

White Eyes and the Delawares' Vision of an Indian State

Hermann Wellenreuther
University of Göttingen

On September 19, 1778, the officers of the Continental Army in Fort Pitt signed and then witnessed the signatures of Geleleminde, White Eyes and Captain Pipe to a treaty. The sixth paragraph of this document stipulated:

.... the United States do engage to guarantee to the aforesaid nation of Delawares, and their heirs, all their teritorial [sic!] rights in the fullest and most ample manner, as it hath been bounded by former treaties, as long as they the said Delaware nation shall abide by, and hold fast the chain of friendship now entered into. And it is further agreed on between the contracting parties should it for the future be found conducive for the mutual interest of both parties to invite any other tribes who have been friends to the interest of the United States, to join the present confederation, and to form a state whereof the Delaware nation shall be the head, and have a representation in Congress: Provided, nothing contained in this article to be considered as conclusive until it meets with the approbation of Congress.¹

This treaty, which was never presented to Congress for approval and has

1. Treaty printed in: *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, ed. Richard Peters, vol. vii (Boston, MA 1856), 13-15.

never caught the attention of scholars,² marked the culmination of efforts to secure the Delaware Nation's future in a predominantly white society. To a large extent it was the work of one man. The Delaware called him Quequedegatha, the English knew him as George White Eyes, while the Moravian Missionary David Zeisberger called him White Eyes. The ink on the document had hardly dried when David Zeisberger on November 20, 1778, noted in his diary: "we received a letter that informed us that near Pittsburgh fifteen days ago Colonel White Eyes died of an old illness aggravated by the small pox."³

The treaty of 1778 and the policy that lead up to it highlight fundamental issues that characterized Indian-White relations in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁴ A reconstruction of the policy thus will not only shed new light on the difficult situation of one native American tribe in the Ohio region but suggest a new level of sophistication in the Indians' analysis of their situation in a rapidly changing world. My overall thesis will be that the Delawares' perception of white society as the Other was much more complex than hitherto realized. That perception crystallized into two different concepts of acculturation that stood at the center of a long, searching debate about the future of the Delaware nation.

My analysis will not only re-examine already known evidence but draw on hitherto unused material in David Zeisberger's diaries. Living close to the major Delaware village for almost nine years, Zeisberger, a

2. The few times that the treaty has been mentioned its significance has been misunderstood; usually the authors restrict their discussion to the claims of Gelelemin and Captain Pipe, that the protocols of the treaty negotiations had been falsified and the Delawares tricked into a military alliance with the Revolutionary army, cf. Randolph C. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio. A Narrative of Indian Affairs in the Upper Ohio Valley until 1795* (Pittsburgh, PA 1940), 216-217; Richard White, *The Middle Ground. Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge, 1991), 382-383; Edward G. Williams, *Fort Pitt and the Revolution on the Western Frontier* (Pittsburgh, PA 1978), 107-108; Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance. The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore, MD 1992), 72-73.

3. *Herrnhuter Indianermission in der Amerikanischen Revolution. Die Tagebücher von David Zeisberger, 1772-1781*, ed. Hermann Wellenreuther and Carola Wessel (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995), 478, henceforth cited as TDZ.

4. The history of the Indian tribes in the Ohio region during the American Revolution remains yet to be written. Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, is mainly concerned with the Great Lakes area, while the fine study of Michael N. McConnell, *A Country Between. The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724-1774* (Lincoln, Neb., 1992) stops at the beginning of the American Revolution. Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, focuses for this period largely on the Shawnee and is not really concerned with the central political issues that bothered the Indian nations in this region. For the Shawnee cf. now a first beginning by Colin G. Calloway, "'We have always been the frontier': The American Revolution in Shawnee Country", in: *The American Indian Quarterly* 16 (1992), 39-52.

Moravian missionary whose published work on the Delaware⁵ has largely shaped our ideas about this tribe, was in a unique position to observe White Eyes at close range and provide first hand informations on Delaware policy and deliberations.

White Eyes belonged to the Turkey clan, the smallest of the three clans of the Delaware. At the time of his death he was probably in his fifties; he was married and had children.⁶ As an Indian trader — his business partners were the firm Bernard and Michael Gratz of Philadelphia⁷ — he belonged to the wealthier members of his clan. Next to Welapachtschiechen or Captain Johnny, the clan's chief, he commanded considerable respect and had much influence. That had not always been the case. For until 1770 his reputation had been overshadowed by that of Glikhican, War Captain of the Wolf Clan. Glikhican and White Eyes had been close friends since early childhood,⁸ and the ties between the two families strengthened after the marriage of one of Glikhican's sisters to a brother of White Eyes.⁹ It thus may have been natural for White Eyes to inherit Glikhican's influence after his friend, baptized Isaac, had joined the Moravian congregation. Status, talent, rhetorical flourish, and wide contacts propelled him within two years into the position of the Council's chief speaker. In 1774 White Eyes was considered Netawatwees' mouthpiece.¹⁰

5. Zeisberger, David, *A Collection of Hymns for the use of the Christian Indians, of the Missions of the United Brethren in North America* (Philadelphia 1803, 2Bethlehem, PA 1847). Idem, *A Lenapé - English Dictionary*, ed. Daniel G. Brinton and Albert Sequiquind Anthony, = *The Pennsylvania Student Series*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, PA 1889). Idem, *Zeisberger's Indian Dictionary, English, German, Iroquois - the Onondaga and Algonquin - the Delaware* (Cambridge, MA, 1887). Idem, *Essay of a Delaware Indian and English Spelling Book for the Use of the Schools of the Christian Indians on Muskingum River* (Philadelphia 1776) [also under the title: David Zeisberger, *Delaware Indian and English Spelling Book, for the Schools of the Mission of the United Brethren* (Philadelphia, PA 1806). [Idem,] "Diary of David Zeisberger's Journey to the Ohio, Called in Delaware the Allegene From Sept. 20th to Nov. 16, 1767", in: Archer B. Hulbert, Nathaniel Schwarze, eds., *The Moravian Records*, vol. 2, in: *Ohio Archaeological And Historical Quarterly* 21 (1912), 8-32; and esp. idem, "History of the North American Indians," eds. Archer B. Hulbert, William N. Schwarze, in: *Ohio State Archaeological And Historical Quarterly* 19 (1910), 1-189.

6. TDZ, 223 (Aug. 2, 1774).

7. That business relationship is mentioned in Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, 34 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1904-1937), vol. 4, 266-270.

8. TDZ, 167, 194.

9. TDZ, 356.

10. Zeisberger characterized White Eyes in his diary under date May 10, 1774 as that chief, "whose word has at present the greatest influence among the Delaware", TDZ, 194; for Zeisberger's opinion, that Netawatwees did nothing without the approbation and knowledge of White Eyes cf. TDZ, 207. The Chief Council's Speaker had been Echpalawehund (cf. TDZ, 146) who joined the Moravians in 1773 and was baptized in Gnadenhütten as Petrus on Feb. 6, 1774, TDZ, 600. White Eyes succeeded to Echpalawehund's office.

The Delaware and Shawnee in particular were in a difficult position. Since the 1730s both tribes had gradually been pushed out of their eastern settlements. Their taking the French side during the French and Indian war had further increased pressure on their tribal lands. Over a period of three decades both had established new settlements. The Wolf Clan reallocated to the Allegheny River close to the Seneca, the Shawnee concentrated their settlements on the Scioto River, where the Turkey Clan had their chief village of Assünnünk. Netawatwees established the head town of the Turtle Clan Gekelemukpechünk or Newcomer's Town on the Muskingum.¹¹

The loss of old tribal land, and the dispersed settlement structure of the Delaware posed problems in the decades after the Seven Years' War. For there are strong indications that the three clans disagreed on a number of key issues. The Wolf Clan seems to have shared the Senecas' hostility towards missionary activities.¹² Surprisingly, the Turtle Clan proved immune to similar nativistic tendencies within the Shawnee although it may be more than coincidental that in 1774 White Eyes exhausted himself in frantic efforts to save the Shawnee from military defeat by the Virginians.¹³ The Turtle Clan, finally, considering itself the center of the Delaware, pursued a long-term strategy of concentrating all Delaware settlements in the Muskingum/Tuscarawas region. Inviting the Moravian congregations to settle close to Gekelemukpechünk was in Netawatwees' scheme an important strategic move in attracting the other outlying Delaware villages to the head town.¹⁴

Shawnee and Delawares alike also worried about the security of land tenure. Since the 1730s the Delaware had settled on land assigned to them by the Six Indian Nations. The precarious position they shared there with the Shawnee became aggravated by the consequences of the Treaty of Stanwix of 1768; by that treaty the Shawnee lost their hunting ground, while a torrent of white settlers poured into the newly

11. For a description of the geographical movement and distribution of the Delaware and Shawnee settlements cf. introduction to the Zeisberger Diaries, TDZ, 18-21.

12. Cf. Zeisberger's description of the nativistic tendencies among the Wolf clan in the Allegheny River settlements, [Gottlob Sensemann and David Zeisberger,] "Diary of David Zeisberger and Gottlob Zenseman. Journey to Goschgoschink on the Ohio and their Arrival There, 1768", in: Archer B. Hulbert, Nathaniel Schwarze, eds., *The Moravian Records*, vol. 2, in: *Ohio Archaeological And Historical Quarterly* 21 (1912), 42-69. [idem,] "Continuation of the Diary of the Brethren in Goschgoschuenk on the Ohio, August 1768", *ibid.*, 69-104.

13 TDZ, 192-252.

14. TDZ, 119, 189-190.

developed Delaware region. In early autumn 1773 the Moravian Missionary John Heckewelder already noted numerous white farms in the lower parts of the Muskingum valley.¹⁵ Unless the Delaware succeeded in stemming this tide and secure a firmer title to their land than the tenuous hold enjoyed by Iroquois suffrage, the time was not far away when they would have to move again. The Shawnee of course faced the same prospect.

II

Shawnee and Delaware parted ways over how to respond to the challenges to their land. Trouble developed in 1773, yet it was only in late April 1774, after Shawnee and close relatives of the Mingo chief John Logan had been murdered by whites,¹⁶ that both united in a concerted effort to fight white settlers flowing into their region. Virginia's governor Lord Dunmore seems to have welcomed this reaction. It provided him with a sufficient excuse to send troops to clear land bought from the Six Indian Nations as the supposedly real owners for settlers; such a military action would, so he hoped, at the same time strengthen his position in Virginia as well as improve his purse as land speculator. Certainly Dunmore as well as his representative in Pittsburgh Dr. John Connolly proved wonderfully talented in provoking Shawnee as well as other tribes into violence and bloodshed, that was to be called Lord Dunmore's War.¹⁷

The Delawares' already difficult position was further complicated by these developments. First, they saw themselves again caught between two potentially warring sides; second, the conflict did not just involve the Shawnee, to whom the Delaware felt nearly allied by kinship and treaty,¹⁸ but the Six Indian Nations, too. For they not only considered

15. "A Canoe Journey from the Big Beaver to the Tuscarawas in 1773: A Travel Diary of John Heckewelder", trans. and ed. by August C. Mahr, in: *Ohio State Archaeological And Historical Quarterly* 61 (1952), 283-298.

16 Cf. the reports in Consul Willshire Butterfield, ed., *The Washington-Crawford Letters, Being the Correspondence Between George Washington and William Crawford, from 1767 to 1781, Concerning Western Lands* (Cincinnati, OH 1877), 46-50; Reuben G. Thwaites, Louise P. Kellogg, eds., *Documentary History of Dunmore's War 1774, Draper Series* vol. 1 (Madison, WI 1905), 9-19.

17. That at least was the firm impression of Pennsylvania's representative in the area, Arthur St. Clair; this impression was to some extent shared by David Zeisberger.

18. Zeisberger specifically states on the basis of information obviously supplied by some Shawnee, that "the Shawnee could do nothing without knowledge of the Delaware Chief ... It is one of their chief articles in their alliance, that the Shawnee and Delaware have concluded, that they will do nothing without first informing the other and especially the former [i. e. the Shawnee] must secure the prior consent of the Delaware chief...", TDZ, 125-126.

themselves overlords of the Shawnee and the Delaware,¹⁹ but could hardly ignore the impudence of a tributary tribe calling their right to sell their own land to Virginia into question. Whatever the Delaware did, they seemed to be at the losing end: If they joined the Shawnee, they would invite the wrath of the Virginians and the Six Indian Nations. Should they, however, remain neutral, they would violate their sacred bonds with the Shawnee, invite others to brand them *Schwonnaks* [i.e., bitter beings]²⁰ and thus destroy the influential diplomatic position so carefully nurtured over the last years.²¹ To the Delaware the “middle ground” as a basis for accommodation and compromise with other tribes and white settlers was slippery indeed.²²

In the last days of May 1774, the Delaware Council at Gekele-mukpechünk received a message from Onondaga that requested the Delaware

to collect themselves together, and sit in the centre between their brethren the white people, Six Nations, and Western Indians, where they were required to hold fast by the middle of the chain of friendship, and that they were thereby empowered to speak strongly to any Nation who might attempt to disturb it.²³

That message could be read three different ways: The Six Indian Nations and the province of Pennsylvania most likely hoped to remind the Delaware that the Six Indian Nations had settled them in the Ohio

19. Cf. TDZ, 30, note 76.

20. “Schwonnaks” oder “Schwannack” ... “signifies *salt beings*, or *bitter beings*, for in their language the word *Schwan*, is in general applied to things that have a salt, sharp, bitter, or sour taste. The object of this name, as well as of that which the Mohicans gave to the eastern people, was to express contempt as well as hatred or dislike, and to hold out the white inhabitants of the country as hateful and despicable beings.” John Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States*, ed. Willicm C. Reichel, *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. 12 (Philadelphia, 1881), 142-143. Zeisberger, *Essay of a Delaware-Indian and English Spelling-Book*, 11, translates the term as “Europeans, White People”. The connection of the term to salt becomes obvious in words like “Schwennak” = Salt Meat, *ibid.*, 11.

21. For indications and new material concerning the Delawares position in the Ohio region’s power structure cf. TDZ, 148-149, 185, 202-209, and *passim*; my assessment for the 1770s differs from that of McConnell, *A Country Between*, 248f.

22. White, *The Middle Ground*, 50-53, for a definition of the term. White develops the concept in an analysis of the French-Indian relationship. I have, as my argument shows, serious reservations about the applicability of the concept to English-Indian-relations.

23. Peter, Force, ed., *American Archives*, 4th Series, 6 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1837-1844), vol. 1, 480-483. For a discussion of the strange circumstances surrounding this message cf. TDZ, 203, note 474.

region for the sole purpose of maintaining the peace. The Delaware Council could also read this message as a veiled hint that the Six Indian Nations were the Delawares' overlords. Finally, the message could be interpreted as a reminder that the Six Indian Nations were the real owners of the land the Delawares settled, clearly implying that the landlord ought to determine the policy.

In this difficult situation the Moravian Missionary David Zeisberger and the converted chiefs of the Moravian congregations counselled peace.²⁴ Similarly, the Six Indian Nations asked them to work for peace and Governor Dunmore of Virginia assured everyone that it was for peace's sake only that he marched with two armies into Indian country.²⁵ For their part, Shawnee and Mingo were counselled by all surrounding tribes including the Delaware, Cherokee, Ottawa, and Wyandot, to lick their wounds, bury their hatchet, and accept the consequences of the Treaty of Stanwix.²⁶ The Delaware Council weighed the odds, accepted the advice of the Moravians, the Six Indian Nations and Virginia, and began to mediate between the Shawnee and Virginia. White Eyes in particular frantically worked for an accommodation; when that failed he put himself at the head of the Virginia invading army in a last-ditch effort to prevent a military clash with the Shawnee.²⁷ He was partially successful although he could not prevent the battle of Mount Pleasant. Yet there is no doubt that his presence helped in reaching the truce and agreement of Camp Charlotte. For the Shawnee, nevertheless, the consequences of this agreement were bitter: They had to give up their white captives, return "stolen" horses and other goods and, worst of all, give up their hunting grounds.²⁸ Henceforth, to most Shawnee the Delaware were, what they had hoped to avoid, *Schwonnacks*, friends of the whites and traitors of the Indians' cause.²⁹

24. TDZ, 204 and *passim*.

25. Cf. the interesting reports on Dunmore's and Connolly's attitudes and politics in Nicholas B. Wainwright, ed., "Turmoil at Pittsburgh. Diary of Augustine Prevost, 1774", in: *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 85 (1961), 111-162, esp. 130-143, and TDZ, 213-240 with further material in the annotation to the text.

26. TDZ, 190, 200, 202-203, 206-207.

27. TDZ, 233-234; Zeisberger's diaries chronicle White Eyes' energetic and persistent mediating efforts in considerable detail, cf. *ibid.*, 193-242.

28. TDZ, 238-239, for Zeisberger's summary of the Camp Charlotte agreement that is based on White Eyes' report.

29. TDZ, 237. Netawatwees had been so disturbed by the Shawnees' insistent denunciation of the Delawares as *Schwonnacks*, that he sent a specific message to the Mingos and Shawnees protesting that usage as a serious insult and falsehood; in this message he disassociated himself from the Moravian mission and suggested that the Moravians had come uninvited by the Council. It was this message that White Eyes considered a breach of privilege, cf. below.

At Camp Charlotte Lord Dunmore and White Eyes had time on their hands. The Delaware war captain used the occasion to learn more about white ways to do things. Since we know the result of these discussions it is possible to reconstruct some of them. Lord Dunmore had based the justification of his expedition against the Shawnee on the Virginia Charter of 1607 and the Treaties of Lancaster and Fort Stanwix. Would it not be possible, White Eyes must have asked Dunmore, for the Delaware to apply to the Crown for a similar legal title for their land? Dunmore probably agreed, but may have added that the crown probably would expect the Delaware to conform to certain features of European civilization as a precondition. Whatever else both talked about, it is clear from Zeisberger's Diary that Dunmore assured White Eyes that he would "not only support the Delaware [in their application] to the king but likewise support them at the next treaty with the Wyandots."³⁰ Six weeks later he sent a message to Gekelemukpechünk that informed White Eyes that the Indian Trader John Gibson was to travel to Williamsburg, "where he expected White Eyes too, because he intended there to draw up a Deed for the Land of the Delaware that they would then take to England for confirmation by the King."³¹

If Zeisberger's report of the message is correct then Dunmore played a rather interesting game. Drawing up a deed in Williamsburg for the Delaware land only made sense if Dunmore intended to base this deed on the assumption that the Delaware lands lay within the boundaries of the Virginia Charter of 1607. If the Delawares accepted such a title deed and the Crown added the royal seal, then Virginia would have at the same time won the battle with Pennsylvania over Western lands. Hitherto, Virginia had claimed the area around Pittsburgh; with such a title deed the Virginia claim would include not only the Shawnee hunting grounds south of the Ohio but the lands settled by the Delaware north of the river as well. This land had hitherto been claimed not only by the Six Indian Nations but by the Wyandots too. If Dunmore had not known this, White Eyes must have told him so in Camp Charlotte — which explains Virginias willingness to support the Delawares in their upcoming negotiations with the Wyandot.³²

30. TDZ, 251-252, sub Dec. 19, 1774. In this treaty the Delaware intended to settle the recompensation they owed the Wyandot for their permission to settle on Wyandot land.

31. TDZ, 259, sub Feb. 2, 1775.

32. TDZ, 189, note 411; 243.

Dunmore's pledge of support to White Eyes and the Delaware thus turns out to be a shrewd move to extend Virginia's land title at the expense of Pennsylvania and the Six Indian Nations. It is equally clear what the Delawares would gain: A legal title to the land they settled on would free them from the overlordship of the Six Indian Nations as well as from the dependence on the Wyandot, who according to the Delaware were the original owners of the land the Delawares inhabited.

White Eyes' informal understanding with Lord Dunmore at Camp Charlotte continued earlier efforts to improve Delaware relations with the white settlements. In 1771 the Delaware Council had asked the Philadelphia Quakers to send them not only a missionary but a school teacher;³³ the following year that request was repeated when the Delaware Council asked the Governor of Pennsylvania and the Friendly Association to assist the Delaware in their efforts to send a delegation to the King in England. Both referred the Delaware to the Superintendent for Indian Affairs,³⁴ Sir William Johnson, who not only favored the Iroquois but had been initiated into their society. The Delaware Council knew Johnson would turn them down and declined to follow the advice. But they refused to give up. According to Zeisberger in an official speech addressed to the two Quaker missionaries who visited Gekele-mukpechünk in July 1773, White Eyes informed the Quakers

that they would take it very kindly if the Quakers would not only send them a preacher but in addition would teach the Delawares all different kinds of skills and crafts so that they would become a decent people.³⁵

Zeisberger used in his report the words "ordentliches Volck". The adjective "ordentlich" means more than "decent". Derived from the word "Ordnung", "order", it meant living according to the rules and precepts of European civilization. The short summary of White Eyes' speech contained the elements that reflected white contemporary notions of living agreeably to European civilization: The preacher stood for the idea of a

33. Samuel Hazard, ed., *Colonial Records*, 16 vols. (Harrisburg, PA, 1852-1856), vol. 9, 735-742.

34. Hazard, ed., *Colonial Records*, vol. 10, 61-64; TDZ, 123. The messenger had been the member of the Moravian congregation Joseph Peepi, who earlier and later had acted in a similar capacity as well as an interpreter.

35. TDZ, 153, sub July 30, 1773. The Quaker Ministering Friends were John Parrish and Zebulon Heston; they were accompanied by John Lacey (cf. TDZ, 17, note 27); their interpreter was Samuel Moor, grandson of Johannes Papunhank, both members of the Moravian congregation.

Christian community, the phrase "allerley Arbeit und Handwerke", that I rendered into English as "different kinds of skills and crafts" suggested a life not idled away in hunting and drinking but in regularly tilling the fields, producing goods according to the mysteries of craftsmanship, and leading a life of order and regularity.

White Eyes had spent enough time in white settlements to be familiar with the concrete forms of such a way of life. Nearer home congregations of Native American Moravians offered an even more telling example of how the Delawares might be expected to live. Yet in this context Zeisberger must not have been the only one puzzled about White Eyes' demand for a preacher, for this demand raised the question of the status of the Moravian missionaries and congregations in the Muskingum Valley. In the summer of 1773 that status was less than secure, as the Chief Council which had invited them, refused to clarify the status of the missionaries and the converted. That refusal implied that the Moravians were still on suffrage and could be sent packing at any time. In a sense the Moravians' and the Delawares' positions were rather similar.

Between 1773 and 1775, with the help of Isaac, former Glikhican, the Moravians managed to gain the friendship and energetic support of White Eyes. By the end of 1774 it was clear that White Eyes with all his influence backed the Moravians' request for full recognition as part of the Delaware Nation.³⁶ Returning from Camp Charlotte the War Captain and Speaker of the Council skillfully exploited a breach of privilege committed by Netawatwees and forced Netawatwees and the Council to grant the Moravian congregations official status within the Delaware Nation.³⁷ According to Zeisberger, on February 1775, Netawatwees finally declared in open Council, that the Delaware

were willing to accept the word of God and that the converted Indians together with their teachers would enjoy all the rights, liberties and properties pertaining to Delawares.³⁸

In adopting the Moravian congregations and their teachers the Delaware inched closer to their goal of becoming "ein ordentliches

36. Indeed, all the major initiatives started by the mission congregations and David Zeisberger designed to achieve official status with the Delaware were discussed and timed according to the advice of White Eyes, TDZ, 218-219, 226, 233.

37. TDZ, 241-242. On Netawatwees' breach of privilege cf. above n.29.

38. TDZ, 260-261, sub Feb. 28, 1775.

Volck", a decent people in the European sense. Within days, however, it became clear that reaching the next concrete goal, a legal title to the land, once again faded. For Lord Dunmore, caught up in the revolutionary stirrings of Virginia, postponed both drawing up a deed and of taking White Eyes to England.³⁹

Nevertheless, the Delaware energetically pushed on. At a congress assembled at Fort Pitt towards the end of June 1775 White Eyes, in his role as official speaker of the Delaware, presented a programmatic speech which

[desired] the Big Knife [Lord Dunmore] to put one End of this Belt into the Hands of King George our mutual Father and acquaint him we are settled at Quisoching where we hold fast by the other End being the Centre of a tract of Country given to us by our Uncles the Wyandots.⁴⁰

This bold declaration implied three implicit claims: White Eyes first established a direct link between the Delaware and "our mutual Father" George III. Then he claimed that Gekelemukpechünk held the central council fire for the Ohio area, for he made no reference to the Delawares' dependent status on the Six Indian Nations. Finally, he denied the Six Indian Nations' claim of ownership of the land the Delawares settled on while maintaining that it in fact belonged to the Wyandot.

In short, White Eyes' speech amounted to a declaration of independence from the Six Indian Nations. Surprisingly Kayashuta, the Six Indian Nations' representative at the meeting, took the insult in silence. He probably knew already, that White Eyes could count on the support of Virginia, whose support the Six Indian Nations needed. Certainly Arthur St. Clair, Pennsylvania's representative at the conference, was aware of this alliance. To Governor John Penn he described the "ridiculous ideas" of White Eyes and Virginia's representative John Connolly in a long letter:

39. TDZ, 267, sub April 7, 1775.

40. The official protocol and speeches of this Congress are printed in Robert L. Scribner et. al., eds., *Revolutionary Virginia. The Road to Independence*, 7 vols. (Charlottesville, VA, 1973-1983), vol. 3, 238-240, 246-249, 257-261, 262-268; White Eyes' speeches *ibid.*, 259, 263-264, 265.

He is immediately to go [to] England with White Eyes and some other Delaware chiefs, to solicit for them a confirmation of the country which they now live in, great part of which is within the bounds of this Province, and Lord Dunmore is to back it with all his interest. They are to represent to the King's ministers that they have received the Christian religion, have got notions of property, and in a great measure changed their way of life, and can not change their place of abode as they have heretofore done, and which they must again do if Pennsylvania is allowed to extend beyond the Ohio.⁴¹

St. Clair's letter confirms the essential features of Zeisberger's earlier reports. The Delawares sought a legal title to their land from the king in return for accepting an energetic program of acculturation and adaptation to European notions of civilization and orderly life. In paying this price they hoped to secure for themselves quiet possession of land, that would "never again be soiled by blood nor be exposed to the threat of white settlers." Thus Zeisberger had summed up their expectations in December 1774.⁴²

That the Delaware Council under the energetic guidance of White Eyes and Netawatwees intended more than just to indulge in wishful thinking becomes evident in their resolution to give up their old council place at Gekelemukpechünk and move to a new site.⁴³ The move was to symbolize the Delawares' dramatic break with their past and their determination to begin again in a new and unsoiled place. The new head-town Goschachgünk reflected the new reform spirit in a settlement pattern that united both Indian and white cultural forms. Even David Zeisberger's somewhat disparaging report noted this new syncretism:

41. William H. Smith, ed., *The St. Clair Papers. The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair*, 2 vols. (Cincinnati, OH, 1882), vol. 1, 358.

42. TDZ, 251, sub Dec. 19, 1774.

43. TDZ, 261. There are other examples of giving up the old town and starting a new settlement as marking an important new beginning. The Shawnee told Zeisberger that in turning to Christianity they would leave their old place and start a new settlement (TDZ, 114-116). Under pressure from the reforming impulses of the Moravian congregations, in February 1773, the Council at Gekelemukpechünk, together with their Indian preachers determined to start "a new and better life". The Council underlined the importance of this radical new departure with the decision to leave the old town and begin a new one. According to Zeisberger the founding of the new town was justified as follows: "because on the old site it would be impossible to start a new life, because evil had to much gotten the upper hand". Netawatwees, however, vetoed the Council's decision, TDZ, 134-135. Welapachtschiechen, in hopes of attracting a Moravian missionary left with his people Assinnünk, and was determined to start a new settlement (TDZ, 313-314).

Their new town is laid out in the form of a cross ... which they have copied from us because Indians usually do not settle in a regular fashion but put their houses where they wish. Each kinship, clan or Nation is supposed to settle together in one street. They have, too, designated one street for those Indians whom we have turned away or who have left us voluntarily. ... They have asked our Indian Brethren to advice them on how to proceed and confess that they are determined to copy our example. They will in the end at least in external forms profit from us and learn to live a more regular life ("lernen ordentlicher zu werden").⁴⁴

Henceforth the Council exerted his authority, as even Zeisberger grudgingly admitted. Reports of alcoholic excesses practically disappeared as the new reforming spirit took root.⁴⁵ At the same time the rapidly shifting political situation forced White Eyes to adjust his ideas. By the time the major Indian nations of the Ohio region assembled at the next general congress called by the Commissioners of the Continental Congress in October 1775, White Eyes had realized the damaging implications of associating too closely with Dunmore and those who had become traitors to the cause of liberty. This shift is reflected in his speeches at Fort Pitt which focused on the Delawares' intention to remain neutral in the conflict between the King and his children, on the need to practice agriculture, and on the desirability of christianity.

I for my part will be Strong and Prevent my young Men from hunting thereon [i.e. land sold to Virginia] for I had rather they wou'd employ themselves in planting Corn in their Own feilds [sic!] than that any Mischeif [sic!] shou'd happen by their hunting". And a little later he confessed: "I wou'd wish to Comply with the dictates of the Christian Relegion [sic!] and Commands of our Saviour whose hands were Nailed to the Cross and sides Peirced for our Sins as far as I am Capable [of understanding this] in my Dark Present State."⁴⁶

Immediately after the Congress, White Eyes travelled to Philadelphia. He hoped to get from the Continental Congress what he had previously

44. TDZ, 266-267, sub April 7, 1775.

45. TDZ, 273.

46. Reuben G. Thwaites, Louise P. Kellogg, eds., *Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777, Draper Series*, vol. 2 (Madison, WI 1908), 109, 110.

sought from the King — a legal title for the land of the Delawares and help in realizing his acculturation program. The Continental Congress responded to the War Captain's petition on December 16, 1775, with the resolution to send a "minister and a schoolteacher" as well as "a sober man to instruct [the Delaware] in agriculture" to the Delaware settlements. At least in one respect, however, White Eyes mission ended in failure. For his plea for confirmation of the land given the Delaware by the Wyandot was turned down by the Continental Congress. That august body instead resolved that prior to such a confirmation the Delaware would have to present proof that the Six Indian Nations had agreed to such a confirmation. This decision reflected Pennsylvania's influence in the Revolutionary legislature.⁴⁷

Despite this setback White Eyes doggedly pursued his plans. Probably in the last days of December 1775 he met in Philadelphia with the wealthy Quaker merchant and leading member of the Friendly Association Israel Pemberton as well as with John Ettwein, member of the Moravian Provincial Elders' Conference responsible for mission.⁴⁸ With both he discussed his plan of acculturation. According to Ettwein its most important new feature was that White Eyes now intended to start a separate village close to Goschachgünk for white settlers from whom the Delawares were to learn European methods of agriculture and European civilization.⁴⁹ Ettwein noted that white reaction to these ideas were in general favorable. The Continental Congress, nevertheless, asked White Eyes to specify the congregation of the new preacher before they would complete arrangements for sending them a new cleric.⁵⁰

By late January 1776 news about White Eyes' plans and activities in Philadelphia reached Goschachgünk; leading members of the Delaware

47. Ford, ed., *Journal of the Continental Congress*, vol. 4, 208, 266-270.

48. On Israel Pemberton cf. Theodore Thayer, *Israel Pemberton. King of the Quakers* (Philadelphia, 1943), and for the Friendly Association's role in the Quaker reform movement Hermann Wellenreuther, *Glaube und Politik in Pennsylvania 1681-1776. Die Wandlungen der Obrigkeitsdoktrin und des Peace Testimony der Quäker* (Cologne, Vienna, 1972), chaps. XI-XII; for the Friendly Association cf. Theodore Thayer, "The Friendly Association," in: *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 67 (1943), 356-376. On Ettwein and the Moravian Church's attitude to the American Revolution in general cf. Kenneth Gardiner Hamilton, *John Ettwein and the Moravian Church During the Revolutionary Period* (Bethlehem, PA 1940).

49. Ford, ed., *Journal of the Continental Congress*, vol. 3, 433, vol. 4, 301; and John Ettwein to the Missionaries in the Ohio region, January 1776, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Ettwein Papers 965, F 42, No. 1946.

50. Ford, ed., *Journal of the Continental Congress*, vol. 4, 266-270, 301; TDZ, 319-320, sub May 11, 1776.

Council, among them Welapachtschiechen, confessed to be confused and irritated. To them, White Eyes seemed to be acting not only without authority but even contrary to previous resolutions of the Great Council, that had granted the Moravians an exclusive status within the Delaware. These resolutions had been reached after painful and long negotiations and against much opposition from leading members of the Wolf Clan like War Captain Pipe and Wangomen, one of the most influential Delaware Prophets. How did White Eyes' request for a new preacher, Welapachtschiechen asked David Zeisberger, agree with the Council's resolution of late February to adopt the Moravian missionary congregations into the tribe? And why should the Delaware start a new settlement for white settlers after the same Council, in the presence of White Eyes in October 1775, had specifically requested the Moravians to start a third mission congregation next door to Goschachgünk?⁵¹ Many, not only David Zeisberger, felt, that White Eyes was trying to lead the Delaware Nation into a direction for which he would obtain very little support within the three clans.

Netawatwees reacted swiftly to White Eyes plans, and thus incidentally demonstrated that he still was very much in command. In early February 1776 he not only repeated the Council's request for the establishment of a third mission congregation but almost peremptorily demanded that David Zeisberger come to Goschachpünk immediately, select a suitable site for the new settlement, and prepare for the move at once.⁵² By the time White Eyes finally returned to Goschachgünk in early May 1776⁵³, Lichtenau had been founded and settled by a small group of Moravian converts lead by David Zeisberger himself a mere stone's throw from Goschachgünk.

On 16 May, 1776, the opposing visions of White Eyes and Netawatwees clashed in a Grand Council Meeting to which the two chiefs as well as the leading converted chiefs and David Zeisberger had been invited.⁵⁴ According to Zeisberger, White Eyes reported that he had requested from the Continental Congress

that arts and sciences be introduced among the Delaware Indians; this could, however", so White Eyes explained according to Zeisberger,

51. TDZ, 298-299, sub 30 Jan. 1776.

52. TDZ, 299-304; Netawatwees' message reached Schönbrunn on Feb. 4, 1776.

53. TDZ, 317, sub May, 11, 1776. For the foundation of Lichtenau cf. *ibid.*, 306, 308, 310-312, 314 and *passim*.

54. TDZ, 319.

only be accomplished, if white people were allowed to settle among the Delaware from whom they could learn. In order to accomplish this it would be necessary for the Delaware Nation to unite behind this program; once such unity was achieved, the Continental Congress had pledged that it would provide all the help it could afford.⁵⁵

With White Eyes' report before them the Chief Council was confronted with two different acculturation programs: White Eyes envisioned giving up Indian economic, religious, and cultural ways, that is civilizing the Delawares in the sense whites understood the term. Netawatwees preferred embracing christianity of the Moravian variety and adopting some mild changes in settlement patterns and projective economic behavior⁵⁶ according to the examples set by the Moravian congregations. While White Eyes' plan involved a radical break with almost all Indian customs and traditions, Netawatwees sought moderate changes while retaining essential aspects of Indian traditional life like hunting, division of gender roles, community property, and production largely for subsistence, to name but a few.⁵⁷

Both plans embraced Christianity, but in very different ways. White Eyes envisioned not only a *Christian multi-confessional* society — that is the implication of his call for more non-Moravian christian clerics — but probably a *multi-religious* society in which Indian and Christian beliefs would co-exist with each other. White Eyes for example maintained friendly relations with the Indian Prophet Wangomen, one of the staunchest opponents and critics of the Moravian Missionaries.⁵⁸ The

55. TDZ, 319, sub May 16, 1776.

56. While the Shawnee and the Delaware were not familiar with the idea of planning their economic activities in advance according to anticipated demand (the decisive fact being the taking into account the anticipated demand, for otherwise there are indications that Delaware were quite familiar with planning economic activities), the Moravians demonstrated that such type of planning produced the wonderful effect of avoiding subsistence crisis and always having enough food to entertain plenty of guests. The diaries of Zeisberger contain numerous indications relating to this particular kind of economic behavior; for a full description of the Moravian Mission congregations economy and its underlying principles cf. Carola Wessel, *Delaware-Indianer und Herrnhuter Missionare im Upper Ohio Valley, 1772-1781, Hallesche Forschungen*, vol. 4 (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1999).

57. My argument is based on the chronology of events that indicate, as I understand it, Netawatwees' preference for the Moravian model that he had observed at close range; his identification with that model went so far that he and his son personally came to Lichtenau to lend a helping hand in building houses and clearing the ground, TDZ, 310-312, 316.

58. TDZ, 277-278; Zeisberger interpreted these friendly contacts as efforts of White Eyes to neutralize Wangomen's opposition.

introduction of a number of Christian belief systems with all their fine dogmatic differences would of course speed up and enhance the enculturation processes he was planning. But in Netawatwees' vision only Moravian pietism had a place. That, however, ignored dogmatic teachings as well as differences between Christian churches. Moravian Pietism had one focus: the saving grace of Christ on the cross. To Moravians conversion meant to envision and experience Christ on the Cross. Experiencing and feeling a religious truth through visions paralleled Indian ways of arriving at religious insights. Even in the crucial religious field Netawatwees' vision marked far less of a break with Indian traditions than did that of White Eyes.⁵⁹

At the Council White Eyes' grand vision for the Delawares' future was received in icy and cutting silence. A dejected and depressed White Eyes retreated to his village close to Woaketameki and complained to his friend Isaac that he had been totally misunderstood.⁶⁰ David Zeisberger, on the other hand, summed up the Moravian attitude to White Eyes' vision:

[White Eyes] mind is totally overshadowed by his only focusing on side-issues and on projecting great visions ... that he intends to introduce among the Indians in order to make them into a respectable and rich nation. He vainly believes that the great personages of this land will lend him a helping hand in accomplishing this. The Brethren and their concerns on the other hand he considers as too insignificant for his attention, and, to put it bluntly, dislikes their poverty and lowliness.⁶¹

A fortnight after Zeisberger had penned these thoughts into his diary, the members of the Continental Congress published the Declaration of Independence. For the Indian tribes in the Ohio region this momentous act once again forced them to take sides in a conflict that had nothing to do with their own problems and interests. Under intense pressure from the British army at Fort Detroit and the Revolutionary Army at Fort Pitt, the Wyandot, Mingo, Munsee, and Shawnee sided with the British.

59. Cf. Hermann Wellenreuther, "Bekehrung und Bekehrte. Herrnhuter Mission unter den Delaware, 1772-1781", in: *Pietismus Und Neuzeit. Ein Jahrbuch Zur Geschichte Des Neueren Protestantismus* 23 (1997), 152-174.

60 TDZ, 319, 321.

61. TDZ, 321, sub May 19, 1776.

Only the Delaware decided to stay neutral.⁶² That decision reflected their policy after 1765 to avoid further military conflicts and stay true to their function as mediators and the dominant political force in the Ohio Area. Their stance was strongly reinforced by the energetic urgings of the Moravian missionaries and their converts.⁶³

The revolutionary conflict caught the Delawares in the midst of internal acrimonious debates over their future. Inviting and adopting the Moravians and their congregations into the Delaware nation had not occurred without strong opposition. In the summer of 1772 a small group of people belonging to the Turtle Clan, protested the arrival of the Moravian congregations, by leaving Gekelemukpechünk and starting a new settlement.⁶⁴ Large parts of the Wolf Clan led by Wangomen and Captain Pipe, while finally acquiescing in the adoption of the Moravians, never did so willingly.⁶⁵ One month after the conclusion of the 1778 treaty⁶⁶ they moved their main settlements from the Allegheny River northwest to the fringe of the Wyandot territory.⁶⁷ A large band of this clan had even joined the British by that time.⁶⁸ While Netawatwees seems to have reconciled himself to the Moravians, influential segments of his own kinship group, led by his son Bemino alias John Killbuck Sr. retained their skeptical and often hostile attitude towards the Moravians. Gelelemind, grandson of Netawatwees and his designated successor, unfortunately lacked most of his fine qualities. Closely identified since 1775 with the Moravians and their program he

62. TDZ, 327, 337, 343, 346-347, 348-349, 362-363 and *passim*.

63. TDZ, 327, 343-345, 351, 441, and *passim*. Zeisberger's idea of neutrality did not preclude friendly contacts of the Moravian Missionaries and the Delaware with Fort Pitt and the Continental Army stationed there, while he displayed much scepticism and caution concerning such contacts with Fort Detroit. Zeisberger's and Heckewelder's reports to Fort Pitt about the military plans hedged at Fort Detroit and learned from warriors passing through Delaware and Moravian settlements proved a major factor in British and Wyandot irritation about the Moravian congregation, that was finally to lead towards the decision to deport the Moravians and their converts to the Wyandot region further north.

64. TDZ, 112. Zeisberger passed through this new settlement on October 11, 1772, on his way to Woaketameki.

65. TDZ, 40-41, 73, 276-278, 283, 292, 299.

66. Cf. its stipulations at the beginning of this paper.

67. TDZ, 473, sub 28 Oct. 1778.

68. It was the band of chief Buckagihitas alias Pachgantschihilas with about 240 warriors, who in November 1781 demanded stern measures against the Moravian Missionaries during the hearing at Detroit, TDZ, 563-564.

proved unable to win dissenting groups over or to steer the energetic middle course required in such a very difficult time.⁶⁹

White Eyes' impressive abilities and knowledge clearly dominated the Council after Netawatwees' death on October 31, 1776. His advantage was that he had a program and a plan to implement it. Although he had backed away from his grandiose plans of the winter of 1775/76, he had no intention of giving up his final goal of gradually moving the Delaware closer to European civilization. He hoped that bringing a delegation of Delaware chiefs to Philadelphia — the trip was arranged by George Morgan in his capacity as Indian agent of the Continental Congress — would unite the tribe and prompt the Continental Congress to provide more material help than just promises. But these hopes were in vain. The Delawares' petition to Congress was not even entered into that body's record, so the clerk noted, because it "said nothing relative to matters between them and the United States."⁷⁰

White Eyes was nevertheless not discouraged. In early summer 1777 he urged the Moravians to start an education program for non-baptized Indian children.⁷¹ Only the Council's widespread diplomatic activities between 1775 and 1778 prevented him from more energetically implementing his acculturation plan. For in these years of war the Council worried far more about localizing military conflicts in the Ohio area, preventing the Munsee from joining the British side, and trying to detach the Wyandot and Shawnee from Fort Detroit.⁷²

By 1778 the Moravian mission and the debilitating effects of the Revolutionary War began to fractionalize Delaware society to a point where its unity seemed more visionary than real. By early 1778 the Delawares were faced with threats not only from the British Army but more seriously from the Wyandots, on whose lands they after all had settled.⁷³ The other traditional ally of the Delaware, the Shawnee, still seethed with resentment against the Delaware because of their betrayal during Lord Dunmore's War,⁷⁴ while the Mingo and Munsee competed in sending

69. Cf. TDZ, *passim*. The result of Gelelemin's inabilities and deficiencies was that Welpachtschiechen, baptized Israel, had to step in in 1778 and for the next two years take over most of the functions of the head chief, TDZ, 424 (sub Dec. 25, 1777), 479, 487, 499, 508, note 1614.

70. Ford, ed., *Journal of the Continental Congress*, vol. 6, 1013.

71. TDZ, 361-362, sub March 9-10 and May 11, 1777.

72. TDZ, 362-463, and *passim*.

73. TDZ, 389-380, 442, note 1348, 469.

threats to Delaware and Moravian missionaries alike.⁷⁵

By spring and summer of 1778 the Delawares' situation in the Ohio area was desperate. They felt encircled on the one side by hostile tribes and on the other by white settlers bent on shooting indiscriminately on sight every Indian.⁷⁶ The Continental Army at Fort Pitt and Indian Agent George Morgan proved singularly inept at protecting the beleaguered Delaware.⁷⁷ Eighteen months after Netawatwees' death his successor had not yet been approved by the Great Council partially, so it seems, because a number of influential chiefs, including some of the Wolf Clan, absented themselves.⁷⁸ Even worse, by spring of 1778 the chiefs gradually lost control over the rank-and-file.⁷⁹ On July 16, White Eyes confided to David Zeisberger, that he could "neither trust his own people nor trust them with important messages" and therefore asked Zeisberger's assistance in conveying an urgent and most secret plea for help to George Morgan at Fort Pitt.⁸⁰

This message, buttressed by a number of gloomy and concise reports of David Zeisberger and his assistant missionary John Heckewelder, in many ways represented a turning point in Delaware-American relations.⁸¹ The plea for protection amounted to a declaration that the

74. TDZ, 428, 469.

75. TDZ, 416, 434, 438, 442, 444, 446, 448, 451, 454, 456, 463 and *passim*. The Munsee were Zeisberger's particular nightmare because they had split from the congregation as a block and turned into the most bitter enemies.

76. TDZ, 443, 445, 527, 529; already during Lord Dunmore's War Zeisberger and the Indians were more afraid of unorganized white military bands and militia than regular military forces; on the Pennsylvania soldiers' hatred of Indians cf. Gregory T. Knouff, "An Arduous Service: The Pennsylvania Backcountry Soldiers' Revolution," in: *Pennsylvania History* 61 (1994), 45-74, esp. 58-61.

77. This inability was compounded by the stories spread by five prominent deserters who in April passed through Delaware and Shawnee towns on their way to Fort Detroit, TDZ, 438-439. The expedition that General Edward Hand and George Morgan on March 27, 1778 announced to begin against the hostile Indian tribes within four weeks (TDZ, 437) never materialized. Instead of relief and protection against the hostile Wyandot, Shawnee, and Munsee bands marching through Delaware and Moravian settlements towards the frontier danger increased as well as multiplied after April 1778, cf. esp. TDZ 446ff.

78. Infighting within the Council seems to have been particularly serious in April, TDZ. 439-40, by March 20, 1778 the selection of Netawatwees' successor was still in process, TDZ, 442.

79. TDZ, 442. The situation was so bad that Israel in his function as chief went to Goschachgunk and delivered a speech to the young people of the town.

80. TDZ, 454-455, sub July 16, 1778.

Delaware were finally considering of giving up their neutrality in the struggle between the Confederated States and England. This time Morgan acted quickly. With George Washington's approval the army at Fort Pitt started preparations for a relief expedition against the Shawnee and Munsee. At the same time invitations were sent out to the Delaware and the pro-American faction of the Shawnee under chief Nimho to meet the Commissioners of the Continental Congress at Fort Pitt.

It was at this Congress that Geleleminde, White Eyes, and Captain Pipe signed the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance with the representatives of the Continental Congress, whose sixth paragraph I have cited at the beginning of this essay. The Delaware gave up their neutrality and pledged to join the struggle on the American side, while the American Army promised to protect the tribe's old people, women, and children, and to provide the Delaware with sufficient and badly needed European goods. In the light of later claims by Geleleminde and Captain Pipe that the treaty text had been forged and the Delaware Chiefs tricked into giving up their neutrality it is important to note David Zeisberger's diary entry of September 26, 1778:

September 26, the Brethren Willhelm and Anton together with the Chiefs returned from the Fort; from these we received the news that an army is to march into the Indian country, whereof 900 soldiers are already camped at the Beaver Creek. The Chiefs and all the other Indians present, were presented to the assembled army; the army was informed, that the Delaware Nation should be looked upon as *Allies* of the Colonies of North America from hence on; this event was celebrated and marked by great solemnity. Initially it had been resolved that a part of the army should march via Goschachgünk, but that was later changed and it is now decided that they should take the route via Tuscarawi. Since with respect to the Delaware events have taken such a turn we can now hope that everything will turn out well and that our efforts to keep the Nation at peace will finally bear fruit.⁸²

The sixth paragraph finally guaranteed the Delawares' title to the land they settled on "in the fullest and most ample manner." The treaty envi-

81. TDZ, 461, note 1423. On August 25, 1778 Zeisberger wrote to the Commissioners of the Continental Congress in a long letter: "for it is my opinion that there will be no Peace & the Nations will not be quiet until they are subdued & Detroit is taken, and I think this will be the opinion of all those who are acquainted with the affairs... Captain White Eyes & the Delaware Head men are sensible that this is the only assistance you can afford them in sending an Army to Detroit & if that should not be done they would be in a miserable and dangerous position".

82 TDZ, 466

sioned the foundation of an Indian state under the leadership of the Delaware Nation that was to join the Confederation at some future time.

After years of struggle, experiencing defeat and disappointment, White Eyes finally had reached his goal. Secure on their lands the Delawares could look to a future of gradual acculturation to European society, prosperity, and peace. True, the price was high. But in the desperate situation in the summer of 1778 even David Zeisberger counselled the Delaware giving up neutrality. Faced with annihilation, pacifism seemed pointless even to such a staunch advocate as Zeisberger.⁸³

The treaty of 1778 proved to be a terrible mistake, partially because the only person that would have been able to keep the tribe together and implement the treaty, White Eyes, died within weeks after the conclusion of the treaty. The following year the Wolf Clan split from the main body, moved north, and joined the British on the specious pretence that the Delaware had been betrayed at the 1778 treaty.⁸⁴ The Wyandot increased their pressure while the Americans as before proved unable to provide the promised protection. Geleleminde, who in the meantime had at last been approved by those chiefs present at Goschachünk as the new head chief, lacked leadership and vision. In his stead Welapachtschiechen, who had been baptized Israel on Christmas Day in 1777, gradually shouldered the duties and burdens of the chieftainship.⁸⁵

In 1781 the Wyandot arrived in force at Schönbrunn, rounded up the converted Indians and their missionaries, and escorted them to the Upper Sandusky area.⁸⁶ The rest of the tribe continued to disintegrate. The grand vision of a Delaware Nation as mediator between Indian and White society, as an example of a nation pursuing a middle ground between an traditional Indian way of life and accepting features of European civilization had already, so it seems, died with the murder of White Eyes by a white militia soldier. Never to this day have the Delaware Nation regained its strength, unity, and purpose. Neither have the Moravian congregations. In spring 1782 their grand vision of con-

83 Cf. above note 81.

84. Cf. above note 67.

85. On November 27, 1779 Zeisberger noted in his diary that Geleleminde had formally proclaimed Welapachtschiechen his most trusted advisor and closest collaborator, TDZ 479.

86. John Heckewelder, *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Delaware and Mohican Indians, from Its Commencement, in the Year 1740, to the Close of the Year 1808* (Philadelphia, PA, 1820, Reprint: New York 1971), 232-277. Cf. above note 63.

verting the Delaware Nation to Christianity went up in Gnadenhütten in the flames and smoke started by an American militia regiment that killed 89 converted Indians.⁸⁷

Narrative history follows, as Hayden White reminded us, the laws of emplotment and rhetoric.⁸⁸ The historian constructs his story so as to entertain, instruct and arouse the passion of the reader, as in the early eighteenth century Charles Rollin already phrased it. "Arouse his passion", so Rollin continued, in order to convince him.⁸⁹ Leaving aside discourse theory, I have tried to piece together bits and pieces of evidence hidden in a great variety of sources that tell us of the concerns of the Delaware nation about their future in revolutionary America. True, I have conscientiously constructed the story, but in doing so I have allowed the sources to guide me. Hitherto, English sources have offered glimpses of White Eyes's grandiose vision and Netawatwees' ideas and energetic leadership. My narrative rests squarely on the totally under-used diary of David Zeisberger, which provided vital links to that evidence already available in English sources. For our story, the most important new piece of evidence (among many others) Zeisberger offers is the insight that the Treaty of 1778 was not a betrayal, was not forged, but indeed represented the text agreed to by the three Delaware chiefs who signed it. Hitherto research had based its negative evaluation of the Treaty of 1778 on the claims of Geleleminde, Captain Pipe, and George Morgan that the text of the treaty had been forged. The Zeisberger diaries provide convincing evidence that this hindsight is untenable. With our publication of the text of the diaries, historians are now in a position to rewrite the complex history of the Ohio area during the American Revolution. It won't be a more cheerful story, but it will be a more accurate one.

87. Heckewelder, *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren*, 313-327.

88. Cf. Hayden White, *Metahistory. Die historische Einbildungskraft im 19. Jahrhundert in Europa* (Frankfurt a.M., 1991).

89. Cf. Charles Rollin, *The Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres, or, an Introduction to Languages, Poetry, Rhetoric, History, Moral Philosophy, Physicks, etc. With Reflections on Taste; and Instructions with Regard to the Eloquence of the Pulpit, the Bar, and the Stage. Translated from the French*, 4 vols. (London: C. Hitch, 4th ed., 1749); I am suggesting here that Rollin's thesis, that historians and politicians analyze, construct and describe cases as well as historical events in order to convince, is still correct.