasized that it was difficult to outwit them in any negotiation they understood. This is all the more remarkable

when one realizes the Indians had no written language, but recorded their transactions mnemonically on belts made of wampum beads. Although Penn does not specifically refer to wampum belts in this letter there are numerous official records to the exchange of such belts (Colonial Records 1852). Three of the old belts which are believed to have been used in Penn's negotiations have been preserved. One is in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and two others may be found at the Museum of the American Indian (Speck 1925).

XXIV. The Justice they have is Pecuniary: In case of any Wrong or evil Fact, be it Murther it self, they Attone by Feasts and Presents of their *Wampon*, which is proportioned to the quality of the Offence or Person injured, or of the Sex they are of: for in case they kill a Woman, they pay double, and the Reason they render, is, That she breedeth Children, which Men cannot do. 'Tis rare that they fall out, if Sober; and if Drunk, they forgive it, saying, It was the Drink, and not the Man, that abused them.

The Lenape view of crime and punishment differed from English jurisprudence. There were no judges, juries, courts of law, law officers, or jails. An offender charged with a felony attoned by giving wampum beads to the injured party or his family. If the victim of a murder was a woman the accused paid her family double the amount of wampum beads ordinarily paid for the murder of a man. This wergild consisted not of wampum belts, but of a certain quantity of loose beads or beads strung on leather strands. The subject raises many unanswered questions. Who accused the culprit? What happened if he denied his guilt? Could he appeal the sentence? What if he admitted his guilt but refused to pay the victim's family?

XXV. We have agreed, that in all Differences between us, Six of each side shall end the matter: Don't abuse them, but let them have Justice, and you win them: The worst is, that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their Vices, and yielded them Tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an Ebb as they are at, and as glorious as their Condition looks, the Christians have not out-liv'd their sight with all their Pretensions to an higher Manifestation: What good then might not a good People graft, where there is so distinct a Knowledge left between Good and Evil? I beseech God to incline the Hearts of all that come into these parts, to out-live the Knowledge of the Natives, by a fixt Obedience to their greater Knowledge of the Will of God, for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian Conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

Penn's proposal that six Europeans and six Indians should constitute a jury or board of arbitrators to settle any differences was an innovation in wilderness jurisprudence.

During the previous Swedish and Dutch administrations the Indians did not participate as jurors nor did they have legal counsel in any action brought against them. Penn's intentions were of the best and consistent with his policies toward the Indians. However, when he returned to England the plan fell by the wayside and his deputy governors and members of the Pennsylvania Assembly conducted Indian affairs in the way they felt best suited their personal and provincial interests.

XXVI. For their Original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish Race, I mean, of the stock of the Ten Tribes, and that for the following Reasons; first, They were to go to a Land not planted or known, which to be sure Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and he that intended that extraordinary Judgment upon them, might make the Passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in it self, from the Easter-most parts of Asia, to the Wester-most of America. In the next place, I find them of like Countenance and their Children of so lively Resemblance, that a man would think himself in Dukes-place or Berry-street in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all, they agree in Rites, they reckon by Moons: they offer their first Fruits, they have a kind of Feast of Tabernacles; they are said to lay their Altar upon twelve Stones; their Mourning a year, Customs of Women, with many things that do not now occur.

So much for the Natives, next the Old Planters will be considered in this Relation, before I come to our Colony, and the Concerns of it.

Penn was not alone among seventeenth century Europeans in holding to the view that the Indians were descended from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. It was generally accepted by educated persons that the northern kingdom of Israel was destroyed by the Assyrians in 722 B.C. The territory was colonized by people of the Assyrian Empire, and in the process of resettlement ten of the Israel tribes were believed to have disappeared and were never seen again. Like the legend of the lost colony of Atlantis disappearing into the ocean the story of the wanderings of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel caught popular fancy.

The Reverend Johan Campanius who was in New Sweden from 1643 to 1648 worked as a missionary among the Indians and translated Luther's Little Catechism into the Lenape dialect using letters in the Swedish alphabet. He argued at great length that the Lenape dialect was similar to the Hebrew as evidence of Indian descent from the Jews (Holm 1834:115).

Penn felt there were similarities between the Lenape dialect and the Hebrew language (see Section XII above), but his main argument was that the Hebrew tribes migrated from the eastern part of Asia to the westerly part of North America; that the Jews

and Indians resembled each other physically (Dukes-Place and Berry Street in London were the center of a Jewish community); and that certain of Jewish religious practices and ceremonies were comparable to Lenape religious rites.

There is little doubt that Penn was wrong on all counts! However, in view of the important ethnographic details given in his letter written more than 300 years ago we can indulge him a mistake which was shared by many of his contemporaries.

Note: Frequent reference to Pennsylvania is made in this article, but it should be remembered that the Three Lower Counties (New Castle, Kent, and Sussex) were part of Pennsylvania in Penn's time, and were represented in the Pennsylvania Assembly. The Province of Pennsylvania originally had three "upper" counties (Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks) it was an entirely different political and geographical entity than the present state of Pennsylvania. Not until 1776 did "the Delaware state" come into existence.

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