

Annotated Bibliography of Resources related to the Lenape People and land occupied by Gwynedd Friends Meeting

[Researched by Deb Foote Faulkner 2021-22, to learn of possible connections between Gwynedd Friends Meeting and the Lenape Indians. Deb's notes from her readings are included, including relevant quotations and page numbers.]

Heckewelder, John. An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of The Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighbouring states. Philadelphia: Abraham Small, 1819. [New & Revised Edition with an introduction and notes by the Rev. William C. Reichel, 1876. Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1876.]

Heckewelder, born in 1743, was a Moravian evangelist to the Lenape. He served as David Zeisberger's assistant at locations mostly in Ohio from 1771 until 1786, and later worked on a reservation in Ohio from 1801-1810. He spoke the Lenape language and learned the oral history of the Lenape peoples. He was a trusted friend of the tribe and provides first-hand accounts as well as accounts from reliable sources. This book is a good starting point for learning the history and culture of the Lenape, though it does not contain much information specific to SE Pennsylvania.

A few bits of interest to Quakers:

- Indian Relations of the conduct of the Europeans Towards Them, Chapter 3, (p. 76-78): "Long and dismal are the complaints which the Indians make of European ingratitude and injustice. They love to repeat them, and always do it with the eloquence of nature, aided by an energetic and comprehensive language, which our polished idioms cannot imitate...": "On which ever side of the *Lenapewihittuck* [Delaware River] the white people landed, they were welcomed as brothers by our ancestors, who gave them lands to live on, and even hunted for them, and furnished them with meat out of the woods." "But here, again, the Europeans...forced them to emigrate." "Such was the conduct of the white men who inhabited this country until our elder brother, the great and good MIQUON, [William Penn], came and brought us words of peace and good will. We believed his words, and his memory is still held in veneration among us. But it was not long before our joy was turned into sorrow: our brother Miquon [William Penn] died, and those of his good counsellors who were of his mind, and knew what had passed between him and our ancestors, were no longer listened to..."
- General Characteristics of the Indians, Chapter 6 (p. 100-101): regarding the "all-powerful, wise and benevolent Mannitto" [Creator]: "They think that he made the earth and all that it contains for the common good of mankind; when he stocked the country that he gave them with plenty of game, it was not for the benefit of a few, but of all...Whatever liveth on the land, whatsoever groweth out of the earth, and all that is in the rivers and waters flowing through the same, was given jointly to all. From this principle, hospitality flows as from its source. With them it is not a virtue but a strict duty."
- Indian Names, Chapter 13 (p. 143), regarding word "Friend". "This name was first introduced about the year 1730. They never apply it to the Quakers, whom they greatly love and respect since the first arrival of William Penn into the country. They call them Quaekels, not having in their language the sound expressed by our letter R. They say they have always found them good, honest, affable and peaceable men..."
- Treaties, Chapter 12, p. 185-6: When gathering with other Indian nations to discuss peace, it was their custom, "as a token of sincerity, to remove out of the place where the peacemakers were

sitting, all warlike weapons and instruments of destruction"..."Nor would they even permit any warlike weapons to remain within the limits of their *council fire*, when assembled together about the ordinary business of government...William Penn, said they, when he treated with them, adopted this ancient mode of their ancestors, and convened them under a grove of shady trees...

- Friendship, Chapter 38 (page 282)": "good can never proceed from evil or evil from good".

Jenkins, Howard M. Historical Collections of Gwynedd. Philadelphia, PA., 1897.

<https://www.friendsjournal.org/legacy/abington/gwynedd/details.htm>

Chapter 3: Traces of the Indians

"Of record evidence, concerning the Indians in Gwynedd, there is next to nothing. I have met with but one allusion in print which is worth attention. In the memorial of Gwynedd Monthly Meeting concerning Ellen Evans, wife of John (son of Cadwallader the immigrant), who died in 1765, it is recorded that she delighted to converse with our uninstructed Indians about their sentiments of the Supreme Being; and often said she 'discovered evident traces of divine goodness in their uncultivated minds.' "

"Nor are the traditions concerning them very numerous. One of the most interesting is that of the Indians who brought coal to the smith's shop, where Mumbower's mill now stands, on the Wissahickon. The story is this: This mill property was owned from 1777 to 1794 by Samuel Wheeler, a blacksmith, and apparently something of a cutler and tool maker (It is said that he made swords during the Revolutionary time.) To his shop there came, one day, some Indians who wanted repairs made to a gun. Wheeler said he could not make them, as he had no coal, when an Indian, departing for a short time, returned, bringing with him enough coal for the purpose. This tradition is ascribed to a daughter of Wheeler, a Mrs. Johnson of Germantown, who many years afterward used to occasionally visit Gwynedd. (The question with Wheeler was as to the place where the Indians got the coal, but it had doubtless been brought from a distance, probably the upper Schuylkill.)

"Mrs. Sheive, the mother of Mrs. John B. Johnson, who died at a very advanced age, say thirty years ago, spoke of the time "when the Indians went away" from the neighborhood, and said that one of them, an old woman, stayed behind and continued to live, by herself, in a hut or "wigwam," in what was known, in later times, as the "back woods" on Johnson's farm.

"Mr. Mathews, in his articles on Gwynedd, says that in the eastern corner of Thomas Layman's farm, half a mile southwest of North Wales, there have been and may be found a great number of arrow-heads and other Indian relics. "Tradition relates that here was the scene of a battle between two hostile tribes of Indians, in which the missiles of destruction flew thick and fast." [JQ-Thomas Layman's farm was located in the 1880s north (east) of Old Church Rd. in Upper Gwynedd, halfway between Prospect Ave. and North Wales Rd.]

"The same idea of a battle has been formed concerning a locality on the Treweryn, near Ellen Evans's. David C. Land, who has made a collection of Indian relics, says he found many, including axes, spear-heads, and arrow-heads, at this place, and he thought the presence of so large a number indicated a hostile encounter. [JQ- Ellen Evans place in the 1880s was near the corner of Evans Rd. and Sumneytown Rd.]

"But it is natural that the stone relics should be found along or near the streams. There is where the Indians would fix their lodges, convenient for fishing, and also to utilize a sunny open space for their corn fields. And in such a place, after they had thus been encamped for a season or a longer time, their

arrow- and spear-heads, etc., would naturally be discovered. John Bowman says that he found many arrow-heads and some other relics in the meadow along the run, east of his father's house; and on the Treweryn, Thomas Scarlett found an axe, "with a hole neatly drilled through it," the finest axe, I am told, discovered in the township."

Kraft, Herbert C. The Lenape: Archaeology, History, and Ethnography. Newark, NJ: New Jersey Historical Society, 1986.

Chapter 7, "European Contact", provides an overview of contact with Europeans, beginning soon after John Cabot's 1497 voyage, to the mid-1700s.

Kraft, Herbert C. The Lenape-Delaware Indian Heritage 10,000BC to AD 2000. Lenape Books, 2001.

Ch. 9: Early European Contacts With the Indians (ca. 500-400 years ago)

Ch. 10: European Colonization: Indian Concessions (ca. 400-250 years ago). Regarding William Penn, Kraft points out that despite the absence of bloody conflict in the early years of Penn's Holy Experiment, the settlement of the "persecuted Quaker colonists unwittingly unleashed forces that forever changed the region's environment and the lives of the native people, and spurred the abandonment of the Indians' traditional homelands." He points out that "the Lenape were not consulted by the English monarch" who gave the territory to Penn. (p. 429)

Myers, Albert Cook, ed. William Penn's Own Account of the Leni Lenape or Delaware Indians.

Wilmington, DE: Middle Atlantic Press, c1970. Revised edition, with a foreword by John E. Pomfret.

Written by William Penn in 1683. As Pomfret comments, "In reading the *Account*, one recognizes immediately that William Penn was an extraordinarily acute observer, interested in all facets of Indian behavior, thinking, and culture. He sat in council with the Indians many times and, in less than a year, he had mastered their language. His comments are of value to anthropologists today. For example, Penn discusses in a sophisticated manner the matriarchal structure of Indian society as well as their religious and moral views. He interprets their mode of living with understanding and sympathy..." (p. 9)

Richter, Daniel K. Native Americans' Pennsylvania. PA Historical Association, 2005.

- Provides an overview of earliest human occupation in Pennsylvania circa 14,000 years ago and subsequent periods Early Woodland 1000 BCE and Middle Woodland Period, 0-1000 CE.
- Describes the Agricultural Revolution (1000-1500), bean, corn and squash "Three Sisters" diet; and the ancestors of the Lenape, the "original people" in Unami language. A matrilineal society.
- p. 28-29 gives a beautiful description of the spiritual and material realms: "That landscape, and nearly everything in it, was considered to be alive with an animating spiritual power."
- Shows the impact of Europeans, including disease and goods.
- By the mid-1600s "Lenapes seem to have retreated from the west bank of the Delaware to locations in today's state of New Jersey."
- Describes William Penn's relationship with the Lenape, land purchases, complications after Penn's death, and deceit of the Walking Purchase
- Continues the overview from 1754-1918 (I did not read these chapters)

Details:

Ch. 1: Native origins to 1000

- p. 11 Meadowcroft Rock shelter (SW of Pittsburgh) – evidence of human occupation 14,000 years ago
- p. 12 Paleo Indians – spearheads – 10,000 years ago
- p. 13 8000 BCE, global warming. Susquehanna and Delaware watersheds were isolated from the centers of native American population and culture
- p. 15 Archaic Period 8000 – 1000 BCE (p. 14 – list of dates and cultures)
- p. 16 Early Woodland Period, 1000 BCE (in Ohio Valley , Adena – not in PA)
Middle Woodland Period 0-1000 CE (in Ohio Valley, Hopewell – not in PA)

Ch. 2 Agricultural Revolution, 1000-1500

- p. 19-21 global warming trend – Medieval Optimum, 900 CE-1300s, fostered agriculture
beans + corn = protein + squash = “Three Sisters” 50-75% of food
increased power of women
- p. 24-6 ancestors of Lenape – “original people” in Unami language; matrilineal
- p. 28-29 “That landscape, and nearly everything in it, was considered to be alive with an animating spiritual power.” Beautiful description of spiritual and material realms
- reciprocity

Chapter 3 Discovering Europeans

- p. 30-1 small pox
- p. 32 due to 80-95% death rate, there was ethnic mixing of survivors
- p. 33 capture of prisoners to replace people lost to disease
European goods
- p. 40 in mid-1600s “Lenapes seem to have retreated from the west bank of the Delaware to locations in today’s state of New Jersey”.

Chapter 4 Uneasy Peace, 1682-1754

- p. 42 William Penn, 1681: ...”very sensible of the unkindness and injustice that hath been too much exercised towards you by the people of these parts of the world”. Penn expressed his “desire to win and gain your love and friendship, by a kind, just, and peaceable life.”
- p. 43 by 1685, “Penn and agents had made at least eleven purchases from Lenape headmen”
- p. 44 Lenape view of property transactions very different from European view
- p. 46 involvement of John Logan
- p. 48-9 trying to get official possession from Indians (Iroquoise)
“Forks of the Delaware” – Lechauwekink “Lehigh”
Teedyuscung
Nutimus – legitimate leader
- p. 49-50 first Walking Purchase – Tohickan Creek – circa 1700
- p. 50 second Walking Purchase 1737 over Nutimus objections; deceit

Rivinus, Willis M. The Red Man in Bucks County, New Hope, PA. 1965.

Gives a brief history of Lenape people, followed by a list of Bucks County villages that were identified “in early documents or by subsequent archaeology”. Few artifacts remain beyond these place names.

p. 15-25 lists Lenape town names in Bucks County

p. 17 Hollekonk (between Buckingham and Lahaska)

p. 18 Lahaska

Machk-achsin (means “at the red stone”)

Prospect Hill, SE New Britain Twp. Has view of Neshaminy Creek. “crescent shaped shoulder of a plateau”; graves were found on the hill, mid 1800s. Henry Mercer felt evidence supports belief that one held body of Tamenend, so there’s a monument. (perhaps near New Britain Baptist Church, 202 and Tamenend Ave)

p. 20 Neshameny “at the double drinking place”. Probably near 2 springs at head of Neshaminy Creek near Chalfont where two branches of Neshaminy merge (Prospect Hill)

“Palisades of the Neshaminy” [Dark Hollow Park, apparently]

p. 22 Perkiomen stream from north of Doylestown through Montgomery County to Schuylkill

p. 23 Pocasie (Perkasie)

Locations closest to Gwynedd include:

- Machk-achsin (aka Prospect Hill) – in SE new Britain Township. “The Lenape name means “at the red stone” for the red shale so prominent here. A number of springs formerly flowed out of the hillside along which an Indian fishing trail used to run. A series of graves, thought to be Indian, were found on top of the hill nearly a century ago. Dr. Henry Mercer found some evidence to support the belief that one of these contained the body of the great chief Tamenend, and as a result, a monument was erected at the side of the road.”
- Neshaminy. “Nisha-men-ing meant “at the double drinking place” or “at the place where we drink twice” and probably referred to the Lenape village situated near two springs at the head of Neshaminy Creed near Chalfont...The location is known as Prospect Hill where the two branches of the Neshaminy Creek converge. The creek curves around from west to east for nearly two miles...”
- Perkiomen. “This name is applied to a stream which has its headwaters in the western townships north of Doylestown. The stream flows through Montgomery County on its way to the Schuylkill River. The name is a corruption of the Indian Pakhmonink, “where there are cranberries”.

Ruth, Phil Johnson. Fair Land Gwynedd: A Pictorial history of Southeastern Pennsylvania’s Lower Gwynedd Township, Upper Gwynedd Township, and North Wales Borough, Souderton, PA, 1991.

Ch. 1: Primeval Gwynedd: A History Written in Stone

Ch. 2: Gwynedd’s “Original People”

p. 9 description of early plants

[from 1990 interview “The Lenape and Gwynedd’s Natural Bounty” by contemporary Lenape chief and artist William Sauts Netamux’we Bock:]

“Because the Gwynedd area lacked a large enough body of water around which the Lenape could build a village, this land would have served as an outlying hunting and foraging territory for an extended family

or two from the nearest village – maybe ‘Pokasie’ or ‘Manyunk’. Here the Lenape families would have found all sorts of fruits, nuts, herbs and tubers growing wild, along with plenty of game. There would have been cranberry bogs, fields of wild strawberries, Jerusalem artichoke, mosses, cattails, lilies, hickory and maple trees, deer, and grouse.”

p. 11 “rock formations were often considered to be converging points of spiritual energy, and places of vision”

Minsi Trail

Spring House – “several copious springs bubbled forth”; was an important intersection of Minsi Trail and Maxatawney Trail aka “The Great Road, now Sumneytown Pike

Ch. 3: New Life in a “Fair Land”

p. 15 Treweryn stream near Foulke home in Wales

p. 16 Edward and Eleanor Foulke were “nominal members of the Established Church of England”

Ch. 4 Peaceful & Excellent Shelter

p. 21-22 William Penn and Letitia visited Thomas Evans’ home circa 1700-1701

p. 22 “When William Penn Visited Gwynedd with His Daughter, Letitia, In the Year 1699 or 1700 As told to Susan Nancarro by her Grandfather Hugh Evans

“When [my grandfather Hugh Evans] was a boy of twelve years of age, he remembered that William Penn, with his daughter, Letitia, and a servant (in the year 1699 or 1700) came out to visit his father, Thomas Evans. Their house [along the present-day Sumneytown Pike, a mile north of the Friends meeting house] was superior in that it was of barked logs, a refinement surpassing the common rank. . .

“There was at this time a great preparation among the Indians near there for some jubilee festival. Letitia Penn, than a lively young girl, greatly desired to be present, but her father would not give his consent, though she entreated much. . . . She ran out chagrined, and seeming to wish for something to dissipate her regret, snatching up a flail near some grain, at which she began to labor playfully, when she inadvertently brought the unwieldy instrument about her head and shoulders and was thus quickly restrained to retreat into the house, with quite a new concern upon her mind! This fact made a lasting impression upon the memory of the lad aforesaid who was then a witness.” [source: John F. Watson’s Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, Vol. 2]

p. 22-24 Robert Evans Home

Ch. 5: To Mill, Market & Meeting

p. 29 In 1698, 10 families

- Road building was a priority
- Most critical, to get to a mill. Closest was 10 miles SE along Pennypack Creek in Moreland
- 1702-1712, road from Spring House to Huntingdon Valley (Welsh Road & Norristown Road)
- Plymouth Road, 1715, to mill on Schuylkill east of Conshohocken (and to Plymouth Mtg)
- 1728 “Great Road” followed Maxatawney Trail to Clemens’ Mill on East Branch of Perkiomen in (Lower) Salford Township (=Sumneytown Pike)

Market

- Early 1700s, a Road from Philadelphia through Germantown to North Wales, through Spring House (part of Bethlehem Pike)
- To Swedes' Ford on Schuylkill (present day Norristown) opened 1728
- Road from Spring House to Richland followed Minsi Trail (portion of Bethlehem Pike), 1717
- to Horsham Meeting (1723)
- To Buckingham Meeting (1731)
- Road from Plymouth Road at Gwynedd Meeting to Bucks County Line (1728)

p. 31 William Penn Inn "probably built some time after 1728"

p. 32 Thomas Evans - Inn – "a mile below the Friends Meeting House"

Jesse Evans – Inn – "a mile above the meeting house (on the spot where Thomas Evans' "barked log" home was once visited by William Penn" [i.e. 1 mile North of meeting house, towards North Wales]

Ch. 6: The Distant Beat of Drums

p. 34 picture of Humphrey Jones' house, Allentown Road & Broad, site of Martin Century Farms, presumably Liberty Bell went past

p. 35-6 Sally Wister's account of Revolutionary War activity at Foulke home in Penlyn

p. 37 "Friends Meeting House at Gwynedd was reportedly converted into a hospital, forcing its members to meet for worship in the home of Evan Evans."

p. 38 excerpt from Jenkins re: Revolutionary War 1778

Ch. 7: Nourishing Spirit and Mind

p. 40 photo of Gwynedd Friends Meeting, 1867
decrease in members mid to late 1700s

p. 41 building of new Meeting House 1823 – photo of inside circa 1900

p. 43 "The Queries" from Gwynedd Preparative Meeting Minutes of 1798-1804

#7: "Are Friends clear of importing, purchasing, disposing of or Holding Mankind as Slaves, and do they use well those who are set free, and are necessarily under their card, and not in circumstances, through nonage or incapacity to minister to their own necessities. And are they careful to educate and encourage them in religious and virtuous life".

p. 44 Schools

Ruth, Phil Johnson. A North Penn Pictorial, Souderton, PA: Clemens Markets, Inc., c1988.

Contemporary art and art from early European contact provides glimpses into Lenape culture and people. Ruth provides excerpts of early Lenape accounts of seeing Europeans, and from early European accounts of Lenape life.

Describes the arrival of Welsh Quakers, including Edward Foulke and his family to Gwynedd in 1698 (p. 13).

Shank, William H. Indian Trails to Super Highways, York, PA: American Canal & Transportation Center, n.d. (first publication was 1967)

Provides an overview of what the trails were used for, what they usually looked like, their excellent locations for providing swiftest movement.

Ch. 1: Original Pennsylvania Settlers and their communications

p. 4: Indian Paths "Today, it is almost impossible to find authentic Indian paths still in existence, even in areas where they have not been covered over by modern highways. We know they existed because of descriptions of them written by early European pioneers. Deeply indented in the ground by countless

generations of moccasined feet, they measured about 18 inches wide by a foot deep and followed the higher ground and ridges, less subject to flooding or enemy attack. They crossed streams at the narrowest, most easily-forded spots.

“While Pennsylvania was heavily wooded, the undergrowth in the forests was not thick and passage among the trees was relatively ‘open’. As a matter of fact, the Indians often sought the more densely overgrown sections of the forest for their war trails to screen their movements from possible enemy tribesmen.”

p. 5: “The expression ‘on the war path’ comes directly, and literally, from Indian times. Pennsylvania Indians had their ‘war paths’, which differed from other routes, in that they were usually located at higher elevations, with better observation points for watching enemy tribe movements, and these trails frequently climbed abruptly to give a pursued party the advantage over his pursuers.

“There were also ‘portage’ paths, where the Indians using Pennsylvania’s waterways as a means of transportation, travelled overland from one stream to another.” ... [re: birchbark in NY & New England]

“In Pennsylvania, however, the Indians had only the time-honored ‘dug-out’, made by burning out and chipping out large logs. While sturdy and virtually unsinkable in the water, these heavy canoes were impossible to carry any distance, and were thus hidden at strategic points when not in use. In reaching the head waters of a navigable stream, the Indians parked their dug-outs by carefully hiding them in dense foliage, then took an overland route to the next waterway, where [p. 6] they, or their fellow tribesmen, had hidden away other dug-outs to be used on their next water course.

“The Indians also had their hunting trails, which ran from their villages to nearby hunting areas where game was plentiful” ...

“But by far the most extensive Indian trails were the regular inter-village trade routes used in peace times for inter-tribal gatherings or exchange of information or goods among the Indian peoples whose political ties were strong” ...

“These latter trails were developed over the years with almost uncanny directness between the points they connected, as well as an amazing degree of dryness and levelness, except where they dipped down to cross a stream.

[p.7] “Not only were their trails well located, but the Pennsylvania Indians, in spite of their relatively sparse population, had developed a most extensive inter-village trail system, which when plotted out on a map of Pennsylvania, bears a remarkable resemblance to our present state and inter-state highway system.

Wallace, Paul A. W. Indians in Pennsylvania. Anthropological Series No. 5. 2nd edition revised by William A. Hunter. Illustrated by William Rohrbeck. Harrisburt, PA.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 2005:

“The basic principle of Delaware religion was that spirit was the prime reality. All things had souls: not only man, but also animals, the air, water, trees, even rocks and stones.” (p. 67)

“Religion permeated all life. To the Delawares, the spirit world was alive and visible in every aspect of nature.” (p. 70)

“The white man saw nature as a source of property, to be mastered by his efforts, while the Indian saw himself as a part of nature, who survived only because he kept his place in the scheme of things and was therefore aided and protected by the deities who controlled his natural environment.” (quoting John Witthoft in ‘The American Indian as Hunter’ p. 78)

Woolman, John. Journal of John Woolman

Source: The Journal of John Woolman, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/37311/37311-h/37311-h.htm#A_JOURNAL_OF_THE_LIFE_AND_TRAVELS_OF_JOHN_WOOLMAN_In_the_Service_of_the

Woolman, a Quaker whose opposition to slavery led him to shun all goods connected to slavery, visited Gwynedd Friends Meeting in 1758.

Woolman’s Journal describes a leading in 1761, to visit with the “Natives of this Land”:

“Having many Years felt Love in my Heart towards the Natives of this Land, who dwell far back in the Wilderness, whose Ancestors were the Owners and Possessors of the Land where we dwell; and who, for a very small Consideration, assigned their Inheritance to us; and, being at *Philadelphia*, in the eighth Month, 1761, in a Visit to some Friends who had Slaves, I fell in Company with some of those Natives who lived on the East Branch of the River *Susquehannah*, at an *Indian* Town called *Wehaloosing*, two hundred Miles from *Philadelphia*, and, in Conversation with them by an Interpreter, as also by Observations on their Countenances and Conduct, I believed some of them were measurably acquainted with that divine Power which subjects the rough and forward Will of the Creature: And, at Times, I felt inward Drawings toward a Visit to that Place...

[June 18, 1763]:

“So, near Evening, I was at their Meeting, where the pure Gospel-love was felt, to the tendering some of our Hearts; and the Interpreters, endeavouring to acquaint the People with what I said in short Sentences, found some Difficulty, as none of them were quite perfect in the *English* and *Delaware* Tongues; so they helped one another, and we laboured along, divine Love attending: And afterwards, feeling my Mind covered with the Spirit of Prayer, I told the Interpreters that I found it in my Heart to pray to God, and believed, if I prayed aright, he would hear me, and expressed my Willingness for them to omit interpreting; so our Meeting ended with a Degree of divine Love: And, before the People went out, I observed Papunehang (the Man who had been zealous in labouring for a Reformation in that Town, being then very tender) spoke to one of the Interpreters; and I was afterwards told that he said in Substance as follows: "I love to feel where Words come from."