SEEKING SHELTER

CANADIAN DELAWARE ETHNOHISTORY AND MIGRATION

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By

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with the ethnic relations and history of the three groups of Canadian Delaware (Lenape), who came to southern Ontario, circa 1782 - 92. Their migrations are traced from the United States to Canada, and the underlying reasons and motivations behind these migrations are examined. The study carries through to the end of the 19th century.

The group known as the "Grand River Delaware", migrated from the United States Niagara-area into Canada in 1783. An offshoot of this group continued westward around 1785, and is believed herein to have later become known as the "Muncey of the Thames", a band whose origin has been uncertain. The "Moravian Delaware" came to the Thames River, Upper Canada, in 1792. Often referred to in the literature as Christian Indians and under the "leadership" of the Moravian mission, this group by no means wholly encompassed(?) embraced? Christianity. In the present work, it is shown, that native Delaware beliefs and customs lived on considerably longer than previously assumed, and that decision-making was not limited to the missionaries only. In fact, it is probable that the Native Moravian Delaware made the decision as to the specific location of Moraviantown.

Canadian Delaware relations with other contact-agents such as government officials, traders and farmers are also examined, as are relations with other tribes, especially Chippewa and the Iroquois. The British and Canadian authorities attempted to divide the various native tribes and bands inhabiting Upper Canada, according to government needs and perceived ends. These ends and needs changed within relatively short time-periods depending on matters of defence and military-threat from United States.

Finally, the post-1830 treaty period saw consolidation of some Delaware reserves in southwestern Ontario.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A good deal of time has passed between the initial conception of this work and its completion. In the interim several transatlantic moves were made, babies were born, jobs changed etcetera. The thesis was finally written while I was enrolled on a part-time basis, and working full-time rotating shifts at Mills Memorial Library, McMaster University. Part of the work was made possible by a grant from the Canada Council, Ottawa.

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From Buckongahelas' 1782 speech to the Moravian Delaware at Gnadenhutten, Ohio:

> "Have you not discovered the footsteps of the long knives almost within sight of your towns, and seen the smoke arising from their camps! Should not this be sufficient warning to you; and lead you to consult your own safety!...Friends and relatives! Now listen to me and hear what I have to say to you. I am myself come to bid you rise and go with me to a secure place! Do not my friends, covet the land now held under cultivation. I will conduct you to a country equally good, where your fields shall yield you abundant crops; and where your cattle shall find sufficient pasture; where there is plenty of game; where your women and children, together with yourselves will live in peace and safety; where no long knife shall ever molest you! Nay I will live between you and them, and not even suffer them to frighten you! There, you can worship your God without fear". (Weslager 1972:358).

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the three bands of Delaware Algonkians in the province of Ontario, Canada. The Delaware called themselves Lenape or lenni-lenape, meaning real or human-beings, as is customary with the North American Indians. By the Swedes they were called renappi, by the French Loups (wolves), and by the British, Delaware (Lindestrom 1962: 73; Becker 1979: 26; Weslager 1972: 208). The Delaware had a special position among the Algonkian tribes of the east "By virtue of admitted priority of political rank and of occupying the central home territory" (Hodge 1911: 385). This respect was expressed in the term "grandfather".

In the late 18th century, the Delaware bands came as refugees to Upper Canada, seeking shelter from warfare on the United States frontier. This study examines the various factors influencing the Delaware northward migrations and the adjustments that were later made in Canada. The study focuses on subjects well-known to the ethnohistorian: migration and population change, the nature of relations with the white contact-agents and other Indians, and changing adaptations to environment and territory.

The first Delaware band to move into Upper Canada can be called the Delaware of the Grand. This group had long been associated with the Six Nations Iroquois, and in fact, had been formally adopted into the Iroquois Confederacy in New York in 1763. These Delaware spearheaded the move of the Iroquois to the Grand River in Upper Canada where they arrived in 1783 (P.A.C., R.G. 1Ø, vol. 15).

The second band, the Muncey, settled on the Thames River (Weslager 1972: 22). Here they developed a close relationship with the Chippewa, with whom they later shared a reserve.

The third band, the Moravian Delaware, unlike the other two bands, were mostly Christian, through efforts by Moravian missionaries who laboured among them. They arrived in Upper Canada in 1791 and later also settled on the Thames River, not far from the Muncey (Bliss 1972: 26Ø). In the enthnohistorical sources, this band is often referred to as "Christian Indians", but in actual fact Christianity was by no means wholly encompassed by the band. Native beliefs and customs lived on considerably longer than has previously been assumed.

History of Research on the Canadian Delaware

Generally speaking, little research has been undertaken on the Canadian Delaware. Rarely has it dealt with one of the three bands, and never with the total

Delaware presence in Canada. Indeed, Charles A. Weslager (1978: XIII), who has published extensively on the Delaware in the U.S.A. stated: "The story of the migration of their ancestors north from the United States to Canada still remains to be told...".

The first anthropologist to study the Canadian Delaware was Mark R. Harrington. He was active in collecting specimens for the Museum of American Indian, Heye Foundation, and the Museum of Natural History, both of New York, in the first decade of this century. It appears that he visited all three Canadian groups and he certainly carried out some fieldwork among the Muncey, concentrating mostly on their religion, ceremony and material culture. Out of three publications on the Delaware, he devoted one exclusively to the Muncey of the Thames (Harrington 1908). The other two publications only contain scattered references to the Canadian Delaware (Harrington 1913, 1921). In the mid-30's, Frank G. Speck developed an interest in the Canadian Delaware and spent a good deal of time among the Delaware of the Grand on the Six Nations Reserve near Oshweken, Ontario. This led to one publication in collaboration with Jesse Moses (Speck 1945), a work that deals with ceremony and legend, and pertains to the Grand River group only. As Porter (1978: 10) points out in his study on the Indian River, New Jersey, Nanticoke community, the focus in these past studies was

directed towards saving "surviving aboriginal culture traits". Gladys Tantaquidgeon (1972: 107 - 111) also made some references to the Canadian Delaware in her work. This sums up the extant of professional anthropological research concerning the Canadian Delaware.

Sources

A smattering of other scattered sources bear on the Canadian Delaware. There are a few short articles concerning the Moravians (Bruemmer 1964; Hamil 1949; and Hill 1943). Hamil (1951) published a more extensive work on these Moravians and Gray (1956) has covered the history of the Moravian mission in some detail. However, the focus in most of these studies is on the contact-agent, the missionary, rather than on the Delaware Indians themselves. There is little critical attention paid to the effects of the missionaries on Delaware society, and the approaches are strictly in the European historical tradition without anthropological insight. Trigger (1976: 13) believes that, "Only the anthropologist's understanding of Indian life can provide the background needed to assess and understand the behaviour of the Indians as it is recorded in historical records". This too seems enthnocentric, since it would seem that Trigger precludes the possibility of native accounts to explain their past historical involvements. Native oral

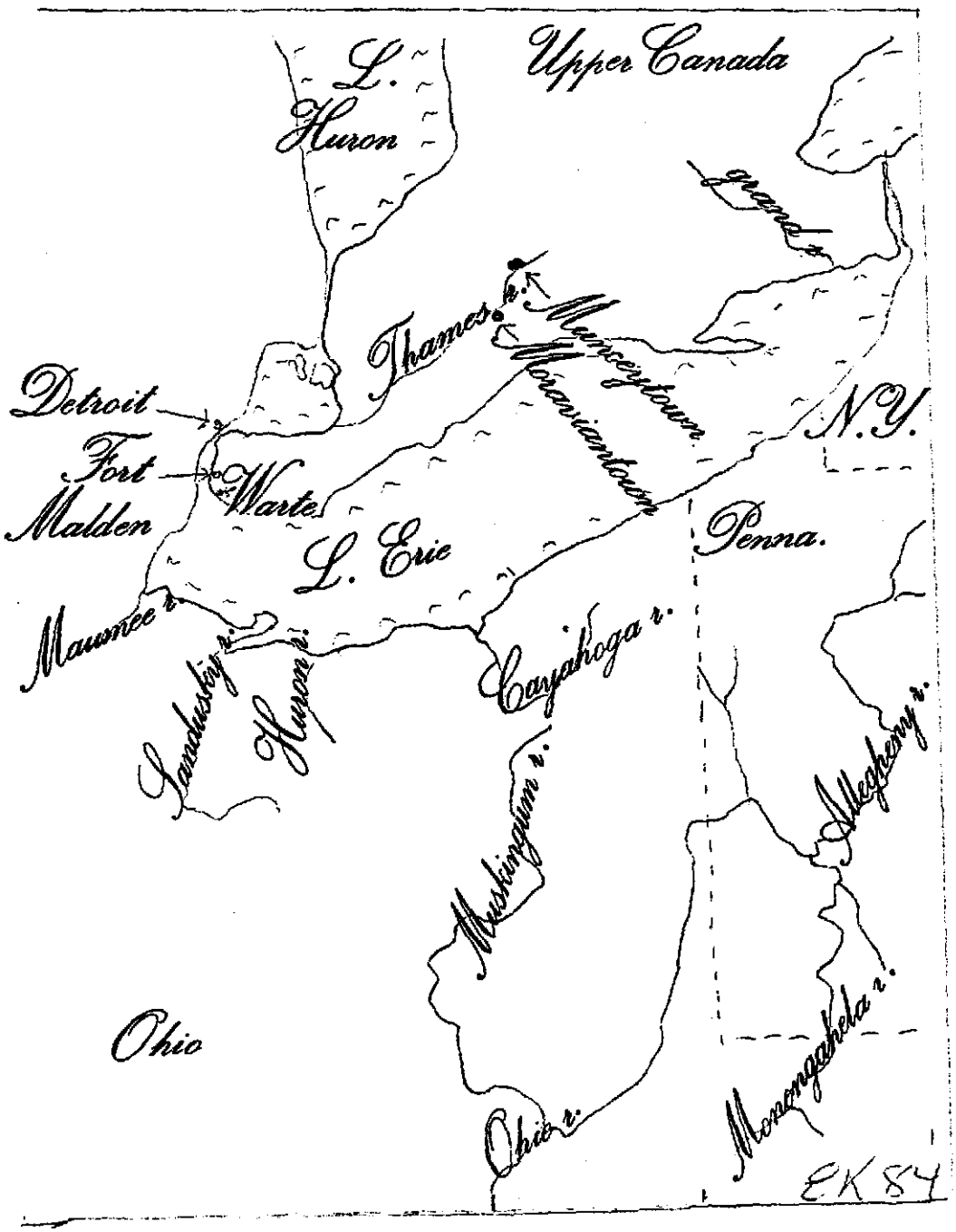

Fig. 1. The Old Northwest and Upper Canada ca. 1790.

accounts have not yet come to light concerning the Canadian Delaware.

There does exist a wealth of archival material concerning the Moravian Delaware. Missionaries' diaries, letters and reports contain a great deal of information, some of which is easily accessible in Canada, and this could provide a foundation for in-depth studies of this particular group. Fliegel's (1970) monumental index marks a great step forward in this respect; he lists an amazing number of entries, in alphabetical order, that reside in the archives.

The missionary Zeisberger's diary, parts of which pertain to the Moravian mission at Fairfield, Ontario, has been translated by Bliss (1972) from the original German. Although this work requires a critical approach, it nevertheless provides much information concerning day-to-day activities during 1793 to 1798. Professor Charles Johnston's (1964) "The Valley of the Six Nations" is a superlative work, but as the title suggests, it is mainly concerned with the Iroquois. There are, however, interesting details relating to the Delaware of the Grand River, Ontario.

The archives of the Moravian Society in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, have a lot of information pertaining to the Delaware and the Moravian mission in southern Ontario. Fortunately for Canadian students and researchers, much of this is available on microfilm at the University of Western

Ontario in London. The Burton Historical Collection in the Detroit Public Library also has some relevant material, as well as information about the early history of southern Ontario. The United Church Archives in Toronto have some population figures for the Delaware, as well as information about the Welland Canal and the damming of the Grand River. Finally, the Public Archives of Canada have a wealth of information in the Record Group 1Ø, Indian Affairs. A good deal of this lies in the Red Series (concerning Eastern Canada). Other useful, but scattered material is contained in the Frederick Haldimand, John Simcoe and Peter Russell Papers.[1]

The Identity of the Delaware

Who were the Canadian Delaware and where did they come from? At contact they were inhabiting parts of the eastern seaboard of the United States, their territory encompassing a good deal of what is now the states of New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania and New York (Weslager 1972: 33). As with many tribes there is a tradition among the Delaware of previous migrations. The famous Walum Olum or "red score" has been the basis for extensive research and controversy (Newcomb 1956: 4). Briefly, this is an oral history of pre-historic Delaware migrations that attempts to explain the tribe's situation in time and place.

There are a number of theories as far as the Delaware point of departure. Many of these are partly based on different interpretations of the Walum Olum. Kroeber (1947: 93) was of the opinion that the Delaware were recent immigrants to the Delaware Valley and environs. This he concluded from oral traditions and the Walum Olum. The Moravian missionary Zeisberger and his confrere Heckewelder, believed that the Delaware came from west of the Mississippi River (Heckewelder 1881: 47 - 70). Brinton (1885: 165, 166) traced the Delaware back to northeastern Labrador, from his interpretation of the Walum Olum. Thus, considerable controversy can be found in the ethnographic reports.

Historically the Delaware consisted of several culturally and linguistically related bands or subgroups occupying adjacent territories. Many writers claim that they had three geographical divisions: the Unami, the Unalachtigo and the Muncey. Traditionally, these three groups have been associated with the Turtle, Turkey and Wolf, respectively. Newcomb (1956: 51), however, states that these were actually three phratries and that..."phratry members can be found in any of the geographical divisions". From a linguistic point of view Goddard (1978: 214) divides the Delaware territory into a northern Muncey-speaking area, a middle Unami-Unalachitgo area, and a southern Unami area. It seems reasonable to assume that there was a great deal of overlap

between territories.

The period during which the Delaware became established as a tribe cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty. By tribe, we are referring to Newcomb's concept of a Delaware Nation (1956: 59). In fact, the concept of the Delaware as a relatively homogeneous group may well have existed in the minds of Euro-Americans long before the Delaware themselves were aware of it. Probably, the historic Delaware saw themselves as members of sub-groups (e.g. the Muncey), within the larger framework of a Delaware community or "nation". This confusion in socio-political terms cannot yet be resolved, but certainly plagued American chroniclers as they advanced west. Many incidents have been documented where peaceful groups of Indians were attacked by military or militia seeking revenge for acts committed by totally different bands or tribes.

Speck (1945: 7) implies that the Delaware originated on the upper east branch of the Susquehanna River, where groups of Muncey, Mahican and Unami gathered. Newcomb's (1956: 84) hypothesis is that there was a reorganization of various Delaware groups, mainly for protection, and that this took place largely because of migration and depopulation. He gives the approximate time for this as 1690 (ibid.). Taking it back one step further, we find that the three groups already mentioned were themselves composite peoples. The

Mahican, especially, seemed to incorporate many Algonkian groups from the New England states (Speck 1945: 7; Brasser 1974: 2). Two of the better known groups in the Mahican confederacy were the Wappinger and the Housatonic (Brasser 1978: 204), while some of the Muncey-speaking bands included the Esopus, Haverstraw, Kichtawank, Matinecock, Raritan, Tappan, Navasink and Minisink. Some of the Unami-speaking sub-groups were Siconese, Mantaes, Naraticonck, Okehocking, Sewapors and Sankhikon (Goddard 1978: 237 - 238). Many of these groupings, in fact, appear to have been communities indigenous to the Delaware River valley (Weslager 1972: 38).

To complicate matters further, groups of Conoy and Nanticoke, from the Atlantic seaboard, moved to the Susquehanna River circa 1747, and some of them joined the Delaware who were then associated with the Six Nations Iroquois and ultimately came to the Grand River in Canada in 1783 - 1784 (Weslager 1972: 335; Feest 1978: 246). As the various Delaware groups moved westward, they became part of an increasingly large group of displaced tribes. Their new villages on the Susquehanna, the Alleghany and the Ohio Rivers became "cosmopolitan" in that they often included a mixture of people such as Shawnee, Miami, Wyandot and Mingoe (Tanner 1978: 16).

Returning to the origin of the Canadian Delaware, it would appear that the Grand River Delaware derived from the

Alleghany and became closely associated with the Six Nations. In 1783 they inhabited a number of villages in the Niagara area on the American side (P.A.C. RG. 1Ø, vol. 15). They do not appear to have been concentrated in one village by themselves, but rather, were distributed in several villages with different Six Nations groups. For instance, in the Loyal Village there were only 4Ø Delaware out of a total population of 879. At Kadaragaras 14Ø Delaware lived with 68 Onondaga and 253 Seneca, while at the Issioha (Sosioha) village 274 Delaware were grouped with 51 Shawnee, 1Ø6 Mahican, 129 Nanticoke, nine Conoy, 591 Seneca, 331 Onondaga, 518 Cayuga and seven Oneida in the same village (P.A.C. RG. 1Ø, vol. 15). Table 1 presents a population breakdown of the Six Nations Iroquois and their allied tribes in the Niagara area on the American side, close to present-day Buffalo, according to the British Indian Department, 1783 (P.A.C. RG. 1Ø, vol. 15).

While it is understandable, for historical reasons, that the Seneca would be the most numerous group in the 1783 census, it is surprising to note that the Delaware represent the fourth largest native group. and that they account for 62 percent of the recorded Algonkian populations living with the Six Nations Iroquois. Note that no mention is made in this record of the Mississaugas living on the Grand River.

Table I

Population of the Six Nations tribes and allies in the Niagara area, 1783. (P.A.C. RG. 10, vol. 15)

	No.	%
Iroquois	(3827)	(82.4)
Seneca	1722	37.0
Cayuga	640	13.8
Onondaga	518	11.2
Oneida	393	8.5
Mohawk	292	6.3
Tuscarora	262	5.6
Algonkians	(815)	(17.6)
Delaware	506	11.0
Nanticoke	135	2.9
Mahican	114	2.5
Shawnee	51	1.1
Conoy	9	.1
Grand Total	4642	100.0

Constituting 11 percent of the whole, the Delaware certainly were a sizeable group in this area, and it is clear that many Delaware were established on the Grand River by 1783, a full year before Governor-General Haldimand granted

extensive lands on the Ouse (Bear) or Grand River to the Six Nations Iroquois on October 25, 1784 (Johnston 1964: 50).

In June 1783, there were 120 Delaware, seven Oneida and 12 Cayuga on the Grand River (P.A.C. RG. 10, vol. 15). By September of that year, the Delaware numbered 395, with 69 Nanticoke, 32 Cayuga and seven Oneida. Most of the Delaware immigrants came from Issioha, near present-day Buffalo, N.Y., where they numbered 274 in June, but were absent in the September count (ibid.). By September 1783 the Nanticoke at Issioha had also diminished from 129 in June to 69. No changes were recorded for the Iroquois inhabitants of Issioha between June and September 1783 (ibid.).

The above data indicate that some Delaware were established on the Grand River prior to the 1784 movement of the Iroquois. This also appears to be substantiated by Allan Maclean's letter to Sir Frederick Haldimand, dated Niagara, May 18, 1783.

> "I must also inform Your Excellency, that this horrid report Spread by the Oneidas has occasioned a Number of the Delawares to quit Buffalo Creek already and Cross at Fort Erie. Officers are sent up to endeavour to prevent any more from emigrating if possible" (Johnston 1964: 38).

The "horrid reports" referred to concerned rumours that American troops were advancing toward the Niagara area and that the British were giving up their forts and leaving their Indian allies without protection. Only one year had passed since the Gnaddenhutten massacre (q.v.) and conceivably, the

Delaware were more eager to get away from the Americans than were the Iroquois. They were, after all, seeking shelter and a relatively safe locale in which to settle.

The Delaware of the Grand River established two villages on the east side of the river, near present-day Cayuga, with an Onondaga village in between. (See Figure II, following page). This accounts for the two figures for Delaware in the 1785 Census of the Six Nations on the Grand River, where Delaware Aaron's party numbered 48 and Delaware 183 (Johnston 1964: 52), thus making a total of 231 Delaware. However, it is obvious that something happened between 1783 and 1785, since the Grand River Delaware population decreased by 164 persons from 395 to 231 (Johnston 1964: 52; Weaver 1978: 527). This decrease occurred during a period of great influx of Iroquois to the area in the winter and spring of 1784 - 85 (Weaver 1978: 525). It would appear that 164 Delaware left the Grand River and struck out on their own. In all probability, they became the main constituents of the Muncey on the more westerly Thames River.

It has been assumed that the Thames River Muncey band came from Pennsylvania (Weslager 1972: 320). However, the precise origins have always been vague and most authors simply state that they came from the United States around 1790. Gourlay (1966: 299) states:

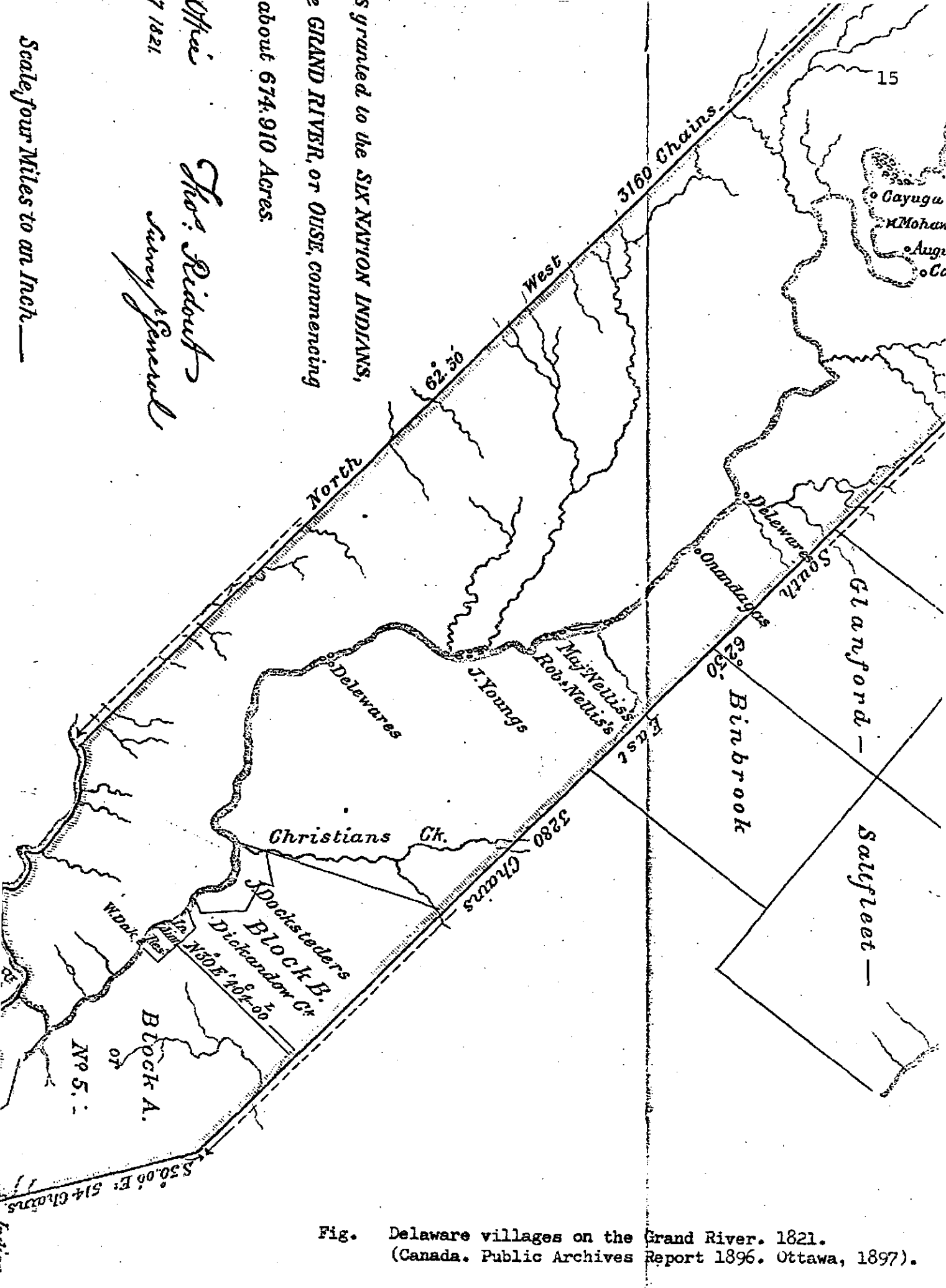

Fig. Delaware villages on the Grand River. 1821.
(Canada. Public Archives Report 1896. Ottawa, 1897).

> "A little way up the Thames, and on the north side, there are two villages, in the tract called the Longwoods, of Indians, denominated Munsies, originally from the States, but permitted to settle here by the Chippewa Indians. Their number about 200".

Frank Speck (1945: 10) briefly mentions that the Muncey crossed Lake Ontario to find a place of refuge. He gives no year for this incident, and does not attempt to establish whether they came via Niagara or Detroit. The same is true of Weslager's (1972: 320) account. However in Zeisberger's diary (Bliss 1972: 250), we find support for the Muncey of the Thames band actually being an offshoot of the Delaware of the Grand River (with the possible addition of a smaller group entering via the Detroit area). On March 1, 1792, Zeisberger writes about the "Monseys on the Thames", after they had visited the Moravian Delaware at Warte, "These Monsey came from Niagara some years ago" (Bliss 1972, 250).

If the Zeisberger quote relates to the Canadian Niagara/Grand River region, then it is very possible that the Thames River Muncey were largely Delawares from the Grand River. The 164 Delaware who left the Grand River in 1785 closely approximates Gourlay's (1966: 299) estimate of "about 200" Muncey at the Thames circa 1790. Further substantiating this 1785 migration hypothesis is the fact that the Moravian Delaware, in the early years of their settlement 1792 - 1793, were heavily dependent on the Thames River Muncey for corn (Bliss 1972: 301 - 308). Since clearing land and

establishing corn fields was a laborious and long process requiring a number of years to accumulate a surplus supply for trade, it seems reasonable to assume that the Thames River Muncey villages had been in existence for several years prior to 1792.

The Moravian Delaware, or the Moravians of the Thames, were also a highly composite people. The Moravian mission villages attracted people from many of the displaced New England Algonkian tribes. Already in 1746, some Mahican had set out for the Moravians' most important settlement, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where they joined some previously converted Muncey (Brasser 1974: 35). Wallace (1949: 41) also described another Moravian village population:

> "Here at Gnadenhutten were gathered together homeless Mahicans and Wampanoags from the New England - landless waifs driven before the flood of white settlement; earnest missionaries from Germany; Delawares from the Memiolagomeka, Pocopoco, and other nearby villages; and zealous English converts".

On their way west and north, the Moravian Delaware probably attracted members from other tribes. Once in Upper Canada, a few Chippewa,[2] occasional Iroquois and even a Norwegian girl joined or married into the band (O.P.A. MSS Church Records Coll.).

In the following chapter, Delaware history and migration, briefly in the 17th, and in the 18th century are discussed. Chapter III deals with Canadian Delaware land-use

and subsistence patterns. Chapter IV is concerned with treaty-making and population movements. Chapter V contains conclusions and a discussion of some of the more important points of the thesis.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

For the many autonomous Delaware Indian Villages in the Delaware Bay region, the first contact with Europeans took place in the first decade of the 17th century. Henry Hudson is usually credited with discovering this area of the eastern seaboard in 1609 (Weslager 1972: 113). Subsequent trading and some land sales between the Dutch and the Indians led to open animosities, and in 1631 the Delaware massacred thirty-two Dutchmen at the Swanendale settlement near Cape Henlopen (Weslager 1972: 115). Friction continued and in 1645 a combined English-Dutch force eradicated several Indian villages (Goddard 1978: 221). In 1638, the Swedes established their New Sweden Colony, and became heavily involved in the fur trade. In that same year, they exported 30,000 skins, mostly from the Delaware area (Newcomb 1956: 81).

The Swedes apparently got on well with the Delaware and the Minquas (a Delaware term for the Andastes or Susquehannocks) (Linderholm 1976: 37). This was partly because the Swedish and Finnish population were never very large, and because their settlements were spread out over large areas (see Figure III) (Becker 1979: 17). This suited the Indians as it put little pressure on their resources and

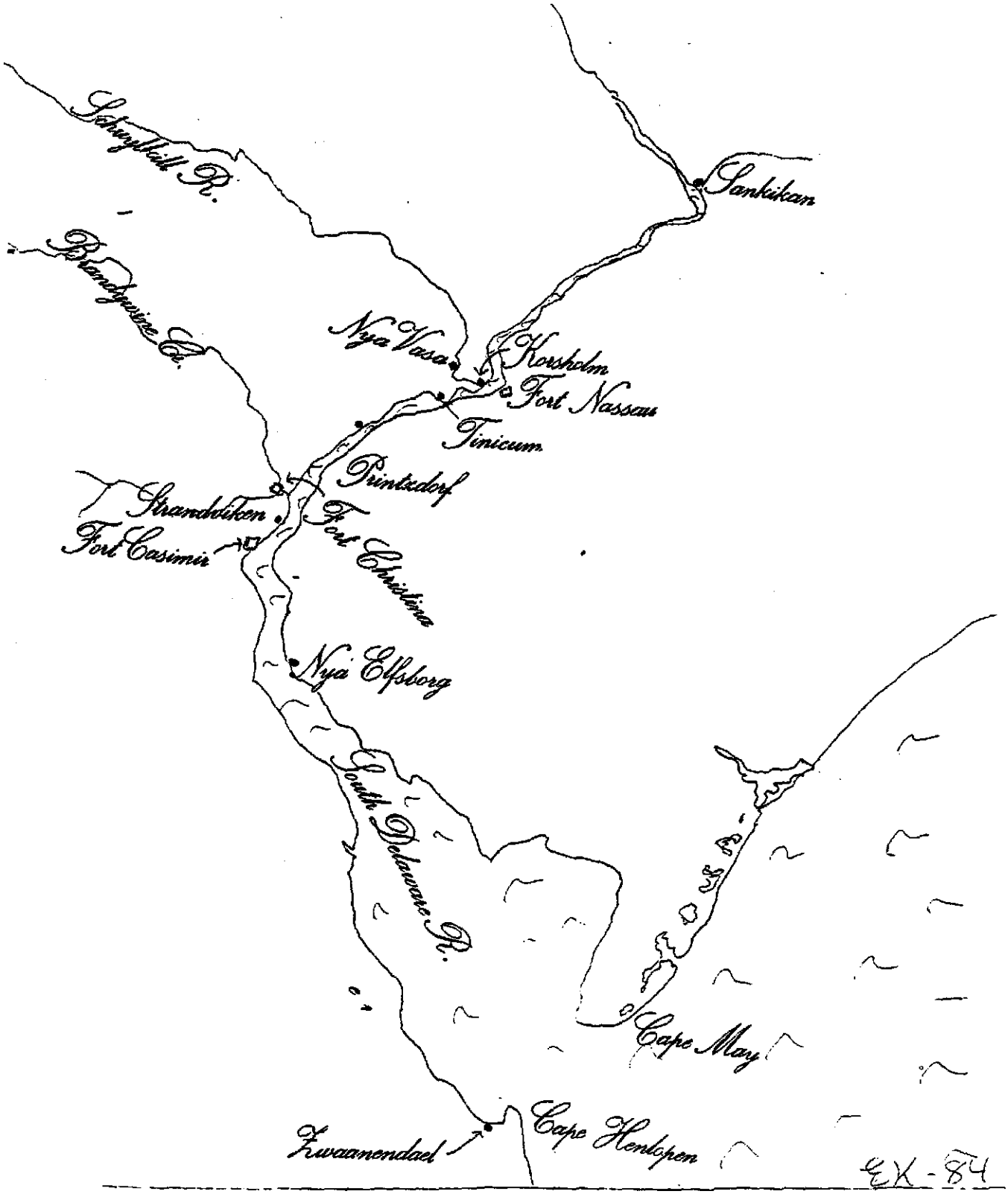

Fig. 3. Swedish and Dutch settlements on the Delaware River, ca. 1635.

culture. Another, less tangible reason was that many Swedes and Finns had developed a taste for the native life-style. Many Swedes could speak the Delaware dialects and many Delaware in their turn spoke some Swedish (Linderholm 1976: 93). These northern Europeans were already accustomed to swidden agriculture, and to living in undeveloped forest areas where they supplemented their relatively meagre agricultural pursuits with hunting and fishing. They were used to building log-houses within forest clearings and in the 1640's Johan Printz, the governor of New Sweden, complained in his reports about the number of people who had moved in with the Indians (Linderholm 1976: 64). This did not stop isolated incidents of raiding; for example, six Swedes were killed by Delaware in an attack on a Swedish village in 1644 (Linderholm 1976:55).

Most of the Swedish and Finnish population consisted of "free farmers", but the colony also included deported criminals (Lindestrom 1962: 7). Protestant clergymen (Campanius and Lokenius being the best known) administered to their European populations, but also tried to convert nearby Indians (Reed 1970: 18). If the Swedish Crown had shown more interest in its fledgling North American colony, and supported it with more people and money, the probable outcome would have been increased warfare with the native inhabitants. With more power, governor Printz probably would

have been tempted to back up his threat of "breaking the necks of every Indian in the river" (Reed 1970: 19).

The Migrations Start

In the mid-1700's, the Delaware were forced west to the Susquehanna and Alleghany Rivers, reaching the Muskingum about 1760 (see Figure I) (Finley 1971: 114). They were divided into two main groups, the western division under the leadership of Shingas, and an eastern division under chief Teeduyscung (Newcomb 1956: 87). Wavering in their alliance to the European powers, some Delaware tried to remain neutral in the British-French dispute. After General Braddock's defeat many Delaware sided with the French (Howard 1981: 13), and the British found them to be formidable opponents. By a French estimate, Delaware and Shawnee raids claimed approximately 700 lives in Pennsylvania and Virginia, from July 1755 to March 1756 (Newcomb 1956: 88). Severely pressured, the British discussed taking some very drastic action to help swing the fortunes of war. British Governor-General of North America, Lord Jeffrey Amherst, wrote to Colonel Henry Boquet:

> "Could it be contrived to send the small pox among the disaffected tribes of Indians? We must on this occasion use every strategem in our power to reduce them...You will do well to try to innoculate the Indians by means of blankets, as well as to try every other method that can serve to extripate this execrable race" (Weslager 1978: 200).

Many of the Delaware joined Pontiac and his allied Indians in laying waste every British fort in the north-west except Detroit and Pittsburgh (Finley 1971: 113, 143). In these ventures the Delaware prophet, Neolin, played an important part as a source of inspiration (Dockstader 1977: 73).

The treaty of Paris in 1763 ended the so-called French and Indian War, and the British emerged as victors (Hecht 1980: 96). The British were at this time held in low esteem by the Delaware. Thus, the British now tried to regain some of their influence and further their trade with the Indians. To this end, Sir William Johnson called a peace conference at Fort Niagara in 1764. As a sign of friendship, he resumed gift-giving between the British and the Indians, and this did much to improve relations (Hecht 1980: 98). More important, however, was the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763, which in fact created a huge Indian reserve between the Mississippi River and the Appalachians. In this vast area, the Indians were recognized as the owners of the land, and White settlers were not allowed in. Furthermore, the lands could only be obtained through the Crown (Surtees 1982: 22).

> "...and we do hereby strictly forbid, on pain of our displeasure, all our loving subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatever, or from taking possession of any of the lands above reserved, without our special leave and Licence for that purpose obtained" (Haldimand Papers, reel 5).

While this was exactly what the Indians desired, white settlement of the frontier could not be stopped, particularly since administrative and judiciary powers in the frontier settlements were notoriously weak. In the New England states, there was already a demand for more land as population increased. Various eastern small-farmers moved west to take up "free" land, and some took up new land several times during their lives (Ferguson 1979: 44). This Euro-American approach and the concept that land was just a commodity to be bought and sold was something the Indians could not understand. George Washington summed up the views of the colonists and settlers in 1763, concerning the Royal Proclamation.

> "I can never look upon that proclamation in any other light...than as a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians...Any person, therefore, who neglects the present opportunity of hunting out good lands, and in some measure marking them and distinguishing them for his own, (in order to keep others from settling them), will never regain it" (Hecht 1980: 98).

Further White forays into Indian territory erupted into war in 1774. This war, usually referred to as Lord Dunmore's War, was essentially fought over Kentucky, and the Delaware joined the Shawnee, the Wyandot and may Cayuga and Seneca in this war (Wallace 1973: 123). The outcome was that the Shawnee, who were the main participants, and the other Indian allies accepted the Ohio River as a boundary between them and the White settlers.

Border Warfare

During the American Revolution, the Delaware Indians could not decide with whom to side. Trying to stay neutral, they were under considerable pressure from both the Americans and the British. In a treaty of September 7, 1778, Delaware chiefs White Eyes, Captain Pipe (Hopokan) and Killbuck Junior, signed an alliance with the American colonies (Weslager 1978: 40). This was all the more remarkable since all of the surrounding Indian nations were then allied with British. Apparently, the Delaware felt that the British power was on the wane, and the treaty terms were quite astonishing, giving the Delaware an opportunity to create a new homeland for themselves. Further, the United States would admit the Delaware as the fourteenth state of the Union, and native representatives would be accredited to the Continental Congress (ibid.). However, the treaty contained the qualifying words: "...should it be found conducive to the mutual interests of both parties..." (ibid.).

It should be remembered that the Delawares were deeply factionalized during the American Revolution. While most Delaware bands sympathized with the British, or changed their allegiance to the British during the later years, some chiefs and bands did remain neutral, as best they could. Others sided with the Americans. White Eyes, who, along with Killbuck, was one of the driving forces behind the idea of a

separate Indian state in the Union, was defeated by the Delaware Council. The pro-British faction led by Captain Pipe, Wingenund and Buckongahelas, swung the council towards a pact with the British (Weslager 1972: 312). This was largely due to the British ability and willingness to supply the Delaware with essential goods and provisions, such as powder, lead, guns and clothing (Finley 1971: 114).

The British Indian Department was created in 1755 (Surtees 1982: 23), the same year as Braddock's defeat. This stately institution came to play a very important part in the lives of the Delaware. The purpose of the Indian Department was to win over the Indians to the British cause. The people in its employ were often traders who had a longstanding association with the Indians, men like George Ironsides, Alexander McKee and Matthew Elliot, who were well acquainted with Indian languages and customs. The latter two were also married into the Shawnee tribe (Horsman 1962: 270). The three Girty brothers became interpreters for the British Indian Department and enlisted in its service at Detroit in 1778 (Tanner 1978: 25). Although the British government and the colonial administration shaped the Department's policy, the Indian Agent, far from the seat of power enjoyed a great deal of freedom which influenced the actual delivery of the policies. These instructions for the good government of the Indian Department were issued by Lord Dorchester to the

Superintendent General of the Indian Department, Sir John Johnson, in March 1787.

> "As Indians are in general curious, and wish to carry news to their villages, the Officers should be very cautious not to relate any to them, but what they know to be facts, and these should be very distinctly told, for the mistaking or not properly understanding a piece of news, has been known to alarm and estrange whole nations from posts...the Agents at the Posts should endeavour to make one or two sober intelligent chiefs of the Indian Nations, living at or near their posts their friends and confidents" (P.A.C. RG. 1Ø, vol. 14).

In the ethnohistoric sources, the role of carrying news is a recurrent one. The Moravian missionaries and their Indians were heavily involved in this, and during the early 178Ø's we find that: "Runners from the Moravian towns on the Tuscawaras and Muskingum Rivers, in Ohio, frequently came into the fort during the summer, with dispatches..." (Withers 1971: 219). This intelligence service may have run in the opposite direction too. Many White settlers were of the opinion that the Moravian Indians fed and sheltered the hostile Indians (Withers 1971: 313, 315). The Delaware, on the other hand, accused the Moravians of telling the settlers about planned raids (ibid.). This in-between position proved to be a fatal one for the Moravian Indians.

The missionary John Heckewelder, in the spring of 1781, warned the commandant at Pittsburgh, Colonel Daniel Brodhead, of a coming Delaware attack. Not to be outdone, Brodhead swiftly marched on the Indian village of Coshocton,

burned it to the ground and killed a number of Delaware (Weslager 1972: 314). The blame for this must be partly ascribed to Heckewelder.

> "Zeisberger and Heckewelder kept Brodhead continually informed, by letters, of the movements and councils of the hostiles. The position of the missionaries was one of exceeding delicacy, but the voluminous correspondence between them and Brodhead proves that the former were steadfast friends of the American colonies and did effective service throughout several years of disturbance on the frontier" (Withers 1971: 315).

The Gnadenhutten Turning Point

In August 1781, Matthew Elliott and 250 Indians, mostly Wyandot under Half-King, came to the Moravian village Gnadenhutten (Withers 1971: 317-320). They were on their way to raid the nearby settlement of Wheeling. The Moravian missionary Zeisberger sent warning about the coming raid to Fort Pitt and consequently the garrison was well prepared when the Indians arrived. From a captive, the Indian party learned about the warning, and on their return to Gnadenhutten, they plundered the village and took the missionaries prisoners. Later the Moravians were released and told to leave with their converts (ibid.). A month later they arrived at Sandusky where they put up some temporary shelters. The British commandant at Detroit, Major de Peyster, then called the missionaries Zeisberger, Heckewelder, Edwards and Sensemann, in for questioning. Again they were released and the Moravian Delaware returned

to Gnadenhutten to get the corn that had been left there (ibid.). At Gnadenhutten, they were approached by Buckongahelas, who alerted them to the risk the American settlers presented.

On March 8, 1782, an American force of 160 volunteers under Colonel David Williamson, executed 90 Moravian Delaware, including 27 women and 34 children, and burned the village (Weslager 1972: 316). This tragic event had several effects. It secured the majority of the Delaware to the British cause and severely demoralized the remaining Moravian Delaware. It also raised the Delaware level of animosity toward the Moravian missionaries, who were accused of pacifying the Indians, so that they could more easily be killed off by the Americans (Weslager 1972: 342).

In the accepted manner of native warfare, revenge was taken by the Delaware and groups of allied Shawnee and Wyandot on the Sandusky in 1783. A company of American militia under Colonel William Crawford and Colonel Williamson were routed by Captain Pipe's and Buckongahelas's warriors. Though Williamson escaped, Crawford was taken prisoner, tortured and burned at the stake (Weslager 1972: 317). Not consistent with the usual Delaware practice, this execution serves to illustrate the heightened intensity of animosity brought about by the never-ending raids and counter-raids.

The burning of Colonel Crawford caused the Governor-General of Upper Canada, Sir Frederick Haldimand, some concern. On the 11th of July, 1782, he wrote to Alexander McKee, who had been at the battle of Sandusky:

> "I have received your letters of the 12th, 15th and 23rd, ulmo with their several enclosures communicating the defeat of the Rebels at St. Dusky by the Rangers and Indians under Capt. Caldwell. Circumstanced as Brigadier General Powell would have informed you, affairs are, I regret the necessity of the rencontre, while I very much applaud the conduct of the officers and the men who have so much distinguished themselves. It is unfortunate the affair was tarnished by the cruelities committed on Col. Crawford and the two Capts, & the Consequences may be very prejudicial should an Accomodation be in Agitation. I have no doubt that every possible Argument was used to prevent that unhappy Event, and that it alone proceed from the Massacre of the Moravian Indians..." (P.A.C. RG. 10, vol. 16).

The British-American conflict ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1783 (Edmunds 1983: 3), and by its terms the United States assumed control over all lands east of the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes (Hecht 1980: 118). Nothing was done concerning the protection of Indian lands in Ohio, as the Indians were not part of the treaty-making process (Edmunds 1983: 3). This was resented by the Indians as the Ohio River had been established as a viable boundary by the Fort Stanwix treaty of 1768 (Weslager 1972: 320). The British found their credibility with the Indians in serious jeopardy, and the Indian Department tried to explain that the Crown had ceded only its political control, and that the

Indians still owned their lands (Edmunds 1983: 12). The Americans, on the other hand, assumed that the Ohio country was theirs by right of conquest (Horsman 1962: 269).

The Ohio Alliance

The British were so eager to protect their interests with the Indians that they prevented peace messages from being delivered by the Americans to the Indians. In 1783, Moravian Delaware John Bull was sent by the American General Benjamin Lincoln to Oswego and the Niagara area to inform the Indians there that peace had been negotiated between Britain and the United States. Ephraim Douglas was sent on a similar mission to the Indians of Detroit and Ohio. Both messengers were apprehended by the British and taken into custody at Niagara and Detroit (Quaife 1928: 242).

The British kept control of Fort Niagara and Detroit in 1783, as well as their other western posts (Graham 1934: 46). In fact, the British Indian policy encouraged the Indians to think of the British as friends and potential allies in any confrontations with the Americans. This was done mainly by gift-giving and verbal encouragement. At the same time, the British Indian Agents were instructed not to help the Indians outright in their martial endeavours (Surtees 1982: 29). To the Americans, the British were supporting and facilitating Indian raids on the frontier. In July 1785, General Harmar wrote to major General Knox, the

American Secretary of War: "... but as long as the British keep possession of the posts, it is very evident that all treaties held by us with the Indians will have but little weight with them" (Denny 1971: 215). A year later the American Colonel Denny expresses the same view. "In fact, the plain English of which is, that a party of them are as much inclined for war as anything else, from the d-d lies imposed on them by British emissaries" (Denny 1971: 87). The party referred to were Shawnee.

The border wars continued to take a heavy toll of American lives. It is estimated that between 1783 and 1790, 1,500 Kentuckians were killed by Indians and 2,000 horses stolen (Ferguson 1979: 276).

Shortly after the 1783 Treaty of Paris, the displaced tribes, together with tribes of the Great Lakes area, successfully forged a military Alliance which included: Delaware, Wyandot, Shawnee, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Chippewa, Miami, Cherokee, Kickapoo, Wea and Piankashaw (Wallace 1973: 155, 159). Their first meeting was held in Detroit in 1785. The Alliance was committed to keeping the Ohio River as a boundary and stemming the tide of American settlers. Noted chiefs and leading men were Little Turtle of the Miami, Blue Jacket of the Shawnee, and Buckongahelas of the Delaware (Weslager 1972: 321).

The people of the 1785 native Alliance are often referred to in the ethnohistoric literature as "Western Indians" or "Ohio Indians". They inhabited villages along the Maumee and later the Auglaize River. From here they raided across the Ohio River, and the American response to this was a military expedition under General Josiah Harmar in 1789. Although Harmar burned five Indian villages on the Maumee, he was forced to retreat with many casualties (Denny 1971: 139; Weslager 1972: 321). Even after his defeat, Harmar did not believe in negotiations, but stated in a letter to Joseph Howell Jr. that, "The Indians are exceedingly troublesome. I know of nothing that will cure that disorder, but government raising an army to effectually chastise them--all treaties are in vain" (Denny 1971: 253).

Consequently, a new expedition set out in 1791 under General St. Clair, and it ended in disaster for the Americans. The native Alliance won a huge victory, possibly the biggest Indian victory of any Indian war in the United States. The Americans suffered 593 privates and 37 officers lost, killed or missing, and 252 privates and 31 officers wounded (Denny 1971: 71).

In 1792 the Allied Indians were still on the Auglaize River. Here they had seven towns: three were Shawnee, two Delaware and one was a Miami settlement (Tanner 1978: 16). However, there was substantial admixture of native peoples

within the towns. For instance, in Big Cat Town, where the Delaware Buckongahelas was the leader, "A small village of Conoys, another easter refugee group from Potomac Bay, formed part of the Delaware community" (Tanner 1978: 19).

While the "Ohio Indians" had been successful in battle, the incessant warfare wreaked havoc with their economy, and they became more and more dependent on the British for supplies. In the spring of 1792, Alexander McKee distributed 500 bushels of corn among the Indians (Tanner 1978: 31), and large numbers of Indians assembled at Detroit to prevent starvation (Cruikshank 1923: 157).

The concept of an Indian buffer state gained increasing support during the 1790's in the light of the native success in battle. Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe shared this idea (Wise 1971: 69), and one of his superiors, Lord Dorchester, was instrumental in encouraging the Indians to continue their war for the Ohio country (Horsman 1962: 272). In 1794, Lord Dorchester, then governor of British North America, spoke at Quebec City, to members of the Seven Nations of Canada, referring to the Americans, and Indian delegates from the 1793 council on the Maumee River. Dorchester stated: "I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year; and if so, a Line must then be drawn by the Warriors" (ibid). Although this shocked both the British Government in England and the

American administration, it was seen by the Indians as a commitment of support should war break out. The British Indian Department through its agents McKee and Elliott, helped prepare the Indians for the coming confrontation and a new British post, Fort Miami, was constructed on the Maumee River (Hecht 1980: 135). In June 1794, between 1,500 and 2,000 warriors were assembled at the fort to meet General Wayne's expected force (ibid; Horsman 1962: 275). By August many of these natives had left, due to lack of provisions and discouragement with the British for not helping in the attack on the American Fort Recorvery (Horsman 1962: 282). Wayne won an easy victory in the ensuing battle at Fallen Timbers, where casualities were low on both sides (ibid.). With this defeat the power of the Alliance was broken, and some of the Indian villages and supplies were destroyed (ibid.). The Americans did not attack Fort Miami for fear of a new all-out British American war, but neither was there any British aid forthcoming for their Indian allies (ibid.).

At the treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795, the Allied tribes surrendered their claims on the Ohio country and it was opened for white settlement (Howard 1981: 17). The destitute Delaware and their allies withdrew to Swan Creek near the Maumee River. Here McKee applied for and received 3,500 rations for six months, on the approval of Simcoe (Horsman 1962: 284). On the 15th of September 1794,

the Indian Department counted 170 Muncey and Nanticoke, and 1,126 Delaware receiving provisions at Swan Creek (Cruikshank 1931: 110).

Seeking Shelter

A number of questions can be asked in connection with the Delaware move to Canada. For instance, what were the relationships with the British and American governments, and perhaps more importantly, with their representatives? What were the perceived gains to be reached by such a move?

The Delaware-Muncey-Mahican Indians, who were allied with the Six Nations Iroquois, moved to the Grand River in Upper Canada in 1783 (P.A.C. RG. 10, vol. 15). They had inhabited a number of villages in the Niagara area on the American side (ibid.), and in 1783 it appears that threatening rumours were circulated by the Oneida to the effect that the Americans were going to destroy the Six Nations, the Delaware, and other allied tribes (Johnston 1964: 36). This rumour had originated in a speech by the American General John Schuyler to the Oneida ibid.).

Further contributing to native anxieties, an international boundary was drawn through the Great Lakes in 1783, separating British from American territory (Clifton 1975: 4). This posed a particular problem for those British posts, so vital for the Indians for trading and gift-giving, which were now on American soil. It would be logical for the

Delaware to assume that the British would have to give up their posts since the Americans had just won the Revolutionary War. In fact, Britain retained Niagara, Detroit and Michillimackinack until 1796, much to the vexation of the Americans (Johnston 1964: 37). Such events, as well as, probably, the 1782 massacre of their relatives at Gnadenhutten by American militia, all contributed to the Delaware's decision to move to Canada (Weslager 1972: 316). The Delaware certainly knew what they wanted to get away from, and their alliance with the British became well established. maybe they anticipated, as the Potawatomi later did, a continued supply of merchandise and gifts coupled with a more benign attitude to their culture (Clifton 1975: 100).

However, it is worth noting that not all Delaware moved from their villages in New York to the Grand River in 1783-1784. Previously, in October 1782, a settler claimed compensation for eight sheep that had been taken from him by the Delaware Indians in the Grand River area (Canada Province Leg. Ass. Ont. 1904). This incident indicates a pre-1783 presence of perhaps a few Delaware in Upper Canada. Two other migrations took place around 1800 (Wallace 1973: 261). According to Wallace (1973: 163, 256, 261), one group of Delaware moved from West Hickory (Hickorytown) on the Alleghany River via Cattaraugus to Grand River. A second group moved from Cornplanter's town to Buffalo Creek and then

to the Grand River (ibid.). Yet other Delaware remained in New York. A statistical report for the Indian reserves in New York states that 65 Muncey were living at Cattaraugus with 445 Seneca in 1816 (Snyder 1978: 30).

For the Moravian Delaware, the question of migrating to Canada was perhaps even more complex than for the Delaware of the Grand River. Their decision-making was obviously different from that of the other Delaware groups. Here, the Moravian missionaries had a great deal of power and influence. Previous writers, especially Gray (1956) have depicted the Moravian Delaware as a people with very little control over their own destiny. If we are to believe this version, the missionaries made virtually all the important decisions, and led the Delaware hither and yon, founding settlement upon settlement. However, the ethnohistoric sources, as will be seen, do not appear to support this view. The Moravian Delaware were not "led" to Canada by the missionaries, but rather, it would appear that the missionaries accompanied the natives. Many of the Delaware obviously came to Canada with the express desire and intention of quitting American soil and the results of American expansionist policies.

The 1780's and 90's proved traumatic times for the Moravian Delaware. No more than a few years were spent in any one place, and animosity toward these Indians was

expressed by both Whites and Indians. There were continual migrations, but in no particular direction. The Moravian Delaware living on Chippewa land on the Huron River were forced to move back to Pilgerruh in Ohio in 1787, due to the Chippewa resentment of the Delaware hunting on their land. Then in 1791 the Moravian Delaware returned to Detroit River (Hamil 1951: 31; Kinietz 1946: 10). Table 2 lists a sequence for the establishment of Moravian Delaware settlements in the lower Great Lakes region.

Table 2. Moravian Delaware Settlements 1782-92.

Name	River	Year
New Gnadenhutten	Huron (Mich.)	1782-86
Pilgerruh	Cuyahoga	1786-87
New Salem	Huron (Ohio)	1787-91
Warte	Detroit (U.C.)	1791-92
Fairfield	Thames (U.C.)	1792

(Note: U.C. Upper Canada)

As far as the Moravian Indians were concerned, their reasons for moving to Canada were straightforward. They wanted to live in peace and security, and they had no sympathy for the Americans. The missionaries, on the other hand, had been on very good terms with the American authorities. Some Moravian missionaries had even been tried

by the British as American spies, but later acquitted (Quaife 1928: 219).

One incident convinced the missionaries that Upper Canada would be a good place for a settlement, and this was the favourable treatment they had received at the hands of the British authorities in Detroit. The Moravians had asked for and received funds for land improvements on the Huron River, which they occupied from 1782-786 (Quaife 1928: 220). (See Figure IV.) Neighbouring French settlers were eager to take up the Moravian lands, but Major Ancrum, a British officer at Detroit, and John Askin, a British merchant, purchased the property for $200 paid to the Moravian missionaries, and $200 more divided between 16 Moravian Delaware (Quaife 1928: 228). The missionaries were very grateful for this, and on April 17, 1786, Heckewelder wrote to Askin:

> "But You, Dear Sir, May also be assured that you will never be forgotten by Us. We are, and always will be indebted to You for the favours and kindness shown to Us, and our People last Spring, (1785), and wish and pray that God may reward You in full degree of it" (Quaife 1928: 238).

In April 1791 the Moravian Delaware and the missionaries moved across the Lake to the mouth of the Detroit River on the Canadian side, near present Amherstburg, Ontario (Bliss 1972: 200, 211). Here, close to the properties of the British Indian Agents McKee and Elliott,

they started a new settlement, later known as Warte, the Watchtower (Gray 1956: 88). Here they were still exposed to pressure applied by Indian and settlers alike. The Ohio Indians wanted help to defend their lands and this was expressed in threats or admonitions delivered by Indians in the Detroit area. The White settlers in the neighbourhood were agitated over conflicts regarding fencing and cattle (Bliss 1972: 200, 211).

One of the Moravian tactics was the development of communities in as isolated a location as possible, to avoid conflicts and unwanted influences. Warte was not isolated, and probably proved a meeting place for "pagan" Indians, being so close to Detroit and British Indian Agents. In March 1792, the Delaware prepared to leave Warte. The previous summer, the Muncey of the Thames had visited them, and promised to make ready a place for settlement close to their own (Bliss 1972: 250). The Moravian Delaware desired closer contact with their Muncey friends and this was the prime reason behind their move. The missionaries were perhaps more doubtful (even presumably contemplating a move back to American territory). However, good virgin land was available on the Thames River, and Governor Simcoe had issued an important proclamation in January 1792, concerning military exemption for pacifist religious groups. As Wise (1971: 66) states:

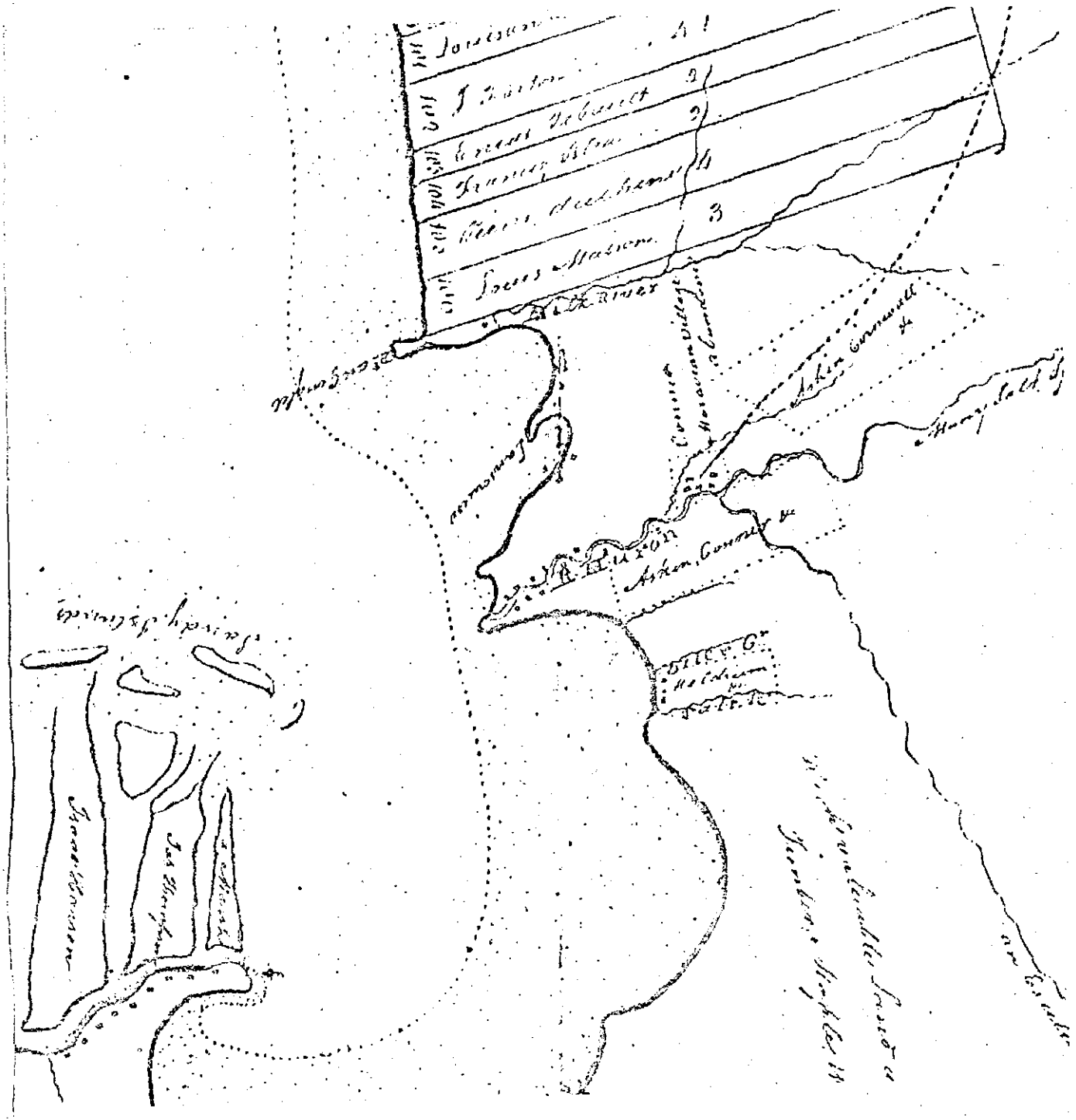

Fig. 4. Abandoned Moravian Village on Huron River, Mich. 1796. (Detail from Patrick McNiff: A Plan of the Settlements at Detroit and its vicinity from River Rouge upwards to Point au Ginglet).

> "Simcoe moreover, by explicitly appealing to such pacifist religious communities as the Quakers, Mennonites and Dunkards by promising them exemption from military service, furthered the movement of plain folk into the province...".

This proclamation must have pleased the Moravian missionaries, and accordingly, in April 1792, they accompanied their Delaware Indians by boat via the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair to the Thames River. The party ascended the Thames River a day's journey from the Muncey village, and here they founded the new settlement of Fairfield (Moraviantown) on the second of May 1792 (Bliss 1972: 256-259).

Already by May 10, 1793, a survey was directed of the La Tranche (Thames) River (Can. Prov. 1905). Two months later the first order-in-council was passed recognizing the missionaries' right to use of the land. The order of July 10, 1793 read:

> "Ordered a Tract of land on River la Tranche on a width of six and three quarters miles about their village, extending twelve miles back on the south side, and northward to the purchase line" (P.A.C. RG. 10, vol. 7566).

In January 1794, townships were laid out by surveyor Patrick McNiff (de Schweinitz 1971: 638). The land came to be held in trust for the Delaware by the Moravian missionaries since they and not the Indians were negotiating with the British authorities. In the official documents it stated: "... that this Tract be used for ever to the Society, in Trust for the

sole use of their Indian converts" (op. cit.). This area was 51,160 acres in the townships of Zone and Oxford in Kent County (Report Ind. Miss.).

CHAPTER III

THE CANADIAN DELAWARE

Three Delaware groups came to Upper Canada in the 1780's and 1790's as refugees from the seemingly endless warfare on the U.S. frontier. Inter-band contact was fairly well established even before all the bands were settled in Upper Canada. After 1792, with the establishment of the last group, the Moravian Delaware, contacts became more frequent (A.M.S. Mortimer Diary). Visiting, for varying periods of time, intermarriage, permanent moves, and trading for corn and other articles, brought the Canadian Delaware groups into close contact.

The Delaware groups came to Upper Canada individually and at different times. Those Delaware allied with the Six Nations Iroquois fled to Canada in 1783-84 (Speck 1945: 11). They settled close to the mouth of the Grand River. Later they moved northward along the Grand River, due to land sales, and finally, they located in the southeastern section of the Six Nations reserve, known as the so-called Smoothtown area (Shimony 1961: 18).

The second band, the Muncey, believed herein to be an offshoot of the Grand River Delaware, settled on the middle Thames River, sometime between 1785 and 1792. Christie (1976: 15) gives the year 1800. However, the Muncey were

already on the river when the Moravians came in 1792. Christie's mistake might originate in Copway (1847: 207). They had been permitted to live there by the Chippewa Indians, and although the Muncey continued to reside in that particular area, they were not granted a reserve of their own until 1968 (Christie 1976: 15).

The third group, the Moravian Delaware, arrived in Upper Canada in 1791, and they settled first on the Detroit River and then on the Thames River, south of the Muncey (Figure 1). These Delaware were primarily Christians, and their Moravian missionaries were given an area in trust for the Indians (Hamil 1951: 32).

In trying to reconstruct Canadian Delaware culture as it was in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, various problems are encountered. First, the primary sources are scant, and secondly, the three groups had somewhat different cultures, arising from the fact that each group was in itself a composite group. Furthermore, the Moravian Delaware culture differed considerably from that of the other two groups, for the most part in terms of religion, but also because they were closer to the Euro-Canadian norm of utilizing more advanced technology in agriculture and construction. In addition, the ethnographic material is very incomplete. For example, information concerning the subsistence activities of the Grand River Delaware and the

Muncey is largely lacking, although there are some data about religion, ceremonies and social organization (Speck 1945; Harrington 1913, 1921).

Subsistence and Land Use

The yearly cycle appears to be relatively consistent for all three Canadian Delaware groups. For the time period 1790-1813, it would approximate the cycle outlined in Table 3.

The spring and summer were spent in the villages. Mid to late April usually saw the beginning of soil preparation for planting, as well as the clearing of land for new fields (Bliss 1972: 263). Most of May was taken up by gardening and tending the fields, with some fishing. Late August, September and early October were the harvest months, while the hunting of deer and black bears and migratory birds took place in late October and November. Winter saw some large-game and small-game hunting, followed by early spring maple-sugaring and fishing (Bliss 1972: 349, 380, 398, 444). Winter fishing was apparently not practised.

In early winter, the Delaware moved from their main villages, which were occupied most of the spring, summer and fall, to their winter hunting-territory. Here there was individual hunting of big game until February-March when the families went to the sugaring grounds, where the women collected maple sap while the men hunted (Newcomb 1956: 22).

After the sugaring, the people returned to the main village to plant crops (Goddard 1978: 226).

This seasonal cycle agrees with the data for American Delaware yearly cycles recorded by Newcomb (1956: 22) and Goddard (1978: 226), with the exception of the winter dwelling-place. Mobility for the Canadian Delaware became increasingly limited, especially for the Moravian Delaware. This was due mainly to the increasing numbers of Euro-Canadian settlers in Upper Canada, which reduced lands formerly available to the Delawares for hunting and fishing.

Table 3. Canadian Delaware Yearly Activities, 1790-1813.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Small Game	X	X	X									
Maple Sugar			X	X	X	X	X					
Fishing				X	X	X	X	X	X			
Planting						X	X	X				
Collecting								X	X		X	X
Harvest									X	X	X	X
Deer Hunting											X	X
Bear Hunting												X

In the 1790's, much of Upper Canada was wilderness, and by 1791, only about 25,000 Europeans had settled there (Christie 1976: 100). By 1814, the Euro-Canadian number had

increased to almost 100,000, and shortly before the final ceding of land for the Moravian Delaware in 1857, the population in Upper Canada had reached one million (ibid.).

To the new settlers, the aboriginal hunting grounds represented unoccupied territory that could readily be cleared, ploughed and improved for agriculture. This clearly constituted a concept of land utilization and land ownership that differed from the Indians, and it became a major source of conflict and heated controversy in southwestern Ontario. Such problems are clearly demonstrated in the Moravian Delaware treaty of 1836 (see Chapter IV).

The Moravian Delaware at Fairfield also experienced moral pressures from their Moravian missionaries. The natives were urged not to be away from their main village, particularly during the maple-sugar season, when many natives went to the sugar-camps. The missionaries worried about the opportunities for drinking and "immorality" such occasions presented. In this concern, the Moravian missionaries were by no means alone, for other missionaries considered it part of the civilizing effort to make the Delaware more sedentary, and thus easier to supervise and instruct. The Moravian Delaware felt such "civilizing" pressure considerably earlier than did the Muncey or the Grand River Delaware.

During their migrations west and north, the Delaware were forced to change their habitat many times and the

different natural environments influenced their land use practices. Both the Muncey and the Moravian Delaware were removed from ready lake access on their locations on the Thames River, but they were close enough to Lake Erie for occasional fishing expeditions. The few freshwater clam shells excavated from the Fairfield site (Jury 1945: 31) certainly indicate a low reliance upon molluscs for food.

The Grand River Delaware and the Thames River Muncey winter dwelling-place probably ceased to exist in Ontario during the early 1800's, as a result of increased Euro-Canadian settlement. For the Moravian Delaware it probably never existed at all. Their missionaries had been successful in their endeavours to make the Indians more stationary, and thus we find that as early as 1801, the Moravian Delawares did very little hunting and had few skins (Quaife 1928: 336).

Bears in southern Ontario were rare by about 1807, and the last bear hunt by the Muncey took place in 1811 (Fliegel 1970: 1131). Normally, bears were hunted in late fall, and occasionally in the spring. Wolves were plentiful at this time, and were trapped or caught in pits. Sometimes they damaged domestic livestock (ibid.). Deer were the most important mammal for the Canadian Delaware, and they were

Zone	A Homebase	B Primary Zone	C Secondary Zone
Resources	gardens fish	small-game fish	big-game
Seasons Occupied	spring summer autumn	spring	autumn winter

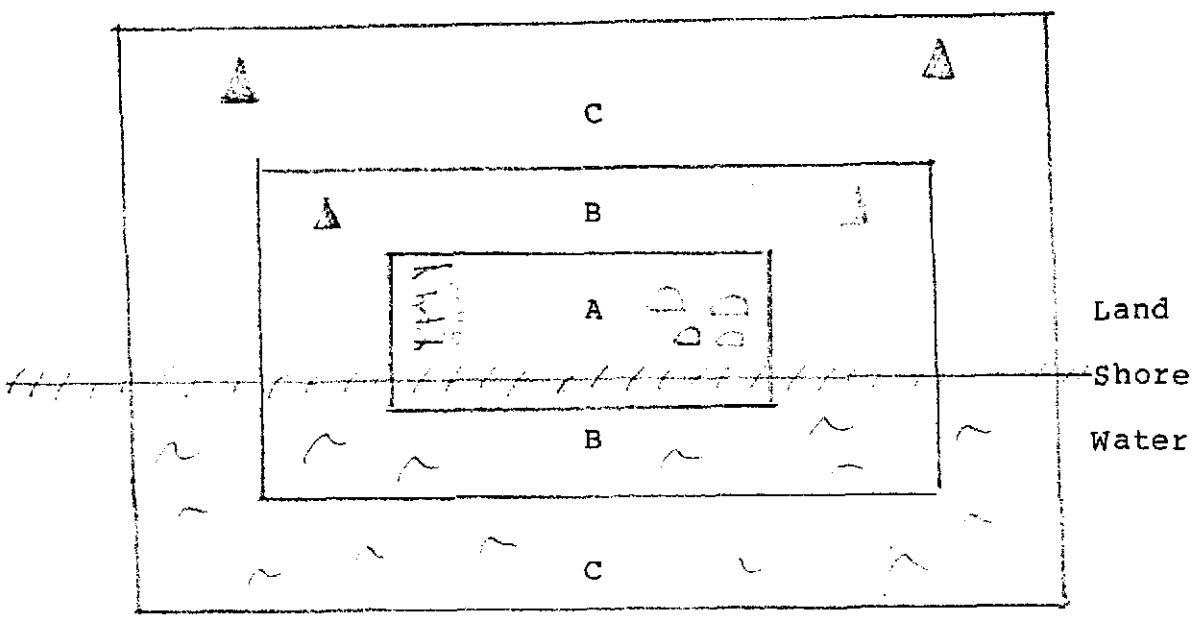

Fig. V. Delaware land use pattern on the east coast of the U.S.A. (After Rogers-Black 1975)

taken in communal drives, one in the spring and one in the winter, according to Thurman (1974: 124). More specifically, the deer hunting season was in the late fall (Goddard 1978: 216), with November and December especially being mentioned for the Moravian Delaware (Bliss 1972: 380).

Deer fences were built near the Thames River (Cruikshank 1923: 290), and one such fence is reputed to have been seven miles long, stretching from the river towards Lake Erie (Gray 1956: 137). The existence of fences testifies to communal hunts, but also to an intentional, yearly harvest of game. The high number of deer killed at one time would indicate mass, communal hunting. One expedition brought home 40 deer (Fliegel 1970: 1136).

Small game were probably taken throughout the year, depending on the condition of their fur and their availability as food resources. Beaver were taken in 1795, but were probably hunted to near extinction by both Whites and Indians shortly thereafter (Fliegel 1970: 1131). Muskrat were hunted in the early 1800's, being speared in daylight, while at night taken with the help of torches which attracted the animals (ibid.). In 1798, hunters still divided meat among friends and neighbours, as well as using it to pay people (A.M.S. Mortimer Diary).

Fishing was especially important in the Thames and Grand Rivers during the spawning period (Hamil 1951: 37).

The fish were both speared and shot with bow and arrow individually (Fliegel 1970: 1230). The Grand River Delaware used brush-nets but also hook and line, baited with worm or grasshopper (Brinton 1888: 39). The Moravian Delaware also built "bounds", deep fish-traps made from stones and logs (Gray 1956: 109). Sometimes during a heavy run, children and old people would help out so that the fish catch could be maximized (Bliss 1972: 444). The Muncey made similar fish-traps. Across the river a fence of poles would be strung, leaving only a small opening in the centre, where a net would be fastened. The fish would then be driven downstream by beaters (Harrington 1913: 222). In the ethnographic literature there has often been an underestimation of the importance of fishing. Goddard (1978: 226) states: "Away from the coasts, fishing came to be of minor importance." This does not apply to the Canadian Delaware, for whom the spring runs up the river were quite important at this traditionally lean time of year.

Maple-sugaring was an important part of the economy at Fairfield. A good deal fo February, March and April was spent in the sugar camps. 1793 was considered a bad year, but in 1794 the people produced 1,500 lb. of maple sugar, with some of the surplus traded and sold (Bliss 1972: 349; Hamil 19151: 38).

With the abandoning of the winter hunting-territory,

there followed an increased dependence on gardening, farming, fishing, and the collecting of wild foods. Wild fruits and nuts were gathered and birds of all kinds were caught (Jury 1945: 31). The Moravian Delaware had settled on prime agricultural land which yielded well when cleared. "... it is such rich land as we have nowhere had, being like a dungheap, and very easily cleared" (Bliss 1972: 261).

Indeed, clearing land was one of the first undertakings of the Moravian Delaware at arrival in May 1792. "The brethren were busy clearing land, for which they show real zeal, the land pleasing them, being the right sort for Indians, such as they like to have" (Bliss 1972: 262). However, the planting must have been late that year, because the clearing did not start until May. Consequently, in the early spring of 1793, the Moravian Delaware were suffering a great lack of food. Fortunately, the Muncey had a surplus of corn which they were willing to share, because the Moravians kept coming for more (Bliss 1972: 296-298). During January and February they came five times, and then once more in April. Furthermore, the Moravian missionaries Ziesberger and Sensemann were forced to write to Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe to apply for assistance on February 26, 1793.

> "In behalf of the congregation of Moravian Indians, settled under his Majesty's protection in the Province of Upper Canada, we the Ministers presume to represent to your Excellency the great distress this new settlement labours under from the failure of our crops of corn - and humbly beg leave to

> solicit your Excellency's Interference towards our general relief, by allowing us to be furnished with two hundred Bushels of Indian Corn from the King's Stores which we promise to return within the space of two years from the date thereof"
> (Cruikshank 1923: 294)

In 1795 the Muncey corn crop was ruined by a flood (Bliss 1972: 447), but in 1796 the Moravian Delaware finally had a rich corn crop. The next year corn, maple sugar and cattle were sold to the white settlers despite a fairly bad year (Fliegel 1970: 1230). It is not surprising, then, to find that there was a scarcity of food in 1798. In fact, many Delaware dispersed themselves among the white settlers because they lacked provisions (A.M.S. Mortimer Diary). In 1804, and 1805, crops were spoiled by rain and flood, and famine struck. During the latter year raspberries were reported to be practically the only food for some time (Fliegel 1970: 1230). The situation was made worse in 1801 and 1806 by damage to livestock effected by wolves. Events seem to have taken a turn for the better after 1810, and there is no further mention in the ethnohistorical sources of crop-failures or famine.

Most of the land at Moraviantown was worked in common until 1857, when the last survey and treaty took place. Clearing was done individually, and the men and the women both took part in this. The Indians also cleared and worked the missionaries' fields (Bliss 1972: 262). At dawn an Indian crier would often go up and down the village street to

wake up the people who would then go into the fields. At about eight o'clock they would return for a typical breakfast of mush and millet. Everybody would get together at the pots in the street, where the food was distributed (A.M.S. Mortimer Diary).

Table 4. Acres cleared or sown on the Moravian Reserve.

Year	Acres
1793	90
1798	300
1817	350
1832	600
1838	300
1883	863
1897	1,168

In 1843, the Six Nations Delaware had 347 acres under cultivation, two barns, 22 horses, 23 oxen, 38 cows, 167 hogs, and 12 sheep to a population of about 127 (Johnston 1964: 307).

A Note on Material Culture

The Canadian Delaware technology had from early on been influenced by contact with a number of peoples and traditions. For example, splint-basketry techniques were apparently borrowed from the Swedes and Finns (Goddard 1978: 227). So were the Swedish decorative patterns known as "kurbits" (Linderholm 1976: 167). Baskets, dishes, brooms,

etc. were made by the Moravian Delaware, and some of these were sold to neighbouring Euro-Canadians. The dug-out canoes made by the men were in great demand and were sold or traded (Gray 1956: 136). Since they were not made by any other people in the area, and because they were easily maneuverable and durable, they often became the objects of theft (ibid.).

As far as clothing was concerned, the men wore shirts of calico or deerskin, with breechcloth, leggings and moccasins. Women wore a calico dress, cloth leggings and moccasins (Harrington 1913: 220). Among the Moravian Delaware, the men were supposed to wear dark corduroy pants, knee-length coats and shirts with white neck-cloths and a broad-brimmed hat. However, many wore coloured blankets and deer-skin leggings, and there was a great mixture of European and Indian clothing even in the 1830's (Hamil 1951: 99). The Moravian Delaware women were supposed to wear a long brown or gray skirt and an apron and white cap with a ribbon denoting their status within the community. A red ribbon was worn by girls, pink by single women, blue by married women and a white ribbon indicated that the bearer was a widow (Gray 1956: 140). Many wore moccasins since there were no Moravian rules or regulations concerning footwear. The Indians were not allowed to have small bells attached to the moccasins, however (Gray 1956: 117).

Newcomb (1956: 101) mentions that the U.S. Delaware

acquired the horse-plough complex somewhere in the period 1814-1867. However, the Moravian Delaware were already using ploughs in the fall of 1797 (Bliss 1972: 497). As previously mentioned, they made use of Euro-Canadian technology earlier than did other groups, no doubt due to the influence of the Moravian missionaries.

Religion and Missionaries

Both the Muncey and the Six Nations Delaware kept some of their most important religious ceremonies functioning in Upper Canada. There has been a good deal of debate over the Big House and especially over whether this was an aboriginal complex, or if it came about as a result of contact. Kinietz (1940: 117), Newcomb (1956: 64) and Speck (1931: 25) have all advanced different theories on the subject. For our purposes, suffice it to say that any suggested solution is "unprovable" (Trigger 1976: 14).

The Six Nations Delaware had a Big House at Dunnville in 1837 and one on Boston Creek near Hagersville (Speck 1945: 11, 12). It is thought that the Six Nations Delaware comprised the most conservative groups among the Muncey, Mahican and Unami in Pennsylvania and New York (Speck 1945: 9). They were certainly the last Delaware group in Canada to convert to Christianity, which they did around 1850. In 1852 one of these converts was zealous enough to severely damage the face images in the Big House, and that seems to have been

the end of the native way of worship among the Canadian Delaware (Speck 1945: 2).

The Thames River Muncey had their Big House too. One of their societies, the Masks, had their own meeting house. Similar to the False Faces among the Iroquois, this was a society of shamans who were mainly concerned with curing (Harrington 1913: 217, 230). In September 1825, the Muncey were visited by the missionary Peter Jones, who attended a "first fruits of the earth" ceremony in the Big House (Jones 1869: 41). At this time there were four chiefs among the Muncey. Two were pro-church and mission, and two were against. The latter did not want white men present since they felt that the white men had cheated them out of their lands (Graham 1975: 18). By 1829, there were only 10 converts and the mission was said to be the least promising of the Methodist missions (ibid.). Methodist missionary Peter Jones, himself partly Mississauga, visited the Muncey and the two friendly chiefs in 1825. "We found the Indians in these parts very wild, and greatly wedded to their pagan customs and manners" (Jones 1860: 30). One chief, George Turkey, tried to explain to Jones about his people and his religion:

> "Some Munceys he not like it--he say he worship old way. But I tell him, lost old way.--Old way was good. But now Munceys get their way from all nations, some from White people, some from the Chippewas and some from other nations. Now he

> thinks he got old way, but this is a new way, because he lost old way" (Graham 1975: 59).

By 1846 there was no overt traditional ceremonies being performed, although only a few Muncey were Christian converts (ibid). In 1835, the Church of England also sent the missionary R. Flood to the Muncey. He claimed that they were all Christian by 1859, and that "... they have ... with few exceptions long since cast their idols to the moles and the bats" (ibid.).

Table 5. Number of Methodist Converts at Munceytown and Moraviantown.

Year	Munceytown	Moraviantown
1874	70	15
1875	74	13
1876	84	13
1877	84	10
1878	135	9
1879	138	44
1880	180	48

(O.P.A. M.S.S. Church Rec. Coll.)

In 1874 the Methodists made some inroads on the Moravian reserve, although the number of converts remained small (See Table 5).

The Delaware on the Grand River were also visited by the Methodists in the mid-1820's. The Reverend A. Torrey noted that about 20 Delaware attended his service the first time, and then a few more. Some also went to hear him at his appointments among the Euro-Canadians (Johnston 1964: 246).

Another minister, Reverend A. Elliott, wrote to his bishop about the progress being made among the Delaware.

> "Permit me further to state that the Delaware, who had so long shut their eyes against the light of truth, have recently renounced Paganism. Forty three of them have been admitted into the church by Baptism, twenty seven of whom are adults and have become the most docile band I have yet seen among the Indians. I visit their settlement regularly once a fortnight" (Johnston 1964: 267).

A Note on Social Organization

It is interesting to note that the role of the women had been strengthened somewhat among the Six Nations Delaware, probably due to the long association with the Iroquois. The institution of chief-maker, a woman who chooses the chief, is well documented among the Six Nations Delaware (Speck 1945: 4; Goddard 1978: 225). According to Captain Chipps, a Muncey from the Thames, there were no female chiefs in his band, nor did the women have anything to do with the council (Weslager 1978: 173). However, it seems likely that the Muncey were influenced by the Iroquois in other respects. The twelve mask holders, as previously mentioned, were similar in many respects to the False Faces, but did not exist among the Delaware in the U.S.A., where the Iroquois influence was not so direct (Harrington 1913: 217, 230; Newcomb 1956: 69).

CHAPTER IV

DIVISION AND CONSOLIDATION

The British were more dependent on the Indians of Upper Canada than they liked to be. In the decades before and after 1800, an Indian uprising could have been extremely serious, even to the point of jeopardizing the very existence of the province. In a letter of May 4, 1795, Lord Simcoe wrote to Lord Dorchester:

> "The papers enclosed in No. 55 will show the necessity of great and immediate attention to the Indians within the boundaries of this Province, every method ought to be made use of to conciliate their affections as under the present circumstances I cannot but consider this Province in respect to the Indians as in the most critical situation"
> (Cruikshank 1926: 3).

Obviously, the British felt threatened by the Indian presence in the province. The authorities had admitted various bands into Canada for military services rendered, and now needed their help to protect Upper Canada. The dilemma was that the Indians had to be strong enough to meet the Americans in war, but not so strong that they could unduly influence politics in the province. It was a fine line to walk, but the English proved equal to it, as demonstrated by their handling of Joseph Brant's efforts to manipulate the British authorities in Canada (Johnston 1963: 262-282; Kelsay 1984: 607-08).

After 1780, the Indian groups on the Niagara peninsula and the land between Lakes Erie, Ontario and Huron included Chippewa, Huron, Ottawa, Iroquois, and Delaware. Their different languages and customs provided the answer the British were seeking: divide and conquer, fan any existing rivalry or distrust among the tribes. Peter Russell wrote to the Duke of Portland dated York (Toronto) in March 1798:

> "... I have likewise in confidence verbally instructed Captain Claus, the superintendent for the Niagara District, to do everything in his power (without exposing the subject of this Policy to Suspicion) to foment any existing jealousy between the Chippewas and the Six Nations; and to prevent as far as possible any Junction or good understanding between those two tribes... By this arrangement I am in hopes of being able to keep these nations and Tribes distinct and separate from each other, and to induce them to look up to Government only for their Comfort and Support" (Cruikshank 1931: 122-123).

This tactic proved very successful, especially in the early 1800's when the Chippewa harboured feelings of fear and animosity toward the Iroquois, particularly the Mohawk (Fliegel 1970: 1017).

In another letter from Peter Russell to the Duke of Portland, written in 1798, the order to the Indian agents to foment mutual distrust among tribes was straightforward:

> "... I shall now direct the several Superintendents and Agents to confine themselves to the care of their respective Districts and to endeavour to prevent as much as possible connections or confederations from taking place between the several Indian Nations" (Cruikshank 1935: 184).

The war of 1812 diverted any further British efforts to create dissention between the Indian bands of Upper Canada. Instead they and the British once more fought a common enemy, the Americans.

Interactions with the White Population

During Fairfield's (Moraviantown) early years, the Delaware and the White settlers interacted a great deal (Fliegel 1970: 2165). The Indians often hired themselves out to White farmers to help with harvesting and other labour-intensive tasks. Both the men and the women made products for sale to the Euro-Canadians (e.g., mats, baskets, canoes and different kinds of handicrafts). There was, however, a good deal of mistrust on both sides and in June 1797 the White settlers near Moraviantown petitioned against the Delaware (Gray 1956: 146). Cattle were missing, and Indians were suspected of having killed and slaughtered them. The Moravian missionary Zeisberger believed in the Delawares' innocence. In his diary on June 15, 1797, he wrote, "The trouble begins again which we are always having with the white people, that if they lose cattle, or these are killed or torn to pieces by wolves, they always accuse our Indians of it" (Bliss 1972: 485).

From circa 1800 to 1817 there was much unrest among the Moravian Delaware. Many were moving between the various

Moravian missions, and a number of violent interactions with the Whites occurred (Fliegel 1970: 216). The Moravian missionaries' report of 1803 expressed a decided Indian dislike for the White people; in that same year the Delaware Mackpiewees' dislike took the form of an attack on a White settler (ibid.). In 1804, several violent quarrels and brawls erupted between White men and Moravian Delaware, usually in connection with drinking (ibid.). Three distilleries in the neighbourhood of Fairfield provided a ready supply of liquor to both parties.

Merchants and traders often sold rum to the Indians (ibid.). Boats could easily stop by the village and even if the Moravian missionaries did all they could to stop the traders from selling their goods, the missionaries were not always aware of the traders' presence. On May 10, 1793, Zeisberger observed that "a Frenchman, who came up here with rum, caused us great anguish and perplexity, for some bad people of ours drank and made an uproar in town" (Bliss 1972: 3;2).

In May 1801 Parliament passed a bill to outlaw the selling of liquor to the Indians at Fairfield, on request of the Moravian missionaries (Can Prov. 1909, 1911), but this had little real effect. Earlier, fines had been imposed of five pounds for the first drinking offense and £ 20 for the second offense (Gray 1956: 184). They did not prevent the

Indians from drinking and getting involved in fights. In 1809, a Delaware man was badly beaten in a fight with some White men (Fliegel 1790: 411). These violent interactions culminated in the murder of two Moravian Delaware in 1813, at Cornwall's Brandy Distillery. Although the killer was tried in civil court at Sandwich, he was acquitted (Fliegel 1970: 105; Gray 1956: 222). In 1814, another Delaware was killed by White people (Fliegel 1970: 172).

Unfortunate incidents also took place with regard to the Delaware women. In 1805 some White men boasted of their intimate relationships with mission women and in 1808, Esther, a widow, was attacked and beaten by a White man (Fliegel 1970: 105).

Endogamy usually serves to enhance a people's ethnicity, and thus, it is of interest to note that the vast majority of Delaware marriages outside the Moravian band took place with people, probably Delaware, from Munceytown and Grand River (O.P.A. MSS. Marriage Records). It is not until about 1860 that we find recorded marriages with Whites, although children with White fathers or mothers undoubedly had been born earlier.

The situation in the two other southern Ontario Delaware settlements was much the same as at Moraviantown. Traders visited, frequently selling liquor along with the rest of their merchandise, and some of them used alcohol to

obtain sexual access to Indian women. This was described at Munceytown. "One made an Indian woman drunk, and then XXX in sight of our door, in presence of young and old" (Graham 1975: 83).

Expanding white settlement and the selling of Indian land forced the Grand River Delaware to move a number of times between 1784 and 1824. Even when they were on the Six Nations Reserve in the vicinity of the town of Hagersville, development in the area brought problems. In the construction of the first Welland Canal in the 1830's, the Welland Canal Company erected a dam (O.P.A. MSS. Irving Papers). At one time the Company raised the water level to such an extent that the Grand River overflowed and submerged part of the reserve (ibid.).

> "Much to the surprise of everyone, when the flow of water was finally stopped in the river, the level rose very rapidly above the dam, and between 2,000 and 3,000 acres of flats between Dunnville and Cayuga were flooded." (Duquemin-Glenney 1981: 47).

The Delaware sought compensation for these "drowned lands", but the Province of Ontario denied that the band had occupied any reserve "duly set aside for them" prior to 1829 (ibid.). Because of the flooding some Delaware moved to Moraviantown or Munceytown or to other areas of the Six Nations Reserve (ibid.).

The Other Indians

The relations between the Delaware and other Indians in southern Ontario, particularly the Chippewa and the

Iroquois, were to some extent characterized by competition for land and resources. In 1794, the Moravian Delaware were driven away from their sugar-boiling grounds by the Chippewa, who also stole equipment and vessels from their sugar-huts (Bliss 1972: 341, 441). In 1806 there were incidents between the two bands over deer-hunting territories; the Chippewa obviously felt that the Delaware were intruders. In 1811, blue-berries were a source of conflict (Fliegel 1970: 1008).

Greater friction, however, existed between the Muncey and the Chippewa since their villages were comparatively close to each other. In 1796, the Chippewa complained about the Muncey, who were told to go away from Chippewa land, to their own land (Bliss 1972: 46). Perhaps the Chippewa were unaware that the Muncey lacked ancestral lands any more, although this seems improbable. The Delaware began to feel that they had as much right to the land as the Chippewas which is shown by the Muncey claim to share the money paid to the Chippewa by the Canada Southern Railway in 1874-75. The Muncey leaders wrote the local Indian agent at the town of Delaware to state that they had as much right to the land as the Chippewa, and to ask him to arrange a settlement between the bands (P.A.C. RG. 10, vol. 1866). It would appear that nothing came of this, but the Muncey obviously had developed and were expressing feelings about the land and their claim to it by 1875.

At Grand River a tradition of opposition between the Delaware and the Iroquois continued for a considerable time. After 1800, the Delaware were recognized as brave warriors by the Iroquois, although they were also thought to be irritable and belligerent (Speck 1945: 11). A special relationship had evolved between the Delaware and the Cayuga, who had a long tradition of adopting other tribes and individuals (Shimony 1961: 44). They permitted the Delaware to take part in the Cayuga Longhouse activities.

The Moravian Delaware, the Muncey and the Chippewa did fear certain of the Iroquois. In 1797, the Chippewa were said to fear the Mohawk, and be inclined to fight against them, rather than by their side (Fliegel 1970: 1007). In 1804, similar observations were made about Delaware sentiments toward the Mohawk (Fliegel 1970: 1017). It is evident, then, that around the turn of the 19th century, the Delaware and Chippewa Indian groups harboured ill feelings towards the Mohawk Iroquois of southwestern Ontario.

New Wars

The Canadian Delaware, who had been so caught up in the warfare on the United States frontier, came to Canada partly to get away from this. Their respite was short. After a lull since 1794, the British intensified their efforts to recruit Indians after 1807 (Horsman 1958: 51). By

1811, the Indians and British officials in Canada were prepared for war (Horsman 1958: 62). Tecumseh, who tried to unite the western Indians, came to Amherstburg to talk to the Indian agents Elliott and Claus (Horsman 1958: 57). The Americans were also preparing for the inevitable. General Hull sent Huron agents to Grand River to promise the Six Nations that they would not suffer in case of an American occupation (Stanley 1950: 151). Pressure was also put on the Seneca Chief, Cornplanter, to send a deputation to the Grand River in order to persuade the Six Nations to remain neutral (Stanley 1950: 155).

In 1812 war broke out between Great Britain and the United States. With the coming of war and more especially the invasion of Upper Canada, the British urgently needed the military allegiance and services of the Delaware. This was particularly so since a number of the more recent white settlers in southwestern Ontario had come from the United States and were rather ambivalent in their attitudes towards the invader.

American troops advanced north-eastward up the Thames River through Upper Canada and reached Moraviantown, which they burned after a major battle with the British and their 700 to 800 allied Indians on October 5, 1813 (Weslager 1972: 348; Edmunds 1984: 213). In this battle Tecumseh was killed (Edmunds 1983: 142).

Although the American Delaware tried to remain neutral and refused Miami requests to join them in the war against the United States, some Delaware did serve with the U.S. Army in Canada (Weslager 1978: 67). The Delaware chief Nacoming and captain Ketchum were two such individuals (ibid.). Further, a Moravian Delaware appeared with the American troops, possibly serving as a spy, since he had moved to Goshen from Moraviantown ten years earlier (Fliegel 1970: 84). The Moraviantown Delaware fled eastward after the October 5 battle and reached Dundas on October 29, 1813. Here they built a temporary church, which was completed on the 24th of December (Fliegel 1970: 824).

The precise location in Dundas where the Moravians sought refuge has been a matter of some contention. Gray (1956: 251) believed that the place was two miles north-east of Burlington, whereas Hamil (1949: 105) is more vague, mentioning "near Burlington Heights". Bruemmer (1964: 96) flatly stated the Delaware Indians lived in Dundas with their Moravian missionaries for about a year. Gray seems to equate Burlington with the present city of the same name. Hamil is more careful in that Burlington Heights lies between the present city of Hamilton and nearby town of Dundas. Fliegel nowhere mentions the name Burlington for Delaware refugees, but does cite several references to Lake Ontario and Dundas as being their "wintering place" or the "place of Christians

on flight from Fairfield" (1970: 872).

The missionary Dencke made an exploratory trip to the Credit River in May (ibid.) and the temporary church near Dundas was pulled down on may 18, 1814. This would seem to indicate that the Delaware left this location shortly thereafter (Fliegel 1970: 486, 1185, 1227). The Delaware spent a year in another location, probably at Grand River, before returning to Moraviantown in August 1815 (Hamil 1949: 105). It appears that many Delaware passed the latter half of 1814 at the Grand River, where some had started working their fields by June (Gray 1956: 253). This is further substantiated by the number of men, women and children in care of Captain John Norton (Table 6), a prominent man from Grand River (Murray 1945: 9), who had commanded the Canadian Delaware and Chippewa during the war (F.M.A. MF.).

Table 6. Indians in care of Captain John Norton, 1814.

	Women	Men	Children	Total
Detroit Muncey	76	65	58	198
Thames River Muncey	73	67	55	195
Thames River Chippewa	70	61	68	199
Bear Creek Chippewa	25	21	22	67
Moravian Delaware	66	54	62	182
Totals	310	268	263	841

(F.M.A. MF.)

Although Moravian rules clearly forbade any members to participate in war, 56 men joined the Indian forces (A.M.S. Mortimer Diary) and several were killed in action. Some probably were not congregation members at the time. In 1814, the Moravian communion membership was almost entirely made up of Canadian Delaware women (Fliegel 1970: 1238).

The Muncey and the Delaware of the Grand River made substantial contributions to the defence of Upper Canada during 1812-1814, considering their small populations. It is estimated that they mustered about 300 men in 1814, added to another 100 Thames River Muncey and the Moravian Delawares (Johnston 1964: 221). They turned out in numbers beyond what the military expected. Noah Freer wrote to Sir Gordon Drummond, on March 1, 1814:

> "The number of the Five Nations and Delawares of the Grand River is reported to be about Four Hundred Men--The Moravian Delawares and the Munceys of the River Thames are stated to be Nearly One Hundred--the latter joined Captain Norton, when Proceeding with the Army under Major General Brock for the Capture of Detroit and have since shewn their fidelity.--It is the wish of the Commander of the Forces therefore that the Opportunity be afforded to Captain Norton to protect and Reward the People according to their Merits"
>
> (F.M.A. MF.)

After the war (1816), the Moravian Delaware of Moraviantown sought compensation from the Americans for the destruction of their mission, but this was denied by the United Stated Congress since the Moravians had fought with the British. Instead, some compensation was provided by the

British authorities (Hamil 1957: 105).

Treaty-making

By the time the Delaware reached Canada, in the 1780's and 90's, they settled in three different areas of Upper Canada (Southwestern Ontario). Even here their territory changed. The Moravian Delaware saw their land steadily diminish; the Muncey, guests on Chippewa land, finally got their own reserve; and the Delaware of the Grand River had to move their villages from the mouth of the river to the vicinity of Brantford.

In the 1790's the area inhabited by the Delaware was virtually wilderness, but the pressure on Indian land soon increased. The European settlers had no conception of Indian land-use, but only understood individual ownership of land and intensive farming. After resolution of the War of 1812, the Settlers began pressuring the Canadian government to obtain a surrender of parts of Moravian lands in southwestern Ontario, that were not actually required by the Indians. Even by 1819 the government of Upper Canada directed agents to negotiate a surrender of part of the land (P.A.C. RG 10. vol. 7566). This proposal was made to the Indians and not their trustees, the Moravian missionaries, thereby causing a protest from Moravian secretary Latrobe (ibid.). In response to this, Secretary Glenelg wrote to Earl Bathurst:

> "... The directors have therefore commissioned me to humbly represent the case to His Majesty's Government at hope and request that the original grant may be confirmed and the Agents for the Government in Upper Canada directed to apply to the Missionaries or Trustees themselves, and not to treat with the Indians, who have neither authority nor sufficient knowledge of the nature of the tenure to give a proper answer to any such proposal"
>
> (P.A.C. RG 1Ø, vol. 7566).

No land was ceded at this time, but new dealings were soon under way. In the early 183Ø's, the Indian Department revised its policy to include tighter, more permanent settlements for the Indians under the control of a resident agent (Surtees 1982: 34). Consequently, properties farther removed from the centralized mission village were freed up and made available to European settlers, where the demand for land was great. A government investigation into problems connected with Indian land, reported that the most serious problems involved destruction of game by the settlers, illegal cutting of the timber, and illegal occupation of Indian land by trespassers (Patterson 1921: 233). Such problems necessitated a ready and viable form of resolution; the British government opted for the mechanism of a formal treaty.

The Treaties of 1836 and 1857

There was an attempt in Canada at establishing an area, larger than a normal reserve, solely for Indians. This had been tried in the United States on a number of occasions,

perhaps the best-known attempt being the Indian Territory, later to become the state of Oklahoma, where tribes and bands from all over the country were assembled. In Canada, it was to be Manitoulin Island in Lake Huron. In 1829 some officers in the Indian Department considered the island as a location for Indian settlement, Manitoulin was then seen, as Lieutenant-Governor Bond-Head put it, "... in no Way adapted to the White population", since it was thought to be unsuitable for agriculture (Hall 1976: 204). Bond-Head believed the Indians of Upper Canada were dying out as a result of contact with the Euro-Canadians; he also believed that they were impeding the progress of civilization. Therefore, he tried to obtain as much land as possible from the Indians in the settled areas. Another idea was to place Indian refugees from the United States on the island, and this was carried out to a limited extent.

In September 1836, Bond-Head passed through New Fairfield and requested an opportunity to talk to the Moravian Delaware. He indicated he would give them as much land as they wanted in the lakes area further north, or if they so desired, they could sell all their land and move to the United States West. The settlement offered was an annuity of $600 (Gr. Br. vol. 12, 1969: 333). In a letter to Glenelg dated Toronto, November 20, 1836, Bond-Head outlined the case of the Moravian Delaware and his underlying

philosophy.

> "For instance, I found Sixteen or Eighteen Families of Moravian Indians living on a vast tract of rich Land, yet from Absence of Game almost destitute of every Thing; several of the Men drunk; nearly all their Children Halfcastes; the high road through their Territory almost impassable; the White Population execrating their Indolence, and entreating to be relieved from the Stagnation of a Block of rich Land, which separated them from their Markets as completely as if it had been a Desert" (Gr. Br. vol. 12, 1969: 354).

To this proposal, the five Delaware delegates refused to part with any land and were supported by the Moravian missionaries. Unfortunately, at this time, there was a large group of native people who wanted to move away from New Fairfield. They notified the authorities that they were willing to sell and, a month later, the Indian Superintendent for Caradoc and Moravian reserves, Colonel J.B. Clench, returned. He held a council with the Indians, with the missionaries and the settlers present. The result of a vote taken among the Indians was 28 to 26 in favour of selling the land for an annuity of $600 plus compensation for land improvements. The area contained about 25,000 acres, or three square miles (P.A.C. Rg 10, vol. 7566). This affair created a good deal of ill-felling among the Delaware, splitting the band into two factions.

This 1836 treaty became known as Treaty No. 47. It read as follows:

"We the undersigned Chiefs and others of the Moravian Tribe of Indians occupying lands on the River Thames in the Province of Upper Canada, having had three several Councils at which we have considered giving up to our Great Father the King all our interests in the lands occupied by us on the north side of the said River Thames, do now voluntarily propose to relinquish and give up the same to our Great Father the King in consideration of his paying to us an annuity of six hundred dollars every year on the first day of April, and also a reasonable compensation in money to such of our Tribe as have made improvements on our said lands, such compensation to be paid as soon as the value of such improvements are ascertained, and in order to testify our consent to this proposal we do hereby affix our respective marks this twenty-fifth day of October in the year 1836.

Witnesses present:	Tobias X (Chief) his mark
J. B. Clench	John Henry's X mark
Supt. Indian Affairs	Job Samuel's X mark
Nathan Cornwall	Edward's X mark
Erasmus Brereton	Gideon's X mark
David Sherman	Godfrey Whiteye's X mark
C. Arnold	Elisha Kinqupot's X mark
James Reed	Henry's X mark (Chief)
J. Van Allen	Daniel's X mark (2nd Chief)"

(Indian Treaties and Surrenders 1891).

In January of 1837, Lord Glenelg wrote to Bond-Head, stating that arrangements were being made for future distribution of presents to the Huron and Moravian Indians at the Great Manitoulin Island (Gr. Br. vol. 12, 1969: 301). He further stated:

"Your suggestion that the Expense of Indian Presents should hereafter be defrayed out of the Sale of the lately ceded Lands appears to be very judicious. In the Hands of the British Government, and subject to the existing Regulations as to the Disposal of public Lands in the Colonies, these Lands, hitherto of little or any Value to the Indians, may not only form an important Acquisition to the Province, but may at the same Time supply the Means of benefitting the Original Occupiers of

> the Soil to a far greater Extent than has yet been practicable" (ibid.).

The Moravian missionaries considered the treaty illegal since the right to the land was vested in the Missionary Society. On September 29, 1837, the Moravian Secretary Latrobe again wrote to Glenelg:

> "That in the recent Negotiations of the Lieutenant-Governor Sir Francis Head with the Indians at New Fairfield these Claims have been overlooked or disregarded, and that Half of the Land thus vested in Trustees has been in consequence alienated from the Mission without their Sanction or Concurrence" (Gr. Br. vol. 12, 1969: 331).

The Aborgine Protections Society at this time had also found out about Bond-Head's plan of moving the Indians of southern Ontario to Manitoulin Island. The representatives William Higgins and Augustus d'Este in 1838 complained about this in a letter to Glenelg (op. cit.).

Lord Glenelg generally believed that the Indian could "progress" and be "civilized". He was also of the opinion that their existing settlements should not be disturbed (Gr. Br. vol. 12, 1969: 315-316). He was clearly unhappy, and also somewhat ignorant of the Bond-Head policy. This was expressed in a letter of August 22nd, 1838 to Sir G. Arthur.

> "With respect to the Arrangements as to Manitoulin Island, I require further information. I know not to which Extent it has been carried into effect; but the Representations regarding it are of so grave a Nature, and come from such respectable Quarters, that they cannot be disregarded. These Representations, you will observe, are to the Effect, that in that Arrangement the Interests of the Indians have been deeply compromised; that the

> settled Indians have been involved in the Transfer without their consent,--their Habits of Industry disturbed,--their Advancement in Civilization and Christianity checked,--their Confidence in Government shaken,--their Feelings irritated and alarmed..." (Gr. Br. vol. 12, 1969: 316).

Glenelg ends the letter by suggesting that the matter should be investigated (ibid.). It appears that the authorities were working against their own stated goals (i.e., the civilization of the Indian by making him a sedentary farmer). The threat of relocation to an unknown area was very detrimental in this regard.

The Delaware were unhappy about the treaty in general, but also about the use of the river as the boundary line instead of the main road, which went north of, and parallel to, the river. There was a great deal of cultivated land between the river and the road. In April 1837, Bond-Head agreed to let the Delaware keep this portion of the land they occupied (Hamil 1949: 102).

Many people who had voted in favour of accepting the treaty moved either to Stockbridge, Wisconsin, or to the Muncey band in Kansas in 1837 (Brasser 1974: 72). The individuals who moved constituted almost half the population of Moraviantown (Weslager 1978: 219).

After pressure from the Kent County Council, negotiations were again taken up for new areas in 1857. Again it was the Indians who were contacted since a deed conveying the land in trust to the mission had apparently

never been executed (P.A.C./ RG 1Ø, vol. 7566). The Indian Commissioners Pennefeather, Talfourd, and Worthington were therefore empowered by the Governor-General to negotiate a surrender with the Indians themselves (ibid.). Parcels of about 35 acres were set aside for each family in the survey of the reserve that followed. The community was divided into these individual lots, with a total of about 3,ØØØ acres. The "surplus" land, about 22,ØØØ acres, was turned over to the Government for sale with the proceeds to be held in trust for the Indians (ibid.).

This treaty came to be known as Treaty No. 83, and was signed on the 9th of April 1857 (Indian Treaties and Surrenders, 1891). In a report from the Executive Council to the Commissioners of Crown Land the importance of the sale was made clear:

> "The reserve now ceded contains about 3Ø,ØØØ acres of excellent land, and the surrender is of great importance to this part of the country. If the treaty be approved, every exertion will be made to bring the land into the market at an early day"
> (P.A.C., RG 1Ø, vol. 7566).

Sir Edmund Walker Head expressed the same opinion in a letter dated January 2nd 1858.

> "While that large block of land in the valee (sic) of the Thames, known as the Moravian Reserve, has been obtained from the miserable remnant of the Delaware in whose hands it lay so long neglected and waste. The importance of this treaty can hardly be overestimated"
> (Gr. Br. vol. 213, 1969: 11).

However, selling the land proved to be more difficult than previously anticipated. "The land realised only 116,867.75 dollars, being an average of 6.30 dollars per acre, about one-half of what it was valued at two years ago" (ibid.).

The missionaries do not seem to have protested the terms of this treaty. Because one of their number, Jesse Vogler, was a witness to the document, it is assumed they knew what was taking place. By 1858, the Methodists had made inroads among the Delaware, and the Moravians possibly felt they had lost some of their responsibility to the Indians as a result. Mortimer, one of the Moravian missionaries, believed that the treaty and the selling of land was beneficial for the Indians, who would acquire "steadier habits" as individual property owners (AMS Mortimer Diary).

Guests of the Chippewa

The Thames River Muncey were allowed to stay on Chippewa land as they had been in the Caradoc area since about 1785. The Caradoc agency came to include three separate bands: the Chippewa of the Thames, the Muncey of the Thames, and the Oneida of the Thames, on the north side of the river. The Indian Agent for the Caradoc, Colonel J. B. Clench, wrote in his report of 1837:

> "The Munsees of the Thames may be termed Squatters on the Reserve owned by the Chippewas, where they have placed Forty-seven Log huts and each taken a

> piece of Land, and have from One to Three Acres under Cultivation. The Chippewas protect them and call them Grandfathers"
> (Gr. Br. vol. 12, 1969: 370).

Although the Muncey were considered a separate band by the Department of Indian Affairs, they did not get a reserve of their own until 1960 (Christie 1976: 15). Earlier, they had not occupied any reserve land until 1840 when they got one square mile in the south-central portion of the Chippewa area (ibid.). By marriage and by purchase, the Muncey acquired more land outside their original land-grant, much to the vexation of the Chippewa who wanted them expelled (P.A.C. RG 10, vol. 1866). As the authorities were not interested in this new dispute, the Chippewa accepted a settlement for return of 1,000 acres and a sum of $17,640 for the remaining 1,040 acres (P.A.C. RG 10, vol. 2123).

Like the Moravian reserve, the Muncey area was surveyed in 1857, and the land divided into 50-acre lots. According to the agent, this would contribute to their agricultural prowess (Christie 1971: 132).

Selling Out on the Grand River

A large area was set aside by the British for the Six Nations Iroquois as payment for their help in the wars with the Americans and in compensation for lands lost in those wars. In this tract, extending six miles to the west and to the east of the Grand River from its source to its mouth, the

nations of the confederacy settled, each in its own village.

As Joseph Brant sold off large areas of this land, the bands became increasingly concentrated in the area around Brantford.

Living among the Iroquois were smaller ethnic groups such as Delaware, Muncey, Mahican and Nanticoke. It is clear that the Delaware initially settled close to the mouth of the Grand River, but during the early 1800's, they were forced to move northward along the river. Due to lands sales, they relocated to Dunnville, Cayuga, and the Hagersville area. (See Fig. 2). Speck (1945: 12) states that the move from Cayuga to Hagersville took place about 1812. However, it seems more probable to have occurred somewhat later, in 1824 at the earliest, for the Reverend Alvin Torrey wrote in 1823: "The Delawares reside near the mouth of the river" (Johnston 1964: 246). In that same year, the catechist H. A. Hill of Ancaster visited them: "Several times he held meetings among the Delaware at the mouth of the river" (Playter 1862: 216).

On the Grand River reserve as finally constituted, the Delaware occupied an area called Smoothtown in the south-east corner close to the town of Hagersville (Shimony 1961: 44).

Population Movements and Numbers

It appears that the Delaware used migration as a survival strategy. Moving became a factor in ethnicity-

retention as well as in physical survival (Hodge 1975: 36). Therefore, a closer look at the migrations between the Canadian Delaware bands is warranted.

As the Delaware were not indigenous to Canada, their presence in this country was a result of migration, and this did not cease once they had reached British soil, but continued for a considerable time thereafter. A distinction can be made between group migration and the movements of individuals. The Delaware came to Canada in three groups, and while they remained largely distinct, there was some population exchange among them. Table 7 indicates various changes in their numbers.

Table 7. Population of the Canadian Delaware Reserves

Year	Moravian	Muncey	Grand River
1785		200	231
1792	159		
1794	165		
1795	158		
1796	169		
1797	172		
1799	118		
1805	116		
1808	117		
1810			282
1811			307
1817	120		
1827	184		
1831		250	
1832	260		
1833	260		
1837	80	242	
1840	153		
1842		240	

Table 7. (CONT'D)

Year	Moravian	Muncey	Grand River
1843			127
1845	250		
1857			87
1858		240	
1859	118		
1864	255		
1871		130	
1874		129	
1875			113
1878	275		
1881	274	129	
1882		121	
1883	268		
1884	275	123	
1885	273		
1887		125	
1897	302		
1900			164

The population of Moraviantown increased steadily from the founding year of 1792 until 1797. In 1798, 33 people left Moraviantown with the missionary Zeisberger (Fliegel 1970: 1231). In 1799, numbers again drop markedly, probably reflecting a group of Delaware returning to their old homes on the Muskingum River (ibid). In 1804, another group of Delaware moved from somewhere in Upper Canada to Petquotting, also a Moravian stronghold. This time the group numbered 36 people (ibid). These losses of population apparently made little difference to the size of that Moraviantown community, and some immigration must have taken place as well.

The existence of Moraviantown was in jeopardy almost from the time it was founded. Already in 1797-1798, we have information that many Delaware were anxious to return to the U.S.A., and the possibility of going to an area south of Lake Erie was discussed at this time. The very existence of the mission there was doubted by some of the missionaries themselves. In 1804, they did not expect the congregation to last much longer (Fliegel 1970: 1231).

During the war of 1812, deaths at Moraviantown were higher than usual, probably as a result of casualties. In 1813, 26 died, and in 1814, 20 perished (Gourlay 1966: 266). Figures are not available for the period immediately following the burning of Moraviantown.

The period 1827-1840 witnessed major increases and decreases in the population of the Moravian reserve. Numbering 184 persons in 1827, the population increased to 260 five years later. Obviously something other than natural procreation had taken place. The explanation seems to lie in an influx of Delaware from the Grand River, where dam-building and flooding forced people away. That a substantial number did make such a move is clear from the following passage from the legal proceedings, where the Delaware of the Grand River unsuccessfully claimed compensation for damage done by flooding.

> "The Delaware of the submerged lands, being a band other than those Delaware who had been in occupation of part of the Muncey Reserve on the Thames, after the flooding moved, some to the said Muncey Reserve, some to the Moravian Reserve, and some to higher parts of the Grand River Six Nations Tract"
>
> (O.P.A. MSS Irving Pap.).

Five years later, 1837, we see a dramatic decrease in the Delaware population at Moraviantown to only 80 people. This reflects the scale of the group-migration to the American West, and the pervasive dissatisfaction and disappointment with the Treaty of 1836. Plans had been in existence for some time for a move to the U.S.A. to join the Delaware already there. In 1834 a delegation of three men was sent to contact this group but they returned with news of a poor reception (Hamil 1949: 101). Despite this, in 1837, close to 200 Delaware decided to make the move (Gray 1956: 278; U.C.A. Suemper 1942: 4). From the timing of the move, it is obvious that the treaty made the previous year was the main determining factor. In addition, Governor-General Bond-Head's stated intentions of moving all Indians from southern Ontario to Manitoulin Island probably added to the uncertainty of the Moravian Delaware.

By 1845, the Moraviantown population had almost doubled from the 1840 figure, and it seems reasonable to assume, as Weslager (1972: 400) does, that a group returned from Westfield, Kansas. Most of this return-migration took place in 1843, according to Gray (1956: 278).

The decrease in the population from 1845 to 1859 is difficult to account for, and it becomes necessary to try to evaluate the ethnohistoric sources. We have a breakdown for 1859 by a Moravian missionary (AMS Mortimer Diary), giving 22 couples, 16 widowers and single men, 14 widows and single women, 25 boys and 19 girls. This totals 118 persons. The validity of this estimate is strongly suggested by the categorical details, however, it may well only represent the Moravian congregation rather than the total reserve population, since the Methodists were making inroads on the reserve at this time (P.A.C. RG 10, vol. 7566). By 1867, the Moravian missionaries mention that more than half of the "tribe" are not member of their church (AMS Mortimer Diary).

From Confederation to 1900, there were no spectacular changes in the population of the Moravian reserve. Curiously, the smallpox epidemic of 1880-1881 left no imprint on the population figures, largely because the disease was brought under control fairly early; deaths were limited to about 13 individuals (P.A.C. RG 10, vol. 2088). The year 1897 saw an alternative maximum number of Delawares (302) at Moraviantown.

It is clear that immigration began with the establishment of the Moraviantown mission. Most of the new Moraviantown residents came from the Muncey or Grand River groups, but there were also a few Mohawks, Chippewa, as well

as a couple of Blacks (Fliegel 1970: 338). However, a number of individuals also left Moraviantown for other Moravian settlements in the U.S.A. Some moved repeatedly between Fairfield, Goshen and Petquotting. Usually these were people who had trouble adapting to the disciplined life of the Moravians. During the late 18th century and the first decade of the 19th century, the number of native people sent away by the Moravian missionaries for immorality, drunkenness, etc,. is striking. The missionary Mortimer mentions that the Indians would usually return after being sent away because they could not live among the "heathen". In 1798, he wrote that no one had been willing to leave Fairfield since they came to Upper Canada (AMS Mortimer Diary). However, ten years later, things had obviously changed since the returning of disloyal members from Munceytown is recorded by Fairfield missionaries (Fliegel 1970: 896). These people returned to Fairfield after only two weeks at Munceytown. In 1810 Munceytown was again mentioned as a place where "disloyal elements" from Fairfield reside (ibid).

A cursory scrutiny of population figures for the Muncey reserve indicates that, from about 1800 to the 1850's, the band numbered between 200 and 250. By 1871, such figures are nearly halved. This is hard to explain on the basis of the scanty material at hand, but a probable explanation for the decline was emigration to Moraviantown and possibly to

the adjoining Chippewa. The latter increased from 340 in 1858 to 483 in 1881 (Graham 1975: 37). Christie (1976: 121) also mentions migration from Muncey to Moraviantown.

Finally, we can look at the figures for the Delaware of the Grand River. Circa 1825, they were reduced from 300 to 90 people by a cholera epidemic at Dunnville (Speck 1945: 14). The 300 figure may be low, since emigration took place to the Muncey and Moravian reserves as mentioned previously.

There were a number of other minority Indian groups among the Six Nations of the Grand River. In 1785 these groups, including the Iroquois, numbered 19, in 1810 there were 16, and in 1843 the number was 22 (Johnston 1964: 52, 281, 307). Surprisingly, even a group of Creek and Cherokee was mentioned in the 1785 numbers. One reason for the lack of information on the members of the various minority groups is that ethnic lines became indistinguishable.

> "In general, the attempt to determine the nationality of any particular member at Six Nations is of questionable value, since the population has intermarried since the 1870's and since it is difficult to determine what nationality allegiance is felt by the children of cross-marriage" (Shimony 1961: 44).

Furthermore, the British authorities registered nationality patrilineally while the Iroquois reckoned it matrilineally.

The Delaware migrations had little effect on the extent and size of their territory in Canada. It appears that migration was perceived as a partial solution to pressure by Euro-Canadian Society.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The ethnohistory of the Canadian Delaware deserves more attention and further research than it has received. Various problems remain unresolved, but the present study has shed light on the early history of the three Delaware groups who settled in southwestern Ontario.

The first mention of Delaware in Canada to date, occurs in October 1782, in the lower Grand River area (Can. Prov. Leg. Ass. Ont. 1904). They appear to have been allied with the Six Nations Iroquois and were probably in contact with other Delaware groups in western New York. Some of these groups moved into Upper Canada about a year later, due to rumours of increasing American military presence in the area, and the possible withdrawal of British posts (Kelsay 1984: 341). Frank Speck (1945: 11) believed that the Delaware move to Canada was due to their being suspected of witchcraft by the Seneca, but this interpretation cannot be substantiated from the ethnohistoric sources.

It has been ascertained that the Delaware-Muncey-Mahican came to the Grand River region of Upper Canada, in June to September 1783. This was just before the main movement of Iroquois from New York to the same area, and before the existence of the Haldimand grant. Some of this

has been known from published sources (Johnston 1964; Kelsay 1984). However, the present work indicates that the exact point of departure for these Delaware was, in all probability, the amalgamated Iroquois-Delaware village of Issioha (Sosioha), close to the present-day city of Buffalo, New York (P.A.C., RG. 10, vol. 15). Further, we have been able to estimate closely the number of Delaware moving to the Grand River from this and other villages. The figures are based on two population counts carried out by officers of the British Indian Department at Niagara, in June and September of 1783 (ibid).

It appears that the influx of Iroquois to the Grand River in 1784-85 (Weaver 1978: 525) stimulated a movement of Delaware away from the area. It is believed herein that this group moved west to the Thames River and became known as the Thames River Muncey. Substantial support for this hypothesis has been found in the ethnohistoric sources (Bliss 1972: 250: Gourlay 1966: 299; P.A.C. R.G. 10, vol. 15).

The origin of the Thames River Muncey has never been properly documented. Previous writers have not been specific on this problem, usually venturing no further than to suggest Pennsylvania as their source (Weslager 1972: 320). It is probable that most, if not all, Delaware groups passed through Pennsylvania at some point during their migrations, but Goddard (1978: 223-224) is more definite on this point:

> ..."Of the Munsees that had gone to Southwestern Ohio, one group went to the White River, where their village was at present Muncie, and another had settled at Munceytown on the Thames (now Muncey, south of Melbourne) even before the mission town was established downstream."

Since this statement appears to contradict the hypothesis presented herein, a thorough evaluation of Goddard's sources was in order. It was found that his reliance on Downes (1940) "Council Fires on the Upper Ohio", had no page reference, and in the more lengthy treatments by Gray (1956: 68-92) and Weslager (1972: 282-358) there is no indication to support Goddard's Ohio origin hypothesis for the Thames River Muncey. The possibility of a small group coming from northwestern Ohio, presumably via Detroit, and perhaps after 1785, cannot be totally excluded, but there appears to be more evidence supporting the Niagara-Grand River-Thames River linkage.

In 1791, the moravian Delaware entered Canada to found the Warte settlement on the Detroit River (Bliss 1972: 179). After about a year, this location was abandoned in favour of a quieter spot on the Thames River, where Moraviantown (Fairfield) was founded in 1792 (Bliss 1972: 262). In summing up the reasons for the Moravian Delaware move to Canada, two facts stand out. First, they wanted to get away from the border warfare and insecure conditions in the United States. Upper Canada in the 1790's provided virtually virgin land with a small white population, and

hence it was perceived as an area of little conflict. Second, the Moravian Delaware accepted the Thames River Muncey offer of locating close to their village, and this was seen to be an added attraction.

We have seen how the Delaware bands, being forced further west by the expansion of Euro-American society, formed various alliances with the French and British, and to a lesser degree with the Americans. The Delaware and other tribes initially sided with the nation they judged most likely to be victorious, and from whom most gifts might be expected. The Moravian Delaware efforts to stay out of conflict were largely unsuccessful (Kelsay 1984: 318), as indicated by attacks on them by a group of Muncey warriors, as well as American militia. For their part, the Moravian missionaries were decidedly pro-American in action if not in word. The Gnadenhutten massacre and the burning of Moraviantown, during the War of 1812, presumably altered this view.

There appears to have been a continuous internal power-struggle between the Moravian missionaries and their Delaware charges. Gray's view of the missionary as unquestioned leader appears simplistic. When the situation is studied, it becomes clear that the missionaries could not effectively control and change the values or behaviour-patterns of "their" Indians. This is shown by individual

examples of drinking, repeated migrations, as well as repeated participation in warfare and such "heathen practices" as dancing, gambling, and sorcery.

Various features of Delaware life in Canada have been reviewed, including their subsistence and land-use, hunting and fishing methods, yearly cycle and to a lesser extent, material culture, social organization and religion. It was pointed out that missionary activities did influence several aspects of Delaware culture. The problem of the possible existence of local transhumance among the Canadian Delaware, was looked at in some detail. Unfortunately, there is little pertinent information in the ethnohistoric sources, but what evidence exists would seem to support the practice of a winter dwelling-place for the Grand River Delaware and the Thames River Muncey. This situation ceased to exist in the early 1800's, due to increased Euro-Canadian presence. The Moravian Delaware did not retain this aspect of their yearly cycle in Canada since the Moravian missionaries had been successful in making them for the most part sedentary.

During the first decade of the 1800's increasing Euro-Canadian immigration brought the Delaware into closer contact with settlers, traders and various government representatives. Such contacts were often only marginally desirable to the Delaware. The Upper Canada administration was concerned with the possibility of an Indian uprising in

Upper Canada (Johnston 1963: 274), and this was expressed in its efforts to support and develop mistrust and suspicion among the Iroquois, the Chippewa and the Delaware (Cruickshank 1931: 122-123). These divisive attempts by the British were met by Indian efforts at consolidation, expressed by the work of Tecumseh, Tenskwatawa, Joseph Brant, and John Norton. They all had in common an idea of greater Indian unity, but had very different notions of how to implement such goals.

During the War of 1812, which saw American invasion of Upper Canada, Moraviantown was burned in 1813 and the people dispersed. The question of where the Moravians and their native charges went during 1814 and part of 1815 is partially clarified from the ethnohistoric sources. It seems clear that some time was spent in the Dundas area, possibly at Burlington Heights, but also on the Grand River in 1815 (Fliegel 1970: 872: F.M.A. MF). The Moravian missionary efforts probably suffered a good deal during this time, because of increased Delaware contacts with other Indians at Grand River and Dundas, and also because many of the Delaware men joined the British war effort. The missionaries also lived away from their charges for extended periods of time (Gray 1956: 25). In May 1815, the Moravian Delaware returned to the Thames River and rebuilt their village (Gray 1956: 258).

Treaties were ultimately made with the Delaware, and especially important was that of 1836 made with the Moravian Delaware. The outcome of this treaty saw 25,000 acres of land given up, and half of the Moravian Delaware moved back to the United States (Brasser 1974: 72; Weslager 1978: 219). There were several oddities about this treaty. The first one being that the missionaries, who held the land in trust, were not approached by the British authorities. Instead the authorities chose to deal directly with the Delaware, thereby arousing strong protests from the Moravian Missionary Society. The second unusual feature was the vote taken by Superintendent Colonel J. B. Clench. It went in favour of those Delaware who wanted to sell their land, but the marginal victory was won only by two votes. This action proved to be a major motivating factor for that faction which wanted to move to the United States. They had already been motivated by the Bond-Head policy to relocate the Indians of southern Ontario to a new "Indian Territory" on Manitoulin Island.

The movements of individuals and groups continued well into the 1840's. This included migration of Delaware to Moraviantown during the period 1827-1830 (O.P.A. MSS. Irving Papers) from the Grand River where dam-building and flooding of their land occurred. In addition, there was some return-migration of Delaware from the American West around 1843

(Weslager 1972: 400; Gray 1956: 278). A state of flux characterizes this era.

In 1857, the Moravian Delaware signed a new treaty that involved loss of more land. This time about 22,000 acres were given up, which left the Delaware with only 3,000 remaining acres (P.A.C., R.G. 10, vol. 7566). This treaty also led to the end of communal ownership of land in favour of individual family lots of 35 acres (ibid.).

It is interesting to quote Vernon Kinietz' (1940: 116) view of the effects of European contact on Delaware society. "With the Delaware the effect of contact with European civilization was a stabilization of native customs". In retrospect this statement seems almost totally inaccurate, for most aspects of Delaware society suffered stress and changed in response to the increasing pressure to conform to Euro-Canadian norms. The incessant movements of individuals and groups between various Delaware settlements in Canada and the United States, during the late 18th to mid 19th centuries, obviously disrupted important parts of the cultural fabric such as child-rearing and socialization, subsistence economy, and kinship relations.

Considering these facts, it is worth noting that Delaware society still managed to maintain a degree of cultural continuity. This implies a sense of group identity, which was probably preserved through their native language.

Even from 1690, the Delaware have often incorporated other displaced groups (Newcomb 1956: 43), as well as been incorporated or allied themselves. During the mid to late 1700's, the Delaware themselves became part of a large group of displaced tribes inhabiting joint villages on the Ohio, Auglaize, and Maumee Rivers (Tanner 1978: 16). Some Delaware became allied with the Six Nations Iroquois and became part of their multi-tribal villages (P.A.C. RG 10, vol. 15); others became allied with the "Ohio Indians", the Chippewa, and in Oklahoma, the Cherokee and other neighbouring groups (Weslager 1972: 366). During the late 1700's it would appear that the Delaware were loosely organized, and actively sought alliances with more numerous and powerful native tribes in order to maintain some semblance of their ethnic identity. The picture we are left with is one of society in transition and turmoil.

Of the Canadian Delaware groups only that at Moraviantown embraced the Moravian faith. What was the appeal of the mission village? What attracted hundreds of Delaware and individuals from other tribes to such villages? Graham (1975: 57) believed that such communities offered a "measure of security". The positive reasons for Indians to convert were the desire for acquiring more material comfort and the possibility of learning European skills (Graham 1975: 87). A somewhat different theory is advanced by Axtell

(1982: 36):

> ..."the answer must be that Christianity provided better, or comparatively better answer to the urgent social and religious questions that the Indians were facing at that particular juncture in their cultural history."

In the case of the Canadian Delaware it seems most probable that most were attracted by the relative security and the material comforts of a mission village. However, it should be noted that this may have been just one more "survival strategy" aside from migration and did not necessarily imply any particular affection for the Moravian teachings as such. It is clear that the missionaries tried unsuccessfully, to stamp out "undesirable" native practices. The missionaries' most important role to the Delaware was that of protector; to protect and distance them from the encroaching Euro-Canadian society.

Certainly Moravian rules were strict, and it is little wonder that the Delaware were ambivalent towards the missionaries and their version of Christianity. At no time did the Moravian Delaware wholeheartedly encompass Christianity. They incorporated only certain chosen features of it, features that expediently allowed them to survive as a people with some measure of independence. As Axtell (1982: 39) puts it:

> ..."the converts could simply, in time-honored Indian fashion, add the power of the Christian God to that of his own deities and proceed to

> synchretize the belief and practices of the new religion with the deep structures of his traditional faith".

In conclusion, this thesis has attempted to bring together various scattered information, pertaining to the history of the three groups of Canadian Delaware living in southwestern Ontario. In the current literature on the Canadian Delaware, nowhere have they been treated as one group, or their respective interactions investigated. Previous studies by Speck, Goddard, Weslager and Gray have usually focused upon specific features of pan-Delaware culture, particularly in response to contact-agent stimulii. In Canada, the role and movements of the Grand River, Muncey and Moravian Delaware have been poorly understood; this study strives to bring them into closer focus.

NOTES

1. (p. 7) Further relevant data could probably be located in other Record Groups than the RG 10, of the Public Archives of Canada, as well as in the New York Colonial Documents and the Draper Papers. This study is limited to the most concentrated available archival material.

2. (p. 17) The term "Chippewa" is used throughout the thesis instead of "Ojibwa". This appears to be consistent with local geographical nomenclature. (See Christie: 1976).

3. (p. 88) Linguistically, there are two dialects of Delaware, the Unami and the Muncey (Goddard 1974: 103). Most of the Delaware at Munceytown and Grand River were M-speakers, while at Moraviantown there were both U- and M-speakers. However, Goddard (1974: 106) points out that due to migrations from Muncey and Grand River to Moraviantown, the M-dialect also became dominant there. Conflictingly, Harrington (1913: 208) claims that the group which moved from Moraviantown to Kansas in 1837 was mainly made up of Unami speakers, whereas Goddard (1974: 106) believes they were mainly M-speakers.

   If Harrington was correct, it would be reasonable

to assume that the 1837 migration was based not only on disappointment with the Canadian conditions and the treaty of 1836, but also was the result of a split between two factions at Moraviantown, the Unami and the Muncey.

In that case a reunion with the Unami of the American West would be logical. At this point it seems impossible to verify either position, since no concrete evidence of a division along language lines has yet been identified for the early 19th century Moraviantown Delaware.

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FMA Fort Malden Archives, Moravian File.

OPA Ontario Provincial Archives.

MSS. Church Record Collection, # 15, MU537.
Moraviantown Churches.

MSS. Irving Papers. Box 72, items 30-34.
Box 75, items 21, 22.

MSS. Marriage Records. Box 6. Env. 3. MU 2010.

PAC Public Archives of Canada. Record Group 10.

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