

BULLETIN

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
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C. A. WESLAGER, *Editor*—23 Champlain Ave., Wilmington, Del.

Meetings

Several interesting meetings of the Society have taken place since the last issue of the *Bulletin*. On May 9, a symposium on Crane Hook excavations was held in which Miss Jeannette Eckman, and Messrs. Crozier, Weslager, Swientochowski and Alexander were feature speakers.

William S. Stiles lectured before our members at our August meeting on "The Seminoles of Florida." Mr. Stiles is a member of the research staff of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City, and this was his second appearance as a guest speaker in Delaware.

On March 19, 1943, Royal B. Hassrick spoke on "The Sioux Indians of Today." Mr. Hassrick's work on the Sioux Reservations in South Dakota was conducted under the auspices of the United States Indian Service. Mr. Hassrick is also a student of the Eastern Indian, and we call attention to his article on the Nanticoke Indians of Delaware which appears in this issue.

The varied programs of our meetings continue to give our members and their friends an activity worthy of their full support. Although the present emergency has made it more difficult to obtain speakers, nevertheless, we plan to continue with our lecture meetings as far as possible.

New Volume

Attention is called to the fact that this issue of the *Bulletin* inaugurates Volume 4. Volumes 1 and 2 of this publication were issued in mimeographed form. Volume 3, which contained 5 numbers was printed, and we trust that funds will permit us to continue with printed numbers.

Museum Closed For Duration

The Society's Archaeological Museum at the University of Delaware has been closed to the public for the duration of the war. Due to transportation difficulties the officers have decided to hold meetings in Wilmington instead of Newark for the present. At the close of the war we will resume our activities at Newark. In the meantime our new Museum Advisor, Alex D. Cobb, will look after our property at the Museum.

THE FROLIC AMONG THE NANTICOKE OF INDIAN RIVER HUNDRED, DELAWARE

By FRANK G. SPECK

The time will come when the simple facts concerning the life of the present day Indian descendants in the State of Delaware will assume an importance that we now scarcely realize. That Indian descendants are living in our midst today is enough for those who do not see the need of recording ordinary events in their lives, in our own for that matter, since they are thought to be only the commonplace things of our times. However, the historian who looks ahead recognizes the needs of future gatherers of data on the customs of folk who will by then have changed. Posterity will look back for records that we leave today. So let us in our days be mindful of future interests. Among the native descendants of the historic group known in later records as Nanticoke of Indian River Hundred, which Weslager* has traced to identity with the Assateague or Indian River Indians of earlier narratives, we have much to observe and put on record. And there always will be something to put down about a people with Indian blood in their veins and Indian tradition somewhere behind them.

Communal interests and cooperative effort have lately been a theme of sociologists. They have discerned the waning of these joint activities in communities in New and Old World life. They have noted the so-called primitive sharing of labor under the name of "bees" in the fields, in house building and in quilting in colonial America of our ancestors. That the Indian tribes also performed communal as well as private work is known from the early narratives. Communal work for the benefit of the less fortunate members of the Indian River folk is still performed today. Not labor alone, but social relaxation which serves to knit the community into a conscious whole is an undertone of the gatherings for mutual aid in the tasks of these farming people.

Folk life among the Nanticoke still preserves its softer, colorful aspects despite the leveling and hardening influences of modernization. The Frolic! It was only after having heard the word used for some years, as I thought, for a gambol or picnic, that I discovered its true meaning in the social life of the Indians. To them the Frolic is a proper name. It denotes a short period of voluntary cooperative work engaged in by a group of men whose objective is the completion of a specific task for the benefit of an associate who has suffered a handicap through illness or misfortune. It is one of the recognized forms of increasing productivity in a limited time period of voluntary group labor, and it has in this case, socializing as well as charitable motives.

The Nanticoke people participate in a Frolic for individuals who are unable to complete the seasonal rotation of farm demands, such as clearing the fields in March, plowing in April, sowing seed in May, thinning the corn hills late in June, harrowing in June and July, "saving fodder" in July and August, digging potatoes and stacking fodder in late September, husking corn and "hog killin'" in November, cutting and hauling winter wood

* C. A. Weslager "Indian Tribes of the Delmarva Peninsula," *Bulletin*, Vol. 3, No. 5, 1942, p. 30.

in December. Other occasions may arise in which voluntary communal aid may be called for. To erect a barn, to fence a graveyard, to repair a church or home, may be the need of the hour. A Frolic is not a formalized event. There is no officiation of the chief, no leadership appointed or in control of details. The need for aid is simply made public by the person concerned. He spreads the word by contacting some friends who are habitues of the neighborhood filling stations, the country general stores, or those who may be encountered on the road passing by his farm. He may ask the preacher to announce the occasion from the pulpit on the preaching day a week before. He designates the day, usually a Saturday afternoon, when he will expect them. His family's part is to furnish enough food to feed the gathering for one meal, consisting of potatoes, chicken, pot-pie, corn bread, bean soup, cake and lemonade, coffee or cider to drink. The women of the participants' families come with them to assist in the cooking. Their children come to play and help the grown folks. We can picture the carts and cars on the roads on the appointed afternoon with expectant merry-makers headed toward the farm where Noah or Will lives. According to the task before them, the men equip themselves with axes to cut the winter fuel supply, with wagon and team for hauling, with plow or harrow for work in the soil.

The yard about the house where they assemble is the scene of social communion for those who arrive early and late. The host mingles with them, but does not assume any authority over the organization of the labor. That part falls to the one among the arrivals who feels that his team is the least tired, for instance, and who proposes a question as to who shall start the first row of plowing, or the first load of hauling. The others comply with the suggestions of the self-appointed leader of the Frolic. Thus, the labor is begun and carried out in voluntary cooperation. When completed, the tired and hungry but good-humored toilers reassemble at the farmhouse and eat of the victuals awaiting them. The task performed, they tarry awhile for sociability, then wend their way homeward.

Concretely we learn some particulars from what has taken place upon recent occasions when for instance a field of twelve acres was plowed in half a day. Twelve teams in the field at once for the afternoon accomplish an acre plowed by each team. He who has the fastest team starts the outside row, the others being timed by his pace, to avoid lagging. Twenty-three participants held a Frolic at Noah Harman's in March, 1942, when his arm was hurt and he suffered from rupture. They cut and sawed his pile of wood, and consumed unrationed hog-belly, potatoes and pot-pie.

Recently, Will Street lay in the hospital with diabetes and kidney trouble. In March, they held a Frolic for "corn pullin' off" (shucking) and finished by lamplight drinking cider and lemonade. Lately, Fred Wright went to the hospital from an injury caused by a car. A Frolic was held for him and his wood was cut and hauled from the woods, but this time no supper was served. On April 3rd, a turkey supper was served at the church, and the proceeds were used to build a fence around the church. Pasture fences have been repaired at various times by Frolic parties. Upon occasion when a barn has been raised for a young couple, those who attended the Frolic gave a day's work, and some contributed lumber from their own supply. When a man's house burns down, a Frolic might be organized whereupon each participant would contribute a whole tree from his woods to be hauled to the saw-mill and made into boards for the new home.

The Frolic is an institution of long standing among the Nanticoke descendants of Indian River, perpetuating one of the old customs of an age from which their ancestors of both continents have sprung. Communal activities of other forms intended to provide amusement are also in vogue, but they do not come under the caption of Frolics, which on their part, contrary to the sense implied in the name, are dominated by the idea of labor rather than fun. And yet in accordance with the spirit of the people toward the tasks of life, the element of pleasure is strong in its overtones.

NOTES FROM THE DELAWARE FIELD

A site hitherto unknown to the Society was located by Mr. I. L. Gordon of Philadelphia, and is situated south of Rehoboth, Delaware, on a promontory near the junction of the Lewes-Rehoboth Canal, with the bay. Mr. Gordon made several visits to the site, and on one occasion encountered human remains. In order to determine whether the site was worthy of exploration, Mr. Gordon invited C. A. Weslager, President of the Archaeological Society of Delaware, and Dr. T. D. Stewart of the Smithsonian Institution, to make a preliminary test survey. It was Mr. Gordon's thought that an excavation might be jointly sponsored if the site proved productive.

Accordingly, on June 20, 21, 1942, Mr. Gordon, Mr. Weslager and Dr. Stewart spent two days in making appropriate tests. There were surface indications of a former occupation in the form of scattered shells, a few potsherds, jasper chips, fragmentary arrowheads, and pieces of human bone. In one of the test holes, a pit of undetermined origin was encountered. It was roughly oval in shape, 6 feet by 4 feet, and approximately 2 feet deep. It contained shell detritus, charcoal, potsherds, the stem of a native clay pipe and the skeletal remains of a small dog. A second pit, of approximately the same dimensions, was also excavated. It, too, contained dog remains and shell refuse.

Mr. Weslager and Dr. Stewart concurred that the site would be worthy of more intensive exploration at some future time. However, since their visit, the entire area has been declared a military zone, and because of its important strategical position, it is unlikely that the military authorities will permit excavation. It is hoped that at the end of the war a project can be inaugurated to explore the site in more detail. Dr. Stewart has expressed himself as being willing to assist the Society in the work.

THE HOG SWAMP SITE

By ARCHIBALD CROZIER

In an earlier issue of this publication, I gave my impressions of the large prehistoric Indian village site along White Clay and Christina Creeks near Stanton, Delaware, together with comments on the artifacts found thereon. ⁽¹⁾

In a subsequent issue, my friend S. C. Robinson supplemented my article with some most interesting data. ⁽²⁾ He contended, and rightly so, that I did not include enough territory in my review, and that the site was much more extensive than I had indicated. This is undoubtedly true, and my reason for not covering the larger scope of territory was due to my unfamiliarity with some of the portions which Mr. Robinson mentions. However, certain of the contiguous areas which show evidences of occupation are also known to me, and I am therefore taking this opportunity to supplement my previous article.

There seems to be no doubt that the larger of the series of sites was on the Clyde and Churchman farms at the location described in my first article, and it was there that I did most of my collecting during the days when shoe leather was the major means of transportation. However, as mentioned by both Mr. Robinson and myself there is abundant evidence that the opposite, or eastern side, of the Christina was also occupied by Indians. The evidences of this occupation are very pronounced between Churchman's Bridge and Newport, along the eastern bank of the river. A public road runs through these sites, parallel to the creek, known to the oldtimers as the Hog Swamp or Hog Wallow Road. Consequently, we have given the name Hog Swamp to the site, and I have always kept the specimens from this locality separate from the larger site on the opposite side of the creek.

Near Churchman's Bridge, there is a knoll which has a gravel bank in front of it making a good landing place. This knoll yielded many interesting potsherds and a portion of a boldly marked clay pipe bowl, one of the few that I have found in New Castle County. Unfortunately this knoll, which is on land opposite the new airport, is now part of a development of new lots, and a number of bungalows are appearing to blot out the vestiges of the Indians.

Across the creek on the Churchman farm, Charles K. Moore of Wilmington, found an Indian clay pot a number of years ago. He was fishing along the bank and found the pot partly exposed by the washing away of the bank. It was in several pieces but restorable. Regrettably, Mr. Moore did not realize its significance and it was not preserved. It would have been important as being the only known whole pot recovered in New Castle County.

During the year 1916, my wife and I did quite a lot of canoeing on the Christina and White Clay, as we lived in Newport at the time. Our attention was attracted to a knoll just opposite the mouth of White Clay Creek, on the eastern bank of the Christina and about one-half mile below the knoll just described. Near the knoll is one of the few good landing points—a gravel beach, whereas much of the shoreline is deep black mud. We would land there frequently and were never disappointed in finding specimens. Downstream from the knoll, there are about five or six hillocks along the river bank, all of which show abundant occupational evidences. The late Joseph Wigglesworth was a regular visitor here each spring, and his

collection contains many valuable specimens gathered from the furrows. In recent years, C. A. Weslager and H. Geiger Omwake have gathered a large number of specimens from the site, and on a visit there with Mr. Weslager this spring, we found that hunting was just as interesting as ever, although perfect specimens are less numerous than in the past.

There is an old colonial house on the site which never fails to stir one's imagination. It is used by the owner of the farm as a storage shed. Although it is in a pitiful state of dis-repair, it is a splendid example of the architecture of old Delaware. Its brick walls have withstood the elements for more than 200 years, as evidenced by the date 1736 set in bricks on the side facing the creek. The initials "JL", also set in bricks appear above the date. To the best of my knowledge it is the earliest dated house in Delaware, and it is a pity that some effort has not been made to restore it.

The Hog Swamp site has not produced the quantity or variety of material as found on the main site, but the material is similar in type and manufacture. I have found but two axes on the site, and celts are very rare. Several fine abrading stones have been found, and the usual run of hammerstones and polishing stones. My wife and I found a pestle under very unusual conditions. We were landing from our canoe one day when the tide was low, and Mrs. Crozier noticed what appeared to be a jelly glass tangled in the roots of a tree exposed by the low tide. We decided to recover it for use as a drinking glass, and when we pried it loose from the roots, much to our surprise it was the upper end of a polished pestle, a rare find in this area.

I have several gorgets, but no bannerstones from the site, although I am told that a number of fragmentary specimens have been found in recent years. The chipped artifacts in most instances are typical of those found at the Stanton site and at Crane Hook, which is only about 5 miles away as the crow flies and on the same side of the creek. They comprise arrow and spearheads, side and thumb scrapers, drills, knives, blanks and rejects.

The materials are mostly jasper, quartz, quartzite, rhyolite, shale, argillite, chalcedony, and one specimen of "Cohansey" quartzite. Many of the arrowheads are beautifully made, notably those with serrated edges and bifurcated bases. Triangular types comprise about 20% and include several of the isosceles type which suggest contact with the Susquehannock Minquas, who are known historically to have come to this area to trade, although they were not natives of Delaware.

I have learned recently that the site extends over the main highway to New Castle, on a farm which we used to know as the "McDaniel Farm". This farm lies at the junction of None Such Creek with the Christina and a visit there this spring brought a few arrowheads and potsherds. Mr. Weslager has an axe, a celt, a number of arrowheads and several fragmentary bannerstones from the fields. As on the Hog Swamp knolls, the artifacts are found on what was formerly the river bank, indicating that the former inhabitants were river folk who preferred to reside or camp near the water. Mr. Weslager tells me that he has dug several test pits on this site, but that the occupational layer is very superficial and is confined to four or five inches of the humus layer. In this respect the site is like others on the opposite side of the creek, which are all doubtless of a homogeneous culture. ⁽³⁾

(1) A. Crozier, "An Early Indian Village on the White Clay Creek," *Bulletin*, Vol. 2, No. 6, Oct. 1938, p. 4.

(2) S. C. Robinson, "Thoughts on the Stanton Site," *Bulletin*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Oct. 1939, p. 16.

(3) C. A. Weslager, "Unexplored Sites in the Christina River Valley," *Bulletin*, Vol. 2, No. 7, Oct. 1938, pp. 8-10.

A VISIT WITH THE NANTICOKE

By ROYAL B. HASSRICK

One of the frequent requisites of being an anthropologist is traveling to distant and out of the way corners of the globe. However, I always felt somewhat fortunate that my chief interest should lie with the Sioux Indians of South Dakota, rather than with Tulu of Africa or the Chuchii of Siberia. It always seemed that the field of American Indian anthropology was sufficiently untouched that traveling to the farthest ends was not entirely necessary except as it satisfied the wanderlust. Nor, at present, has any field of ethnological research offered greater interest and results to this country in general, than the American Indian. A student soon learns the fascinating cultural and physical interminglings throughout the continent, and cannot look at one group without considering others. Because of these things, it may well be imagined how happily surprised I was to find gold in my own back yard.

My first trip to the Nanticoke tribe was more than an adventure—for me it was a real discovery. Scarcely sixty miles south of Wilmington, Delaware, I found myself in the midst of a population I had never hoped to find east of the Mississippi drainage, nor much south of Maine. Yet here was a social group representing in strong survival the historic Eastern Woodland Indian. Nor was this discovery my own, Dr. F. G. Speck having initiated a study of the Nanticoke a number of years ago, supplemented recently by the studies of C. A. Weslager. So fascinating was this treat that I like to tell what I saw as a joke upon myself and an eye-opener for others.

The Nanticoke today live like most of the inhabitants of the Indian River district. By and large they are farmers and many enjoy a genuine success in chicken raising. Their cottages and houses are placed upon the high ground near the fields of corn or hay. Gum swamps and tracts of pine separate the family communities.

But there is no mistaking that these people are Indians—they look like it. I can so well recall my amazement when one of my first new friends stepped out of his house to make my acquaintance. I nudged my companion hard and exclaimed, "He's a Sioux." His copper skin and high cheek bones and his handsome blue-black hair dumbfounded me. I can remember later as we visited one family after another, how I would persist in comparing this or that individual with Pawnee, Navahoe or Algonquians I had seen.

Two hundred years or more of contact with a new and different people makes for countless changes in a native population. Many peoples completely disintegrate under the pressures—not so the Nanticoke. The Indian remnants of the Delmarva Peninsula tribes have retained, in addition to their physical characteristics, other features that anthropologists call Indian.

One of the features which impressed me as most striking was the social autonomy that these people maintained. The evening talks centered around the Nanticoke people in the same manner that our Thanksgiving dinners might revolve around the family relatives. The feeling of unity permeated the conversations. What is so-and-so doing about the next dances? Do

you remember the things we did at the last dance? The talk might involve a personality, how well he managed certain tribal affairs; who was the most likely individual to assume a particular function. The keenness and intensity with which the people considered the problems affecting them as a group—the strong desire to maintain an integrated society—are sure indicators of a unity typical of the Indian.

Less vague, but equally indicative of their Indian heritage was the host of games. It was among the children that I saw and I watched them enviously as they took turns shooting the cross bow. This effective device is known to a great many American Indians, and the Nanticokes find in it a thrill. Since the cross bow is an intricate weapon, it is necessarily made by a man who is a craftsman. Craftsman among the Nanticoke take pride in their achievement.

If the cross bow reminded me of what I'd seen among the Plains Indians, the little buzzer-buttons were still more familiar. The Nanticoke children thrilled to the hum of the twirling bark button as they spun it between their hands, just as Sioux children. And in like manner, both drop it in the dust when some new enticement appears. Here and there around the yards are little toys left temporarily disregarded: tops and bows, full roarers and jacks; so typical of the Indian way.

Evidences of the Indian hunting and farming traditions can be found by snooping around the sheds and barns. Oak split baskets for picking corn, handsome in their mellowness, lie in the corn crib, ready for use. Hand-carved corn pegs used in husking hang from rusty nails, suckering canes of dogwood lean against the wall. I even saw an ancient corn mortar and pestle tucked out of sight lest some antique collector should become too curious. At one place I found several hand-made gill nets along with carefully made gages used in their making and repair, and in an old carriage house stood a hollow gun-log trap for taking rabbits. All of these Indian devices are still used in varying extents today; they play important functions in the present life of the Nanticoke Indians who in turn have supplemented modern farming and hunting equipment and methods to their native way.

The pleasant rolling fields bear crops for urban markets, but around the houses are squash and gourd patches, Indian corn, beans, and turnips for home consumption. From the gourds the men make cups and dippers, water jugs and soap dishes just as they have always done. Here and there I saw a corn-husk mat and strings of drying Indian corn often line the kitchen sheds.

And so it is throughout the community, the flavor of the Woodland Indian permeating what these people say and do. More than reminders of a dead past, these are inheritors of a way of life which long since found adjustment in this region. The oldtime things still hold their place—they satisfy certain needs or make life meaningful. I like to think of Indian River in this way, not merely as a curiosity. Here is an opportunity to study the workings of a society, to see what influences affect a group, to learn how people adjust to change, or how strongly they resist. Here is a laboratory for the student, a source for the historian, a shrine for the patriot and a home for the Indian.

MY PEOPLE THE DELAWARES

By BIG WHITE OWL

(Jasper Hill)

The author of this article written especially for the BULLETIN is a Delaware Indian now residing in Canada. His ancestors lived and roamed in the Delaware River area. His discussion of the history of his people and their present status, from the Indian viewpoint, is a significant contribution to our knowledge of the Delawares.

Let me tell you a story about my people the Delawares. They were better known in the colonial period as the people of the Lenni Lenape Nation, also named: Keepers of the Painted Records, Councillors of Peace, Defenders of the Faith, the Original People. My people are a proud people and they have every right to be proud because they were accorded by all Algonkian tribes the most respectful title of Grandfathers, Wise Counsellors, Children of the Mother Island, etc. The Delawares call themselves Lenni Lenape and when that word is translated into the English language it means: "Original People." In the early days the Lenni Lenape Nation occupied the entire basin of the Delaware River in Eastern Pennsylvania and Southeastern New York, together with most of New Jersey and part of Delaware. Today a curtain of mystery veils the past and no one can accurately describe or reconstruct the great events which took place upon this Continent before the arrival of the European invaders. But by gathering bits of information from here and there, it would seem that in an estimated Indian population of perhaps 150,000 lived along the Eastern Atlantic Coast about three and one-half centuries ago; the great Algonquin group numbered approximately 100,000 and were divided into many tribes.

It is said, by the wise ones, when the name "DELAWARE" was first given to the Lenni Lenape they resented it very much, but later on when it became known that they and their beloved river were to be named after a famous English Brave, one Lord De La Warr, they agreed to let the pale people call them Delaware Indians. I wish to add also that the Lenni Lenape are the only native people I know living upon the North American Continent who actually have a recorded history. It is known as WALAM OLUM, meaning: "the painted records." These records contain over 180 pictographs and the work represents many important events of bygone days.

The Lenni Lenape were leaders among the Indian tribes with which the Pale People had to deal in gaining possession of the land of this country—America. They were the ones who welcomed the weary Pilgrim Fathers to this bountiful new world . . . And when they made their first Treaty with William Penn, in 1682, they held their Grand Council Fire at Shackamaxon, now a part of the great city of Philadelphia, Pa., and under various local names they occupied the entire country along the Delaware River. To this early period belonged the famous and great Chief Tamenend, Prophet and Priest King of the Lenni Lenape Nation, and from whom the Tammany Society of New York derived its name. The different tribes of the Delaware Confederacy frequently acted separately but always regarded themselves as a part of one great body. A Delaware chief, upon addressing Governor Markham at Philadelphia, once said: "Though we live on the other side of the water (Delaware River) yet we reckon our-

selves all one, because we have one sky above us and we drink the same water."

About the year of 1720, the firey Iroquois, assisted by the dominant and imperious whites, assumed a dictatorship over them and crowded them out of their ancient hunting grounds. By the year 1742, we find the Delawares have migrated to Susquehanna River, settling at Wyoming and Nanticoke and at other nearby points. Another group of Delaware refugees struggled across the mountains to the headwaters of the Alleghany, the first of them having settled along that waterway in the year of 1724. In 1751 the Delawares began to form new settlements in Eastern Ohio, together with the Minsis and Mohicans, who accompanied them from their Eastern homeland. It was at this period that the men of the Lenni Lenape Nation once more asserted their independence of the Aggressive Iroquois and their allies the Pale People. And in the subsequent wars which followed they showed themselves to be the most determined and valient defenders of their ideals and their hunting grounds. They became a proud nation of brave warriors again. The Wampum Belt of Peace was laid aside while the courage and the wisdom of the Delawares was admired and respected over all the land.

About the year of 1770, the Delawares received permission from the Miami Nation to settle in, and to occupy, the country between the Ohio and the White Rivers, in Indiana, where in one period they had fourteen thriving and industrious villages. In September of the year 1778, the United States of America entered into a closer alliance with the Delaware Nation. At that period it was stipulated by Treaty negotiations with the Lenni Lenape Nation that friendly tribes of other Indian Nations might, with the approval of the Continental Congress, enter a New Confederation and form an Indian State, of which the Delaware Nation should be the head also entitling them to send a representative to the Federal Congress, but this treaty, like so many other treaties, was broken and never fulfilled! It seems there could be no lasting peace for the Delawares because in the year of 1789, by special permission of the Spanish Government, a number of them moved to Missouri and later to Kansas along with a band of Shawanees.

In the years of 1790, 1792, and 1800, about 500 of the Delaware Indians, under the leadership of the Moravian Missionaries, moved or migrated into Canada and have been living, struggling, striving, and achieving their existence in this country (Canada) ever since. Even now the story tellers of the Lenni Lenape Nation still love to talk about the old homeland along the mighty Delaware River—where the wild turkey and the pigeon once darkened the skies, where the mountain lion and the fox and the bear once roamed through glen and valley, where the deer and the beaver and the muskrat once prevailed. Today the people of the Lenni Lenape are gone, they have moved away to distant places and other lands, and most of their brothers of the forest have followed them. And by 1820 two bands of the Delaware Indians had found their way deep into the heart of Texas, where they numbered at one time probably more than several hundred. And it came to pass that in the year of 1835 most of the remnants of the Delaware Nation in the United States, had been gathered on a reservation in the State of Kansas, and from where they were again removed in the year of 1867, to the Indian Territory in Oklahoma, and became incorporated with the Cherokee Indians as their equals in maintaining a dual scheme of government.

In the old days the Delaware Indians were divided into three tribal divisions. These tribal divisions never caused any political interruptions; they never separated and always worked together for the common good of all. They shared equally with each other all the joys and sorrows, hardships, defeats, and victories—truly their motto was: "All for one, and one for all." They were known by the following Indian names: Unami, Minsi, Unalachtigo, and their most widely recognized tribal totems are as follows: Tortoise for Unami, Wolf for Minsi, Turkey for the Unalachtigo. The Unamis of the Turtle totem are the Lenni Lenape proper. The Minsis of the Wolf totem are known as Munsees. The Unalachtigos of the Turkey totem are considered to be the renowned Mohicans or Mohegans. Today it is absolutely impossible to get a definite idea of the number of Delawares at any given period, owing to the fact that they have been very closely connected with other tribes, and hardly have formed one compact body since leaving the Eastern Atlantic Coast. The various estimates in the last century give them and their associated tribes from 2,500 to about 3,000 while the estimates at present are considerably lower. Their present estimated population is about 1,800 and are distributed as follows:

Delawares incorporated with the Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory in Oklahoma, 870, and those at Wichita Reservation, Oklahoma, 100. The Munsee with the Stockbridge Indians, Wisconsin, perhaps, 240. Another band of Munsee with the Chippewa, in Kansas, perhaps 50. The number of Delaware Indians, at present known to be living in the United States, is a little over 1,200 according to the Office of Indian Affairs at Chicago, Illinois.

In the Dominion of Canada the Delaware Indians are living on three different reservations. Near Hagersville, Ontario, on the Grand River Six Nations reserve there are approximately 130 Delawares residing on a section of land known as the Delaware Settlement. The leading and most prominent members of this settlement are of the Montour clan. The late Chief Joseph Montour who passed peacefully into the Great Beyond in the year 1940, was over 80 years of age. He was a wise and good leader of his people and a great missionary. He was generally considered as the last Grand Chief of the Delawares of Canada. The Delawares of Grand River Reserve are of Unami stock and have merged with Iroquois Six Nations of Canada—losing almost completely their tribal identity and today many of them cannot speak the Delaware language. Near the city of London, Ontario, in the County of Middlesex, there are a group of Delaware Indians living on the Muncey Reserve and numbering about 144, under the able leadership of Chief William Dolson, and Councillors Mr. John Snake and Mr. Leslie Dolson. There are three different tribes of Indians living on three different sections on the Muncey Reserve, namely: Delawares, Chippewas, and Oneidas. Most of the Delawares of Muncey are able to speak their own language and they have a dialect of their own. The Delawares of Muncey are of direct Minsi descent and the Wolf is their totem.

About twenty miles east of the city of Chatham, Ontario, in the township of Orford, Kent County, there is a Delaware Indian settlement known as Moraviantown. The Delaware Indians living on that reservation are better known as: "Moravians of the Thames." The name was derived from a river that borders the north and west side of the reservation, also from the Moravian Missionaries who laboured so diligently among the Delaware Indians in the 17th and 18th centuries. Today the ancient Mora-

vian Mission Buildings are still standing at Moraviantown, Ontario, Canada. The Lenni Lenape of Moraviantown are of genuine Unami descent and the legendary Tortoise is their totem. And they have their own Chief and Council which is composed of four members of the band, namely: Chief Barney Logan, Councillors, Mr. John Huff, Mr. Cephas W. Snake, Mr. Louis Logan. To a certain extent they have retained their customs, legends, traditions, and language. Their Agricultural Exhibition held in the first part of October of each year is always a gala event attended by people from all parts of Western Ontario. Moraviantown is noted in history for the battle of 1813, where Tecumseh, the greatest Indian Chief of all time, made his last noble stand and supreme sacrifice in defense of his ideals, his people, and his country. At present there stands a small inscribed boulder besides Highway # 2, almost directly opposite from Moraviantown. This little monument was put there by good people to commemorate Canada's first and most distinguished Indian Brigadier General. The total number of Lenni Lenape (Delawares) now living in the Dominion of Canada, and under the guardianship of the Indian Affairs Branch at Ottawa, is not more than 550—they are the remnants of the few of the last!

Recently the United Church Fairfield Trust Fund was established to collect \$1,500 to be used to purchase a section of land on the northwestern side of the river Thames where the first Moravian Mission was built by Rev. David Zeisberger and the Delawares in 1792. The site was named "Schoenfeld"—in English, Fairfield. Considerable excavating and Archaeological research has been done on this once prosperous Indian village by Dr. Wilfrid Jury, Curator of the Museum of Western Ontario, and there is still much more to do. It is recorded in historical documents that a Delaware Indian by name of Peter was no doubt the first Apiarist in Western Ontario for on Thursday, June 27th, 1793, his bees swarmed twice causing much excitement. By the year 1813 Fairfield had been developed into an industrious and thriving religious centre of note with a church, school, shops, stores, and many houses. But this Delaware Indian village became engulfed in the war of 1812-13-14 and was completely burned down by the American Army during the Battle of the Thames. After peace was signed in 1815 the Delawares returned to rebuild their beloved "Schoenfeld" but found everything so completely destroyed, they crossed to the southwest side of the river and began to build a new village which came to be known as New Fairfield and later as Moraviantown. Anyone desiring to help to re-establish the old Moravian Mission as a historical site may send their contributions to the Treasurer of Fairfield Trust Fund, Rev. Charles Malcom, M. A., B. D., 141 Grant Avenue, East, Chatham, Ontario, Canada. Mr. John R. MacNicol, M. P., of Toronto, Canada, is the chief sponsor of this very worthy project. I shake hands with him from my heart!

The people of the Lenni Lenape nation have suffered many injustices in their time and are now scattered to the four corners of this continent. Nevertheless, some of them have, against great and almost overwhelming odds, been able to establish many notable distinctions for themselves in the white man's world. Today the Delawares live in modern houses, they wear the white man's clothes, they speak his language, they are mastering his complicated machines, they can write in the same manner as he does, they eat the same kind of food, they have contributed much toward making the North American Continent the greatest Democracy in the world. By every outward appearance they now live the life of the Pale People, but in-

wardly they are the same proud people as of old, whose consolation is this fact, that at least, their grand heritage can never be stolen from them!

I Have Spoken.

INDIAN VILLAGE AT LEWES, DELAWARE

In the article in the last issue of the Bulletin on "Indian Tribes of the Delmarva Peninsula," I mentioned that a village called *Checonnessex* (or *Sikonesses*) was located near present Lewes, but that the tribal identity of the occupants was not known. The following excerpt pertaining to this village appears in *Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and Swedish Settlements*, B. Fernow, Vol. 12, Albany, N. Y., pp. 545-56. This excerpt is taken from a letter written by Captain Cantwell to Gov. Andros and the brackets are mine:

"Ye ould indyans sayes that ye Dutch when they had bought ye land did sett up sumthing wch I suppose may be ye armes and sum indyans thus promise to show ye very place. [This obviously refers to the massacre of the Dutch colony at Lewes] There was a great affront this spring given ye Imperor of those indyans a very subtle fellow and one who bears the greatest command and keepes his indyans in ye greatest aw in this parte of ye worlde; ye abuse was given by one Peter Smith about bying sum skins from him. Capt. Crygier can tell yr honor how it came to passe; such fellows might be ye occasion of shedding much blood who coms there for one month or two and care not what happened to ye people when they are gon. I knew nothing of ye business whilst he was here or else would have called him to acct for so Doing and to give ye Sachem satisfaction for ye abuse wch I hope yr honor will be pleased to Do there that others may take notice of."

That this Indian village was definitely not a Nanticoke village nor under their control is brought out clearly by Raphael Semmes on p. 348 of his excellent work *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland*, Baltimore, 1937. Dr. Semmes points out that in 1678 Daniel Cunningham and his family, residents on the Patuxent River, were murdered by Indians. The Nanticoke of the Eastern Shore were accused of the murder, and one of the suspects was an Indian named Krawacom. Investigation, however, revealed that "he was an Indian belonging to the King of Checonnesseck, a Town upon the Horekill, which was a creek that emptied into the Delaware." The Nanticoke ruler said if the governor would "send to the said place of Checonnesseck, and then he would be satisfied that Krawacom did properly belong to the said town and *not* to the Nanticokes."

—C. A. WESLAGER

THE MINQUAS AND THEIR EARLY RELATIONS WITH THE DELAWARE INDIANS

By C. A. WESLAGER

No question has been more confused by the historian than that relating to the identities of Indians who formerly occupied the State of Delaware, some writers even insisting that the Minquas Indians were natives of the state. Evidence of this belief remains today in the name of a suburban development southeast of Wilmington called Minquadale; also in a volunteer firemen's organization at Newport, Delaware, known as the Minquas Company. Perhaps the worst anachronism was in erecting a marker at the foot of Iron Hill near Newark, Delaware, to perpetuate the supposed location of a Minquas Indian fort. The data leading up to the erection of the monument were taken from the writings of the Swedish minister Campanius, who said that the Minquas built a fort on a high hill 12 miles distant from Wilmington. As my able colleague Crozier has already pointed out, Campanius referred to Swedish miles, one of which was equal to more than 7 English miles. ⁽¹⁾ That places the Minquas fort somewhere in the Susquehanna River Valley where it properly belongs, and not on Iron Hill, as the historical marker erroneously states.

In a previous essay, I discussed the geographical locations of native tribes of the Delmarva Peninsula ⁽²⁾ pointing out that the Minquas, also called Minquaos, Minquesser, Mynkussar, Andastes, Andastogherins, Gandastigues, Conestogas, etc., lived along the Susquehanna River and its branches. In the present paper, I propose to discuss the relationship between these Susquehanna Minquas and the Delaware Indians (Lenni Lenape) the true natives of the Delaware Valley.

A thorough study of the Minquas would require exhaustive research in the records of Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York, as well as Delaware, for the fur trade with the Susquehanna Indians was a factor in the development of all of these states. Our present concern, however, is with the Susquehanna Minquas only as they enter the pages of Delaware history and affect the status of the Delaware Indians.

The term Minquas was generally used by the whites to refer to one (or two) groups of Iroquois speakers; namely, the White and Black Minquas. Van der Donck writing in 1656, explains the derivation of the word "Black" as follows:

"The beavers are mostly taken from inland, there being few of them near the settlements—particularly the Black Minquas who are thus named because they wear a black badge on their breasts and not because they are really black." ⁽³⁾

The White Minquas, as opposed to the Black Minquas, appear to have lived along the Susquehanna River and its tributaries. According to Augustine Herrman's map of 1673, the Black Minquas occupied territory in Pennsylvania west of the Alleghenies. Of them, Herrman writes: "The Sasquahana and Sinicus (Senecas) went over and destroyed that very great nation." ⁽⁴⁾ In other words, the Black Minquas were defeated by the White (Susquehanna) Minquas and Seneca Indians.

Fenton believes that the Black Minquas were one of the bands of the Erie Indians called the *Honiasont* who inhabited the shores of Lake Erie. Honiasont, he says, is derived from the native words meaning "gorget-wearing people" thus supporting Van der Donck's statement about the Black Minquas wearing badges or gorgets at their breasts. ⁽⁶⁾

As explained in the discussion already cited, ⁽⁶⁾ when the Dutch and Swedes living in the Delaware Valley referred to the Minquas country, they were speaking of land north and west of the Delaware Valley, from 50 to 100 miles inland and about 3 days distant from Wilmington. This country abounded in beaver and otter and it was the quest for peltries that caused the friction between the Dutch and Swedes. The English also attempted to compete with the Swedes and Dutch for this fur trade, and two Englishmen, Lamberton and Turner, early in the valley's history, made every effort to establish themselves, not to trade with the Delaware Indians necessarily, but to get their share of the profitable fur trade then being carried on with the Susquehanna and other Western Indians. ⁽⁷⁾ Campanius states that the Minquas came to the Delaware on occasion to trade and that the Swedes also went once or twice a year to their country:

"They went thither with cloth, kettles, axes, hatchets, knives, mirrors and corral beads which they sold to them for beaver and other valuable skins." ⁽⁸⁾ Not only did the Swedes travel to the Susquehanna Minquas [White Minquas] but they also made extended trips inland to the villages of the Black Minquas which were about 250 miles from the trading posts on the Delaware River. Usually these trips were made to notify the Indians to come to Fort Christina with their furs because a Swedish ship had arrived with trade goods for the Indians. ⁽⁹⁾ The Swedes were good business men and knew how to outsmart their competitors.

It was important to the white traders that control be maintained over the vantage points in the Delaware Valley guarding the trails to the Minquas land. Both Swedes and Dutch tried to monopolize these terminal points so that one could exclude the other from the trade. We assume that these trails were in existence before the coming of the whites and were the routes followed by the marauding Minquas on earlier foraging trips to the Delaware villages. The white trader transversed these same primitive highways when he ventured inland to the Minquas villages and eventually the trails became cart roads and then modern highways. One important trail originated at a Minquas fortified village near Mount Wolf at the mouth of Conewago Creek; a tributary of the Schuylkill, where a trading post was located. Another trail running between a second Minquas fort on Octoraro Creek in Cecil County, Maryland, and Fort Christina (Wilmington) was the forerunner of the present Lancaster Pike. ^(9a)

On his famous map made in 1654-56, Lindestrom shows the Appoquinimink River in Delaware as the "Minquas Kill" ⁽¹⁰⁾ and Hermann calls Appoquinimink River the "Minquaskil" in one of his letters. ⁽¹¹⁾ The Christina River was also known as the Minquas Kill and a Minquas Kill was also a waterway of the Schuylkill system. All these streams were routes used by the Minquas, or were located near Minquas trails from which their names were derived. ⁽¹²⁾ The Appoquinimink River was an important artery in commerce between Chesapeake and Delaware Bays. Its headwaters lie only a short distance from the headwaters of Bohemia River,

a tributary of the Chesapeake. It was a simple matter for the Susquehanna Minquas to paddle down the Susquehanna in their canoes, enter the mouth of Bohemia River and proceed upstream to the headwaters. Then they portaged over to the headwaters of Appoquinimink River and resumed their journey by water until they entered Delaware Bay. The Indian portage path between the two streams was later known as Old Man's Path and was used by the whites on similar journeys. ⁽¹³⁾

An interesting reference to the use of the route described above by the Minquas is found in a letter written at New Castle by Ephraim Hermann. He says that a band of Minquas passed *up* the Delaware River in their canoes without stopping. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Since they obviously would not have attempted an arduous journey the full length of Chesapeake and Delaware Bays, it seems clear that they must have entered the Delaware south of New Castle, via Appoquinimink River. I will show later that the Delawares were also familiar with this route.

Trading was also carried on with the Indians along the Appoquinimink. In December of 1654, the Swedish trader, Jacob Swenson, bought deer meat from the savages at "Appoquenema for frieze, powder and lead." ⁽¹⁵⁾

In 1663, d'Hinoyossa, then in charge of the Dutch colony, proposed that the colonial capital be moved from New Amstel (present New Castle, Delaware) to Appoquinime (present Odessa, Delaware) where the Minquas Indians congregated after portaging over the Chesapeake via Bohemia River. ⁽¹⁶⁾

For proper understanding of the relations between the Minquas and the Delawares, the reader must be aware of the general situation in the Delaware Valley between 1638 and 1700, and it is suggested that Amandus Johnson's excellent works be studied carefully. ⁽¹⁷⁾ It will then be clear that one must recognize three different periods to understand the relationship existing between the Indian tribes and the whites. The first period, from the time of discovery in 1638 to about 1655, was one largely of intercourse between Swedes and Indians. The next occurred between 1655 and 1664, when the Dutch obtained control of the area and exhibited a different attitude in their relations with the Indians. Finally, after 1664, the English brought their concepts to the Delaware Valley after seizing the reigns of government.

During the first period of Swedish domination, the Swedes and Finns assumed complete jurisdiction of the Indian trade. Hudde, writing in 1645, explains how the Swedish Governor Printz had skillfully gained control of the strategic estuaries which were the key points in the Minquas fur trade. ⁽¹⁸⁾ Printz had built a fort called Elfsborgh on the east side of the river to control the Jersey shore. Fort Christina, the principal place of trade, safeguarded the Christina River and adjacent Minquas trail on the western shore. At Tinnekonk (Tinicum Island) Printz constructed a fort and residence which were later destroyed by fire. On the Schuylkill he erected Fort New Korsholm, thus closing all avenues to the Minquas, as Hudde reports in the following quotation:

"This fort cannot in any manner whatever control the river, but it has command over the whole Kill, while this Kill is the only remaining avenue for trade with the Minquas, without which trade the river is of little value." ⁽¹⁹⁾

Not far distant from this fort, at the site of a former Dutch fort, Printz also erected a strong house. This led Hudde to conclude as follows:

"Thus no access to the Minquas is left open and he too controls nearly all the trade of the Savages on the River, as the greatest part of them go a hunting in that neighborhood, which they are not able to do without passing this place." ⁽²⁰⁾ When he spoke of "The Savages on the River" Hudde, of course, referred to the Delawares, but their trade was of lesser importance, as I shall presently show.

Not only did the Swedes establish themselves with garrisons at vantage points to hold the trade, but they actively solicited the friendship of the Minquas. The Swedes brought what the Minquas wanted: axes, guns, knives, scissors, cloth and beads, and the Minquas brought quantities of what the Swedes wanted more than anything else: beaver and otter pelts. These skins brought premium prices among the hat makers in Holland and the furriers elsewhere in Europe. It was this tremendous demand for furs that opened up America's frontiers and caused the downfall of the native tribes in the Delaware Valley.

The Swedes were liberal in their dealings with the Minquas. They paid well for their pelts. They gave the head sachems many presents and entertained the Indians on occasion and treated them with respect. This liberality was not due to any philanthropic traits in the Swedish personality; it was merely "good business" that brought results. The Swedes understood that any incidents which broke the peace and provoked bloodshed would affect the fur trade. Indians on the warpath had no time to trap beaver. Consequently, the Swedish-Minquas relationship was a highly satisfactory and mutually profitable one. The Swedes often maligned their Dutch competitors and once two Minquas chiefs (Aquarichque and Quadicke) reported to Stuyvesant that Governor Printz told them that the Dutch were "tatterdemalions" and that they had no guns or powder to trade, but that the Swedes did. Moreover, the Swedish governor assured them that "the Netherlands were bad and the Swedes were good men." ⁽²¹⁾

In their trade with the Minquas, it was necessary that the Swedes have an abundant supply of sewant—Indian shell money known also as wampum. Printz explains this need when he says:

"It is not possible to keep up the trade with the Savages by means of cargoes only, because the Savages always want Sewandt besides, which is their money." ⁽²²⁾

The sewant, or bead money, used for exchange in the Minquas trade, was largely obtained from Indians in New York, New England, and Virginia and not from the Delaware River Indians. Printz emphasizes this as follows:

"Our Savages are poor [referring to the Delawares] so that one can secure from them little and nowadays practically no sewant at all, hence we must buy sewant from Manathans and of the North English where sewant is made and where it can be bought cheaply there from the savages." ⁽²³⁾

It is recorded that a trader from Virginia came to New Sweden with goods to sell, including 862½ yards of sewant. ⁽²⁴⁾ This bead money was presumably made by Virginia tribes and was sold to the white trader. Sewant, as the reader probably knows, was of two types; that purple in

color made of conch shells and called *peake*; that white in color made of cockle shells and called *roanoke*. It is of interest to note that both shell beads and beaver pelts were also used as currency by the whites in the Delaware area before money was coined. The rate of exchange varied with the supply and demand. In 1648, at New Castle, it was necessary to give two fathoms of white and one of purple shell beads for one beaver pelt. ⁽²⁶⁾ A fathom was approximately 6 feet in length.

The Minquas-Swedish relationship was not one-sided, for the Minquas recognized that it was to their advantage to maintain friendship with the Swedes. They exerted every effort to cement the bond between them and the Swedish traders and authorities. Governor Rising reports:

"The Minquas who are yet faithful to us and call themselves our protectors were here recently and presented me with a very beautiful piece of land beyond the English River [Elk River] but the Minquas stipulated that we should soon build there and keep all sorts of cargoes for as good a price as others gave them and have blacksmiths and artisans for mending their guns." ⁽²⁶⁾

This visit of the Minquas (their names were Chakcorietchiaque, Svanahandaz, Waskamaquas, and Sahagoliwatquas), and the gift of land was a gesture on the Indians' part to consolidate their trading with the Swedes by having posts established in their territory. It was a hardship to travel to the trading posts on the Delaware, and they were thinking of their own convenience.

Thus, the Swedes had successfully checkmated the Dutch and English in the fur trade with the Susquehanna Minquas. The Dutch, as history relates, in economic defense, warred against the Swedes and defeated them, obtaining control of the Delaware Valley. Once more friction arose—this time between Dutch and English, also provoked largely by the fur trade. The Dutch trade suffered as the English trade increased and vice versa. During the era of Dutch and English domination, the area around New Castle and Wilmington became of even greater importance in the Indian trade. Not only were the Minquas invited to bring in their furs, but Indians from New Jersey, the upper Delaware, New York, and Maryland made trips to the trading posts with goods.

Even the Seneca, a member of the Iroquois league of Five Nations, came down the river on occasion to trade and usually created a disturbance on their visits. In 1661, Beekman wrote:

"I am informed that the Sinnecus [Senecas] have killed 12 River Savages [Lenape] living here on the river a little above the Swedish settlement." ⁽²⁷⁾ He adds that the Swedes were afraid that the Seneca would kill their cattle.

On September 5, 1662, word came to New Castle that the Seneca had scalped a white man and wounded a Lenape. ⁽²⁸⁾ The Seneca, as we now know, were not only on unfriendly terms with the Delaware, but were also preparing to wage war against the Minquas' towns on the Susquehanna.

Mohican Indians also came down the Delaware Valley to trade with the Dutch and English. In the early documents, they are called the *Esopus* Indians from a town and creek by that name located near present Kingston, New York. On August 27, 1663, the Mohicans were camping at the head

of the Delaware River near the Minisink group of the Delaware with whom they were said to have joined forces. The Mohican claimed that the Dutch had destroyed their villages and were prevailing on the Minisinks to assist them in revenge. ⁽²⁹⁾

During the period of intense Swedish-Minquas trade, the Indian trade south of the Appoquinimink was largely overlooked. The Dutch, however, and later the English, made every effort to exploit the southern Delaware peoples. The Dutch, of course, carried unpleasant memories of their ill-fated colony at Lewes which had been destroyed by the Indians in 1631. On May 24, 1659, Beekman and d'Hinoyossa visited the area near present Lewes with a view toward establishing trade and they sent an Indian to the neighboring chiefs to have them come down "with a view to agree with them." ⁽³⁰⁾ The English were more successful in the Indian trade in the southern parts of the peninsula than the Swedes or Dutch, having the advantage of nearby colonies in Virginia. On March 20, 1673, John Garland, a trader, received a license to trade with the Indians at Lewes. ⁽³¹⁾

The main point that I have tried to bring out, however, is that the lucrative source of the fur trade so far as the settlers in the Delaware Valley was concerned was with the Susquehanna Minquas, rather than with the natives living along the Delaware and its tributaries. What about the Delawares—the so-called River Indians, or Lenni Lenape, while this thriving commerce with the Minquas was being promulgated at their back doors? Let us try to understand their point of view and their subsequent actions.

First, we must remember that the land along both shores of the Delaware River and its tributaries was originally owned by the Delawares, not the Minquas. The whites, therefore, bought land from the Delawares primarily to be used as bases to carry on fur trade with the Minquas. For some reason, the Delawares had only a few beaver peltries to trade with the Swedes. While the beaver was a native of the Delaware River region, we must assume that the animal was not as plentiful as in the Susquehanna drainage. It is also possible that the Delawares either were less skillful in trapping beaver than the Minquas, or that their natural inclination was toward farming and fishing, rather than hunting. While the Delawares brought some beaver skins to the trading posts, they came with larger quantities of corn, fish, hops, beans, and a little tobacco. ⁽³²⁾ The latter was the only exportable commodity on which a good profit could be made by the whites, but unfortunately, tobacco was one of the lesser crops cultivated by the Delawares. Most of the export tobacco came from the Virginia tribes. As additional colonists settled in New Sweden it was an easy matter for them to raise their own corn and agricultural products and to catch their own fish, thus making them less dependent on trade with the Delawares.

The reader must also bear in mind that the Minquas were enemies of the Delawares. As early as 1630, Captain Yong reported Minquas war parties in the Delaware River attacking the Delaware Indian settlements and driving the inhabitants across the river to the New Jersey side. ⁽³³⁾ Other writers commented on this enmity which, as we shall see, eventually resulted in the subjugation of the Delawares by the Susquehanna Minquas. ⁽³⁴⁾ Therefore, it must have been with bitter hearts that the Delawares saw the rich stores of merchandise at the Swedish trading posts intended for trade with their enemies, the Minquas. The Delawares had been duped into selling their lands to the whites. Finally, they were treated

as intruders in their homeland by the white visitors whom they had befriended.

This attitude of the whites is well demonstrated in the following extract from one of Governor Printz's reports:

"Nothing would be better than to send over here a couple of hundred soldiers to keep here until we broke the necks of all of them in this river, especially since we have no beaver trade whatsoever with them but only the maize trade. They are a lot of poor rogues. Then each one could be secure here at his work and feed and nourish himself unmolested without their maize and also we could take possession of the places which are most fruitful, that the savages now possess; and when we have thus not only bought this river, but also won it with the sword, then no one, whether he be Hollander or Englishman, could pretend in any manner to this place either now or in coming times, but we should then have the beaver trade with the Black and White Minquas alone, four times as good as we have it now or at any past times. And if there is some delay in this matter, it must nevertheless in the end come to this and it cannot be avoided the sooner the better, before they do us more harm. They are not to be trusted, as both example and our experience show, but if I should receive a couple hundred good soldiers and in addition necessary means and good officers, then with the help of God, not a single savage would be allowed to live in this River." (35)

This is a classic example of ingratitude. Since the Delawares had no beaver pelts, and were poor; since they had no bead money, and since their lands had already been acquired, the pot-bellied Printz was prepared to exterminate them. It didn't occur to him that the nation that he wanted to destroy had a few years previous welcomed his countrymen with open arms.

Ten years after this letter was written, when Printz' successor Rising was governor of the Swedish colony, the situation had not improved. The Delawares were opposing the Swedes in a subtle way. Let Rising, in one of his reports, show how the Delawares did not lack in cunning when forced into a defensive position:

"Our neighbors the Renappi [Lenape] threaten not only to kill our people in the land and ruin them before we can become stronger and prevent such things, but also to destroy even the trade both with the Minquas and other savage nations as well as with the Christinas. We must daily buy their friendship with presents for they are and continue to be hostile and worse than they have been hitherto. If they buy anything here they wish to get half on credit and then pay with difficulty. They run to the Minquas and then they buy beaver and elkskins, etc., for our goods, and they then proceed before our eyes to the Manathas [Manhattan Island] where the traders can pay more for them than we do, because more ships and more goods arrive there." (36)

There are many subtleties in the relationship between the Minquas and the Delawares that we perhaps shall never fully understand. However, it must be admitted that the Minquas made war against the Delawares, defeated them and forced them to accept their overlordship. Campanius speaking of this relationship, writes:

"They (the Minquas) forced the other Indians whom we have before

mentioned and who are not so warlike as the Minquas to be afraid of them and made them subject and tributary to them." (37)

Amandus Johnson, from his scholarly perusal of the early records, arrives at the following conclusion:

"About 1630-36 they (the Minquas) were at war with the Delawares who were conquered by them, compelled to pay taxes and to recognize their sovereignty and supervision in matters of land treaties and the like with the whites." (38)

Myers has published an affidavit which reveals how the Minquas had brought to bear their influence on the Delawares in matters relating to land sales. Four sailors of the Key of Calmar, the ship which brought the first Swedes to America, deposed that certain Indian chiefs were called together by Peter Minuit to sell land to him. The chiefs were described as "some being present on behalf of the Ermewormahi, the others on behalf of the Mante and *Minqua* Nations." (39)

The Indian names on the land transfer are all Algonkian word forms indicating that the signers were Delawares, and not Minquas. However, the allusion that Minquas were present infers a guardianship or protectorate exercised by them over the Delawares in land sales.

Peter Stuyvesant in his first conference with Peminacka, Mattahorn and Sinques—Delaware Indian chiefs on the Delaware River—asked them if they were the owners of the land. Mattahorn replied that "They were great chiefs and proprietors of the lands, both by ownership and descent and *appointment of the Minquas and River Indians.*" (40) Again we have evidence of the Minquas functioning as overlords.

In a transaction with the Indians at New Castle, the rightful owners of the land, the Delaware chiefs, sold the area to the Dutch. However, four Minquas Indian chiefs also signed the deed as witnesses which also denotes a definite protectorship. (41) MacLeod has already commented on this transaction, using it as one of the evidences of the family hunting territory system among the Delawares. (42)

The enmity between the Delawares and the Minquas, first made manifest in war and bloodshed, ended with a Minquas victory over the Delawares. Seemingly, the Minquas then exercised a victor's rights over the conquered tribe in the form of a protectorship. They did not, however, reduce the Delawares to the status of "women" or otherwise humiliate them as the Five Nation Iroquois did when they, too, subjugated the Delawares. (43) As time went on, the enmity between the Minquas and Delawares seemed to mellow and the vanquished Indians seemed not too dissatisfied with the guardianship exercised by the victors, and in fact, used it to their own advantage.

In 1661, the Delaware Indians then living on the Delaware River were fearful of an attack by the English, as a result of one of the Delaware war parties having gone to Maryland and massacred several English settlers. The Delawares felt certain that the English would retaliate and they became remorseful for the crime. Thus, it was written about them:

"They have held a gathering near Passajongh for several days, they collect large parties of wampum to make presents to the Minquas and other

savage chiefs in order to settle on their behalf for that murder with the English. The Minquas have already offered presents in peltries to the Governor of Maryland for this matter 10 to 12 days ago, but he refused to accept them and had on the contrary requested them to go and destroy the River savages." (44)

This is a rare example of the paternalism shown the Delawares by the Minquas. Like wayward children, the Delawares, repentant for their misdeeds, had asked their guardians the Minquas to intercede for them with the English. Moreover, the Minquas had already tried to make amends for the Delawares' crime by presenting furs to the Maryland governor. Instead of accepting this peace offering, the English told the Minquas to go and destroy their subjects, a commission which the Indians did not fulfill.

On another occasion, a Seneca Indian committed murder on the Delaware River in the vicinity of Wilmington. Five Minquas "with their suites" arrived in Wilmington in connection with the murder. In the description of this visit, the following excerpt appears in the contemporary documents: ". and have at all times let themselves be employed to mediate in differences between the Christians and other savages to which they still consider themselves obliged." (45) In other words, the Minquas, in their guardianship over the Delawares, felt obliged to mediate in any controversies between them and the whites, or to shield them of any crimes of which they might be wrongly accused.

In 1663, the Minquas were apprehensive of an attack by the Seneca, and we learn from the records that 100 Delaware River Indians had gathered in the Minquas fort on the Susquehanna to assist in its defense. They were willing to join forces with their subjectors against a common enemy. (46)

On April 1, 1660, a strange event occurred in Delaware Indian history which is of particular interest to the ethnologist, but which has been generally overlooked. It is briefly told in a letter to Governor Stuyvesant written by Beekman at New Castle, Delaware, as follows:

"On the first inst. 7 canoes full of savages with women and children came down the river and proceeded to the Minquas country. It was said that they had lived near the Menissing Indians and had fled for fear of a certain Manitto." (47)

These Delawares, who had been so severely frightened by a "bad Manitto" that they decided to leave their homeland, did not seek haven with other Delawares, but went immediately to the country of their protectors, the Minquas. Incidentally, since they came down the Delaware by canoe, passing New Castle, one can infer that their journey took them over the Appoquinimink River-Bohemia River route already described.

How much of the Delaware Nation fell under the influence of the Minquas is not yet entirely clear, but doubtless many of them, especially those living in New Jersey, lived beyond convenient reach of the Minquas warriors. Perhaps some of the Delaware villages along the river north of Philadelphia were also unmolested by the Susquehanna Indians. It is certain, however, that those living within the present borders of the State of Delaware all fell under Minquas subjection. Eventually, the Minquas

themselves were conquered by the Five Nations and their authority over the Delawares crumbled. They, with the Delawares, Nanticoke, Conoy, Shawnee, and others, then became tributary to the Five Nations Iroquois, opening up another phase of Indian history.

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- (2) C. A. Weslager, "Indian Tribes of the Delmarva Peninsula," *Bulletin*, Vol. 3, No. 5, May 1942, pp. 25-36.
- (3) A. Van Der Donck, "A Description of the New Netherlands," *Collections*, L. I. Hist. Soc., Vol. 1, 1841, pp. 129-242.
- (4) A copy of this map is available at the Wilmington Institute Free Library. The note quoted appears on the map. See, "The Rare Map of Virginia and Maryland," bibliographical account by P. Lee Phillips, Washington, 1911.
- (5) William N. Fenton, "Problems Arising From the Historic Northeast Position of the Iroquois," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. 100, May, 1940, pp. 159-251.
- (6) Weslager, *op. cit.* p. 32.
- (7) Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, Phila. 1911, p. 211.
- (8) Thomas Campanius, *A Short Description, etc.*, trans. by du Ponceau, Hist. Soc. of Penna., 1884, p. 158.
- (9) Amandus Johnson, *The Swedes on the Delaware*, Phila. 1915, p. 219.
- (9a) See C. Hale Sipe, *Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*, for discussion of these and other trails.
- (10) Peter Lindestrom, *Geographia Americae*, trans. by Amandus Johnson, Phila. 1925.
- (11) B. Fernow, *Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and Swedish Settlements*, Vol. 12, Albany, 1877, p. 337.
- (12) "Report of Andres Hudde," p. 256 in *The Instruction For Johan Printz*, trans. by Amandus Johnson, Phila. 1930.
- (13) My good friend G. Harry Davidson of Middletown, Delaware, has made a map of this area and is familiar with the location of the Old Man's Path as well as other early roads and trails.
- (14) Fernow, p. 590.
- (15) Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, p. 568.
- (16) A treaty of peace was also made at Appoquinimink between Lord Calvert and the Delaware Indians. d'Hinoyossa met the Indians here, and in fact, it was at his instigation that the invitation was sent to the Delaware chiefs. See Samuel Hazard, *Annals of Pennsylvania*, Phila. 1850, p. 329.
- (17) Amandus Johnson's most important works are cited in these notes. His translations from the Swedish are very valuable contributions to Delaware history.
- (18) See Hudde *op. cit.*
- (19) Hudde, p. 258.
- (20) Hudde, p. 258.
- (21) Fernow, p. 40.
- (22) "The Instruction For Johan Printz," p. 117.
- (23) *ibid.*, p. 139.
- (24) Johnson, *Swedes on the Delaware*, p. 184.
- (25) Fernow, p. 47.
- (26) *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West N. J. and Delaware*, ed. by Myers, N. Y. 1912, p. 159.
- (27) Fernow, p. 357.
- (28) Fernow, p. 409.
- (29) Fernow, p. 446.
- (30) Hazard, p. 256.
- (31) Hazard, p. 404.
- (32) *Swedish Settlements*, Vol. 2, p. 568, it is related that a trader obtained 400 bushels of corn from the Delawares at Passayunk; and that during the next month two sloops went from Fort Christina to Passayunk, returning with 960 bushels of maize, and a "few deer skins."
- (33) See "Relation of Thomas Yong," in Myers, *op. cit.*
- (34) One of the most lucid references to this enmity occurs in Peter de Vries, *Voyages From Holland To America*, trans. by Murphy, N. Y. 1853, pp. 41-43.
- (35) *Instructions for Printz*, p. 117.
- (36) Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
- (37) Campanius, *op. cit.*
- (38) Johnson, *Swedes on the Delaware*.
- (39) Myers, p. 87.
- (40) Leon de Valinger, Jr., "Indian Land Sales in Delaware," *Archaeological Society of Delaware*, June 1941, with addendum C. A. Weslager, "Indian Land Sales in Delaware," p. 3.
- (41) *ibid.*, p. 4.
- (42) W. C. MacLeod, "The Family Hunting Territory and Lenape Political Organization," *American Anthropologist*, n. s. Vol. 24, No. 4, 1922.
- (43) The writer has in preparation a MSS entitled, "The Delaware Indians As Women," which helps to clarify the relationship between the Five Nations and the Delawares during the period when the latter were reduced to the humiliating status of "women."
- (44) Fernow, p. 334.
- (45) *ibid.*, p. 419.
- (46) *ibid.*, p. 430.
- (47) *ibid.*, p. 315.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE

ARTICLE I

NAME

The name of this organization shall be THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE.

ARTICLE II

OBJECTS

Its objects shall be: (a) to promote the study of the American Indian, especially as represented on the Delmarva Peninsula; (b) to promote and encourage scientific research in this field and to discourage careless and misdirected activity; (c) to promote the conservation of Archaeological sites and to preserve Indian artifacts and other cultural materials; (d) to encourage and support the maintenance of the Museum of the University of Delaware; (e) to promote the distribution of Archaeological knowledge by means of publications, public lectures, meetings and public display of Archaeological materials; (f) to serve as a bond between persons and organizations interested in American Archaeology.

ARTICLE III

MEMBERSHIP

1. The membership of the Archaeological Society of Delaware shall consist of Honorary Members, Institutional Members, Active Members, Sustaining Members and Patrons.

2. Honorary Membership may be conferred on those persons who have made noteworthy contributions to the advancement of Archaeology. They will be exempt from payment of dues.

3. Institutional Members shall consist of museums, libraries and similar institutions of learning. They shall pay an annual fee of five dollars and be entitled to two copies of each of the Society's publications.

4. Active Members shall pay two dollars yearly.

5. Each Sustaining Member shall pay five dollars yearly.

6. Patrons shall be those persons who contribute the sum of \$25.00 annually to further the work of the Society.

7. The Governor of Delaware shall be an Honorary Member of the Society.

ARTICLE IV

OFFICERS

1. The Officers shall consist of a President, Vice President from New Castle County, Vice President from Kent County and Vice President from Sussex County, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, Editor and Museum Adviser, who with six Directors shall constitute the Executive Board.

2. The administration of the Society shall be entrusted to this Executive Board. They shall meet at the call of the President. Matters of Policy shall be subject to ratification by the Society.

3. Five members of the Executive Board shall constitute a quorum.

4. Officers shall be elected annually for one year.

5. Two Directors shall be elected annually for a three-year term.

6. The President shall appoint a nominating committee to submit the names of candidates for the various offices.

7. The signature of the President and Recording Secretary shall be required on all written contracts and obligations of the Society, except that the Treasurer shall sign all checks for bills as directed by the approval of the Executive Board.

ARTICLE V

FINANCES

1. The fiscal year shall begin January 1 when all dues are payable. Members who enroll in the Society after January 1, shall remit the full year's dues, and shall receive all literature issued by the Society from January 1 of the current year.

2. Members one year in arrears shall not be entitled to vote or to receive the regular publications of this Society. Members two years in arrears shall, after formal notice, be removed.

ARTICLE VI

MEETINGS

1. An annual meeting, for the election of officers, shall be held in January at such a place as the Executive Board designates.

2. There shall be not less than two other regular meetings each year to be held at the discretion of the Executive Board.

3. Special meetings shall be called by the President upon request of five Board members.

4. Notices of all meetings shall be sent to all members by the Corresponding Secretary to arrive at least three days before said meeting.

5. The Treasurer shall be responsible for furnishing the Secretary and Editor with an up-to-date list of members' names and addresses. This should be done regularly.

ARTICLE VII

AMENDMENTS

Proposed amendments to this Constitution shall be submitted to the Executive Board in writing and signed by at least five members. The Executive Board shall then direct the Secretary to submit the proposed amendment together with their decision to the membership at least 30 days in advance of the next meeting, at which meeting a vote shall be taken on the amendment. If formally approved by the Executive Board, a majority vote of those present will suffice for adoption of the amendment; but if formerly disapproved by the Executive Board, a two-thirds vote shall be required for adoption.

(Adopted by unanimous vote of members at meeting Jan. 1, 1941,
to replace original Constitution drawn up March, 1933)

