STATE-SANCTIONED SURVIVAL:
THE IMPORTANCE OF STATE RECOGNITION TO TRIBAL PRESERVATION

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Acknowledgements

When I was young I remember my grandfather telling stories in passing about the fact that he was a “Huron Indian”. He would often tell a story that involved doctor’s visits during which the doctor would tell him he was “smoking too many cigars”. My grandfather would tell us with a wry grin and pride in his voice about how he would tell off the doctor by saying, “Ehh, well I’m an Indian and if not for tobacco we would have gotten rid of you people!” I never quite knew what he meant by that, and I’m not sure he quite did either. Bernie Tetreault was a stubborn man who did things the way he wanted to and would let people know it. But he also had a softness to him when he wanted to and I remember just as well the stories of him standing up for people with the same “spit in your eye” attitude as was evident in all of his other stories. His son, my father, has a similar stubbornness to him, but with a much gentler demeanor. Make no mistake, the “Tetreault stubbornness” still comes out when he wants it too. But he has always been more often gentle than he is gruff. The two Bernies were in some ways two sides of a similar coin: similar in some ways, but much different in many other ways. Perhaps that’s the “Huron Indian” in them.

I always wondered about those comments my grandfather made about us being “Huron Indians”. He and I shared similarly olive-tan skin tones which he always claimed was part of that heritage. But our family was never clear on how much of a connection we had to our American Indian roots, and did not have much of a way to find out. That is, until recently. My sister connected with a coworker who specializes in American Indian ancestry. My sister asked her to look into our family and found that there was more of a connection to the Huron-Wendat tribe than we had even realized. That is where the journey for this capstone topic began, and so I am

indebted to my sister for her curiosity and desire to always keep learning. It is a trait she has always had and has always tried to instill in me, and I thank her for that.

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To my son, Teddy: I doubt you will ever read this, because why would you? But if for any reason you do, I encourage you to challenge yourself even when you feel like you can’t, believe in yourself even when you don’t, and have as much fun with learning along the way. It really makes the journey worth the trouble!

To my wife, all of my family, and everyone who has helped me along the way, I offer my sincere and deepest thanks in the way that, through my research for this thesis, I have learned the Wendat do: Tiawenhk!

Abstract

The story of the American Indian experience post-colonialism is complex and multifaceted, involving not just issues of land rights and tribal relocation, but the ability of native communities to preserve their culture and very existence in the face of such colonial forces. However, the ability of American Indian tribes and nations to survive in the modern day involves engaging with and being recognized by the same governments that have spent the past half-millennia attempting to assimilate or eliminate their culture entirely. This paper examines the ways in which state recognition of native tribes and nations is vital to the survival of those tribes and nations in the modern day. To do so, this paper focuses primarily on the experiences of two tribes who originated in eastern North America and have similar histories and experiences with European colonial incursion, but very different experiences with modern-day state recognition: The Huron-Wendat tribe, from what is the modern-day Canadian province of Quebec, and the Lenni-Lenape tribe, primarily from what is the modern-day state of Pennsylvania. This paper explores the contextual elements details of these tribes' experiences with European colonial powers and the similar circumstances which resulted in the removal of each tribe from their ancestral lands. Then, the current status of each tribe is analyzed, including the ways in which the Huron-Wendat are thriving culturally in Quebec while the Lenni-Lenape of Pennsylvania are struggling to survive, based largely on state recognition, or lack thereof in the case of the Lenni-Lenape. Ultimately, the paper concludes that in order for American Indian tribal culture to survive in the modern day, state recognition is vital and requires continued attention and advocacy, making the recognition of this topic vital for history to record.

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Introduction

"The Time of the Fourth Crow…is now."[1] According to an ancient prophecy of the Lenni-Lenape—often referred to as simply the Lenape—people of modern-day Pennsylvania, the time of the Fourth Crow has come. The story tells of four crows, each meant to represent the past, present, and future of the Lenape tribe. The first crow, which flies in harmony with nature, is meant to represent the Lenape before European colonization. It is said that the second crow flew out to care for the world, but became sick and died, connecting the Lenape to the beginning of European colonization and the disease and death which came with contact. The third crow hides itself away to avoid being killed as well, which is the path the Lenape took for hundreds of years after European conquest, hiding themselves away to keep themselves safe. However, in the story, the fourth crow comes forth and works to fly openly in harmony with nature again. The Lenape people believe that now is the "Time of the Fourth Crow", and have chosen over the past several decades, especially since the early 21st Century, to openly share their culture and survival with the people of Pennsylvania.[2] Their hope in doing so was to open cultural centers, engage in public education events, and ultimately to bring not only a new awareness to their people and customs, but a recognition of the vital role the tribe played, and continues to play, in the preservation and beautification of the nature of the region. That was the vision in 2008, at least.

Since that time, the Lenape of Pennsylvania have encountered continuous refusal from the state government to recognize their existence at all. The state of Pennsylvania is one of the

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1. Chief Robert Red Hawk Ruth, "Curator's Message," *Fulfilling a Prophecy: The Past and Present of the Lenape in Pennsylvania*, Lenape-nation.org/2nd-project.

2. Zach Zorich, "Museum: A Story of Four Crows," *Archaeology Magazine,* 62, no. 1, (2009), https://archive.archaeology.org/0901/trenches/museums.html.

few states in the United States which does not have a state or federally recognized American Indian presence. This is despite the fact that there are an estimated twelve thousand or more American Indians in the state of Pennsylvania according to recent census data.[3] Additionally, because the easiest method to receive federal recognition as an Indian tribe is through state recognition first, the lack of state recognition has a causal relationship in the lack of federal recognition. As such, the status of Lenape people in the state of Pennsylvania, and the United States as a whole, is impeded by a lack of willingness on the part of the state of Pennsylvania to recognize their existence. The Time of the Fourth Crow, and the period of cultural openness and education for the Lenape tribe of Pennsylvania has come up against the machinations of American political colonization once again.

Contrary to the experience of the Lenape people of Pennsylvania is that of the Huron-Wendat tribe of the modern-day Canadian province of Quebec. Despite the fact that these two tribes seem wholly disconnected and unrelated to one another, they each have similar histories and experiences with the European colonial process and are, in fact, quite closely related in their own tribal affiliations. The Huron-Wendat, often referred to more briefly as the Wendat, have close ties and geographic proximity to members of the Algonquian native ethnic group, of which the Lenape are a part. Furthermore, as a people who were attacked by and partially absorbed into the Iroquois Confederacy, like the Lenape were as well, the Wendat have a similar set of experiences which led to their tribe's cultural dispersal. However, their experiences with the politics of their respective state, namely the government of the province of Quebec and, more

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3. National Park Service, "American Indian Tribes Today," *Native People of the Chesapeake,* https://www.nps.gov/cajo/learn/historyculture/american-indian-tribes-today.htm#:~:text=There%20are%20no%20federally%20recognized,of%20eastern%20Pennsylvania%20and%20Delaware.

broadly, Canada, has been remarkably different from that of the Lenape. The Wendat of Quebec and Ontario gained state recognition in 1990 and have since not only survived throughout the region but have been able to create a thriving cultural center just outside of Quebec City. Despite the similar roots of the two tribes, the difference in state recognition and its resultant effects are undeniable.

The importance of state recognition of native populations is not exclusive to the current status of Lenape people in Pennsylvania, however, as hundreds of native tribes and nations throughout North America have sought recognition and partnership from their modern-day political representatives for decades. To gain state recognition for a tribe or nation is not only to gain access to opportunities and funding that can help to ensure that a tribe or nation is able to thrive in the future, but to help ensure that a tribe or nation is even able to survive in the present. As such, the fight for recognition for not only the Lenape people of Pennsylvania, but any indigenous community in North America who is working to gain such recognition, is one that in many cases determines the ability of a particular tribe or nation to survive and continue practicing their customs, sharing their culture, and educating the American populace about their existence and history. It is in this way that **the willingness of state and federal entities to officially recognize American Indian populations is vital to the ability for tribal culture to survive in the modern day.** If the Lenape people, and hundreds of other indigenous communities, are to be given the opportunity to preserve their culture not only in the modern day, but far into the future, it is imperative that they are given the recognition that they deserve and for which they have been passionately advocating for the past hundred years or more. If the Time of the Fourth Crow is truly to be brought to fruition, and the harmony of such a time is to

be enjoyed, then the hopes and dreams attached to such a time of growth must be given a chance. Without bold action on behalf of state governments, such harmony can never be enjoyed.

Chapter One

Life on the Turtle's Back

The Wendat people of the St. Lawrence River valley have a belief that the entirety of the world, and all the people living in it, resides on the back a great turtle. In fact, the name "Wendat" means "people of the island/peninsula". This concept of the earth and its orientation on the back of a large animal, namely a turtle, is quite common within many origin stories of American Indian nations, especially those of the eastern North American continent. The Lenape people of the Delaware River Valley, in fact, also had a belief in the same creation imagery. However, this connection between the Wendat and Lenape tribes of North America is not the only commonality between the two tribes. Their histories in relation to European colonization have forged a connection between the two tribes which lays a foundation for the experiences of each into the modern day. As such, in order to connect the two nations and their common histories more fully in the exploration of their status today, it is vital to examine the contextual elements of their histories as well as the historiography of how each have been discussed in the historical space over time. To do so will involve an exploration of records regarding the nature of each community at the time of European contact, as these records reveal the nature of historiography on the Wendat and Lenape from its earliest point and provide opportunities to dissect the nature of such histories. Next to be explored will be the ways in which historiographies have looked to shift their study over time and included some more nuanced perspectives of each tribe, especially in more modern contexts, as the historical, and even archaeological and anthropological communities, have sought to conduct deeper investigations on these tribes and their people. Ultimately, this will culminate in a review of the state of

modern-day historical interpretations of each tribe and how they are reflecting and connecting to the status of the nations today and their histories as well.

A major aspect of many American Indian customs is the keeping and sharing of oral histories, passing down the knowledge, wisdom, beliefs, and experiences of the tribe from one generation to the next. This was primarily done through oral customs, with tribes sometimes designating a dedicated storyteller for the tribe who was put in charge of keeping and passing on the community's history. However, once European colonists arrived in North America and began interacting with American Indian tribes and nations, Europeans began recording their experiences with, and interpretations of, American Indian tribes in written histories which would be sent back to Europe, published, and kept for posterity. While these written histories allow easier access to the histories of tribes who focused primarily on oral histories, they were also heavily skewed in their bias toward the interests and interpretations of the European settlers who wrote them. While easier to access, these written histories were also treated with less reverence and care in many cases than the oral histories which had been the centerpiece of tribal memory. Nonetheless, much of the historical knowledge that the world currently has access to regarding American Indian tribes and nations in general, and that of the Wendat and Lenape tribes specifically, is history written and recorded by European settlers starting in the 16th Century. These European histories of American Indians and their people formed much of the historiographical analyses and understandings of the Wendat and Lenape nations of the last four centuries, until more recent studies have been conducted and explored to understand Wendat and Lenape history outside of the context and perspective of European bias. However, there are important pieces of information to understand from these European histories that allow for a

baseline understanding of some of the contextual aspects of each tribe which are useful for this study.

First, for the Wendat people of modern-day Quebec, called the "Huron" by French settlers to the area, much of the written historical record of their tribe comes from the *Jesuit Relations* documents, written by Jesuit missionaries who lived with the tribe in the first half of the 17th Century and recorded their observations and experiences with the tribe during that time. Many of these documents are written by a variety of different Jesuit leaders, but the bulk of the work is written by one priest in particular, Father Jean de Brébeuf. While these documents are heavily shaped by biases based on feelings of European, and more specifically Christian, superiority over the Wendat, and native peoples in general—the Wendat and other tribes are consistently referred to as "savages" and "barbarians"—the records are inarguably useful in understanding some of the contextual and historical elements of the Wendat nation, especially in regards to the years following European invasion and the events which transpire during that period. This being said, the *Jesuit Relations* do recognize the ways in which Wendat opinions on these missionaries evolved and changed over time. While at first the *Relations* detail the way in which the Wendat welcomed the missionaries into their fold, as European diseases ravaged the Wendat community, members and leaders within the tribe became increasingly angered and skeptical of the Jesuits' presence. For instance, in the preface to one entry in the fifteenth volume of the *Jesuit Relations*, one particular interaction is detailed in which a Wendat family which had converted to Christianity at the urging of the Jesuits see the devastation and disease in their family and community and speak in anger to the writer about the fact that the Jesuits themselves are bringing about the calamity the tribe is experiencing. The volume's preface explains,

> "A convert family suffers the deaths of a niece, mother, daughter and brother-in-law. The Jesuits try to visit the sick but are shunned. An old man said to them, 'It is you people who are making me die; since you set foot in this house, six days ago, I have eaten nothing; and I have seen you in a dream as persons who are bringing us misfortune; it is you who are making me die. The fathers turned away and waited. They are then accused of coming to bring about the ruination of Huronia-Wedake."[4]

By examining this particular excerpt, the multifaceted nature of the relationship between the Wendat people and the Jesuit missionaries is revealed. Such accounts make clear that the involvement of French settlers in the lives and communities of the Wendat was not entirely positive or seen as beneficial throughout their time in the community. This makes discernment in the analyses of written histories of the tribe during this time vitally important to getting the full picture of the tribe, its people, and the events taking place for them during the time of European colonization. Yet, much of the historiography that exists for the four centuries after these *Relations* are written rely heavily on the conclusions and perspectives of the Jesuit missionaries nearly exclusively, making much of the historiography of the Wendat people up until the mid-20th Century worthy of mindful analysis. However, there are aspects of early European written histories which provide glimpses of cultural and societal aspects of the Wendat community which are still valuable, as there are instances wherein observations are made about the community and its customs that are, at times, largely objective. For example, another prominent writer of interactions with the Wendat during the 17th Century is another French missionary by the name of Gabriel Sagard. In his work *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, Sagard reports on his experiences with and observations of the Wendat in many similar ways as those recorded in the *Jesuit Relations*. However, as with the Jesuit records, Sagard includes records of

4. Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 1600-1791*, (Cleveland: Burrows, 1896-1901), Volume 15, 2.

interactions with the Wendat that offer some insight to readers into the cultural and social customs of the tribe. In one particular chapter of his journal, Sagard explains the ways in which the Wendat social customs rely heavily on mutual respect between parties interacting with one another and that failing to live up to these standards can result in conclusions being made about one's character. He discusses the care he took in spending quality time with the Wendat community on *their* terms and in their spaces and explains, "…I dealt with them in a kindly and affable spirit; otherwise they would not have regarded me with a favourable eye, and would have thought me proud and scornful…".[5] It is in these types of observational details that the most useful information can be found. There is obviously a degree of self-aggrandizing that occurs in some of these observations, as French missionaries often viewed themselves as being saviors in a savage land. However, observations about the aspects of Wendat cultural and social interaction, such as this one offered by Sagard, are useful in creating a clearer, if extremely partial, picture of the Wendat and their ways of life. When historiographical analyses have taken a more discerned view of these records, focusing on these more objective aspects rather than the conjecture regarding "savages" and their "uncivilized ways", the historiographical record has benefited. These perspectives are evident in some of the most central works in the historiography of the Wendat, such as those by Canadian ethnohistorian and professor Bruce Trigger. Trigger wrote some of the seminal works about American Indian civilizations of what is today Canada, and has been cited often in historical works regarding the Wendat. Trigger, with an inclusion of the cultural, archaeological, and anthropological aspects of American Indian history, provides some of the more useful records of eastern and northern American Indians. In particular, his work *The*

5. Gabriel Sagard, *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 2003), 74.

Huron: Farmers of the North, takes into account a more nuanced view of the resources available regarding the Wendat, rather than simply taking French missionary records at face value. Ultimately, the context and historiography of the Wendat pre- and post-European colonization is based significantly on the records of Europeans themselves, which poses challenges for any objective historical study. However, significant aspects of studies of the Wendat experience in this era include a focus on community and support of the tribe, interactions with French settlers and missionaries, and the nature of relationships with other tribes which will ultimately shape the ways in which the Wendat culture and society change significantly over time. As such, contextualizing Wendat culture and society to understand the nature of the tribe as a whole involves recognizing how they viewed relationships with other tribes as well as how they conducted their daily lives.

As a predominantly agricultural nation, the Wendat depended greatly on the growth and cultivation of crops which have become known as the "three sisters". These three crops, corn, squash, and beans, "…made up some 60-80% of the Wendat diet, and the Wendat culture, like many others across North America, was centered on the plants' cultivation."[6] While the Wendat nation was not sedentary, as much of the historiography of the past several centuries has suggested, and as will be discussed in a future point, the cultivation of these crops was essential to their culture. Even the ways in which the Wendat celebrated their spiritual beliefs involved consideration of their agricultural practices, as they expressed thanks for the blessings of such provisions as a central practice of their faith.

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6. Diane Selkirk, "The sacred 'sisters' of ancient America," *BBC*, August 2, 2022, https://www.bbc.com/travel/article/20220801-the-sacred-sisters-of-ancient-america.

Of additional cultural and societal importance to the Wendat was their sense of hospitality and welcoming of people outside a particular village, or even from outside the nation as a whole. This is an area for which the traditional history written by French missionaries about the Wendat does accurately and comprehensively discuss. Wendat social structures centered on the importance of "kinship" and a sense of belonging for every individual in their care, whether such an individual was born into the Wendat nation, was captured as part of a conflict, or was found abandoned or lost and brought into the nation.[7] Beyond this, hospitality among the Wendat, especially as it pertained to those who were in need of assistance or help, was considered to be a given truth of the tribe. Accounts are written within the *Jesuit Relations* about members of the Wendat community who needed a home having one built by the men and women of the community without hesitation. However, perhaps the best testimony to illustrate the importance of hospitality to the Wendat nation and its people comes from one entry of Gabriel Sagard. Sagard, in recounting his travels throughout the Wendat nation, from one village to the next, explains the level of hospitality he witnessed from each subset of the Wendat community he encountered. He explains,

> "Whenever we had to go from one village to another for some necessity or business we used to go freely to their dwellings to lodge and get our food, and they received us in them and treated us very kindly although they were under no obligation to us. For they hold it proper to help wayfarers and to receive among them with more politeness anyone who is not an enemy, and much more so those of their own nation. They reciprocate hospitality and give such assistance to one another that the necessities of all are provided for without there being any indigent beggar in [their] towns and villages; and they considered it a very bad thing when they heard it said that there were in France a great

7. Jonathan Micon, "Strangers No More: Kinship, Clanship, and the Incorporation of Newcomers in Northern Iroquoia," *Canadian Journal of Archeology*, vol. 45 no. 2, 2021, 262, https://doi.org/10.51270/45.2.259.

> many of these needy beggars, and thought that this was for lack of charity in us, and blamed us for it severely."[8]

Such a focus on hospitality and care for others underscores not only a major component of understanding the Wendat and their way of life, but also the ways in which French records of their experiences with these observations highlighted just how mistaken Europeans were to consider themselves superior in every way to the Wendat and other American Indian communities. As Sagard notes here, even the Wendat, who were so far geographically from Europe. were able to see flaws in European society and were not afraid to critique Europeans for such inferiority. This not only reinforces the idea that European society was not only not nearly as superior to American Indian culture as Europeans liked to believe, but also how historical understanding based solely on the perspectives of European settlers leaves a considerable amount of truth out of the picture.

In these ways, to understand the contextual elements of early Wendat society and culture, and the historiography of previous understandings of them, it is vital to focus on the cultural elements and revelatory texts that create a clear picture of the way of life, society, and culture of the Wendat without the additional bias and assumed superiority that is present in many of the writings of French settlers in the early- to mid-17th Century.

Another aspect of contextualization to consider, and one of the ways in which the historiography regarding the Wendat nation has evolved in the past century, is to consider the periods of tribal movement, as well as the ultimate dispersal of the tribe following the final

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8. Gabriel Sagard, *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 2003), 88-89.

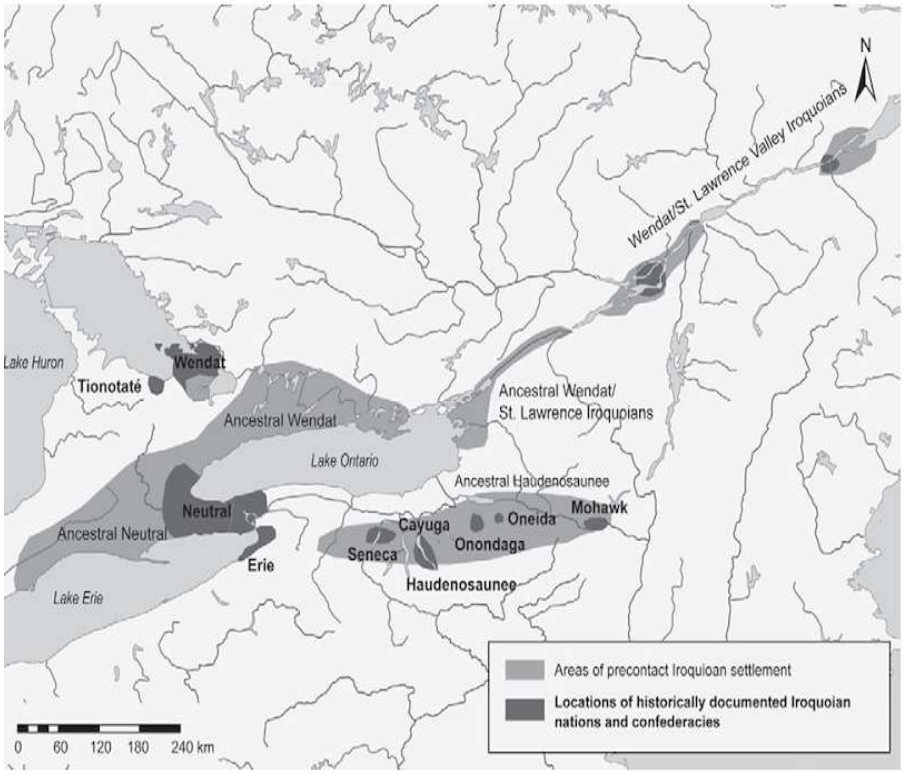
incursions of the Iroquois Confederacy—more accurately known as the Haudenosaunee[9]—in their land from 1648-1649 more clearly. Despite historical assumptions of the Wendat and their ways of life, more recent historiography about the tribe has focused on the ways in which the Wendat were a largely mobile, flexible, and adaptable society that would regularly move from on area to another based on environmental and social necessity. As a result, to understand the contextual aspects of Wendat society, and the ways in which it changed and moved over time, one must seek to understand the ways in which that society moved as a central tenet of their way of life. For instance, as time has progressed and historians and archaeologists have sought to clarify the ancestral movement of Wendat society, they have found that archaeological data shows that the Wendat did not stay in one place for their entire existence but moved throughout the St. Lawrence River Valley over the course of hundreds, if not thousands, of years. Ethnohistorians and archaeologists Jennifer Birch and Louis Lesage, Lesage a member of the Wendat nation as it exists today, through their research have found that the historical record has been wrong about Wendat society having started in, and been abandoned from, one area in southeastern Canada. While for hundreds of years the historiography of the Wendat people has been one of lamenting how a "sedentary" American Indian nation lost their only home when the Haudenosaunee attacked and so went through a period of diaspora wherein they never regained the one place they had existed for thousands of years, the historiography surrounding this particular aspect of Wendat society has changed drastically over the past fifty years. Birch and Lesage argue in their chapter of the book *Detachment from Place: Beyond an Archaeology of*

9. While the group of five American Indian tribes, known as the Five Nations, are typically referred to by their European-based name of the "Iroquois" Confederacy, recent efforts have been made to correct that terminology to instead reflect the traditional name the confederacy had for themselves: the Haudenosaunee. As such, I utilize this terminology throughout this paper out of respect for those efforts.

Settlement Abandonment that not only is the assumption of a sedentary nature for the Wendat people inaccurate, but it is also insulting. Birch and Lesage recognize the historical view that, "The Huron-Wendat are…a people who "abandoned" or were driven from their homeland in southern Ontario… as the result of seventeenth- century aggression by the Haudenosaunee [Iroquois] and waves of epidemic diseases." However, they challenge this assumption and historiography, suggesting, "For the Huron-Wendat Nation, the words diaspora, dispersal, and abandonment are 'inaccurate and harmful misrepresentations of Huron-Wendat concepts of geopolitics and ancestral territory'."[10] The assumption that the Wendat people left their land purposefully and abandoned it entirely does not only have the stain of a misrepresentation of the people and their history, but also can be used to prevent the Wendat from having the opportunity to reclaim their ancestral lands under the guise that "well, they left it" and "finders keepers". Fortunately, the modern-day Wendat of Canada were able to argue their sovereignty over the land of their ancestors effectively, as will be discussed in Chapter Three of this paper. But as time has progressed, with the help of continued efforts to better understand societal movement and fluidity among American Indian tribes, the historiography of the Wendat, at least as it pertains to their flexibility and adaptability geographically, and their rights to lands that they inhabited in the past, whether they "abandoned" those lands or not, has continued to make progress over the past century, and especially in the past fifty years. Historical research and archaeological investigations have worked together to gain a clear picture of just how far the Wendat nation traveled and settled throughout their history (Map 1.1.). By recognizing the settlement and land claims of the Wendat nation over the course of their existence, the

10. Jennifer Birch and Louis Lesage, "When Detachment is Not Complete: Emplacement and Displacement in Huron-Wendat Ancestral Landscapes," *Detachment from Place: Beyond an Archaeology of Settlement Abandonment*, (University Press of Colorado, 2020), 61.

historiography regarding “where” the Wendat were from, “where they went”, and the rights they have to land in the region all become much more nuanced, if not more clear and respectful of the contextual information available about their society.



Map 1.1

Lands and territories claimed by Wendat throughout St. Lawrence River Valley over the course of time.

Source: Birch and Lesage, 49

More recently, a major contextual consideration when evaluating the Wendat people and their history is the cultural histories of the tribe which have become more publicly available and recognized in the historiography of the Wendat nation in the past fifty years than they had been previously. With increased ability to share stories, not just through print media, but through social and internet media as well, the stories of the Wendat *from* members of the Wendat and their ancestors have entered into the historiographical conversation as well. While these stories and histories have not become as much the norm as they hopefully will be one day, there are

some notable examples which are worth considering and entering into any contextual conversation about the Wendat.

One such work is the book *On the Back of a Turtle: A Narrative of the Huron-Wyandot People* by Lloyd E. Divine, Jr. It may become immediately apparent that Divine specifically includes the spelling of the Huron-Wendat tribe with an alternative version to the original form. Such a distinction in and of itself is a major contextual point to consider. As the Wendat dispersed following the final incursions of the Haudenosaunee in 1648-1649, they spread across Ontario and Quebec in Canada and what would become the northern United States, in what are today Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. It is while segments of the Wendat population settled in Wisconsin and Michigan that the "Wyandot" and "Wyandotte" spelling became prevalent. Reasons are unclear as to the exact cause of the change in spelling. From there, Divine explains, "…when the Wyandots were in Wisconsin they were known as Hurons…their beginnings as a tribe could be traced back to Ontario on the Canadian side of the Great Lakes."[11] While the explanation is missing some elements, the history remains. However, throughout his book, Divine is adamant about not only his identity as a member of the Huron-Wyandot people, but also about his passion for making sure that the stories and histories of the Wendat, in all of their spelled forms, are told. At the close of his Introduction, Divine lays out, in no uncertain terms, his justification for sharing the Wendat/Wyandot story:

> "If our generation and future generations do not sit and listen to the telling of our traditions and history, we have a problem. If academia and anyone with an interest in Huron-Wyandot culture are not interested in hearing who we say we are as a people, we have no less a problem. Within this book I am reciting the history of my nation and our wars, and I am repeating the traditions of my mothers and fathers. Listen to what is being

11. Lloyd Divine, *On the Back of a Turtle: A Narrative of the Huron-Wyandot People*, (Columbus: Trillium, 2019), 14.

> said. It is a sacred and time-honored Huron-Wyandot tradition to listen to the telling of our history."[12]

While Divine spends much of the historical analysis of his book citing information from non-Wendat sources, his focus on recognizing not only his personal experiences as a Huron-Wyandot, but those of his fellow descendants of the Wendat nation, elucidates an important aspect of the historiographical conversation regarding the Wendat people: Histories about the Wendat community, *from* the Wendat community and it is these perspectives, not the far-flung observations and perspectives of French settlers of the past, are becoming more and more common. These personal and cultural histories will help continue to advocate for and give personal connections to the continued work of gaining sovereignty for the Wendat community, and all American Indian communities.

Another major voice in the cultural history of the Wendat people is that of Georges E. Sioui, a Wendat historian, who explores the history of the Wendat nation from the perspective of the nation itself in his book *Huron Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*. In this book, Sioui emphasizes the need to reconnect not just American Indians, but all of North American society, with the concept of the "sacred circle" which connects all human beings with each other and all other living beings on the earth. His argument throughout is that many of the issues the world is facing are reinforced by the lack of this unity within the world. Further, however, Sioui makes a case for the need for American Indian perspectives, especially as it pertains to studies of the history and culture of indigenous communities. To this end, he argues, "…the scholar must acknowledge the Native vision, just as Native people must make their thinking more accessible

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12. Lloyd Divine, *On the Back of a Turtle: A Narrative of the Huron-Wyandot People*, (Columbus: Trillium, 2019), 21.

to the scholar…",[13] if the true vision and version of history is to be understood. In this way, Sioui reflects not only his own desire to change the ways in which the history of indigenous communities like his are seen through the eyes of history, but also represents one of the major voices for the Wendat community in the growing movement to change the historiography of the Wendat nation to include more cultural and ancestral representation. Sioui, in his passion to tell the story of the Wendat from the Wendat perspective, has played a significant role in the representation and political connections the tribe has with the government of Canada today, showing that not only is this cultural historiography important for accurate historical information, but also for the preservation of the culture into the future. This movement is continuing today, as the past fifty years has started the process of increased inclusion of these voices in the historiography of the Wendat, and the community and the world could benefit from that trend continuing.

In much the same way as the conversation regarding the context and historiography of the Wendat is vital to understanding the current presence of the tribe's ancestors, the same is true of their regular partners, including in this paper, the Lenape tribe. Much like the Wendat, knowledge and understanding about the Lenape over time has been largely overrepresented by European perceptions and records. As with the Wendat, the Lenape have a rich and complex structure of oral histories which record their cultural, societal, and religious beliefs and practices. However, because European written records have received more attention and are generally more widely accessible, much of the understanding of the Lenape is based on these written records. As such, in order to understand the context and historiography surrounding the Lenape tribe and its

13. Georges Sioui, *Huron Wendat, The Heritage of the Circle*, (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000), 53.

people and history, it is vital to unpack the ways in which such contextual and historiographical understandings include and are impacted by European records, as well as how these understandings have changed over time as more accurate and representative histories have been written and shared.

Any understanding regarding the Lenape will often include at least a mention of William Penn, with the records from Penn and his contemporaries perhaps being the sole source of an individual's knowledge of the tribe. While Penn does not record nearly enough of the true nature of the Lenape or their history, the written records of his dealings with the tribe and the ways in which his companions and progeny interacted with them are well-known within any historical analyses of the Lenape. William Penn, an English nobleman and Quaker minister, arrived in the Delaware Valley[14] of what is today the eastern United States in the late 17th Century on a commission from King Charles II. Penn's vision was to establish a British Quaker colony in what is today primarily the state of Pennsylvania—which, of course, was eventually named after Penn, meaning "Penn's Woods"—and from the beginning knew that he would encounter and have to interact with American Indians in the region. In fact, Penn wrote a letter in 1681, one year before his arrival in what would become Pennsylvania, to the people he called the "Kings of the Indians", intending to address American Indian leadership in the region. In his letter, Penn not only addresses American Indian leadership in the Delaware Valley but expresses that he hopes to establish positive relations with the tribes in the region. Penn explains,

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14. While the "Delaware" River and its valley was not the traditional Lenape name for the main river of the region, as the river was named for a British lord who was governor of Virginia in the 17th Century, the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, and many Lenape sources from around the continent refer to the river and valley by its European name, and so I do so throughout this paper as well.

> "…the king of the Countrey where I live, hath given unto me a great Province…but I desire to enjoy it with your Love and Consent, that we may always live together as Neighbors and freinds, else what would the great God say to us, who hath made us not to devour and destroy one another but live Soberly and kindly together in the world."

Later in the letter, William Penn shows an awareness of the ways in which European settlers had interacted with American Indians thus far by recognizing, "I am very Sensible of the unkindness and Injustice that hath been too much exersised towards you by the People of thes Parts of the world, who have sought themselves, and to make great Advantages by you…".[15] From the start, even before William Penn sets foot in the land on which he hoped to establish his colony, this letter belies an attitude on the part of Penn for which he would become famous: one of "gracious" and amicable "friend" of the Lenape. There exist plenty of records which would indicate that there is some level of truth to this characterization of Penn. He often invited Lenape leaders to his home to discuss trade and land transactions, seemed to at least have a marginal desire to treat them fairly, and took care in his interactions with the tribe to attend to manners and customs the Lenape considered valuable. Despite these facts, it is important to note that Penn's glowing reputation deserves some level of critical analysis. As time has progressed, it has become clear that William Penn was not quite as unilaterally "friendly" or "gracious" with American Indians in general, or the Lenape specifically, as many believed. This realization seems obvious considering Penn's nature as a European colonist arriving on land which had already been inhabited by American Indians for hundreds, if not thousands, of years. To this end, and due to the Eurocentric view of colonization, much of the focus surrounding the region highlighted European settlements, practices, and missions and largely ignored or spoke

15. William Penn, "Letter from William Penn to the Kings of the Indians in Pennsylvania," Historical Society of Philadelphia, August 18, 1681.

ignorantly of American Indian culture. However, the early scholarship and contextual understandings which did exist regarding the Lenape centered much attention on their dealings with Penn, due in large part to the fact that many of the records of the Lenape at the time of European colonization are based almost entirely on the written records of Penn or his associated Quaker acquaintances. For instance, much of the information which was available in the centuries which followed Penn's arrival was shaped by journals and reflections about the tribe from Penn and those who observed his dealings with the Lenape. One such record is found in a collection published by Quaker historian Albert Cook Myers, who spent much of his life and career focused on compiling as many records of William Penn as he possibly could, compiling them into various volumes. In his volume entitled *William Penn, His Own Account of the Delaware Indians, 1683*, Myers provides some of the most direct accounts of Penn's observations of the Lenape, which also become some of the only accounts widely available about Lenape culture and society for nearly a century. These accounts describe the Lenape and their culture through an obviously biased and skewed lens, one shaped by a mixture of a European superiority mindset as well as outsider interpretations of Lenape society. The records are not wholly without use but do require careful consideration to recognize their flaws and implications. In one entry, Penn expresses his own faulty form of admiration for the Lenape, as he describes them as "fine specimens of humanity", describing them as, "…generally straight, well-built, and of singular Proportion, they tread and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty Chin; of Complexion Black, but by design, as the Gypsies in England…Their Eye is little black, not unlike a straight-look't Jew."[16] Obviously, such descriptions are not only, at best, filled with stereotypes, but also

16. Albert Cook Myers, *William Penn, His Own Account of the Delaware Indians, 1683*, (Myers Moylan, January 1, 1937), 18.

reflect the ways in which Penn contextualized American Indian existence and demeanor according to European standards. It is not coincidental either that the groups to which Penn compares the Lenape were also discriminated against throughout much of Europe at the time of his writing. This being said, William Penn did indeed record useful reflections on Lenape society which helped to contextualize some of the ways of life of the tribe, albeit with a continued presence of bias and Eurocentric judgments. In one chapter of his records, Penn says of the Lenape,

> "…if they are ignrant of our pleasures, they are also free from our Pains. They are not disquieted with Bills of Landing and Exchange. We sweat and toil to live; their pleasure feeds them, I mean, their Hunting, Fishing, and Fowling and this Table is spread every where…the Woods and Rivers are their Larder."

Penn goes on from here to describe the ways in which agriculture and natural materials feed and clothe the tribe through traditional artisan methods.[17] While, again, there is an obvious European bias to such observations, there is a definite value to these descriptions of Lenape lifestyles, as accounts from both European and Lenape perspectives have corroborated the importance that nature, agriculture, and their environment, especially the rivers of the Delaware Valley, served to supply much of what the tribe required. As such, while there were certainly ways in which William Penn and his contemporaries served as unreliable witnesses to the Lenape way of life, due to their Eurocentric biases and judgments as well as their obvious colonial agendas, the context that the records provide are not wholly without use. Early historiography surrounding Lenape culture and society relied heavily on these records, and much of that historiography has informed the historical narrative of the tribe and their lives. It is important to note within any

17. Albert Cook Myers, *William Penn, His Own Account of the Delaware Indians, 1683*, (Myers Moylan, January 1, 1937), 20.

historiography of the Lenape the ways in which these biases exhibited by Penn affect the perspectives and facts of any record of the Lenape. However, there are some ways in which, given careful study, these records can prove helpful for understanding some of the societal and contextual aspects of the tribe. It is for this reason that understanding the role that William Penn had in creating early concepts of the Lenape is important to discussing the context and historiography of the tribe, as Penn in some ways quite literally wrote the books on the tribe which would be considered fact for the centuries following his arrival to the region.

While William Penn is a key figure in the contextual and historiographical records of the Lenape, there are additional narratives which must be considered in efforts to evaluate the tribe and their history. Many of the narratives of the past century, specifically those from the past fifty years, have worked to evaluate aspects of the Lenape which were either glossed over or not included at all in previous historiographies of the tribe. These aspects may have been ignored because William Penn failed to highlight them, or, in many cases, because Penn and the Quakers of what would become Pennsylvania failed to have a full understanding of the tribe. Though Quaker missionaries generally "…traveled safely through the region by respecting the Lenapes' power and following their rules…",[18] they did not always take the time to understand the tribe on a deeper level.

One such important aspect which lacks study in Quaker records—which also means it lacks study in many historical records in general for the centuries which followed their arrival—is the importance the Lenape historically placed on their relationships with other tribes and people. The Lenape were considered an important presence in the Delaware Valley by many of

18. Jean R. Soderlund, *Lenape Country: Delaware Valley Society Before William Penn*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 5.

the tribes of the region and were relied upon for guidance and counsel on many matters. This was a central component of the fact that the Lenape considered relationship-building a vital practice for not only their society but for the way they saw themselves and the world. Amy C. Schutt, who is a leading historian in studies of American Indians in the Delaware and Ohio River Valleys, explains the importance placed on relationships by the Lenape in her book *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians*. Schutt details the ways in which relationships with humans and nature were vital for Lenape culture and society, noting, "Alliances were fundamentally about relationship construction…success in life required careful tending of a variety of relationships… Relationships could provide access to power…or 'the ability of an individual to influence other people and other beings.'"[19] The importance placed on relationship-building is an aspect of Lenape culture and society which is exemplified in their largely amicable relationship with Quaker settlers. However, it is even more important in understanding the Lenape and their culture before European contact. Yet, studies of such an aspect of Lenape culture are hinted at but never truly explored in depth in accounts of the tribe over the course of the 17th-20th Centuries.

Along with the importance placed on relationships by the Lenape is the fact that the tribe placed a high value on careful and thoughtful trading between their tribe and others of the region, and eventually settlers who came to their lands. Amy C. Schutt highlights the value placed on trade by the Lenape and other Algonquian tribes of the region, explaining, "Trade was more than an economic activity…" and clarifies that, "…trade in goods involved the maintenance of relationships between peoples and included expectations of gift giving. Algonquians created both

19. Amy C. Schutt, Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 4.

loose and formal alliances with their regular trading partners."[20] Again, recent histories of Lenape culture and society have highlighted this aspect of the tribe more than the histories based on Quaker records, but ultimately help to contextualize Lenape interactions with European settlers as well as, far more importantly, the nature of Lenape culture in the hundreds of years before Europeans even became aware of the continent.

Crucially, the importance of these relationships and trading connections between the Lenape and their neighbors in the Delaware Valley shaped the ways in which the Lenape viewed material ownership in general and, importantly, land ownership specifically. As European settlers came to the region, the Lenape were faced with discussions about land the nature of which they had never encountered before. The Lenape tribe, as was true of many American Indian tribes and nations prior to and during the era of European colonization, did not traditionally view land and the ownership of it in the same way that Europeans and their colonial representatives did. For Europeans, land was a commodity to be bought, sold, owned, and controlled based on the individual or parties who had the money or means to purchase it. However, the Lenape did not see land as something which could be owned or sold in nearly the same way. The Lenape relationship with the land was centered on the tribe's efforts to care for and cultivate from the land on which they lived. Land was a responsibility, not a product. This fact is not only important to understanding Lenape culture and society but is also vital to contextualizing the nature of the tribe's dealings with European colonization. As European settlers came to stake their claim on the "New World", they looked to either conquer or purchase through trade the land which they desired, on which American Indian communities had already

20. Amy C. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 56.

lived for centuries or millennia. For the Lenape, these European land acquisitions included land agreements and deeds with William Penn and other Quaker settlers. It quickly became evident, however, that these agreements were not mutually understood in the same way. While the Lenape "…did not see land agreements as one-time events but rather as part of an ongoing process that entailed obligations of further gift giving…"[21] or as agreements to share the land between themselves and European settlers, Europeans saw these agreements as finalized bills of sale entitling them to exclusive use of the land. When Lenape leaders disputed this level of control over the land exhibited by European colonists, one argument the Lenape employed was that they, "…had not sold the land, but only the grass upon it."[22] Land, and the control over it—or the care of it, more accurately in the Lenape mindset—was an important aspect of Lenape *and* European views of the Delaware Valley. Understanding the ways in which the Lenape viewed land and the environment again not only provides important context for understanding the society and culture of the Lenape, but also offers contextualization for the ways in which these views affected their later interactions with European colonization.

Understanding the context of Lenape society and culture, both before and after European colonization, is vital to understanding basic aspects of the Lenape and the ways in which they existed and interacted with their environment and those within it over time. Further, examining the historiography of the Lenape helps to put into perspective the ways in which some of the scholarship around the study of the tribe has changed over time, and even the ways in which some of the knowledge about the Lenape has not changed much at all. Within these

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21. Amy C. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 35.

22. Robert S. Grumet, "The Indians of Fort Massapeag," *Long Island Historical Journal 8*, Fall 1995, 35–36.

understandings is also the power to examine the implications of such contextualization and historiographical study. Perhaps most notable are the implications these understandings have had on the ways in which the Lenape legacy has been impacted in the modern day. Specifically, the lack of accurate knowledge about the Lenape and overdependence on European perspectives for much of the history of the Delaware Valley since William Penn's arrival has led to a lack of understanding about the Lenape at all. A focus on admiration of European settlers, especially figures like William Penn, and the records they supplied of the tribe all but wiped away many of the narratives of the Lenape, a process which historical study of the past fifty years has worked to overturn. Regardless, the damage to public memory regarding the Lenape is notable. Historian and author Jean R. Soderlund, author of *Lenape Country: Delaware Valley Society Before William Penn* puts into perspective the impact of this cultural and societal dismissiveness. Soderlund explains,

> "Like other founding myths that ignored the history of Native Americans prior to European colonization, the Pennsylvania legend wiped away the Lenapes' own history prior to contact with Europeans as well as the sixty-five years of exchange, conflict, accommodation, and alliance... Native Americans kept alive evidence of past events through spoken narratives rather than written documents, and most European settlers had little interest in recording the oral history of the original inhabitants. The colonists who described the Lenapes and their culture were more interested in their current practices and condition than the ways in which their society had evolved over the past fifty to one hundred years."[23]

The implications of the historiography which existed for centuries about the Lenape tribe is clear from Soderlund's analysis here: without accurate and representative narratives of the Lenape, and all American Indians for that matter, the American people fall into the trap of ignorance

23. Jean R. Soderlund, *Lenape Country: Delaware Valley Society Before William Penn*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 12-13.

which has allowed the Lenape story to be dismissed to the unrecognized spaces of historical study. It is vital that the narrative be not only re-examined by the historical community but also be exposed for the ways in which it has failed to fully represent the Lenape experience in Pennsylvania in the past, and especially today.

Modern scholarship which focuses on the Lenape story shows evidence of the ways in which the historical community has worked to reach a more nuanced view of the tribe and its history and culture. Historians like Amy C. Schutt and Jean R. Soderlund have worked to include Lenape oral histories in their recounting of the tribe's past and present. Additionally, a significant aspect of modern-day examinations of the Lenape people have included the tribe's modern-day campaigns for state and federal recognition, a point which will be covered in more depth in Chapter Five. However, inaccurate narratives of the Lenape which have permeated academic discourse since the era of European colonialism are not contained to the distant past, as modern authors of books and scholarly articles still show evidence of being overly dependent on inaccurate representations of the tribe. For instance, historian Bernard Bailyn wrote his book *The Barbarous Years: The Peopling of British North America: The Conflict of Civilizations 1600-1675* in 2012. The book is so heavily steeped in misinformation and lack of understanding, that throughout the book Bailyn highlights points which suggest that the Lenape had little to no presence in the Delaware Valley before European arrival, a belief which had once been exemplified in European records of the region. At one point in his book, Bailyn, in feeding from these dangerous inaccuracies, claims that before William Penn's arrival in 1682, the Lenape consisted only of, "…bands of less than 50 related individuals, little more than extended families…", and claims that the Lenape were unorganized and devoid of any formal leadership. These perceptions, while still problematic, would have fit in with narratives from centuries in the

past, though even then may have been shockingly obtuse and ignorant. Today, however, such narratives are not only despicable, but reinforce just how vital accurate understandings of the Lenape are in the modern day. If America is to truly understand and clearly appreciate the culture and history of the Lenape people, it is necessary to examine, critique, and change where necessary the context and historiography of the tribe to better reflect their true narrative and combat ignorance which continues to be shown, even in published "histories" like Bailyn's, in contemporary studies of the tribe.

Before pursuing the study of both the Wendat and Lenape tribes in more depth in the chapters to follow, there is one final contextual consideration to recognize which binds the two tribes together and helps to contextualize the modern-day experiences of each: the nature of the Haudenosaunee during the 17th Century.

As previously mentioned, the Haudenosaunee represent a major component of the experiences of both the Wendat and the Lenape tribes as it pertains to the events which affected the spread of the communities to other parts of the continent in the 17th and 18th Centuries. Both the Wendat and Lenape tribes are often portrayed as being members of the Haudenosaunee/Iroquoian ethnic and linguistic group. While the Wendat have a closer and more direct connection to this community, the Lenape have no connection to the Iroquoian ethnic tree beyond the ways in which they become more connected following Haudenosaunee incursions on Lenape land in the 18th Century, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four. However, part of the reason for this misunderstanding is the fact that one of the central tenets of Haudenosaunee interactions in the time of European colonization was the effort to absorb other tribes outside of the Haudenosaunee into the confederacy. Traditionally, this absorption was meant to be carried out based on tribal willingness to join the Haudenosaunee. However, if tribes

refused to join, the Haudenosaunee often looked to take a more forceful approach to absorption. Roger Carpenter, an expert on the military policy of the Haudenosaunee in the 17th and 18th Centuries explains this policy as such:

> "The extension of the Great Peace was one of the main precepts of the Deganawidah epic, the founding myth of the Iroquois League. Other peoples would be invited to join the league, which was often expressed metaphorically as the "longhouse", the traditional dwelling of Iroquoian peoples. If they refused to join, they should then be forced into the longhouse."[24]

The Haudenosaunee carried out these efforts long before the arrival of European colonists. However, when European traders looked to pursue agreements with American Indian tribes and nations in exchange for land, they often offered tribes weapons and supplies which tipped the balance of power on the continent in the favor of the Haudenosaunee more than it had previously been. Carpenter reflects on this rebalancing as well, explaining,

> "The manner in which Iroquoian peoples regarded war underwent a radical change in less than half a century. War changed from open, highly ritualized, largely nonlethal skirmishes between warriors seeking honor and captives to large-scale campaigns that had strategic, economic, and military objectives."[25]

This rebalancing of power reshaped the ways in which the Haudenosaunee were able to exert pressure against tribes who did not desire to join the "longhouse". This included both the Wendat and the Lenape.

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24. Roger Carpenter, "Making War More Lethal: Iroquois vs. Huron in the Great Lakes Region, 1609 to 1650," *Michigan Historical Review* 27, no. 2 (2001): 51. https://doi.org/10.2307/20173927.

25. Carpenter, "Making War More Lethal," 51.

For the Wendat, conflict with the Haudenosaunee had taken place over the course of decades, perhaps even centuries. In fact, references to these conflicts are made in the Jesuit records of the aforementioned *Jesuit Relations* and writings of Gabriel Sagard. Chapter 2 of the *Relations* records of 1647-1648 explains that, for the Haudenosaunee, "Their might is their right; their interest is their fidelity; and their treachery, their politeness…",[26] while Gabriel Sagard refers to the Haudenosaunee in one chapter of his records as the Wendats' "deadly enemies".[27] The depth of the Wendat relationship with the Haudenosaunee will be detailed in Chapter Two. However, it becomes clear that the contextual element of the growth in military pressure on the continent on the part of the Haudenosaunee during the 17th and 18th Centuries would obviously impact the Wendat greatly.

For the Lenape, the Haudenosaunee had been a subject of concern and conversation within the tribe for a long period of time before European colonization, but there had been few direct conflicts between the Haudenosaunee and the Lenape, at least not to the degree seen between the Haudenosaunee and Wendat. However, the context of the period of European colonization and the expansion of Haudenosaunee military power as a result brought conflict directly to the Lenape. Again, the specific set of events which occurred will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Four. However, it is relevant to understand that with increased Haudenosaunee military power European colonial leaders, specifically the sons of William Penn, saw a means to pressure and force the Lenape from the land which colonists desired in the Delaware Valley. It is this desire and utilization of Haudenosaunee military pressure which would ultimately result in

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26. Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 1600-1791*, (Cleveland: Burrows, 1896-1901), Volume 15, 153.

27. Gabriel Sagard, *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 2003), 74.

the relocation of many members of the Lenape tribe to regions outside of their ancestral lands in what is today the state of Pennsylvania.[28] This relocation would help contribute to a lack of understanding of the Lenape and create a environment in which European narratives of the Lenape could become the default, as discussed previously in this chapter. Though the circumstances were different for the Lenape than those of the Wendat in regard to interactions with the Haudenosaunee, the end result looked very similar for each tribe, creating a powerful bond of common experiences between the two which would come to fruition in later years as the two tribes united in other regions of the burgeoning nation to resist growing American power. As such, contextualizing the growth of Haudenosaunee power on the continent and connecting the ways in which this impacted both the Wendat and Lenape is important to understanding the context of each tribe.

For the Wendat and the Lenape, life on the turtle's back, as the creation mythology of each tribe alluded to, was far more complex than the historiography of each has suggested over time. As historical analyses of each tribe have progressed in the centuries since European colonization, the historiography has evolved to become at least slightly more representative of more than just European perspectives and perceptions of each tribe. This has allowed the knowledge and understanding of the contexts of each tribe as it pertains to European contact, and its implications for the modern day, to become more nuanced. While there is still much work to be done to gain a fuller picture of the experiences, beliefs, and practices of each, the hope remains that as time progresses, so will the narratives. Perhaps with a better understanding and

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28. Michael Goode, "Native American-Pennsylvania Relations 1681-1753", The Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia, 2015, https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/essays/native-american-pennsylvania-relations-1681-1753/#:~:text=Under%20pressure%20from%20the%20Iroquois ,in%20Pennsylvania%2DNative%20American%20relations.

clearer picture of the stories of each of these tribes, life on the turtle's back can start to become the harmonious existence that, according to these tribes, it is meant to be.

Chapter Two

Exploring Wendake

In the blockbuster 1826 novel *The Last of the Mohicans*, by James Fenimore Cooper, the main antagonists of the story and the ultimate enemy who is conquered by the story's heroes are the "Huron". In an early portion of the story, when faced with a "Huron" foe, an unnamed American Indian scout describes the "Huron" people to his companion, saying, "'A Huron!' repeated the sturdy scout, once more shaking his head in open distrust; 'they are a thievish race… you can never make anything of them but skulls and vagabonds.'"[29] While not considered a bastion for accurate information regarding the American Indian experience, their interactions with European colonists, or really anything about American Indians at all, the sheer unrepentant portrayal of an entire nation of American Indians in such terms, especially when they are utilized as the enemy and the "boogeyman" of the entirety of the book as well, is wholly irresponsible, at best.[30] However, misrepresentations of the Wendat people are common among early interpretations of their history and culture, and so this particular misrepresentation is not new, nor is it novel, among the European understanding of the "people of the lake", as the Wendat were sometimes called by European settlers. As such, in order to understand the ways in which

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29. James Fenimore Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans: a narrative of 1757*, (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and company, 1899), 60.

30. This is not even to mention the inaccurate portrayals of what are considered the "heroes" of the book, the Mohicans and the "Delaware" as being sworn enemies of the "Huron". As I have made mention of earlier in this paper, and will refer to again, the "Delaware", Fenimore Cooper's stand-in terminology for the Lenape, were actually ethnic relatives with and at times allies of the Wendat, or "Hurons" as Fenimore Cooper calls them. Historical inaccuracies are to be expected in Western works of the early 19th Century. However, the blatant disregard, or at best ignorance, to the truth of these particular indigenous communities stands out as particularly insidious.

the current status of the Wendat in Canada show the ways in which state recognition is important to the preservation of American Indian cultures, it is vital to clarify truths within the context and historiography of the Wendat narrative. To do so, in this chapter contextual elements of Wendat society, especially as it pertains to the aspects of Wendat society which are important to understanding their cultural preservation today, will be explored and explained to provide a clear foundation for understanding. The second half of the chapter will focus briefly on the historiography of these contextual elements and the ways in which historical study of the Wendat has changed over time and worked to more fully understand the factors which led to their dispersal and return to their ancestral homelands, where many descendants of the original tribe reside today. Ultimately, the goal of this chapter will be to explore "Wendake"—the Wendat name for their ancestral home and meaning "a land apart",[31] —so as to better evaluate the aspects of a people who have not only continued to survive but have come to thrive in the modern world.

An important place to start in any understanding of the cultural contexts of the Wendat, and the ways in which their culture has experienced and overcome obstacles in the past, is to understand the misconceptions which were, and in many cases still are, held about the Wendat people and their society and culture. As the previous chapter briefly highlighted, early experiences of the Wendat with European settlers came through the form of French Jesuit missionaries sent to "Huronia-Wendake", the French name for the settlement of the Wendat nation during the 16th and early 17th Centuries. As with many other European missionary expeditions, French Jesuit missionaries were sent to Wendake to convert as many of the native

31. Linda Feesey, "Saint-Marie among the Hurons," Toronto Public Library, January 27, 2020, https://torontopubliclibrary.typepad.com/local-history-genealogy/2020/01/sainte-marie-among-the-hurons-selections-from-the-jesuit-relations-and-allied-documents.html.

"savages" as they possibly could. Father Jean de Brébeuf, of the Society of Jesus, is the first Jesuit missionary to visit Huronia-Wendake, and his writings and reflections comprise a large portion of the *Jesuit Relations* documents, which are the first written recordings of the interactions between European settlers and the Wendat people. However, from the start of this contact with the Wendat, the French utilized their own terminology and identifications for the Wendat, and it became common practice for the French to refer to the Wendat community as the "Huron". However, not only was this term inconsistent with how the Wendat nation referred to themselves, but it also carried a level of intended insult on the part of French settlers and missionaries. Linda Feesey, a historian and curator at the Toronto Public Library explains this purposeful insult, declaring, "For the French, 'Huron' was a term of derision for unkempt, unruly peasants."[32] As such, from the very beginning of French contact with the Wendat, and continuing throughout much of their interactions with the community over the centuries, the French misrepresented the people and culture of the Wendat nation down to the very foundational level of misrepresenting their own names. Beyond this derision of the Wendat people through mislabeling and misnaming, a disrespect for the Wendat culture and community was evident throughout records written by French missionaries in their interactions with the tribe. As previously mentioned in Chapter One, Gabriel Sagard was another French missionary and particularly well-known chronicler of his observations and perspective regarding the Wendat ways of life, as he recorded his interactions with the tribe in his book *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*. Though Sagard was seemingly well thought-of among the Wendat leadership and community, throughout his book he consistently, and with obvious intent, calls

32. Linda Feesey, "Saint-Marie among the Hurons," Toronto Public Library, January 27, 2020, https://torontopubliclibrary.typepad.com/local-history-genealogy/2020/01/sainte-marie-among-the-hurons-selections-from-the-jesuit-relations-and-allied-documents.html.

the Wendat "savages" and "barbarians". In one particular chapter, Sagard bluntly states that the Wendat are, "…savage people whom we think to be, and who in fact are, less civilized than ourselves."[33] This statement comes in the midst of a chapter wherein Sagard is simply commenting on the foodways and diets of the Wendat, and feels the need to contribute his perspective of these ways of life and how inferior they are to European and French customs. There is obvious arrogance in such statements, but also an obvious irony in the fact that the people whom Sagard is calling "savages" are the same that have welcomed him into their community and shown him immense hospitality and acceptance. Again, such arrogance is common among the early records of French, and frankly all European, contact with American Indians in North America. However, this European arrogance and misrepresentation of culture are an important point to highlight when considering the factors which played a role, and continue to play a role, in the lack of understanding of American Indian communities and the efforts to block the granting of their sovereignty by European, and eventually American, powers. The foundation that is laid in the narratives of indigenous people as "savages" and "barbarians" with cultures and customs which are naturally inferior to the European ways of life allow generation after generation of politicians and policymakers in North America to feel justified in denying American Indians the rights and privileges they deserve on the land that was originally theirs in the first place. When policymakers believe that an entire population is inherently inferior, the natural progression is to justify denying such communities their humanity as well.

In the historiographical sense, these early records of the Wendat being primarily driven by the writings of French missionaries poses a major problem in the ability for the historiography

33. Gabriel Sagard, *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 2003), 79.

to reflect anything but a significant French colonial bias. As discussed in Chapter One, the Wendat, like many American Indian communities, focused much of their history-keeping and community memory on the practice of oral storytelling from one generation to the next. While this method of history-keeping is a powerful and impactful method for sharing knowledge across generations, the European proclivity to record history through written texts allows the information that is written by French missionaries to be more widely and easily spread over long distances and long periods of time. As such, for centuries the historiography of the Wendat nation was based solely on the reflections and writings of individuals like Gabriel Sagard, who portrayed the Wendat as "savages" and "barbarians" who were inferior to Europeans in every way.

Fortunately, as it pertains to the Wendat and the ways in which their culture is portrayed in the historiography over time, there is some progress that is made by later historians in evolving the viewpoint of the tribe, at least within the historical community. Bruce Trigger, a 20th Century historian of Northern American Indian communities, explains in an article entitled "Liberation of Wendake" that the understanding of the Wendat society and people does indeed change over time, and does so in ways that correct some of the bias, and frankly racism, of the early accounts of the Wendat nation. Trigger details how these newer perspectives helped to intervene in the historiography of the Wendat in ways which reset the focus and beliefs of popular understandings of the community, especially in Canada, to be more progressive and less prejudiced in general. Trigger highlights one historian's work in particular, Boston historian Francis Parkman, and his 1867 book *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century*, and the ways in which it shaped Canadian thought about the Wendat in the very beginning of Canada's history as a nation. Trigger posits that Parkman's book,

> "…published in the year of Canada's confederation, was the main source of information concerning the Wendats to which most Canadians had access. It disseminated beliefs that had become deeply rooted in American popular culture—but not yet in Canada—that all Indians were racially inferior savages, slow to learn, predisposed to violence, and incapable of evolving a civilized way of life."[34]

The conclusions of such a work, especially one written so near to the start of Canada's political history as a sovereign nation, intervene in the historiography of the Wendat people and help to reshape the narrative of the community as being far more than the "savages" previous accepted histories had painted them as. Creating a more nuanced understanding of the Wendat nation and community allows for considerations of more specific aspects of tribal society which are either ignored or glossed over in the original French settlers' records of the tribe. For instance, not heavily featured in colonial French records of the Wendat is the complex social dynamics which were a part of Wendat society, including the division of the Wendat nation into four allied clans: "the Attignawantan (Bear), Attigneenongnahac (Cord), Arendarhonon (Rock), and Tahontaenrat (Deer)."[35] While recognition of this aspect of Wendat society may appear on the surface as a small detail to consider, such a recognition of the social dynamics within the community allow for a more complete picture of how the Wendat related to one another, and by extension, related to other tribes and nations. Additionally, recognition of these more complex social dynamics add another layer of resistance to the notion that the Wendat were simply "savages" or "barbarians", as history had portrayed them for centuries. Doing so is invaluable not simply on a historical accuracy and historiographical progress level, but also in the way in which it helps to reframe the perspectives of Canada's political policymakers on the nature of the Wendat community. Such a

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34. Bruce G. Trigger, "The Liberation of Wendake," *Ontario Archaeology*, 72 (2001): 4.

35. Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), 30.

reframing of perspective allows for a contextual understanding that can be considered a foundational factor in the policies Canada will create to recognize and support the existence of Wendat people within its borders.

An important contextual consideration when studying the Wendat and the ways in which they have been able to preserve their culture in the modern day is the role that the Wendat played in the conflicts and wars between European powers during the colonial and revolutionary era. Like many American Indian communities of North America, the conflicts between European powers which played out on the North American continent in the 17th, 18th, and even 19th Centuries had an inevitable impact on the Wendat, and even involved the people and warriors of the tribe as those conflicts played out. In their book *From Huronia to Wendakes: Adversity, Migration, and Resilience 1650-1900*, historians Thomas Peace and Kathryn Magee Labelle recognize this involvement on the part of the Wendat in the conflicts playing out on the North American continent and posit that, "Wendats actively shaped North American colonial history from the first meetings with Europeans to conflicts such as the Seven Years' War, the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the American Civil War."[36] In many of these conflicts, the Wendat allied with French interests, as the French were the primary European influence on their lands in the early years of European colonization. As such, the Wendat experience of these conflicts was heavily influenced by the side of the conflict they were on and the interests of those with whom they were allied. For the earlier conflicts, like the Seven Years' War, the Wendat allied with French interests, and so were pitted against the British and their allies, not the least of which being the Haudenosaunee, against whom the Wendat had been fighting for centuries. Of

36. Thomas Peace, *From Huronia to Wendakes: Adversity, Migration, and Resilience*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 81.

additional importance, by fighting with the French in the conflict, they actively pit themselves against British power and so created an environment wherein any British incursions against the French were automatically carried out against the Wendat as well. As time progressed, this alliance would ultimately affect the ways in which the Wendat were able to live and settle on their land, as those powers who won conflicts and gained land from such conflicts often had a major role in determining the making decisions which would impact the Wendat community and its people. However, these alliances with the French, and eventually the British, offered Wendat communities a connection with Europeans and a way in which to advocate for their social and political goals with European powers based on the partnership that the parties had.

Ultimately, a defining characteristic of the Wendat culture and society over time after European colonization was adaptability. The Wendat people and their ways of life had developed over time to be flexible and find ways to advocate for themselves, survive, and hold onto their customs despite the changing environments or circumstances of a particular period. In *Huronia to Wendakes*, Peace and Labelle examine this adaptability of the Wendat and posit that it was this adaptability which helped them to assert themselves with American and European powers. Peace and Labelle note that in response to situations in which they had to be adaptable, the Wendat, "…responded to this transition by developing a flexible culture that integrated past practices with new ways of relating to space and neighbors…", which, "…helped maintain a distinct Wendat identity and gave the nation greater political power…".[37] This point helps to contextualize some of the ways in which the Wendat have been able to adapt and change into the modern-day enough to not only survive as a culture but also advocate for themselves with the

37. Thomas Peace, *From Huronia to Wendakes: Adversity, Migration, and Resilience*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 81.

Canadian government today. To understand the Wendat and their cultural preservation in the modern day is to understand the key to much of their survival over the centuries: adaptability. The Wendat have not only been willing but have been skilled at adapting to their surroundings and circumstances to protect their culture and way of life. Even when the Haudenosaunee carried out what would be the incursions which led to the dispersal of the Wendat nation in 1649, the people of Wendake adapted to their new homes, or adapted to situations in their old homes, and carried on the traditions of their people wherever and however they could. This is evidenced in the wide range of descendants of the Wendat nation in states and territories all over the United States and Canada today. Whether referring to the Wendat, the Wyandot, the Wyandotte, or others, the point remains that Wendat culture has endured and carried on, despite the circumstances involved. On a historical and contextual level, this point is important because it helps to explain the ways in which Wendat presence and culture, especially in Quebec, has continued to survive and thrive. On the historiographical level, this understanding of the flexibility and adaptability of the Wendat is important because it adds another level of complexity to the understanding of the Wendat people and their descendants. This complexity adds to the historiography of the Wendat as a society and culture, and so more fully represents who they are in history.

Regardless of the ways in which the contextual elements of the Wendat nation are understood and the ways in which the historiography of their society and culture evolves over time, there will continue to be dangers posed by false histories and misleading interpretations and portrayals of the community. Books like *The Last of the Mohicans*, or the Brian Moore book *Black Robe*, will continue to misrepresent and misinform the public about the nature of the Wendat and their people. However, by recognizing the truth which exists in the contextualization

of their modern-day existence, exploring the historiography that exists about them as a people, and finding ways to intervene in that historiography or highlight those who are doing so, the Wendat not only become more well-understood, but have more opportunities for policies and decisions to be made with those truths in mind.

Chapter Three

Preserving the Wendat

French Canadian historian and poet Francois-Xavier Garneau exhibited a sense of hope in 1848 when he penned the words of his poem "The Last Huron". Though much of the poem laments the loss of the "Huron" from their ancestral lands and the state of the tribe at that time, having been displaced from what had once been their homes, Garneau ends his poem on a positive note, as he writes,

> "Who knows? maybe then they will be reborn on these shores
> And the Indians and their forests;
> Taking back their bodies, their fleeting shadows
> Will cover all these guerets;
> And rising as after a long dream,
> They will see the same places everywhere,
> The pines descending to the waves on the shore,
> Above the same skies!"[38]

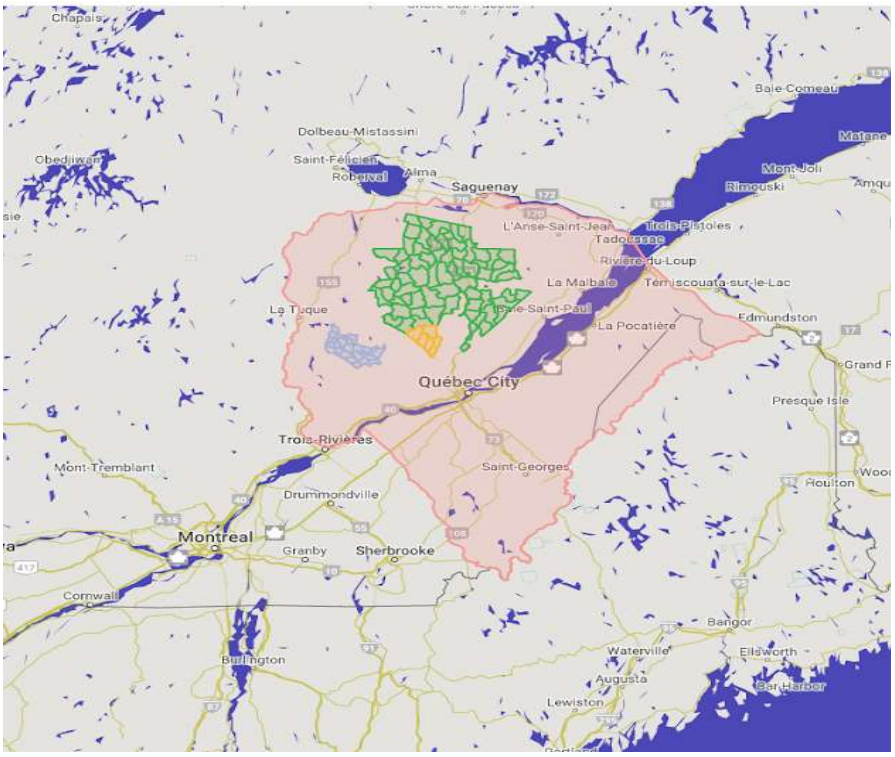
Garneau envisions a time when the "Huron" will regain some degree of what they had lost to the trials of time and war. Fortunately, as time has progressed, and the Wendat nation has continued to advocate for their recognition from the nation of Canada and province of Quebec, the tribe has been able to regain some of what was seemingly lost when Garneau wrote these words. In the question of how important state recognition is to the ability of American Indian culture to survive in the modern day, the Wendat, officially recognized as the Huron-Wendat by the

38. Francois-Xavier Garneau, "The Last Huron," All Poetry, https://allpoetry.com/Le-Dernier-Huron-(1).

Canadian government, are an important study in the ways in which such recognition can help American Indian culture to not only survive but thrive in the modern day. To examine this conclusion more fully, it is vital to unpack the recognition and resources the Wendat have received from the state and federal governments of Quebec and Canada, respectively, as well as review a final analysis of these outcomes. If Francois-Xavier Garneau had been able to see the ways in which the "Huron" people are existing in Canada today, perhaps his poem would have taken the form of a rejoice rather than a lament and desperate hope.

First, the official recognition of the "Huron-Wendat" by the federal government of Canada has occurred as a progression over time, and one that has taken place on a more recent basis, primarily over the past thirty years. The initial official recognition of the existence and sovereignty of the Huron-Wendat nation came in a supreme court case in Canada in 1990. The central basis of the nation's claims was that, according to a treaty with France in 1860, the Huron-Wendat were to be given sovereignty and rights to their ancestral lands in what is today part of the province of Quebec. The nation had been fighting for decades to argue this point in the courts of Canada, until their fight made it to the Supreme Court in 1990. The case was brought to the Supreme Court of Canada by none other than Georges Sioui, the previously mentioned author of the book *Huron Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*. Just as he had argued in his book, Sioui's argument to the Supreme Court was that indigenous history and sovereignty not only needed to be more effectively cultivated but needed the help of official federal recognition to help bring about the rights and privileges native peoples had too long been denied. The Supreme Court, in what may seem a surprising turn of events, agreed with him, and in 1990 the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the resolution that the Huron-Wendat people should be

given rights to ancestral land claims in Quebec.[39] As a result of this victory, the Huron-Wendat gained official federal recognition, followed by recognition by the province of Quebec. In gaining this recognition, the Huron-Wendat claimed a tract of land in Quebec they called Nionwentsïo and were given permission to establish the town of Wendake, where they would be permitted to construct architecture, housing, and tourism locations for them to educate the general public about their culture and history. The map below shows the land included as part of the Nionwentsïo land claim.



Map 3.1

Area in red indicates region included as part of Huron-Wendat Nionwentsïo land claim.

Source: Nation Huronne-Wendat website, https://wendake.ca/cnhw/bureau-du-nionwentsio/a-propos/carte-du-nionwentsio/

The support of the Huron-Wendat nation from the Canadian and Quebec governments did not stop with the 1990 Supreme Court case, however. As time has progressed since that court

39. Thomas Peace, *From Huronia to Wendakes: Adversity, Migration, and Resilience*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 16.

victory, the federal government of Canada, due in large part to continued activism by members of the Huron-Wendat nation, have passed additional agreements with the nation for continued support of the Huron-Wendat rights and aims. One such agreement was passed as recently as May 25, 2023. The "Framework Agreement" establishes a deeper and more intentional relationship between the federal government and the people of the Huron-Wendat nation to collaborate on ways to continue supporting and advocating for the rights, sovereignties, and opportunities of indigenous peoples in the country. The Canadian government, on their website, state the parameters of this agreement as such:

> "This Framework Agreement has been co-developed by the Huron-Wendat Nation and Canada, supported by the parties' mutual commitment to the principles of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act. It sets out a collaborative process between the parties to advance the recognition and implementation of the Huron-Wendat Nation's rights."[40]

The intentionality of the language and the continued and deepened recognition of the Huron-Wendat is notable in its directness. Such an agreement, passed as one of several different agreements made between the federal government of Canada and the Huron-Wendat, reinforces the fact that the government's recognition of the Huron-Wendat nation is a continuing effort, and stands as an exemplar of what a relationship between governments and indigenous people can look like. As evidence of the power of such an agreement, the Agreement press release also included a quotation from Rémy Vincent, who is the Grand Chief of the Huron-Wendat Nation. Chief Vincent extols,

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40. "The Huron-Wendat Nation and Canada embark on the journey toward reconciliation and sign a Framework Agreement to continue the nation–to–nation relationship," May 25, 2023, https://www.canada.ca/en/crown-indigenous-relations-northern-affairs/news/2023/05/the-huron-wendat-nation-and-canada-embark-on-the-journey-toward-reconciliation-and-sign-a-framework-agreement-to-continue-the-nationtonation-relati.html.

> "I welcome the signing of this Framework Agreement that provides us with a strong foundation, based on mutual respect and understanding, that will advance our self-determination and facilitate the implementation of our Aboriginal rights and those protected by the Huron-British Treaty of 1760. True to our values and traditions, the Huron-Wendat Nation is engaging this discussion process with the Government of Canada in a spirit of openness, collaboration and diplomacy."[41]

Such positivity of communication between state representatives and native leadership is unfortunately rarer than should be the case in the modern day, as even steps being taken in the United States to recognize and support the rights of indigenous people are rarely, if ever, so direct and blatantly positive more fully. To reiterate, such agreements are not singular or rare between the Canadian government and the Huron-Wendat nation. Yet another agreement took place in 2021 and established not just clear lines of communication between the government and representatives in the established town of Wendake, but also built a government liaison office within the boundaries of Nionwentsïo specifically to make communication and collaboration between both parties more readily available.

However, the benefits enjoyed by the people of the Huron-Wendat nation through state recognition are not just symbolic or words on a page. The support offered from the federal and provincial governments has allowed the Huron-Wendat nation to build an entire tourism industry in the town of Wendake to invite guests to learn about Huron-Wendat culture firsthand. These experiences are not simplistic or empty shells devoid of authenticity either. The town of Wendake includes a long list of amenities for those looking to visit and learn from the people of

41. "The Huron-Wendat Nation and Canada embark on the journey toward reconciliation and sign a Framework Agreement to continue the nation–to–nation relationship," May 25, 2023, https://www.canada.ca/en/crown-indigenous-relations-northern-affairs/news/2023/05/the-huron-wendat-nation-and-canada-embark-on-the-journey-toward-reconciliation-and-sign-a-framework-agreement-to-continue-the-nationtonation-relati.html.

the Huron-Wendat nation, including, but not limited to: a modern four-star hotel with seventy rooms and a Huron-Wendat cultural museum onsite, a longhouse lodging experience, five restaurants (one led by a Michelin-star chef) which serve traditional recipes of the nation and employ American Indian employees, an "Enchanted Nightwalk" cultural multimedia experience, twelve shops, vacation packages, a yearly international powwow, and cultural learning experiences like traditional storytellers, activities, arts, and crafts. Such a vast array of amenities for guests looking to learn about the Huron-Wendat are more than enough to prove the ways in which the resources of the nation are well-appointed. However, the Huron-Wendat website also lists out the services that are offered to citizens of the nation, with everything from legal services to a health center, community housing, and educational services. There is even a full-time elementary school onsite which is designed to educate students according to Canadian standards, but with additional education about Wendat history and even Wendat language classes. The website of the government of Quebec, in an entry about Wendake, perhaps puts the finest point on the incredible nature of the resources provided to the Huron-Wendat and the town of Wendake. The website explains,

> "Wendake's economy is thriving, thanks in part to the Société de développement économique de Wendake, which provides technical expertise to local industries. Some 60 businesses employ members of the Huron-Wendat Nation, as well as many non-Indigeneous workers. Wendake moccasins, canoes and snowshoes are world-renowned products. The Québec government and the Conseil de la Nation huronne-wendat signed a framework agreement in February 2000. This agreement serves as a basis for special negotiations on areas of common interest, such as hunting, fishing and taxation. In the summer of 2008, the community opened a resort that includes a hotel, a museum and an amphitheatre."[42]

42. "Huron-Wendat", February 23, 2023, https://www.quebec.ca/en/government/quebec-at-a-glance/first-nations-and-inuit/profile-of-the-nations/huron-wendat.

There is no hesitancy or hint of reluctance to embrace such support for the Huron-Wendat in this statement. Rather, this is a direct and outward statement of seeming pride in the ways in which the province and the nation are working together to support and help the Huron-Wendat nation to thrive for years to come.

There are many ways in which such a comprehensive relationship of recognition and support of American Indians in Canada, specifically of the Huron-Wendat nation in Canada, can be unpacked and analyzed. However, perhaps the most effective analysis is the simplest: The nation of Canada, and the province of Quebec, have together exemplified just how incredibly powerful state recognition of American Indian populations is for the prospect of those populations to survive in the modern day. The directness and boldness of the recognition of the Huron-Wendat nation in Canada is difficult to believe in a modern context wherein American Indian populations are continuing to either dwindle or be ignored by governments around the United States. There are obviously aspects of government policy and practice which are vastly different in Canada than those of the United States. The histories of Canada and the United States are different, including as it pertains to the relationships and interactions each has had with its indigenous populations over time. Property rights and privileges, and the laws that govern them are different in Canada than those that exist in the United States. However, the core of the issue is recognition and the ways in which even just a simple official recognition that an American Indian population exists has its own power and ability to bring about healing, progress, and survival. The Wendat people of what is today modern-day Quebec have been misunderstood, misrepresented, and dismissed as “savages” and “barbarians” countless times throughout their history, as has been discussed in detail in the preceding chapters of this paper. Their sovereignty, their rights, and their very value as human beings have been questioned and denied. And yet,

despite that history, despite those historic perspectives, and despite policies of the past, the governments currently in power in their ancestral lands saw the need for recognition and met the call. Doing so was certainly not the simplest road, nor was it likely the most popular course of action. However, the governments of Quebec and Canada saw it as the correct road. As a result of that recognition, and the resources which came with it, an estimated twelve thousand indigenous inhabitants of Wendake in Quebec, Canada, are not only living as fully recognized American Indian people, but are, as the province itself proudly claims, “thriving”. Francois-Xavier Garneau’s hope could have never expected such a state of positivity. If it had, perhaps his poem would not have portrayed the concept of the “*last* Huron”.

Chapter Four

The People of the River

The Lenape tribe has a rich history of folktales and stories passed down from one generation to the next. While the Lenape language has fluctuated and at times faltered in its survival through the centuries, records still exist which tell of some of the stories which were central to the tribe. One such story is centered on the character of a fox and a rabbit and is relayed by Lenape storyteller Nora Thompson Dean in the "Lenape Talking Dictionary" in both English and a form of the traditional language of the Lenape. Dean recounts that, in the story, the fox tends to his garden and his crops with dedication and care, cultivating "different things" with each passing season. When one day he enters his garden, he sees that all of the crops he has so carefully been growing have been eaten by someone. The fox sets a trap, expecting to be able to find out who the culprit is. Alas, the next day the fox finds blood and rabbit fur on his trap, and he concludes that the rabbit must be the thief. The fox travels to the rabbit's house and confronts the creature, saying "You are the one who is stealing from my garden!". The rabbit denies the claim and the two nearly fight. Instead, the fox leaves in a fury and tells the rabbit, "You are the biggest liar! You are shameful!". At the end of the story, Nora Thompson Dean reveals the ultimate conclusion of the story: "It has long been known that the rabbit likes to lie."[43] While the story of the fox and the rabbit is one that is meant to have a moral objective, it is perhaps all to familiar for the people of the Lenape nation in regard to the ways in which they have been treated and remembered in the historical narrative of North America. If there is to be a clear

43. Nora Thompson Dean, "Na Òkwës Òk Na Chëmamës Achimëwakàn (The Fox and the Rabbit Story)," Delaware Tribe of Indians Lenape Talking Dictionary, https://www.talk-lenape.org/stories?id=7.

understanding of the current status of the Lenape people in America, specifically those who are descendants of the tribe and those who have remained in their ancestral lands in what is today the state of Pennsylvania, it is vital to understand the contextual and historiographical aspects of their continued presence in the state. While the first chapter of this paper explained the general aspects of both the context and historiography of the Lenape people, this chapter will aim to explore the ways in which each can be applied more specifically to an understanding of the tribe's descendants today and the ways in which they continue to fight the ignorance and lack of understanding exhibited by the state and federal government. First, context of the tribe's existence and history in the lands that are today Pennsylvania will be explored so as to clarify historical details which are pertinent to understanding their presence in the state today. Then, a brief overview of the historiography of the Lenape will be given in an effort to discuss the ways in which the representation and perceptions of the tribe have changed over time, albeit not in ways that have brought about major changes to their experience in Pennsylvania today. Ultimately, this contextual and historiographical exploration will help to add pertinent evidence to support the concept that state recognition of the Lenape is vital to their culture's survival in the lands they inhabited long before the state of Pennsylvania was established.

In any conversation about the contextual elements of the Lenape people in what is today the state of Pennsylvania, it is important to ensure that their history *prior* to European colonization is considered and given attention. Due to the fact that the Lenape have inhabited the land that makes up the modern-day state of Pennsylvania for hundreds, if not thousands, of years, their history is long and complex. However, as discussed previously in Chapter One of this paper, because American Indian tribes in general, and the Lenape specifically, primarily passed down their history through oral tradition, it is not given nearly the same attention nor

preservation that is given to histories written following the arrival of European colonists. However, there are some crucial aspects of the tribe's history, specifically in regard to their presence and history with the land, which has been recorded and preserved for understanding. Perhaps the most important aspect of this history to recognize is the way in which the Lenape lived and existed on the land alongside other tribes and nations in the area. William E. Englebrecht, an esteemed anthropologist and expert on the nature of American Indian intertribal relationships in eastern North America explores the ways in which the Lenape and their neighbors operated in the land which would become the state of Pennsylvania and highlights how the relationships between the Lenape and their fellow tribes in the region created a vast network of connections which helped the region to be an open land of trade and community prior to European colonization. Specifically, Englebrecht notes the openness of the land and relationships between the tribes of the region, explaining,

> "A system of trails crisscrossed Pennsylvania and allowed the opportunity for Native Americans to travel great distances. A code of hospitality meant that Native Americans looked after strangers in need who were traveling these trails and that people, information, and goods could pass with relative ease between cultures we now think of as isolated by geography."[44]

This level of openness and interconnectedness between the Lenape and their neighbors belies the points explored in Chapter One regarding the importance of relationships to the people of the Lenape tribe. However, more specifically, Englebrecht's explanation helps to paint a fuller picture of the environment created within the land between tribes which helped each community to relate to one another as well as maintain amicable and positive trade and relationships.

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44. William Engelbrecht, *Iroquoia: The Development of a Native World (The Iroquois and Their Neighbors)*, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 162.

Historian and American Indian anthropologist David Minderhout notes that this sense of community and openness created a situation in the Delaware Valley in which the American Indian "…social landscape was fluid and always changing…", as, Minderhout continues, "Oral histories among Native Americans tell of waves of migration in-and out-of the Northeast. Villages were relocated periodically; even 'permanent settlements' shifted every 15 to 20 years as resources in an area were depleted and housing deteriorated."[45] Such an environment is so much more complex and interwoven than is generally understood and recognized by histories of the Lenape tribe, or even of the Delaware Valley region in general. These histories also highlight the ways in which Lenape understandings of land ownership varied greatly from those of the European colonists who would arrive in the late 17th Century.

Of additional importance to understand is the ways in which the Lenape, though often portrayed by European records as being overtly peaceful and near-pacifists, held immense power in the region before the arrival of William Penn and other European colonists. Jean R. Soderlund notes in his book *Lenape Country* that the narrative of perceived "weakness" of the Lenape is ultimately not only false, but entirely misrepresents the tribe's strength. Soderlund notes,

> "…the Lenapes are often portrayed as a weak people lacking the numbers and fortitude to defend their homeland. The prevailing narrative ignores the period from 1615 to 1681 when the Lenapes dominated trade and determined if, when, and where Europeans could travel and take up land… the Lenapes established their primacy and never lost it until after Penn received his colony in 1681."[46]

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45. David J. Minderhout and Andrea T. Frantz, *Invisible Indians: Native Americans in Pennsylvania*, (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2008), 216.

46. Jean R. Soderlund, *Lenape Country: Delaware Valley Society Before William Penn*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 12.

It is vital to recognize this clearer narrative of the Lenape and their strength so as to better put into context their status prior to the arrival of William Penn and the foundation on which they would continue to resist European incursion for the next century, regardless of European colonial pressure.

Ultimately, however, evaluating this context reinforces the ways in which the eventual incursions of European settlers on Lenape land would intervene and interfere with a unique social and cultural environment which had existed for centuries, or even millennia. As such, this context helps to explain important aspects of the history of the Lenape in what is modern-day Pennsylvania which are rarely understood, and yet are vital to any understanding of how the Lenape have existed on the land throughout their history, including the ways in which the tribe today is working to honor that legacy.

Of course, a major aspect of the contextual understanding of the Lenape and their presence on the land that is today the state of Pennsylvania is the arrival of the state's namesake, William Penn, and the wave of colonization which accompanied him and his Quaker contemporaries. This context in and of itself is revelatory in clarifying the complexity of the history of the Lenape people on the land which Penn would claim as his own, as there was a deep interpersonal interplay between the Lenape, their Algonquian neighbors and Penn and his fellow colonists. Generally, much of the historical record has highlighted the ways in which William Penn was considered a "friend" to the Lenape people. Indeed, much of the historical record of the centuries which followed Penn's arrival focused on this concept, especially those of Quaker historians. One such Quaker historian, Sarah Gilpin Underhill, told the "story" of the Lenape in a 1934 article about "The Indians of Bucks County Two Hundred and Fifty Years Ago". In her article, Underhill primarily focuses on the ways in which William Penn and his contemporaries

of the time described and wrote about the Lenape, highlighting the ways in which the historical record of the Lenape is conflated with that of European colonization. Underhill notes in her article,

> "There was a well-established precedent of good relationship between the whites and the Indians…Penn, as it is well known to all the world, simply carried on this good relationship, only more intensively. He wished to deal fairly and in good feeling with the aboriginal owners of the new province he had acquired…".[47]

This account of the relationship between the Lenape and William Penn is a small portion of the narrative which attempts to glorify Quaker settlement of the Delaware Valley region. Some of this record is accurate in its portrayal of Penn and his desire to create positive relationships with the Lenape, as even Lenape records reflect some level of amicability. Alphonsus Kirk and Samuel Hollingsworth, children of Lenape leadership who witnessed and signed one of the land agreements with William Penn, noted in statements in 1725, "When William Penn first came to this country he settled a perpetual Friendship with us… [He] promised that we should not be molested whilst one Indian lived, grew old and blind, and died…".[48] Yet, Sarah Gilpin Underhill's glowing record of Penn still fails to recognize the ways in which Penn dictated European standards of land ownership on the Lenape. This European standard continues to cause issues for the Lenape today, as claims for state recognition are often challenged by utilizing the Lenape land agreements with Penn and his progeny against them. This is despite the fact that the Lenape continuously voiced their feeling of being deceived by land agreements with Europeans.

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47. Sarah Gilpin Underhill, "The Indians of Bucks County Two Hundred and Fifty Years Ago," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association* 23, no. 1 (1934): 10, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41943735.

48. Amy C. Schutt, Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 78.

Amy C. Schutt, whose book *Peoples of the River Valleys* was introduced in Chapter One of this paper, explains that the Lenape and their neighbors who made agreements for land with William Penn regularly, "…claimed certain usage rights for themselves on lands sold to William Penn…" and insisted that, "' tho' they sold the Lands on the Creek below their Settlements yet they never sold the Water or Creek itself, for they had ever reserved the use of it for fishing.'"[49] No clear understanding of the context for Lenape tribal existence in what would become Pennsylvania, either in the past or today, can be had without a clear understanding of the ways in which Penn, his contemporaries, and other European colonists in the region used confusion and deception to lay claim to Lenape ancestral lands.

This deception went from perhaps being argued as well-meant misunderstanding on the part of the "fair" William Penn to outright aggression and lies on the part of his sons after his death. Thomas Penn in particular seemed to have a voracious appetite for attaining Lenape land which had not been gained by his father. In fact, members of the Lenape reported in a 1733 meeting Thomas Penn, "begging & plagueing us to Give him some Land till he Wearies us Out of Our Lives."[50] However, by this point the Lenape had come to understand the misleading nature of European land agreements and so were unwilling to make new deals with Penn's sons unless they felt more secure in their ability to maintain some level of sovereignty. This lack of willingness to further cede Lenape lands to European settlers came to a head in what would come to be known as the "Walking Purchase of 1737". Penn's sons, along with other colonists whom William Penn designated as representatives, "set about to swindle the Lenape out of 1.2 million

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49. Amy C. Schutt, Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 38.

50. "Delaware Indians' meeting with Proprietor, June 1733," vol. 1, *Penn Manuscripts*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 37.

acres of land…setting into motion 20 years of violence in the region between the Lenape and the colonial settlers."[51] An agreement was reached between the Lenape and colonial representatives that the Lenape would sell to them a limited tract of land. The limitation set on the amount of land to be sold was the amount of land which could be walked in a period of a day and a half. The Lenape had assumed that such a limitation would result in a sizable enough territory to sate the Penns' hunger for more land, while still allowing the vast majority of tribal lands to be maintained as property of the Lenape. However, "…the Penns stacked the deck in their favor by blazing a trail ahead of time to remove all obstacles and by training men to run the distance at a marathon speed, tripling the amount of land covered."[52] As a result, the Lenape lost over one million acres of their lands, the breadth of which make up much of the current boundaries and acreage of the state of Pennsylvania. Lenape leadership tried continuously over the ensuing decades to challenge the agreement, claiming that they had been tricked and deceived. However, the government which had been established in the colony, and eventually the commonwealth, of Pennsylvania continued to refuse these challenges. Ultimately, the protests of the Lenape became so virulent that Thomas Penn, by 1741 Governor of the colony, "… contrived another scheme, this time enlisting the Iroquois to run the Lenape off their land."[53] In this way, the Haudenosaunee, who had long been nearly neighbors to the Lenape, were enticed into becoming the enforcers of colonial will against the Lenape. As discussed in Chapter One, with the supplies

51."Walking Purchase," Bucks County Parks and Recreation, https://www.buckscounty.gov/1567/Walking-Purchase.

52. "Walking Purchase," Bucks County.

53. Francis Jennings, "The Scandalous Indian Policy of William Penn's Sons: Deeds and Documents of the Walking Purchase," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 37, no. 1 (1970): 38, http://www.jstor.org/stable/27771833.

provided by colonial powers to the Haudenosaunee the Lenape, though proven as defenders of their land when they had needed to be in the past, were unable to overcome the well-supplied Haudenosaunee pressure. As explained earlier in this chapter, the Lenape were strong and willing defenders of their land and sovereignty, even against European pressure. However, the combined European and Haudenosaunee pressure would have proved difficult for any, not just the Lenape, to resist. As a result of this pressure, the Lenape population was forced to make decisions about what to do to survive as a tribe.

It is important here to note the ways in which the historiography of the Lenape is deserving of critique. For much of American History, the narratives of the Lenape and their society and culture were based almost entirely on the records produced by William Penn and other Quaker and European colonists who came to what would become Pennsylvania. The problematic nature of these records is seen as early as the years preceding William Penn's arrival in the Delaware Valley, as the writings of George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, laid the groundwork for how many people, including William Penn, saw the nature of the Delaware Valley and its potential as a colony. Jean R. Soderlund notes in *Lenape Country* that,

> "…Fox's report to English Friends about his journey through Lenape country helped to establish the mythology that the early Delaware Valley was a wilderness inhabited by generally friendly Indians and some scattered colonists…he thus gave the impression to William Penn and other Friends in England that the Lenapes' domain was ripe for Quaker colonization. Fox's narrative has given impetus to the legend that the Delaware Valley was a blank slate on which Penn and the Quakers first brought peace and justice to the Lenapes."[54]

54. Jean R. Soderlund, *Lenape Country: Delaware Valley Society Before William Penn*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 101.

The importance of these implications cannot be understated, as they are the foundation on which European colonization, specifically that of Quakers in what would become Pennsylvania, are built. The suggestion that the Delaware Valley was not only "sparsely populated", but that it was a theoretical gold mine for colonial interests in the New World enabled and encouraged Quaker incursion in the region. Fox's records bear similar resemblance to the ways in which William Penn spoke of the region and of the Lenape and portrayed Quaker colonization as a blessing to the Lenape people. This narrative gains additional traction throughout the historiographical record as time progresses, as analyses of Penn's writings and purported actions in the Delaware Valley are celebrated and deified for many historians of the region, especially those who are also of a Quaker background. Sarah Gilpin Underhill, discussed previously, is a perfect example of this concept, as her piece on the "Indians of Bucks County" reflects much of the scholarly work on the Lenape and the Delaware Valley; that is, her use of nearly exclusively records of William Penn and his contemporaries and her recognition of William Penn as "the Great Proprietor"[55] reveals the heroic persona that history has largely cast on Penn and the Quaker records of the Lenape. Underhill shows that even in 1934, over two hundred and fifty years after Penn's arrival in the Delaware Valley, William Penn and Quaker colonists maintained a powerful hold on the historiography of the Lenape. Case in point: Underhill herself quotes George Fox's original records in stating in her piece, "When the white man first came to these shores, he found the land but sparsely settled by Indians."[56]

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55. Sarah Gilpin Underhill, "The Indians of Bucks County Two Hundred and Fifty Years Ago," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association* 23, no. 1 (1934):8, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41943735.

56. Underhill, "The Indians of Bucks County," 8.

This Quaker-dominated narrative of the Lenape would continue to hold power in the historiography of the tribe for much of American History, and still plays a major role in public understandings of the Lenape to this day. Fortunately, the historiography surrounding the Lenape has progressed in the past century to more thoughtfully consider and study the Lenape records or narratives that do exist. Amy C. Schutt and Jean R. Sodelund's works on the tribe, as well as the work of anthropologists and archaeologists of the region have provided clarity on the ways in which the historical narrative of the Lenape required revision. In conducting more in-depth anthropological surveys of the Lenape and their artifacts, as well as the first-hand accounts of the descendants of the original population, the narrative about the Lenape has grown immensely. Such shifts can be seen most publicly in the public resources which are available about the tribe that are easily accessible and yet notably thoughtful in the analysis of the negative impacts of Quaker settlement in the region. For instance, on the public-facing site for the Parks and Recreation Department of Bucks County, Pennsylvania—Bucks County is where William Penn's original estate in Pennsylvania was located and where much of the interaction and agreements made between Penn and the Lenape took place—has an entire section of the site dedicated to resources and analyses which go far beyond the Quaker records which made up much of the historiographical understanding of the Lenape for centuries. The Penn Museum at the University of Pennsylvania has created entire exhibitions and resource nodes for study of Lenape perspectives and records. Even Pennsbury Manor, William Penn's original estate in what would become Pennsylvania, has dedicated portions of the property to Lenape artist Nathan Young's multimedia presentation evoking the mindsets and the emotions of his ancestors in his "Nkwiluntàmën" series. All of these steps have been taken within the past fifteen years, and so there is still a long path to be travelled to get widespread and deep understanding of the true

narratives of the Lenape the attention they deserve. However, all of these examples, and more, represent some of the major steps which have been taken to separate the historiography of the Lenape from solely being driven by the bias and all-too-often inaccuracies of Quaker records and perceptions of the tribe.

Following Haudenosaunee and European incursion after the circumstances surrounding the Walking Purchase of 1737, large portions of the Lenape population decided to relocate to regions and territories to the west of the Delaware Valley, on land in what is today Ohio, Wisconsin, and eventually Oklahoma and Kansas. Other segments of the Lenape population decided to join the communities of Haudenosaunee just north of the Delaware Valley and become part of the Haudenosaunee population. However, despite these segments of the population making decisions to relocate to other territories, this did not, contrary to the traditional narrative portrayed of the Lenape, account for the whole population. This point is important to conversations about the Lenape in Pennsylvania today, as it is central to many of the disputes to Lenape sovereignty and existence in the state in the modern day. The public assumption, and official state position, is that the Lenape abandoned their lands in Pennsylvania and no longer hold legitimate claim to any territory in the state. However, not only is this narrative inaccurate, as will be discussed below, but it is reductive and takes advantage of the ways in which European colonists and American political entities have regularly and continuously stolen land from the Lenape and their American Indian neighbors and then made claims that the land no longer belongs to them because they left. This is despite the fact that it was European and United States deception and aggression which led to the population relocation in the first place. While this narrative is not necessarily surprising for any critically minded student of American History, it is still a reality worthy of recognition.

However, what makes narratives about "all of the Lenape" being "gone" from Pennsylvania even more flawed is that such a conclusion is considered accurate by some of the members of the Lenape tribe who left Pennsylvania following the Walking Purchase of 1737. A 2008 exhibition by the Penn Museum at the University of Pennsylvania partnered with the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, a community of descendants of the Lenape tribe who never left Pennsylvania, explains that,

> "Conventional histories of Pennsylvania declare that all but a few elderly Lenape people left the state by the opening of the 19th century… Yet, some Lenape people remained here in secret… and continued to practice their traditions covertly. Hiding their heritage, they avoided discovery by both the government and their neighbors for more than two hundred years."[57]

Chief Robert Red Hawk, a leader in the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, explains further, noting, "For centuries, the Lenape families who remained in Pennsylvania hid their identities, fearing the persecutions suffered by their contemporaries in the American Indian community would be visited upon them."[58] Such a reality of continued Lenape existence in Pennsylvania not only counteracts the narrative that the entirety of the Lenape left the state, giving up all claims to the land, but also makes the sovereignty and rights of the Lenape who stayed in the state a vital point of consideration for state authorities. Those who are members of the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania have continuously fought to have their voices heard but have continued to face the false narratives of their non-existence.

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57. "Fulfilling a Prophecy," Penn Museum, September 13, 2008, https://www.penn.museum/sites/fap/index.shtml.

58. Chief Robert Red Hawk, Shelley DePaul, and Abigail Seldin, "Curator's Message", Penn Museum, March 4 2014, https://www.lenape-nation.org/2nd-project.

It is into this modern-day context of claims that the Lenape no longer exist in Pennsylvania that all of the contextual and historiographical information discussed throughout this chapter comes to its full importance. The context which serves as the backdrop for the modern-day Lenape community in Pennsylvania helps to show the ways in which the Lenape tribe has been disrespected by European colonists, as well as the ways in which the tribe and its descendants have proven themselves resilient and adaptable in the face of such treatment. Analysis of the historiography of the Lenape and the ways in which the tribe has had their history and very existence doubted, dismissed, and demeaned by the historiography of the tribe for much of the three centuries since European arrival in the region helps to clarify the progress that must continue to be made to tell a more accurate story of the tribe. The Lenape of Pennsylvania are fighting right at this moment to get the recognition they deserve as a people and continue to fight an uphill battle in doing so. Understanding the context of this fight, and the historiography of the Lenape to this point which informs the perspectives and attitudes they are continuing to fight, allow for a much clearer picture of the ways in which recognition of the Lenape is important and vital to the tribe's survival in the modern day. History has pushed the Lenape who remain in Pennsylvania to the sidelines and the only way that they will get the attention and recognition they deserve is by bringing *their* stories, *their* perspectives, and *their* mindsets to the forefront of the conversation. The rabbit in the real-world sense is American perspectives and policy toward the Lenape over time. The rabbit has for too long stolen and taken what it feels it deserves from the fox. It is time that the fox is given its due.

Chapter Five

"No Indians in Pennsylvania"

On the grounds of Pennsbury Manor, in Bucks County Pennsylvania, the Lenape speak. In the midst of historical recreations of William Penn's original estate in North America, his home along the Delaware River, and live animals meant to reflect those livestock on the property during Penn's residence on the property, stand a series of large metal signs which hold the lines of a poem. The poem's name is Nkwiluntàmën: I Long For It: I am Lonesome For It. The poet's name is Nathan Young, and he is a member of the Lenape tribe. The purpose of the Nkwiluntàmën program at Pennsbury Manor is to bring attention to the voices of the Lenape through the words of their modern-day descendants. Young created the program and wrote both the poetry and the music which can be listened to as visitors explore the grounds and read the poetry. The music's undertones are almost eerie and unsettling, while overtones are interspersed throughout which evoke lightness and hope. The poem's words are split among multiple different signs on the property. The first Nkwiluntàmën sign visitors encounter reads:

> "Follow me
> Walk the path
> I have a drum
> Where is the drum hide
> I long for it
> I am lonesome for it
> The sound of the drum
> Among the trees"[59]

59. Nathan Young, "Nkwiluntàmën: I Long For It: I am Lonesome For It," https://nkwiluntamen.com/.

Nathan Young explains that the song and program as a whole is meant to amplify indigenous agency and honor and reimagine the traditions of the Lenape, even as they are spread throughout North America.[60] The poem's words elicit a feeling of separation and emptiness and gives glimpses of the ways in which European colonization has intervened in a culture centered on community and relationship with one another and the environment. And yet, the community of Lenape in America, including those still living in Pennsylvania, are not gone entirely, but instead are very much still working to assert their agency and sovereignty. It is simply a matter of whether the government, and that of the state of Pennsylvania specifically, is willing to recognize the tribe's presence, rights, and sovereignty.

According to the state of Pennsylvania, "There are no Indians in Pennsylvania."[61] Pennsylvania stands as one of the few states in the country which does not officially recognize a single American Indian tribe or nation within the state. This is despite the fact that since 1990, U.S. census data for Pennsylvania has continued to show an increase in the population of people who identify themselves as American Indian, to a total of approximately 52,000 in the state according to the 2022 U.S. Census.[62] Obviously there is a significant disconnect at play as it pertains to the official state knowledge or recognition of American Indian presence in the state. Either the state is simply entirely unaware of the members of its populace who are American

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60. Nathan Young, "The Sound of the Wind," Nkwiluntàmën, https://nkwiluntamen.com/.

61. David J. Minderhout and Andrea T. Frantz, *Invisible Indians: Native Americans in Pennsylvania*, (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2008), 216.

62. United States Census Bureau, "Pennsylvania," https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/PA/PST045222.

Indians, or they intentionally refuse to be aware of them. Furthermore, there appears to be little effort being conducted by the state or its educational institutions to correct the obvious disconnect and lack of awareness, as anthropologists David J. Minderhout and Andrea T. Frantz, authors of *Invisible Indians: Native Americans in Pennsylvania* have noted. Minderhout and Frantz reveal a shocking—though perhaps not entirely surprising—reality: "Within state government, there are commissions on African-American Affairs, Asian Affairs and Latino Affairs, but no state agency represents or acknowledges the existence of Native Americans."[63] Additionally, there are few university-level American Indian programs in the state and state standards regarding required education about American Indians is woefully lacking, with not a single mention or recommendation regarding American Indian tribes or nations with histories or modern-day connections to the state. Minderhout and Frantz also note, "Inquiries with museums and academic departments in the state were met with puzzlement: Time and again, we were told that no one knew any contemporary, living Native Americans."[64] Far more gaps in state recognition of American Indians in the state exist, but all of them point to a singular truth: The state of Pennsylvania, at least on an official basis, stands firm in their belief that "There are no Indians in Pennsylvania".

For the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, the state's largest organized community of contemporary Lenape Indians, the failure to recognize the existence of any American Indian presence in the state, and especially that of the Lenape is, put simply, unacceptable. The Lenape,

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63. David J. Minderhout and Andrea T. Frantz, "The museum of Indian culture and Lenape identity," *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 23 (2008): 120, https://doi.org/10.1080/ 09647770802012011.

64. David J. Minderhout and Andrea T. Frantz, *Invisible Indians: Native Americans in Pennsylvania*, (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2008), 14.

who were one of the first American Indian groups with whom European colonists came into contact, and from whom much of the land that makes up the state of Pennsylvania today was taken from, as described in the previous chapter, deserve far more than ignorance, as do the dozens of other American Indian populations in the state. To explore this topic and its impact on the Lenape who live in Pennsylvania today, this chapter will examine the challenges currently faced by the Lenape as it pertains to state recognition and the ways they have continued to attempt to gain recognition, the ways in which the lack of resources from not being recognized has affected the tribe, and a final analysis of the outcomes of this saga.

The problem of Pennsylvania's refusal to recognize American Indians in the state have powerful implications for American Indians throughout the state, including those of the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania. For the Lenape in Pennsylvania, not only is the lack of state recognition troubling, it is actively negates the ways in which the members of the tribe today continue to be involved with and contribute to the functioning of the state. On the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania's public site, one of the central voices of the tribe, Adam Waterbear DePaul, who is the tribal story keeper, director of education, and one of four chiefs of the Lenape Nation, makes the tribe's stance clear in the very first text that appears for any visitors to the site. In a section labeled "CURRENT STAND FOR STATE RECOGNITION", DePaul sends a clear message to the state of Pennsylvania, emphasizing, "Our people work in Pennsylvania businesses, vote for Pennsylvania officials, protect Pennsylvania rivers and watersheds, and attend Pennsylvania schools, colleges, and universities. We directly call upon Pennsylvania officials to recognize the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania."[65] Responding directly to the state's

65. Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, "Current Stand for State Recognition," https://www.lenape-nation.org/.

refusal to recognize the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, DePaul highlights the clear issue at the center of the tribe's presence today. The continued refusal by the state to recognize the tribe contrasts from the ways in which multiple county and local resources speak of the tribe. For instance, the government of Bucks County in the state, a central figure in the story of the Lenape and their interactions with William Penn and other colonists of the 17th Century, publicly recognize not only the ways in which the Lenape were affected by European colonialism, but also directly recognize the existence of the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania and their connection to their ancestors in the past. In one educational resource from the county, a statement explains their view on the Lenape, "…many of the Lenape people were removed and dispersed throughout the country as treaties were made and broken repeatedly. Some took refuge with other tribes in Oklahoma. Other families remained and are known today as the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania."[66] That final statement is not one to be taken lightly. To reiterate, the state of Pennsylvania's official position is that there are absolutely no Lenape, or any American Indians for that matter, in the state today. Hence the lack of state recognition and resources devoted to American Indian populations in the state. However, Bucks County firmly and without hesitation confirms not only the role the state and county played in intervening in Lenape sovereignty, but also affirms the fact that some Lenape people remained in the state and *continue to live in the state today*. To this end, it becomes clear that the state of awareness regarding the Lenape community in Pennsylvania is at once complex and yet simple: the state refuses to recognize what even its county divisions do regarding the fact that Lenape people *exist* in the state. This

66. "Walking Purchase," Bucks County Parks and Recreation, https://www.buckscounty.gov/1567/Walking-Purchase.

recognition is not simply symbolic but has important implications and conclusions which will be unpacked in more detail later in this chapter.

In 2008 the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania worked with the Penn Museum from the University of Pennsylvania to create a program focused on a vision. The program, titled the "Fulfilling a Prophecy Project", referencing the prophecy of the Fourth Crow—wherein after the hardship of colonization and resultant hiding in the aftermath, the Lenape would return to public consciousness and pursue harmony on earth with their neighbors again—sought to give voice to the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania and give them the opportunity to share their stories and educate the people of Pennsylvania about their history and culture. The project represented a public and interactive attempt to further the continued efforts of the tribe to pursue state recognition, with the hope that public education would provide a catalyst for change in the state's policy stance on the matter. However, "Fulfilling a Prophecy" was not the first time that the Lenape of Pennsylvania had worked to attain state recognition. In fact, "Bills to recognize the Lenape have been introduced into the Pennsylvania state legislature since 1987 (though none have been voted upon) …". The members of the Lenape have not given up, however, as the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania specifically has continuously petitioned to gain recognition with the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs.[67] However, efforts to gain such recognition from the state or federal governments have continuously failed. The reasons for such failure are not entirely clear, as the state legislature has refused to provide any specific reasons for why there has been reluctance to officially recognize the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, despite their continued efforts. The previous gubernatorial administration, led by Governor Tom Wolf, offered only a

67. David J. Minderhout and Andrea T. Frantz, "The museum of Indian culture and Lenape identity," *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 23 (2008): 120, https://doi.org/10.1080/ 09647770802012011.

vague and unclear response when asked directly why the administration was unwilling to provide leadership and support for the campaign to recognize the Lenape. In the statement, a spokesperson explained,

> "Gov. Wolf believes that diversity makes our state stronger and that all cultures should be respected and appreciated. The state legislature would need to pass legislation for the commonwealth to officially recognize a tribe, unless it is recognized by the federal government. If such a bill reaches the governor's desk, he will give it serious consideration."[68]

However, this statement reveals the cyclical issue the Lenape of Pennsylvania face: bills are brought to the state legislature and are not voted on, and so the governor is able to claim ignorance or lack of power in the matter, which pushes blame on the issue back to the legislature, which refuses to vote on bills dealing with recognition of the Lenape… and the cycle continues. To their credit, the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania refuse to give up the fight. Adam DePaul notes that the tribe has a state recognition committee, of which he is a part, and the tribe has created a petition for state recognition which is available for any member of the public to sign in support of the efforts for recognition.[69] Additionally, the tribe has continued to host rallies at the state capitol throughout the years, with one held as recently as May of 2023. At the rally, members of the Lenape Nation continued to urge state legislators to put forth legislation to officially recognize the tribe, and called on the newly appointed governor, Josh Shapiro, to help

68. Kenny Cooper, "'We just want to be welcomed back': the Lenape seek a return home," WHYY, July 30, 2021, https://whyy.org/articles/we-just-want-to-be-welcomed-back-the-lenape-seek-a-return-home/.

69. Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, "Current Stand for State Recognition," https://www.lenape-nation.org/.

spearhead the effort to do so. Again, no direct comment was made available by legislators or the governor.[70]

Further complicating the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania's efforts to gain official recognition, and perhaps one of the factors which have led to legislative resistance to carry out such recognition, has been efforts to delegitimize the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania by a community that may seem the least likely to do so: fellow Lenape Indians. Contextually, when the Lenape tribe was pressured off their ancestral lands by European and Haudenosaunee influence following the Walking Purchase of 1737, many members of the Lenape traveled to lands in the west, starting with Ohio and eventually being relocated to Oklahoma and Kansas. It was in Oklahoma that the Lenape tribe first received federal recognition and resources under their new identity as the Delaware Nation. That federally recognized tribe still exists today and has continued to be one of only two federally recognized tribes to bear the Lenape/Delaware name—the other, the Delaware Tribe of Indians, also resides in Oklahoma. Representatives of this tribe today have taken ownership of a museum in Allentown, Pennsylvania called the "Museum of Indian Culture". Originally opened as a locally owned and operated museum in Pennsylvania to simply serve the purpose of educating the state on American Indian culture, the museum changed ownership in 2003 and was put under control of the Delaware Nation. Previously, the museum played a fairly supportive role for the Lenape of Pennsylvania, as well as other tribes in the region and state. However, from the point at which ownership changed, the museum and its central mission appeared to shift quite significantly. David J. Minderhout, who conducted an investigation of the museum in 2008 to discover how the new leadership had

70. I myself attempted to reach out to state representatives to request insight into why efforts to recognize the Lenape have been stalled or ignored, but have to date received no response either.

changed the message and objectives of the museum, found that the new owners of the museum, again from the descendants of the Lenape who now reside in Oklahoma, and much of the population of that community, "…contend that all the Lenapes left Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century and that anyone in Pennsylvania who claims descent from the Lenape is a fraud." Linda Poolaw, a member of the Delaware Nation who served at the time as "Grand Chief of the Delaware Grand Council of Native Americans", has been a particularly vocal opponent of the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania. As an exemplar of this passionate opposition to the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, Poolaw and other leadership of the Oklahoma Delaware planned an event at the Museum of Indian Culture in 2007 specifically aimed at raising awareness for what they considered the widespread issue of fraudulent claims of American Indian heritage. Speakers were invited and programs were planned in an effort to further this opposition. A brochure for the event stated its objectives quite plainly, emphasizing,

> "Knowledge is fundamental. For decades, throughout the United States, fraudulent groups claiming to be American Indian have been teaching altered cultural and historic information in colleges, universities, private and public schools, to scout troops, civic and religious organizations, etc. In Pennsylvania and New Jersey alone, there is an estimated 500 of these fraudulent groups operating under the pretext of being American Indian and scamming millions of dollars from legitimate philanthropic, public and private sponsors."[71]

Ultimately the event was postponed and then held at a different, private site for which there was no public information given. However, the mission of the museum and its ownership became quite clear: there are no Lenape in Pennsylvania or elsewhere in the region, and any persons or groups who claim otherwise are not only fraudulent but are harming the "legitimate"

71. Museum of Indian Culture, "American Indian fraud (Brochure)," Allentown, PA, 2007.

Lenape/Delaware community. This movement and action by the Delaware from Oklahoma fueled what was already a difficult battle for the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania. In the years since the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania had started advocating for recognition one of the few communications the tribe got from the state was that without federal recognition the tribe could not provide the heritage records required to gain recognition from the state as a legitimate tribe. However, the easiest path to gain federal recognition as a tribe, including to this day, is through first gaining state recognition. Another cyclical obstacle for the tribe. Add to this the claims from the Delaware Nation that *any* individual or group claiming to be Lenape are frauds and the issue became more complicated for the Lenape of Pennsylvania. For their part, the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania has a specific statement on their tribe's website regarding their heritage which explains, "We are the descendants of the Lenape people who stayed in our homeland and of those who went west to Ohio and returned… Many lived on both sides of the Delaware River in Easton and Burlington where communities were documented in 1840."[72] However, the "Oklahoma Delawares" do not see these claims as legitimate proof of heritage, primarily because they have built their arguments on the idea that they and their ancestors represented the only Lenape populations left of the original Lenape. The Museum of Indian Culture maintains close ties to the Delaware Nation today, and in fact publicly recognize that in 2020 they officially became partners of the Delaware Nation in Oklahoma. While the museum has not attempted to host, at least publicly, any other events since the controversial one in 2007 to encourage the narrative against the Lenape of Pennsylvania, their informational material repeatedly emphasizes the fact that they are associated with the one of only two federally recognized tribes of

72. Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, "About the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania," https://www.lenape-nation.org/.

Lenape/Delaware. Their information encourages visitors to refer only to those tribes which are federally recognized for any information regarding Lenape history and culture.[73] And yes, Linda Poolaw remains a member of the advisory board of the museum. As a result of the continued efforts to delegitimize them, the Lenape of Pennsylvania have found it continuously difficult to advocate for their recognition from the state. David Minderhout posits that this is due in part to the claims of fraudulent heritage on the part of the Lenape of Pennsylvania, theorizing the idea that, "…by asserting widespread Native American fraud, those associated with the MIC have forced native groups to make a stronger case for their legitimacy and to conduct more in-depth genealogical research."[74]

After unpacking all of this, an important question remains: Why does the state of Pennsylvania refuse to consider recognition for the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, or even recognition of the existence of Lenape in the state? The honest answer, even among members of the Lenape of Pennsylvania, is that the reasons are unclear. There are considerations that perhaps the state feels that if they recognize the Lenape of Pennsylvania, then they will have to work to allocate large amounts of funds to not only the Lenape but any and all American Indian populations in the state today. Other theories revolve around the question of whether the state truly is convinced that there "are no Indians in Pennsylvania", at least not in a legitimate capacity. Further considerations are centered on whether the state is afraid to recognize a community of American Indians if the state has any doubt of their legitimacy. It is in the combination of these that it is difficult to ignore the influence of the Museum of Indian Culture

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73. Museum of Indian Culture, "FAQ," https://www.museumofindianculture.org/faq.

74. David J. Minderhout and Andrea T. Frantz, "The museum of Indian culture and Lenape identity," Museum Management and Curatorship, 23 (2008): 120, https://doi.org/10.1080/ 09647770802012011.

and their emphasis that the people who claim Lenape heritage in Pennsylvania are frauds and should be ostracized. Part of the factors which may be involved with the state's reticence to recognize the Lenape of Pennsylvania are perhaps to do with previous efforts by the Delaware Nation, of Oklahoma, to acquire land in Pennsylvania for the purpose of building a casino. An article in the Philadelphia Inquirer in 2003—the year matching the same year that the Delaware Nation took control of the Museum of Indian Culture is perhaps not coincidental—details the effort by the Delaware Nation to acquire land in Pennsylvania for the construction of such a proposed casino. The article explains,

> "Enticed by a casino prospect half a country away, the Delaware Nation…set out to score gambling rights in Pennsylvania, drawn by its big cities, wealthier residents, and the tribes' historical connection to 315 acres in Northampton County. They envision something grand and profitable, with more Las Vegas glitz, less down-home Oklahoma… 'Gaming is the only thing that has worked', said Linda Poolaw, a Delaware Nation leader. 'It is the only thing we can do'. They say their small Oklahoma towns lack development potential… 'If we are going to improve our tribes at all, we need to get out of here', said Bruce Gonzalez, 54, president of the Delaware Nation…".[75]

While the article has an obvious bias and presents a clear spin to the story, the facts of the event are not only notable, but noticeably supported by none other than Linda Poolaw and a fellow leader in the Delaware Nation. The Delaware Nation ultimately failed in their legal attempts to claim land in Pennsylvania for the purpose of building a casino. Ultimately, however, this claim is relevant to the Lenape of Pennsylvania because it has been suggested that the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania may only be seeking recognition from the state because they want to try to do what the Delaware Nation had done and attempt to make land claims in Pennsylvania to build a casino. As evidence of this suggestion, Sharon Nolte Galloupe, who has previous ties with the

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75. C. Budoff, "Two Oklahoma tribes seek fortune in Pennsylvania," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 7, 2003.

Museum of Indian Culture and Delaware Nation, expressed that, "…Galloupe said that one of her greatest concerns was that people claiming native heritage in Pennsylvania would use their identity as a basis to open a casino."[76] However, the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania has long refuted any accusation that they would pursue land claims to build a casino in Pennsylvania. In a newsletter from the tribe, they stated unequivocally, "As caretakers of our homeland, it would be inconsistent with our beliefs to use land in Pennsylvania for gambling purposes. We have always stood against gambling, have continually expressed to state legislators, and have drafted legislation which clearly renounces any intention or privilege to do so."[77] However, the threat remains that the state of Pennsylvania associates the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania's demands for recognition with this attempt by the Delaware Nation to gain land rights in Pennsylvania to build a casino. However, the possibility of this fear on the part of the state of Pennsylvania remains just one of many possible reasons why the state continues to refuse recognition for the Lenape of Pennsylvania. The fact remains that, regardless of the reasons for such refusal, the implications of state refusal to recognize the Lenape community in Pennsylvania are central to understanding the ways in which state recognition is vital to the survival of tribal culture.

The lack of resources afforded to the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania is perhaps the most important implication of the lack of state recognition of the tribe to consider. As it pertains to government funding for various needs of American Indian communities, the source of such funding is based entirely on the status of a tribe and whether they are officially recognized by the

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76. David J. Minderhout and Andrea T. Frantz, "The museum of Indian culture and Lenape identity," *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 23 (2008): 127, https://doi.org/10.1080/ 09647770802012011.

77. Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, "The Lenape Nation seeks state recognition," *Lenape Nation Newsletter*, March 1-2, 2007.

state in which they reside or the federal government. If a tribe does not have state recognition, and likely do not have federal recognition, then the tribe does not have access to resources normally available from the government for the preservation of tribal culture and heritage. Because the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania does not have recognition from the state of Pennsylvania, "…the group has been forced to operate as a nonprofit."[78] The result of such a status is that any events, educational materials, cultural exhibits, or any other activity on the part of the tribe must be carried out based solely on donations and contributions from members or the community. This has made executing the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania's vision of educating and raising public awareness about their culture and history in the state much more difficult than it would otherwise be. Additionally, one of the main tenets of the vision put forth when the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania worked with the University of Pennsylvania's Penn Museum to present the "Fulfilling a Prophecy" project was a desire to come out of the centuries-long hiding their tribe had been conducting and use the opportunity presented by the exhibition to establish operations for public education and learning about the Lenape of Pennsylvania. The hope was to have a property in the region where a cultural center and museum could be built, and perhaps the tribe could hold regular programs and events to engage the community. Instead, because the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania lacks state recognition and funding, the vision of a well-appointed cultural center has instead taken the form of a small cultural center that is open only open for four hours one day per week. The website for the cultural center reflects the limited resources available to the center, as it states, "We try to be open every Saturday from 11:00a - 3:00p; however, there are some times when our volunteers are unable to work the center. Please

78. Kenny Cooper, "'We just want to be welcomed back': the Lenape seek a return home," WHYY, July 30, 2021, https://whyy.org/articles/we-just-want-to-be-welcomed-back-the-lenape-seek-a-return-home/.

check the Facebook page before visiting to be sure we are open."[79] This is far from a well-equipped hub to foster public education and engagement, and instead is at the whim of volunteers who are willing and able to open and attend to the cultural center on that one day per week.[80] Additionally, because the Lenape of Pennsylvania do not have state or federal recognition, they do not have a centralized community or meeting place. Minderhout again offers valuable insight to this point, explaining, "As there are no reservations in Pennsylvania, Native Americans have not had a land base or a historically recognized community around which to build and assert their identities."[81] From a skeptical perspective, perhaps the lack of resources is a central reasoning for Pennsylvania's refusal to recognize the Lenape of Pennsylvania, as doing so would allow the tribe to gather and grow their culture and society, not only adding to the legitimacy of their possible requests and demands, but also resulting in a more unified American Indian front in the state. In a state which has traditionally acted in ways which dismiss and attempt to eradicate American Indian culture in the state, from the actions of William Penn and his children to the Carlisle Indian School, established in Pennsylvania to "kill the Indian and save

79. Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, "Cultural Center," https://www.lenape-nation.org/cultural-center.

80. I attempted to visit the Lenape Cultural Center on multiple occasions throughout this summer, but the limited and inconsistent hours and available day made it extremely difficult to schedule a visit, as I continued to run into a situation wherein the weeks I was available often happened to be weeks where the one day they are usually open they were not because they did not have a volunteer to attend to the center. This highlighted for me the ways in which such a limited space and set of resources really hinders the ability for even those who passionately want to learn to do so reliably.

81. David J. Minderhout and Andrea T. Frantz, *Invisible Indians: Native Americans in Pennsylvania*, (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2008), 121.

the man."[82] Regardless of the intentions of state refusal to recognize the Lenape, the implications for the lack of resources and the impact of such lack on the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania's ability to honor and share their culture and history are obvious.

Ultimately, in considering the struggles which the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania has encountered with gaining state recognition, and the ways in which this has affected their ability to survive culturally into the future, there remains two final points to analyze in regard to the outcomes of such a situation for the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania.

The first point to analyze is the way in which the current state of affairs for Lenape attempts to gain state recognition have continuously been relitigated and rehashed for the better part of thirty years. The fact remains that despite continuous Lenape petitions, rallies, and demands for state recognition, the failure of the state to assign such official recognition has created a cycle in which the Lenape are stuck and are given few pathways out. It becomes clear by considering the contextual factors detailed in this chapter that the longer the Lenape go without official recognition from the state, the more likely claims of fraud are to continue to be levied against the tribe. The ability to apply legal legitimacy to a tribe and its population is, concerningly, to do so by first being officially recognized. However, the state claims that in order to be officially recognized, the tribe needs to provide legally legitimate records of heritage. The frustrating cycle created by this paradox becomes clear through any analysis of the situation as it has played out over the decades. All the while, lacking this official recognition *and* access to resources to help provide legal proof of heritage continues to fuel accusations of fraudulent

82. Captain R.H. Pratt, "Kill the Indian in him, saved the man," and "The Advantages of Mingling Indians With Whites," in Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction at the Nineteenth Annual Session Held in Denver, Col., June 23-29, 1892, Barrows (Boston: Press of Geo. H. Ellis, 1892), 46.

identities, which then fuels state suspicions about the legitimacy of the Lenape community. Such a paradoxical design highlights just how illogical and yet punitive the systems which exist in America for tribal recognition are, as well as the ways in which this makes it easier for states like Pennsylvania to ignore or erase American Indian identities in the state.

The second point to highlight within an analysis of the outcomes of this study is actually a recognition of the ways that, despite the obstacles which are being put in the way of the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania in their fight for recognition, both on a political and a social/public level, the Lenape community is continuing to do whatever they can to continue fighting for recognition while also working to share their culture and invest in the Pennsylvania community. The Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania has continued to play a major role in the Delaware Valley, hosting and attending any events which they are able, and even organizing opportunities for the community, both American Indian and non-Indian, to come together. For example, the tribe hosts a "Rising Nation River Journey" along the Delaware River every year where local organizations, churches, and businesses are invited to take part in a canoe or kayak journey down the Delaware River. The journey culminates at Pennsbury Manor, the previously mentioned original Pennsylvania estate of William Penn, where tribal representatives present the "Renewal of Friendship", an agreement to be signed by all in attendance that they will work together, along with the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania to care for the environment and people of the Delaware River Valley. The event occurs every four years and involves dozens of individuals and groups who come together to sign the Renewal of Friendship. The tribe makes a point to emphasize their community efforts beyond the River Journey on their official website, explaining,

> "Today the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania is active in the revival of tradition and community. For decades the Lenape have been teaching in Pennsylvania public and private school systems, and we continue to offer a unique and insightful view on the

> culture and history of Pennsylvania to all age groups and audiences. The Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania encourages partnerships among people and organizations in the Commonwealth in order to foster cultural, historical and environmental education and preservation, and in many cases, a "re-education." Today the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania enjoys a formal partnership with over 130 organizations, including academic institutions, environmental organizations, faith-based communities, historic societies, and many others, who are committed supporters of our Nation."[83]

In addition to their involvement in the community and their commitment to hosting events and gatherings, despite again lacking state or federal funding, the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania aims to highlight the ways in which, regardless of the attitudes of the state and federal government, and those of other individuals and groups who stand in opposition to them, the tribe is here, and will remain here to stay. Again, the tribe themselves put it best in their website's section titled "About the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania". The page establishes,

> "For over 10,000 years the area now known as Pennsylvania has been the homelands of the Lenape tribe. The early recorded history of Pennsylvania is deeply rooted in the relationship between the Lenape and the Europeans who settled here. There has been a rich exchange in culture, as well as early and continuing conflicts between those ways of life. As with all triumphs and tragedies, it continues to require thoughtful reflection. The Lenape people have survived displacement and upheaval. The very fact that we are still here is significant."[84]

Such resilience is indeed incredibly significant not only in the message it sends about the willpower and adaptability of the Lenape people, but also in the ways in which such a truth simply reinforces their argument for recognition. The Lenape have faced everything that Europe and America have been able to subject them to, from aggression to deception to ignorance and

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83. Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, "About the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania," https://www.lenape-nation.org/.

84. Lenape, "About the Lenape."

dismissal. And yet, through all of this, the tribe has continued to persevere. *That* is a community and a legacy worth recognition on every possible level.

The Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania remain a community unrecognized on any official level. And yet, their resilience and determination has proven that they are a community who is not going anywhere. It bears wondering just how much more the tribe could do were it to gain recognition, and perhaps even marginal funding. In the conclusion to Nathan Young's musical and poetic journey on the grounds of Pennsbury Manor, the closing lines of his poem state:

> "I listen
> Water falling
> There is a trail ahead
> Do you see it
> I am blind"[85]

Young's words are poignant and impactful not just in their emotions, but in the ways in which they evoke the message of the Lenape of Pennsylvania and the path forward for them in the future. As Young states, "There is a trail ahead", and there is a path that is laid out for the Lenape in the state of Pennsylvania. However, despite their impressive and admirable resilience throughout their history and their determination to gain the recognition they deserve, they need representatives of the state of Pennsylvania to either help because they cannot follow the trail alone, or they need the state to cure their own blindness and ignorance and find the trail that is laid out before themselves. Recognition of the Lenape in Pennsylvania is not only a suggestion.

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85. Nathan Young, "Nkwiluntàmën: I Long For It: I am Lonesome For It," https://nkwiluntamen.com/.

It is a path that is laid out and clearly set for travel. Whether the state chooses to follow that trail is yet to be seen.

Chapter Six

The Value of Being Seen

"Dwellers on a peninsula" and "people from down the river". The translations for Wendat and Lenape, respectively, tell so much about the aspects of each tribe's culture which are important to understand. For the Wendat, their name indicating that they are "dwellers on a peninsula" recognizes the importance of the way in which they see their place on the earth. They are not owners of the land, nor are they superior to the environment. They are simply dwellers on the back of a turtle and their place is as such. For the Lenape, the concept of being a "people from down the river" is far more than simply the idea that they happen to live near a river and are downriver of someone else. The name implies that not only is the river central to who they are, but it puts into context their existence in conjunction with the river, with nature, and with others who are along the river. For a people who center so much attention on their relationships with nature and with the people and places around them, the recognition of their place along the river holds such value for understanding who they are as a people and a culture. And yet, on the surface, without a deeper recognition of the meaning and importance of such connections, the names "dwellers on a peninsula" and "people from down the river" seem arbitrary and perhaps simplistic.

Recognition is vital. For any population on the earth, recognition provides a means through which to not only see oneself represented in the world, but also to understand the place and role held within the world. For American Indians in the modern day, recognition of not only their existence, but their culture, history, and sovereignty is vital to their ability to continue sharing their culture into the future. As such, to fully understand why **the willingness of state**

and federal entities to officially recognize American Indian populations is vital to the ability for tribal culture to survive in the modern day, it is important to conceptualize both the value of resources and the value of recognition.

First, for American Indian tribes and nations throughout North America, their ability to survive and thrive should not be contingent on the economic and social resources which are provided to them by state and federal governments. However, given the ways in which governments operate throughout the continent, access to resources is an important tool for the long-term survival of tribal culture and society, as resources are pathways to preservation. For instance, in the case of the Wendat people of Quebec, the resources provided to them by the government of Canada to establish not only a center for tourism in the apportioned territory of Wendake, but also a thriving community beyond tourism has allowed the modern-day members of the Wendat community to create pathways for cultural preservation. In a Western economic structure, economic resources provide stability and security for any individual or community. But for the Wendat, economic resources mean that not only are they able to effectively operate within the economic systems in place in Canada, but that they are able to use such resources to construct infrastructure which will immerse their own community, as well as the outside public, in the culture and systems of the Wendat. Economic resources result in the ability to construct Wendat schools and public services for their own citizens, resulting in a more actively engaged and supported populace which has access to institutions which will support and preserve Wendat culture into the future. This is invaluable for the passing of culture on to future generations, which is a vital way to ensure the survival of a community's history and culture. Furthermore, economic resources to construct infrastructure allows for the construction of well-appointed cultural centers and even hotels, restaurants, and shops for the outside public to use to engage

with and learn about Wendat history and culture. Such infrastructure addresses another major issue of cultural survival as it pertains to the education and knowledge of members of communities outside of the culture. As such, by having access to economic and infrastructural resources, the Wendat are able to not only provide for their citizens, but also provide for the education and learning of people outside of their community.

For the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, the lack of such economic resources creates a much more limited ability to share culture within or outside of the community. Without schools or community centers which even mention the Lenape tribe, it becomes much more difficult to instruct future generations in how to carry on the culture and history of the community. Beyond this, the lack of state or federal resources has actively created a situation in which the Lenape are unable to fund a well-equipped cultural center to foster public education about the tribe. As such, not only are the history and culture of the tribe not being instilled in future generations, but an understanding of the tribe is not being spread to the American public, creating increased ignorance and lack of understanding about the Lenape. In fact, in many cases, without the ability to engage with the community on a regular basis, the American public fails to recognize the existence of the Lenape in Pennsylvania at all.

Economic resources are absolutely should absolutely not be considered a necessity for American Indians, especially on the lands which they inhabited long before European and American incursions. However, in modern political and social climates, economic resources provide opportunities for cultural preservation which are not readily or easily available otherwise.

Arguably more important than economic resources for the survival of tribal culture in the modern day is the value of recognition of a tribe in general. Tribal recognition on the part of state and federal governments allows for official legitimacy in the eyes of political institutions, which forces governments to accept, even on a surface level, the existence and sovereignty of tribes and their people. Further, however, tribal recognition offers opportunities for public education, and perhaps most importantly, recognition from the general public as well. Without political recognition, it becomes easier for the general public to ignore, or even dismiss, American Indian populations, as they can argue that if the government does not recognize them as legitimate, why should they? Cultural anthropologist David Minderhout explains the importance of recognition through the lens of access to benefits such as health and welfare benefits available to American Indians, but notes that, "…a primary consideration was one of identity." In speaking about efforts on the part of the Lenape of Pennsylvania, he puts a fine point on the desire for recognition by emphasizing, "Groups like the Lenape wanted the rest of the United States to admit their existence."[86] By gaining official recognition from the state, the existence of American Indian populations cannot be denied, which serves a powerful role in the ability to preserve American Indian culture, even if just in the public record. Again, American Indian communities should not have to depend on state and federal entities to affirm their existence, nor should the action or inaction on the part of governments to do so determine whether the general public recognizes their existence as well. However, in the social and political atmosphere which has been created by hundreds of years of colonization and imperialism, such concepts of cultural

86. David J. Minderhout and Andrea T. Frantz, *Invisible Indians: Native Americans in Pennsylvania*, (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2008), 82.

recognition are important ways to avoid in at least one way the erasure of American Indian culture.

Additionally, by gaining state recognition for American Indian communities, the onus and responsibility to support the preservation of such communities is partially transferred to governments and is not the sole responsibility of tribes and nations. For the Wendat community in Canada, as explored in Chapter Three of this paper, this becomes apparent in the ways in which the Canadian government has continuously worked with the community to shape legislation and policies which will contribute to the preservation of Wendat communities, lands, and sovereignty. While this is not always true of government-tribal relationships, especially for some of the American Indian communities in the United States, there is at least an official designation within tribal recognition which requires governments to consider tribal communities in any policymaking decisions which may affect them, their lands, or their sovereignty. Without official state recognition, policy decisions can be made wholly without consideration for tribal communities, as the government does not recognize the community in question's existence anyway.

However, perhaps the most poignant argument for the value of state recognition of American Indians comes from an interview conducted with a Lenape woman from Lancaster, Pennsylvania. In response to a question about why she believes state recognition is important for the Lenape, she responded bluntly and honestly,

> "State recognition to me is important for only a couple of reasons - and it has nothing to do with money. Let's get that dollar sign away - and it doesn't have to do with hunting or fishing without a license. Let's throw that away, too. I've heard those statements made, and I crack up every time I hear it. You have a child and you raise him in your culture. And he goes to school and in the school he hears that there's no such thing as the American Indian. Pennsylvania has no American Indians. How do you think that child

> must feel? That's one reason. To me, that's one of the important reasons. Then there's the issue of the repatriation of remains. Pennsylvania's museums are full of the bones of our ancestors. We want to give the ancestors proper burials, but because we are not recognized, we have no legal standing to make that request."[87]

Such concerns as the cultural education of one's child, and supporting their own recognition of their identity, and the ability to properly honor the memories and remains of one's ancestors are some of the most central considerations for any human population. The idea that such considerations are hindered by the lack of recognition for an entire community's basic existence is not only problematic but is a humanistic and moral failure on the part of the state. Such issues are what is at stake when discussing the importance of recognition of American Indian communities. And yet, the Lenape of Pennsylvania continue to be stonewalled in their attempts to gain basic human recognition.

There are, of course countless contingencies and considerations involved in any governmental action across the board, regardless of the issue or the population in question. The same is true of any state or federal consideration of official recognition. As has been detailed throughout this paper, there are not only historical and social factors for state and federal governments to consider, but also issues of opposition to such recognition, even from within tribal communities. However, as it pertains to the ability of American Indian communities and their members to access the resources they deserve, there is little legitimate moral defense for denying an entire population of people the right to basic human decencies. Further, however, much of the Lenape community in Pennsylvania simply desires the recognition of their existence. The resources and the social programs which are meant to come with such recognition

87. David J. Minderhout and Andrea T. Frantz, *Invisible Indians: Native Americans in Pennsylvania*, (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2008), 14.

are, in many accounts, secondary to the simple affirmation of one's existence and identity. State governments like that of Pennsylvania hold immense power to affirm or dismiss the humanity of thousands of their citizens with one simple decision of whether to officially recognize their community. The fact that such power should certainly not be in the hands of political entities is irrelevant. American Indians deserve basic recognition for who they are and confirmation of the existence of their communities. The longer state governments like Pennsylvania deny such recognitions the longer the general public can go ignoring and dismissing the people on whose land they reside. The Lenape were the original inhabitants of the lands in Pennsylvania. To deny recognition of the existence of their descendants is to add further harm to the long history of damage enacted on the community by American political power.

For the "dwellers on a peninsula" and "people from down the river", their names and histories hold immense power. Much more than words to call them, "Wendat" and "Lenape" are recognitions of culturally important aspects of each tribe. To recognize such aspects is to recognize the cultural history intertwined in their experiences. Recognition is important, as it brings the world and its inhabitants into clearer focus. As such, the recognition of American Indian populations is an act of necessity.

Conclusion

State Recognition and Tribal Futures

"The Time of the Fourth Crow…is now."[88] While the prophecy of the Fourth Crow is a cultural statement on the past, present, and future of the Lenape, it is also an aspirational message for the Lenape of the future. In the present, despite the fact that the Lenape people of Pennsylvania have not gained state recognition, the community is living up to the core premise of the "Time of the Fourth Crow" by staying actively involved with the community around them and leading efforts to preserve and care for the nature of the Delaware Valley. However, state recognition is still a vital part of helping the Lenape to continue preserving and sharing their culture for generations to come.

In the course of this paper, one premise has been central to each argument made, resource referenced, and contextual and historiographical detail covered: **The willingness of state and federal entities to officially recognize American Indian populations is vital to the ability for tribal culture to survive in the modern day.** The study at the core of this paper has been an effort to compare the Wendat and the Lenape communities, who share a wealth of experiences in common, some in direct connection with one another, and the ways that their vastly different fates in regard to state recognition have created vastly different contexts for each tribe in the modern day. The Wendat and the Lenape are similar in their foundations as agricultural and trade centered societies who place great importance in their relationships with other tribes and peoples around them. Both tribes experienced early contact with European colonists, worked closely with

88. Chief Robert Red Hawk Ruth, "Curator's Message," *Fulfilling a Prophecy: The Past and Present of the Lenape in Pennsylvania*, Lenape-nation.org/2nd-project.

those colonists, and were ultimately faced with Haudenosaunee incursions which led to a partial relocation of segments of their community. However, both the Wendat and the Lenape had some portions of their community either never leave their ancestral homelands or return to their lands after some amount of time. In the end, both called for recognition from their state and federal governments, and it is in this experience alone that the two tribes differ greatly.

For the Wendat, the provincial and federal government offered their descendants recognition and land in the region which their ancestors primarily inhabited. The Wendat were given resources to establish their own community, Wendake, named in recognition of the term for their ancestral homelands, where the Wendat built a community of residents, infrastructure to care for them, and even a tourist location which includes a four-star hotel, a museum, multiple restaurants, and a collection of cultural engagement activities for tourists to engage with during visits to Wendake. As a result of all of this, which started with official recognition of the Wendat nation, the "Huron-Wendat" are today, in their own words, thriving both economically and culturally.

To the contrary, the Lenape in Pennsylvania have been continuously fighting to gain state recognition from the state of Pennsylvania, which would make federal recognition far more realistic as well, for over thirty years. The tribe has petitioned the state government, rallied at the state capitol, and made continued efforts to get bills presented to the state legislature which would finally give such recognition. However, the state has continuously refused to recognize the Lenape, and have regularly engaged in frustrating levels of cyclical denials, claiming the Lenape cannot gain state recognition without federal recognition, despite the fact that federal recognition is often easiest to obtain once a tribe has state recognition. The drawn-out refusal of recognition from the state has invited and empowered oppositional movements, even among

other Lenape/Delaware tribes, which have, in turn, also fueled state refusals to recognize the Lenape. As a result, the Lenape have been denied the resources which could help their community to more effectively preserve and share their culture with members of their own community as well as the general public. While the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania has been able to establish a cultural center to share their culture with the public, with the lack of resources from the state, the Lenape Cultural Center has been extremely limited in not only its physical space but also its availability to the public in the first place. Despite such obstacles, the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania has continued to remain involved in the community and maintains their resolve to gain recognition at the earliest possible moment.

All of this serves to prove the central argument of this paper. Two tribes with similar backgrounds and experiences in North America have nonetheless had entirely different fates in the modern day, based nearly entirely on the issue of state recognition and resource allocation. By conducting this study, it becomes clear that **the willingness of state and federal entities to officially recognize American Indian populations is vital to the ability for tribal culture to survive in the modern day.**

It is important to note that the work to be done to support efforts to gain state recognition for the Lenape of Pennsylvania is ongoing and continues to make strides each day. However, if the Lenape community in Pennsylvania and its culture is to survive, it requires continuous support from the general public as well. Each month the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania is taking part in events and gatherings to continue the campaign for state recognition. If their efforts are to succeed, they will need to garner continued support from the general population. The tribe has made available a petition and letter templates for the public in Pennsylvania to write to their state representatives, and Lenape leadership continues to speak up and speak out to garner support.

With time, and pressure from not only the Lenape, but the general public, perhaps the Lenape community in Pennsylvania will gain the recognition they deserve. Such recognition would not only help to legitimize the community in the eyes of the state and nation, but also build a foundation for the Lenape to share their culture and educate the public about their history, all of which would be a powerful means for preserving Lenape culture in the modern day and into the future.

The importance of state recognition of American Indian populations and communities cannot be understated. The history of the United States has involved continuous mistreatment of the nation's American Indian tribes and nations and while recognition of these tribes does not erase the centuries of harm, it is an important part of helping to preserve American Indian cultures into the future. The nation has done plenty in the past to harm American Indian communities, so it is time to ensure that everything is done to make the future more constructive and helpful for American Indians. The study conducted in this paper helps to bring attention to not only the issue of recognition, but the communities who are most impacted by the failure to offer such recognition. Far too often the American populace not only ignores American Indians living in the country today, but all-too-often does not even realize their existence. By bringing light to the Lenape in particular and their fight to gain recognition in Pennsylvania, this paper aims to put into focus the importance of telling the story of the Lenape and their fight for recognition. Though the past has been rife with tragedy, it is the Time of the Fourth Crow, and time for Pennsylvania and the United States as a whole to do its part to bring about the harmony the prophecy foresaw. Recognition is a great first step.

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