A history and bibliography of the Lenni Lenape

Theresa Doyle
Rowan College of New Jersey

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A HISTORY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF THE LENNI LENAPE

by
Theresa Doyle

A Thesis
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the
Master of Arts Degree in the Graduate Division
of Rowan College
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Approved by
Professor

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The purpose of this history and bibliography is to promote knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of the Lenni Lenape. This goal will be accomplished by increasing the public's awareness of the availability of materials concerning the Lenape. Through this awareness it will become possible for people to access previously unknown sources.

The historical data covers what is known of the Paleo-Indians up through the arrival of the first European colonists and the final migration of the Lenape people. This coverage includes the controversial Wallum Olum. The bibliography and appendices are divided into sections in order to allow the reader to locate information more easily.

These materials could be used to give people a better understanding of the place of the Lenni Lenape in the history of North America and subsequently the United States. Present day Lenape would be able to use the data to trace their heritage in written form and to appreciate their unique contributions to society.
MINI-ABSTRACT


The purpose of this history and bibliography is to promote knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of the Lenni Lenape. Historical data has been presented on the Paleo-Indians and Lenni Lenape who have resided in the Delaware Valley for centuries. Bibliographic information has been organized to allow the reader to locate further information more easily.
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Chapter 1
Overview of the Project

Introduction

I have found that the traditional teaching units on Native Americans give scant space to the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians. It has been my experience that small bits of information are disseminated on a great number of Native American tribes with most of the focus being on the more popular and familiar Plains Indians. The paucity of information on the Lenape also applies to many school and public library collections.

It is past time for the development of a tool which will enable school and public librarians as well as teachers and other library patrons to explore the culture and traditions of the Lenni Lenape. Therefore, I believe that a history and bibliography of the Lenape will be of value to those who wish to learn about them.

Purpose

The purpose of this history and bibliography is to promote knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of the Lenni Lenape. This goal will be accomplished by increasing the public's awareness of the availability of materials concerning the Lenape. Through this awareness it will become
possible for people to access previously unknown sources.

I believe that knowledge of ourselves and others is necessary if we are to become useful and tolerant members of society. This knowledge must also be made available to all children if they are to be free of hate and fear. These emotions are often directed toward those who are different.

In a 1994 article, Baker wrote

What children learn about the wide variety of people in the world around them will significantly influence the way they grow and what kinds of adults they will become. It will determine whether they develop into confident, secure members of society who respect diversity or into adults who view others with hostility and fear because of ignorance (p. 33).

Knowledge of other people and their beliefs enables us to fight prejudice and discrimination by developing within ourselves a sense of identity, cooperation, and acceptance of others. It is also important in developing a good self-image and in improving self-esteem. Knowledge can be a powerful force when used by the members of minority groups to understand their own unique heritage and traditions and to reconcile them to the demands of the modern world.

Once people have gained knowledge of others they can begin to understand them and their various traditions. Baker (1994) tells us that "understanding is the key to our acceptance of diversity" (p. 33). Acceptance of diversity should be a major goal of all people. In particular, those people who live in a country, such as ours, that encompasses so many religious beliefs, cultural traditions, political
views, and varied lifestyles.

The Literature

Before beginning my research I was unaware of the abundance of information that exists on the Lenni Lenape. There are journals, letters and government documents, some as early as the 1600's, by explorers, engineers, government officials, missionaries, military personnel and diarists. When discussing the Lenni Lenape, Kraft (1986) tells us that their story "was first written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the explorers who 'discovered' them, the missionaries who preached to them, and the colonists who took their lands" (p. xii).

As the years have passed more and more has been written about the people who other Native Americans call the "Grandfathers". Today there are numerous books, videos, recordings, periodicals, pamphlets, and dissertations that recount the story of the Lenni Lenape. This vast amount of data is scattered throughout the country in various locations. These materials are held in libraries, museums, and private collections. According to Weslager (1989), "despite bias, inaccuracies and omissions, they constitute a rich source of information, provided one examines them critically as a corpus of data, not as isolated pieces of intelligence on which conclusions would not be warranted" (p. xi).

This is especially true of contemporary accounts of the
Lenape. It must be remembered that many of those who have left us such documentation were influenced by "commercial, political or religious motives" (Weslager, 1989, p. xi). Another very important consideration is that most of these accounts were written by people who "were not conversant in the Indian tongues; and conditioned to European society, they did not understand all of the incidents they witnessed" (Weslager, 1989, p. xi).

The staggering amount of information existent would fill many volumes if it could ever be effectively gathered and reproduced. Records of seventeenth century land transactions alone would comprise one large volume. Another would be needed to contain the government documents that trace the steady removal of the Lenape from their ancestral lands.

Methodology

In researching my thesis I have made use of a variety of sources. I have personally visited libraries to consult card catalogs and special collections. The Reference Encyclopedia of the American Indian (1993) by Barry Klein has been useful as a sourcebook of other sources. When necessary I have enlisted the help of librarians in order to access needed information. To enable me to form a more complete picture of the Lenni Lenape I have also visited the Powhatan Renape Nation in Rancocas, New Jersey.
Much of my research was done through my computer. This allowed me to review library holdings throughout the country using the Internet. Being able to view the holdings of the Library of Congress was especially helpful. Internet access to academic libraries assisted me in finding citations for diaries, historical society records, and government documents. These diverse research methods have made it possible for me to successfully assemble a history and bibliography of the Lenni Lenape.

In chapter two I present a history of the Lenni Lenape and the land they once called Lenapehoking. The vast amount of information that is available and the focus of my research paper make it impossible to cover the subject in its entirety. Accordingly, I have chosen to present a general overview of the Lenape for the last two thousand years.

The Lenni Lenape had their own religious beliefs, traditional ceremonies and folk medicines. These had been in place long before the arrival of the earliest colonists. Consulting works by Weslager (1973), Tantaquidgeon (1972), and Harrington (1984) I have written about these areas of the Lenape culture and how they were affected by contact with Europeans. The Lenni Lenape's initial contact and subsequent relations with Europeans have also been discussed. In addition, I have included some of the major events, such as the Walking Purchase Hoax, that have transpired in their
history. This section of my thesis concludes with the westward migration of the Lenape as the world they knew was usurped by others.

Chapter three of my paper will touch upon the controversial Wallum Olum or Red Record. The Wallum Olum is purported, by some, to be the epic story of the Lenni Lenape’s ancient journey from Asia to the North American continent and eventually to the Delaware Valley. I have included some of the symbols with their Indian and English translations.

A bibliography of the Lenni Lenape is offered in chapter four. Since a complete bibliography would not be within the scope of this thesis, I have assembled a partial bibliography. It encompasses many works, in various formats, relating to the Lenni Lenape. To this I have added the names of organizations, libraries, museums and archaeological sites of relevance to the topic. The information has been gathered from a variety of sources and can be used by the casual reader, student or researcher. It has been divided into categories and alphabetized to ensure easy access for the user. It is my intention that this bibliography will provide the reader with some idea of the extent of the literature on the Lenape.

At the end of my thesis I have included two appendices. Appendix A contains information about some of the excavation sites in New Jersey and Pennsylvania that contain Indian
artifacts relating to the Lenni Lenape and their prehistoric ancestors. In Appendix B I have gathered the names and addresses of colleges, museums, historical societies, libraries, organizations and councils that could be contacted for further information on the Lenape people.

I have attempted to present a great deal of information about the Lenni Lenape in a way that will be easily understood by those using this document. It is my hope that this work will give some direction to those who are investigating these ancient people.

Multiculturalism

School and public librarians have a role to play in acquiring information about different people and their cultures and making it accessible to the library’s patrons. This information could be in the form of historic documents, present day commentaries or fictional works.

Librarians have a tremendous responsibility to see that these materials do not present only one view of the world’s people and events. Materials need to be chosen with care. Librarians can affect the way people react to one another through the development of a multicultural collection.

According to Richard (1993)

Reading about characters of other cultures is a crucial first step toward understanding them. And when we pay attention to literary characters who are struggling to understand each other, we can begin to discuss communication between cultural and racial groups, to examine the social norms and ethnic values that shape our con-
DuMont, Buttlar, and Cayno (1994) have commented that "in librarianship, cultural pluralism has always been recognized to some extent" (p. 9). Sizemore (1984) has defined pluralism as "a condition of cultural parity among ethnic groups in a common society" (p. 44). Cultural parity is necessary if all members of society are to exist in an atmosphere of mutual respect. This respect allows us to accept differences among people rather than to condemn others for being different from us. Those librarians who value these differences, and therefore cultural diversity, will develop multicultural libraries.

However, it must be understood that even with the best of intentions multicultural libraries are not created easily. In Multiculturalism in Libraries the authors state that the "challenge of cultural diversity is that in each generation we have to update our knowledge of the diversity within our society, incorporating the knowledge of what we find into collection development and service provision" (DuMont, et al., 1994, p. 9). Add this to tight budgets and overworked staff and we can see that librarians face a very difficult task as they try to meet the needs of all library patrons.

Community analysis allows the librarian to assess the needs of library patrons as they relate to collection development and services. However, community analysis is not
A librarian has a responsibility "to develop a collection that is a cross-section of worldwide cultures and races" (DuMont, et al., 1994, p. 11). In order to do this, the librarian must be aware of people and issues outside her/his own local area.

Summary

It is my belief that this history and bibliography will be of use to those librarians who wish to provide their patrons with access to information that relates to a particular ethnic group. In this case the materials would deal with the Lenni Lenape. These materials could be used to bring readers to a better understanding of the place occupied by these Native Americans in the history of North America and subsequently the United States. They would also be valuable in establishing the Lenape's place among the vast number of other North American tribes. Present day Lenape would be able to use the data to trace their heritage and to appreciate their unique contributions to our society.
The Prehistoric Era

The people living along the Delaware River and its tributaries before the arrival of the white man are considered by scientists to be a prehistoric people. They kept no records and it is not even known what these earliest inhabitants of the area called themselves. However, it is believed that they are the ancestors of the Lenape or Delaware Indians.

People have been living in the area around the Delaware River from about 10,000 B.C. Kraft (1985) tells us that lacking written records for this period "archaeologists have created such names as Paleo-Indian, Archaic, and Late Woodland to identify the different prehistoric periods and cultures" (p. 2).

Many archaeologists and anthropologists believe that the Paleo-Indians originated in Asia and wandered into North America sometime during the end of the Paleolithic period. This would have been about 15,000 to 25,000 years ago. They were probably following migrating herds of game as they moved west to east. At this time there was a land bridge connecting Siberia and Alaska that permitted movement between the two continents. However, when the water level in
this area rose it covered the bridge and the migrating people became trapped on the eastern side. As time passed they slowly moved throughout North America and some of them eventually settled in the Delaware River Valley.

When we consult Weslager (1972) we learn that the land of the Lenape or Lenapchoking was "that part of southeastern Pennsylvania lying between the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers, and the southeastern part of New York state west of the Hudson" (p. 33). Because of the size of the Lenape homeland there were a "wide variety of climates and ecological zones" (Weslager, 1989, p. 40). Due to these disparities there were also "differences in culture and in the way [the Lenape] adapted to their local habitats" (Weslager, 1972, p. 40). Furthermore, a careful study of the Lenape people illustrates that "the many communities who lived in this general area were never a political unit ... but they recognized themselves as a common group" (Wallace, 1949, p. 7).

It is thought to have been very cold during the Paleolithic period and the Indians living in Lenapchoking would have required very warm clothing made from animal skins. Archeologists have not found any remains of the people or their clothing, but they have discovered tools and weapons. Kraft (1985) tells us that "Paleo-Indian hunters killed with thrusting spears or lances" and also used "stone knives, scrapers, drills, and engraving tools" (p. 5).
Dwellings were very primitive during this period of time. Since the Paleo-Indians were hunters and lived a nomadic life they dwelt in caves and rockshelters. At times "small tent-like huts made from skins and saplings were probably used" (Kraft, 1985, p. 6). Food preparation was also very primitive and lacking pots all food had to be either roasted or eaten raw.

As time passed the landscape changed. Dense forests began to cover the land and temperatures became warmer. The people of the Archaic period supplemented their diet of meat with "fish, shellfish, and wild plants" (Kraft, 1985, p. 9). Caves were still used as shelters but some rectangular lodges were built.

Heavy stone axes, gouges, adzes, knives, drills, perforators and scrapers were employed. The smaller objects were fashioned from flint, jasper or quartzite. Kraft (1985) tells us that

Toward the end of the Archaic period the eating habits of the Indians began to change as new methods of cooking were introduced. It was discovered that vessels carved out of soapstone and talc would not crack when they were placed directly over a fire (p. 11). This innovation allowed the Indians to make nourishing soups and stews.

The Archaic period was followed by the Early, Middle, and Late Woodland periods and the life of those living in Lenapehoking changed very slowly. "By about A.D. 500, the bow and arrow came into use and quickly replaced the spear
as the principal hunting weapon" (Kraft, 1985, p. 13). During this period horticulture was first practiced by the Indians and soon changed how they lived and worked.

During the Late Woodland period the Indians settled into a village life. They spent a great deal of time tending their crops and less time traveling from place to place. Each band had its own territory for living, hunting, and fishing.

In a dissertation written on the Lenape by Koering (1972) it is stated that "the Lenape nation was connected by a maze of trails criss-crossing the area from the mountains to the sea. The trails joined villages, or led to hunting or fishing grounds" (p. 10). The people also began to use the waterways for transportation. These were traversed by the use of hollowed-out logs.

The various villages were never gathered under the rule of a single chief or king such as the white man had experienced in Europe. But rather, according to Weslager (1972), each "village was an independent community, having its own chieftains, and great men, who served the chieftains in the role of councilors, and participated in the decision making" (p. 33).

The Late Woodland period was the end of the prehistoric era. By this time the Indians had reached the place in their history when their lives were no longer simply controlled by their environment. Now they would have to
deal with an invasion of their land by explorers and settlers from across the sea.

The Late Woodland People

At the end of the Late Woodland period when Europeans first encountered the Lenape they would have seen a people little different in size and form from themselves. The average height for men was between 5'7" and 5'10". Women were somewhat shorter. Both men and women were slender with coarse straight black hair and black eyes. Skin tones ranged from "a swarthy cafe au lait to almost black" (Weslager, 1972, p. 52).

William Penn left us this description of the physical attributes of the Lenape. "For their Persons, they are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty Chin" (Penn, 1970, p. 21).

The younger men generally shaved their heads, leaving a ridge of hair down the center of their scalps. This hair was often greased and adorned with feathers. The Lenape did not originally use the elaborate feathered head dresses that were favored by some of the other tribes, although in later years they did adopt this type of decoration. Older men allowed their hair to grow and wore it shoulder length. Women of all ages wore their hair long.

It was mistakenly believed by many Europeans that some
of the elderly Lenape were well beyond a hundred years old. In fact the harsh and often perilous conditions under which these people existed kept their life span to seldom more than thirty or forty years.

Clothing and Decoration

Weslager (1972) tells us that "the native clothing was made of animal skins, feathers, and plant fibers" (p. 53). The season dictated the amount and type of clothing that was worn. In the warm weather men wore an apron or loin cloth while women wore knee-length skirts. These garments were made of soft deerskin. In the colder weather robes, shawls, and leggings were added for more warmth and protection against the elements. Moccasins were worn by both men and women all year long.

All clothing was made by the women who "sewed the skins together with thread made from sinew, hair, or tough grass" (Weslager, 1972, p. 54). Their work was so fine that Brinton (1969) states that "their skill in manufacturing bead work and feather mantles and in dressing deer skins, excited the admiration of the early voyagers" (p. 52). However, Stewart (1973) tells us that after the arrival of the European settlers the Indians replaced their traditional clothing with "gay colored Dutch duffel cloth ... woolen leggings ... and match coats" (p. 28).

The Lenape shared the European love of personal adorn-
ment. However, early settlers would have been surprised by the materials that the Lenape employed for such display. Weslager (1972) has written that "both men and women adorned themselves with stone and shell gorgets, pendants, beads, necklaces, arm bands, and anklets" (p. 54). Earrings were also worn and these were made "of stone, shells, animal teeth, and claws" (Weslager, 1972, p. 54).

The arrival of Europeans brought new means of ornamentation as the settlers and Lenape began to exchange trade goods. The Lenape added "strings of glass beads or wampum, silver buckles and clasps, red, yellow, or black silk ribbons, [and] bracelets" (Weslager, 1972, p. 14).

Europeans must have been further startled by the Lenape use of face and body paint and tattoos. Weslager (1972) has mentioned that the Lenape painted their faces with "white, red, and yellow clay, wood ashes, black shale, or the juice of herbs and berries" (p. 52). The men also painted their thighs, legs or breasts. Tattooing was "accomplished by puncturing the skin with flint or sharp bone, then rubbing powdered tree bark or paint into the abrasions" (Weslager, 1972, p. 52).

Language, Dwellings, and Weapons

The Lenape spoke a dialect of the Algonkian language. This is the same basic language used by the Powhatan, Nanticoke, Conoy, Choptank, Shawnee, and Mohican tribes. It
was also the language of the Menominee, Sauk, Fox, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Miami, Chippewa, Montagnais, and Abnaki. Weslager (1972) has written that in most instances "the dialects were mutually intelligible" (p. 41) and the various tribes could make themselves understood.

The majority of European settlers had little interest in learning the language of the Lenape. This attitude would lead to many future difficulties as problems arose from poor communications between Indian and white man. William Penn (1970) had a different view of the importance of mastering the Lenape dialect and has written "I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an Interpreter on any occasion" (p. 22). Being able to converse directly with the Lenape he came in contact with would help Penn to form strong ties with them. The Lenape returned the respect that Penn accorded them. They affectionately called him Miquon "which means feather or quill" (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 142). This was a play on the English meaning of his name.

Penn has also given us his opinion of the language itself. In an account of his dealings with the Lenape he has written that "I know not a Language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness or greatness in accent and Emphasis" (Penn, 1970, p. 22).

The Lenape dwellings differed from those of some of the other North American tribes in that "they were not communal,
but each family had its own separate dwelling" (Brinton, 1884, p. 50). These houses were called wigwams and had evolved from the earlier constructions that had been used when the Lenape had a more nomadic existence. Within each house a man, his wife, and children as well as other relatives would live together.

There were three kinds of one-room bark hut. The huts differed from each other mainly in shape. Weslager (1972) describes them as "round with a dome-shaped roof, oblong with an arched roof, and oblong with a ridgepole and pitched roof" (p. 50). There were no windows and a hole in the roof served as a chimney above an open fire. Skins were used to cover a single doorway. "The furniture consisted of tiered platforms of skin-covered tree limbs built along the walls to serve as seats and beds" (Weslager, 1972, p. 50).

Each wigwam was filled with the things that the Lenape needed for daily living. Tools, weapons, cooking pots, utensils, baskets, dried herbs and food, and extra clothing and animal skins would have been evident to any visitor. Many items used by the Lenape "were fashioned from stone, bone, and clay" (Weslager, 1972, p. 50). European visitors must have compared these Indian houses and accoutrements very unfavorably with their own.

The Europeans would have been especially interested in native weapons and probably despised the "crude bow made of a pliable wood fitted with a bowstring of a twisted thong of
deerskin" (Weslager, 1972, p. 50). Further scorn would have been visited upon arrows that "were reeds tipped with sharp points of flint, bone, or deer antler" (Weslager, 1972, p. 50). When the Europeans first encountered these simple possessions, especially the weapons, the Lenape "must have seemed to be in the stone age" (Weslager, 1972, p. 50).

**Horticulture and Hunting**

Agriculture was very important to the Lenape of the Late Woodland period. Weslager (1972) tells us that it "attached the people to the soil during the growing season, although the quest for food and clothing necessitated their moving back and forth at certain seasons" (p. 56). This movement usually occurred during the hunting and gathering seasons. At these times the women and children often accompanied the men while the old people remained in the village.

Corn, beans, pumpkins, squash and tobacco were the main crops. The Indians supplemented these staples with meat and fish caught by the tribe's hunters. A variety of berries, roots, bark, and herbs were collected at different times of the year by the women. These were used as added food stuffs and for medicinal purposes.

Stewart (1973) has written a dramatic account of the Lenape as a hunter.

In the field he was uncanny in his attainments. He had learned to outwit the most alert animal of
any species whatsoever. The bear was followed to his lair with ease and certainty. The fox was trapped unawares. Wind and weather were taken into account and the lure of bait and animal calls were ever at his command. The trap known as the den type dead fall was his invention and the spring stick snare, and the bear pit always served him to great advantage in filling his larder. He could give the call of the wild turkey, quack with the perfection of a duck and honk as adept as a goose. He could growl like a bear, bark like a fox and squeal like a rabbit in distress; and when within his reach he took the game with bow and arrow, spear, javelin or dagger (p. 29).

**Spiritual Beliefs and Practices**

The Lenni Lenape were a deeply religious people. However, their beliefs and practices differed markedly from those of early settlers. For this reason it was thought by some that they practiced devil worship and by others that they "had neither god nor religion" (Kraft, 1986, p. 161). Early settlers did not understand the Indian beliefs and rituals because they compared them to their own Christian practices. Few Europeans took the time to actually learn about the spiritual lives of the Indians.

Kraft (1986) tells us that the Lenape religion is not well documented, and many spiritual beliefs were lost because of persecution and contempt on the part of white ministers and settlers, death or forgetfulness of the religious leaders, gradual assimilation into other Indian groups, cultural exchange, conversion to Christianity, or willful abandonment or renunciation of the traditional Indian faith (p. 161).

According to Weslager (1972) the Lenape "believed that
Kee-shay-lum-moo-kwang and his subordinate Spirit Forces were present in all living things" (p. 66). Kee-shay-lum-moo-kwang can be translated as Our Creator, Great Spirit, God or Maker. His Spirit Forces "were the forces present in trees, flowers, grass, rivers, rocks, and other manifestations of nature" (Weslager, 1972, p. 66).

Harrington (1984) has written that the "main channel of communication between the supernatural world and man was the dream or vision" (p. 194). Those seeking visions prepared themselves carefully by fasting. People who had received visions or dreams "usually composed rhythmic chants referring to their visions and appropriate dance songs to go with them" (Harrington, 1984, p. 195).

They also believed that each person had a soul or spirit that lived beyond death. At the time of death this spirit remained near the body for several days. It was thought that the deity of death had the power to return the dead to life within a set time. For this reason the body was not buried until a specific time had expired. "The body of the deceased was kept for three days in summer and seven in winter" (Kraft, 1986, p. 187).

The Lenape believed that when the spirit finally left the earth it made "its way to the highest heaven where it lived on indefinitely in a place where pain, sickness, and sorrow were unknown" (Weslager, 1972, p. 55).

When it was determined that the deceased would not
return to life the final preparations for burial were begun. “Friends of the family prepared lenahpona (a type of corn bread) and other foods for those attending the wake and funeral” (Kraft, 1986, p. 187). While this was being done, others washed the body and dressed it in new clothes. The face was painted red while the mourners painted their own faces black.

A shallow grave was dug and lined with bark or skins so that the body did not come in contact with the earth. Food and personal items were placed in the grave with the body, which was arranged in a folded or flexed position. Kraft (1986) tells us that the “knees were drawn up against the stomach, the arms were folded, and the hands were placed close to the head” (p. 188).

The Lenape had no fear of those who had died. They revered their dead and went to great lengths to see that they were buried near the village. If a person died away from the village, or if the members of the village had to relocate, the bones of the dead were taken with the tribe. These reburials are known to modern archeologists as “bundle burials” due to the compact nature of the body when it was again placed in the ground.

The Lenape had medicine men and herbalists who took care of the people in time of sickness. Tantaquidgeon (1972) tells us that

Certain maladies are attributed to the presence of some evil spirit in the body, which in turn
is believed to be the work of a sorcerer; others are thought due to the patients' iniquities, while a few result from an encounter with an apparition (p. 5).

Since people could become ill for a variety of reasons it was necessary for the medicine men and herbalists to deal with the illnesses in different ways. The medicine men used "magic, prayers, exhortations, suggestion, the use of fetishes ... and a multitude of other means, not excepting numerous vegetal remedies" (Weslager, 1973, p. 12). The medicine men also communicated with the dead in order to work some of their cures. The herbalist was someone of either sex who had an extensive knowledge of herb lore. These practitioners "did not possess the supernatural powers" (Weslager, 1973, p. 13) of the medicine men.

European Contact

When Captain Samuel Argall first sailed into an unknown bay on an errand for Sir Thomas West, the third Lord de la Warr and governor of the colony of Jamestown, he did not realize that his actions would affect the name of the aboriginal people of the area. Argall named the bay in honor of the governor. However, Governor West would eventually return to England without ever seeing this splendid waterway.

The year of Argall's discovery was 1610. Weslager (1972) tells us that "as time went on, the Lenape people living on the shores of the 'de la Warr Bay' and along the
river that emptied into it came to be called the Delaware Indians" (p.31). The alteration of the Lenape name was only
the beginning of the events that would lead to their eventual displacement from their ancient homeland.

At the time that Europeans first arrived in the land of the Lenape the native population numbered between 10,000 and 12,000 people. However, the new settlers were not aware of the large number of people who already inhabited the area which they believed they had discovered. According to Weslager (1972) "students of population statistics have arrived at the opinion that estimates of the aboriginal population of North America was grossly underestimated by contemporary observers" (p. 42).

The Lenape people could not halt the advance of these strange white men. White men who brought with them many unusual material goods as well as new methods of death and destruction. Brintton (1884) has told us "that the New Jersey Indians disappeared rapidly" (p. 45). He goes on to say that official documents from 1721 state that the Lenape were "but few, and very innocent and friendly" (Brintton, 1884, p. 45).

The population was decimated by the exposure of the Indians to the white man's diseases, alcohol, persecution and privation as their traditional lands were gradually taken from them. Koering (1972) tells us that "the Lenape did not forcefully resist the white man's desire for more
According to Wallace (1949)

The settlement of New Jersey commenced in earnest about 1670, and in 1682 Penn's first colonists arrived at the mouth of the Delaware River. In the generation from 1670 to 1700 the great exodus began, the Delaware of the lower reaches of the Bay, southern New Jersey, the neighborhood of New York, and the lower part of the Delaware River itself, sold their lands for trade goods (p. 5).

This massive migration continued into the beginning of the eighteenth century as the Lenape continued to move away from the influence and advances of the white settlers. Wallace (1949) tells us that many of the New Jersey Indians moved, as their corn lands and hunting territories were submerged under the flood of European immigrants (p. 6).

The Lenape were not a warrior society. They were a gentle people who lived in harmony with their environment. According to Weslager (1973) "the Lenape were highly regarded by the other Algonkian tribes, and were referred to as 'grandfathers,' a term of kinship recognized by the Indians as denoting prestige and respect" (p. 10).

In a 1972 work Weslager tells us that "deeply ingrained in [their] tradition was the obligation they felt to share their food and the comfort of the wigwams with a stranger" (p. 51). In an account of the Lenape written by William Penn (1970) we are told "if an European comes to see them, or calls for Lodging at their House or Wigwam they give him the best place and first cut" (p. 28).
Land Ownership

The traditions of the Indians and Europeans were different in many respects, but one of the greatest areas of conflict was over land ownership. The Lenape believed that a person or tribe could own the right to the use of land. This meant that someone had the right to hunt, fish, or live in a particular area. This did not mean that the person actually owned the land itself.

Europeans believed that those who owned land had the sole right to it and that they could possess it forever. Land purchased by the settlers was often fenced and the nearby Indians were not permitted to trespass on it even to reach hunting or fishing grounds.

When settlers purchased land from the Indians they often had to negotiate with several different villages for the same piece of ground. Even when this process was finally completed there were often further problems since the Lenape did not truly understand the idea of land purchase according to the European mind.

The Indians had no use for money and therefore they preferred to receive trade goods in exchange for the land that they sold. These goods were received by the chiefs who were negotiating the land sale and then were distributed among all those in the village who had a claim to the land.

Kraft (1986) has written that "contributing to the
problems caused by indefinite boundaries in deeds was the use of indistinct language" (p. 227). He goes on to say that "phrases such as 'as far as a man can go in two days,' 'as far as a man could ride in two days with a horse,' and 'backwards to the utmost boundaries of the Province,' were used instead of land measurements.

Walking Purchase Hoax

Phrases such as these were employed in a large land purchase made in 1686 for "an amount of land extending from present-day Wrightstown in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, as far into the woods as a man could walk in a day and a half" (Kraft, 1986, p. 228). A walk such as this would normally cover about thirty-five miles.

In 1737, it was decided by John and Thomas Penn and James Logan to have their representatives walk the land stated in the original deed of 1686 for a second time. By skillful planning they intended to extend the area that had been walked originally.

The English cleared "a straight path through the forest, cutting trees and removing all obstacles to facilitate ... three fast walkers [who] were trained to undertake the task" (Kraft, 1986, p. 228). "The walking men set a brisk pace as the morning sun cast long shadows before them. A few early rising pedestrians and farmers in their wagons glanced curiously at the walkers as they picked up the pace"
The three walkers were followed by several observers but only one person actually completed the walk. His name was Edward Marshall and he covered a distance of fifty-five miles. A total of twelve hundred miles were claimed by the Penn brothers and James Logan.

The Indians were enraged and applied to the authorities for help. However, as in other cases they did not receive a fair hearing. This particular event came to be called the Walking Purchase Hoax of 1737 and it naturally caused hard feelings between the white settlers and the Lenape.

Brinton has written about the patience of the Lenape people in the face of terrible abuse and injustice. In 1884, he stated that "the fact that for more than forty years after the founding of Penn's colony there was not a single murder committed on a settler by an Indian, itself speaks volumes for their self-control and moral character" (p. 63).

The Last Migration

The Lenape had little chance of having their complaints heard. The Europeans had decided that they would take possession of Lenapehoking and were very willing to remove the original inhabitants in order to accomplish their purpose.

"Small groups [of Lenape] were moving westward as early as 1630" (Kraft, 1986, p. 233). They were hoping to escape the encroaching settlers and continue to follow their own ways. They began by moving further west in Pennsylvania to
the Allegheny River.

As the white settlers claimed more and more land the Lenape were again required to relocate. Kraft (1986) tells us that their quest for a permanent new settlement would be punctuated by recurring uprootings, forcing them to move their encampments ever more westward. Numerous reservations would be purchased only to be sold again soon, even as treaties and agreements would be made and then abrogated (p. 233).

The final chapter of the Lenape troubles in the Delaware Valley was played out in 1758 at the Treaty of Easton. At that time the Lenni Lenape people "relinquished title to all the lands which had been their's for thousands of years" (Kraft, 1985, p. 39).

As time passed they were forced into Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri. Pachgantschihilas, a Delaware war chief, voiced the opinion of many of his people concerning their treatment by the white man and his government when he said:

I admit that there are good white men, but they bear no proportion to the bad; the bad must be the strongest, for they rule. They do what they please. They enslave those who are not of their colour, although created by the same Great Spirit who created us. They would make slaves of us if they could, but as they cannot do it, they kill us! There is no faith to be placed in their words" (Kraft, 1986, p. 235-236).

Today only a small portion of the Native American people living in the Delaware Valley are Lenni Lenape. Most of the descendants of these gentle people now call themselves Delawares and live in Oklahoma, Kansas, Wisconsin, and Ontario.
Chapter 3

The Wallum Olum

Historical Background

People throughout the world have ancient myths and legends that have been passed down through generations recounting their history and beliefs. The Lenni Lenape also have a rich tradition of such stories. One of the better known tales is called the Wallum Olum.

The Wallum Olum, sometimes spelled Welam Olum, is a song written in red symbols on wooden tablets. The name has been translated variously as the Red Record or the Red Score. According to McCutchen (1993), "the saga tells of the rise to glory of the Lenni Lenape and their great Lenape family, also called the Algonquians, the most populous and widespread Native American language group in ancient North America" (p. 4). It is a story that, supposedly, tells of the Lenape's journey across Asia and North America to a new home in the area around the Delaware River. This is a journey that would have taken the Lenni Lenape generations to complete.

This native tale has caused a great deal of controversy among anthropologists and Indians alike since it was first brought to light by a professor of botany and natural history at Transylvania College in Lexington, Kentucky. His
name was Constantine S. Rafinesque.

Rafinesque was "an eccentric, unconventional teacher and a prolific writer, [who] claimed that the original painted record was obtained in 1820 by a Dr. Ward of Indiana" (Weslager, 1972, p. 81). According to Rafinesque, Dr. Ward had been in contact with a band of Delaware Indians living in Indiana. These people had settled there after moving from their homeland in the Delaware Valley. Their ancestors had called themselves the Lenni Lenape.

Dr. Ward is said to have received the record from an elderly Indian in payment for medical services. He was unable to decipher the strange symbols and therefore could not understand the meaning of his unusual acquisition. It is thought that "by 1822 Rafinesque had come into possession of the wood record, or copies of the pictures, and also a manuscript in the Delaware language that contained the verses explaining the ideographs" (Weslager, 1972, p. 81).

As Dr. Ward before him, Rafinesque also did not understand the symbols and was unable to translate them on his own. He decided that he would learn the Lenape language and do the translation of the record himself. Rafinesque studied the language and using the notes of two Moravian missionaries, Zeisberger and Heckewelder, along with a manuscript dictionary he was able to translate the Wallum Olum by 1833.

However, within the scientific circles in which he
moved Rafinesque did not have a good reputation. Brinton (1884) tells us that he "was poor, eccentric, negligent of his person [and] full of impractical schemes and extravagant theories" (p. 155). All of these factors plus the suspicion that some of his "assertions on scientific matters were intentionally false" (Brinton, 1884, p. 155) led other scientists to discount his interpretation of the Wallum Olum. His publication of the legend was largely ignored by his contemporaries and it would be years before it was given any serious consideration.

As time has passed the controversy over the Wallum Olum has increased. Rafinesque was a writer and an avid collector and Weslager (1972) tells us that "the Wallum Olum story was only a minor chapter in the work on which he labored for years, and if Rafinesque were living today he would be amazed at the attention given it" (p. 83).

Today there are basically three schools of thought as to the meaning and validity of the Wallum Olum. One group of scientists and Indians feel that it is a story without basis that was composed after the arrival of the white man. Its purpose was to give the Lenape a feeling of unity and continuity in a changing world. Another group has come to the conclusion that it is a complete forgery with no factual basis and no purpose. The final group of Indians and scientists alike feel that it is the only recorded document that details the epic journey of the Lenape people.
Those who accept the Wallum Olum as fact have traced the path that they believe the Lenape followed on their long journey from Asia. It is their belief that these wandering people came into contact with groups of ancient Chinese, the Iroquois, and the mysterious Moundbuilders before coming to the end of their journey. Along the way they left small remnants of their main band thus populating the continent with many tribes who have descended from a common root.

The entire journey is believed to have taken 1,312 years with the Lenape arriving in the Delaware Valley in the year 1396 A.D. The story of the Wallum Olum covers the time from 308 A.D. until 1620 A.D.

If the Wallum Olum is a factual account of the Lenape migration from Asia we are left with the knowledge that the people living along the Delaware River since the Paleolithic era could not possibly be the ancestors of the present day Lenape. These are the prehistoric people that I mentioned in chapter two. The people who left no records and no name.

I am not taking sides in this scientific debate but simply presenting the information that I have gathered in my research. Therefore, the rest of this chapter will be devoted to a retelling of the Wallum Olum with the inclusion of some of the original symbols as depicted in Rafinesque's manuscript.

The whereabouts of the original wooden tablets are not known, but the Rafinesque manuscript can be found at the
The Legend

According to McCutchen (1993) the first book of the Wallum Olum begins in this way:

1. Sayewitalli wemiguma wokgetaki
   At the beginning, the sea everywhere covered the earth.

2. Hackung-kwelik owanaku wak yutali Kitanitowit-essop
   Above extended a swirling cloud, and within it, the Great Spirit moved.

3. Sayewis hallemiwiw nolemiwi elemamik Kitanitowit-essop
   Primordial, everlasting, invisible, omnipresent the Great Spirit moved.

4. Sohalawak kwelik hakik owak awasagamak
   Bringing forth the sky, the earth, the clouds, the heavens.

5. Sohalawak gishuk nipahum alankwak
   Bringing forth the day, the night, the stars.

6. Wemi-schalawak yulik yuch-aan
   Bringing forth all of these to move in harmony, (p. 52).

This is a creation story that the Lenape use to explain how the world and all its creatures came to be. The legend tells us that all the people lived in peace with each other and with all the other inhabitants of the world. At the end
of the first book evil enters the world in the guise of a snake. With it comes war, sickness, destruction, and death.

The second book describes the wars fought to destroy the snake which is actually a water monster or serpent. At this time there is also a great flood that covers the world. The flood has been caused by the evil snake in hopes of destroying mankind. However, the people are saved with the help of beings from the spirit world and the flood waters recede.

McCutchen (1993) tells us that the third book covers the time after the Flood and begins

1. Pehelewtenk lennapawi tulapewini peakwiken woliwikgun wittanktalli

   After the Flood, the Lenape, the True Men, the Turtle People, were crowded together, living there in cave shelters.

2. Topau-akpinep wineu-akpinep kshakan-akpinep thupin-akpinep

   Their home was icy. Their home was snowy. Their home was windy. Their home was freezing.

3. Lowankwamink wulaton wtakan tihill kelik mashautang siliewak

   To the north slope, to have less cold, many big-game herds went.

4. Chitanes-sin powalessin peyachik wikhichik elowichik pokwihil

   To be strong, to be rich; the travelers [from] the builders, the Hunters broke away.

5. Eluwi-chitanesit eluwi-takauvesit eluwi-chikset elowichik delsinewo

   Strongest of all, best of all, holiest of all, the Hunters are.
6. Lowaniwi wapaniwi shawaniwi wunkeniwi elowichik apakichik
Northern, eastern, southern, western; the Hunters, the Explorers (p. 68).

It is thought by some that these lines depict the start of the Lenape migration across Asia during the last Ice Age. As the Lenape travel ever north and east across the continent they encounter many hardships and enemies. Eventually they reach a narrow strip of frozen water that has been identified as the Bering Strait. Over a period of time the people cross from west to east and into present-day Alaska.

This section of the Wallum Olum ends on a wistful note as the people mourn for the loss of their homeland.

20. Wamipayat guneunga shinaking wunkenapi chanelendam payaking allowelendam kowiyeytulpaking
All came to settle in the evergreen land. The western people reluctantly came there, for they loved it best in the old Turtle country. (McCutchen, 1993, p. 76).

The fourth book "begins with a description of the Lenape in a new forest home" and the election of Kolawil "to be their sachem or chief" (McCutchen, 1993, p. 83). His election, according to McCutchen (1993), "marks the beginning of a succession of ninety-six leaders listed in the Red Record ... the longest uninterrupted history of leadership in the New World" (p. 83).

Kolawil and subsequent chiefs lead the Lenape across the North American continent. During this time they fight off enemies and come to learn much about their new envi-
ronment. The journey takes many generations and results in splintering of the main Lenape band. Some of the people elect to remain behind in various areas as they grow accustomed to living there while others break away to travel in directions other than that taken by the original group. These actions are thought to explain the existence of so many tribes in diverse areas of North America that speak dialects of the Algonkian language. By the end of book four the Lenape have reached the area of the Ohio Valley and settled down.

In book five a peaceful existence amid plentiful game and abundant harvests is described. The Lenape prosper and the tribe grows in size. However, all of this ends when a severe drought arrives bringing famine and sickness. Soon migrating tribes begin to enter the Lenape territories. War commences with some of these interlopers as they try to take over the area previously settled by the Lenape.

The Lenape begin their final migration. In order to escape these new enemies they decide to move further eastward. This journey takes them about forty years and in the end brings them to the Delaware River Valley. When they stand on the shore of the eastern sea they think that they have reached the end of the world and found the place where the sun rises each morning.

The fifth book and the Wallum Olum end with the arrival of the white men. McCutchen (1993) writes that this section
of the saga ends with the following lines

57. Wapachikis sakimanep shayabinitis

White Crab was the sachem, friend of the shore.

58. Nenachihat sakimanep peklinkwekin

Watching closely was the sachem, looking seaward.

59. Wonwihil lowashawa wapayachik

For at that time from north and south, the white people came.

60. Langomuwak kitchatowa ewenikiktit

Friendly people, in great ships; Who are they? (McCutchen, 1993, p. 135).

The Lenapi Lenape had no idea when they first glimpsed the European explorers that these people would so drastically affect their lives and future. No idea that these seemingly friendly people would start them on their final migration as they again mourned the loss of their homeland.
Chapter 4

Selected Bibliography

Introduction

This chapter contains a selected bibliography of the Leni Lenape. It is not by any means a complete compilation of everything that exists on these fascinating people. However, there is enough material gathered under a variety of formats to give the reader a good understanding of the kinds of information that can be found. Each citation contains a location where the material can be found.

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Whereas the establishment of peace and friendship
between His Majesty's subjects, and the Shawanese and
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government of Pennsylvania, and negotiations were
actually carrying on for bringing about those salutary
purposes, ... Given under my hand and seal, at arms, at
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Whereas the tribe of Indians distinguished by the name
of the Delawares, contrary to the most solemn treaties,
associating with divers other Indians ... Given under
my hand and seal, at arms, at the borough of Elizabeth,
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By the Honourable William Denny, Esq; lieutenant governor and commander in chief of the province of Pennsylvania, and counties of New-Castle, Kent, and Sussex, upon Delaware, a proclamation: Whereas constant experience, from the first settlement of the province, shows that the selling or giving strong liquors to the Indians is attended with great mischiefs and inconveniences ... Given under my hand, and the great seal of the province, at Easton, this twenty-second day of September ... 1758. Philadelphia: B. Franklin, D. Hall, 1758.

By the Honourable Robert Hunter Morris, Esq; lieutenant governor, and commander in chief of the province of Pennsylvania, and counties of New-Castle, Kent and Sussex, upon Delaware, a proclamation: Whereas since the issuing my proclamation, declaring war against such of the Delaware Indians, and their adherents, as were concerned in committing the late cruel murders and ravages on our frontiers ... Given under my hand, and the great seal of the said province, at Philadelphia, this third day of June ... one thousand seven hundred
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Whereas it is represented to me, by His Excellency Thomas Mifflin, Esquire, governor of the state of Pennsylvania, supported by the depositions of William Wilson and John Hillman, that on the 9th day of March last, Samuel Brady and Francis McGuire, with a body of armed men, made an attack on a party of Delaware Indians ... Given under my hand and the seal of the Commonwealth at Richmond, this third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one. Richmond: s.n., 1791.

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Appendix A

Archeological Excavations

Introduction

There have been numerous archeological excavations conducted in the Delaware Valley. However, little has been done in recent years. Cross (1956) states that "as is the case in many other sections of the country, aboriginal sites are fast disappearing" (p. 1). The original European settlers destroyed many sites as they plowed their fields and built their cities. Today even more sites are being buried under shopping malls and parking lots. We are losing forever the historical evidence of an ancient people.

In this section I have listed several of the more well known excavation sites that can be found in the area of the Delaware River and its tributaries. All of this information was taken from a 1988 work by Edward B. Jelks and Juliet C. Jelks.

Pennsylvania Sites

OVERPECK SITE, a multicomponent site on the west bank of the Delaware River in southeastern Pennsylvania, comprising several Woodland occupations, and estimated to date ca. A.D. 800-1600. Excavations by the Forks of the Delaware Chapter, SPA, unearthed human burials, settlement features, and numerous artifacts. The
Overpeck Pottery ceramic category was defined on the basis of pottery taken from this site.
Ronald A. Thomas (p. 252)

Pennsylvania Jasper Quarries, a series of high quality, brown jasper outcrops in southeastern Pennsylvania which were extensively quarried by aboriginal peoples from Paleoindian to Late Woodland times (ca. 10,000 B.C.-A.D. 1600). At nearby workshops, quarried stone was fashioned into blanks which were distributed throughout the Middle Atlantic region for future tool manufacture. Some blanks of this distinctive jasper have been found as far away as New England and the Southeast.
Ronald A. Thomas (p. 368)

Shoop Site, a hillside near Enterline in eastern Pennsylvania, from whose surface several different people in the 1930s and 1940s collected 48 complete and fragmentary Paleoindian projectile points, plus a variety of chipped-stone scrapers and knives, gravers, and lamellar blades and cores. After analyzing the material, John Witthoft described a distinctive way of striking blades from cores and flutes from projectile points which he named the Enterline Chert Industry.
Edward B. Jelks (p. 448)
New Jersey Sites

ABBOTT FARM SITE, the best-known and by far the largest and most thoroughly studied prehistoric site in the Delaware River Valley, located south of Trenton, New Jersey. It was first investigated before the turn of the 20th century by Charles Abbott, M.D., a well-known antiquarian. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, Dorothy Cross conducted intensive investigations which demonstrated the site’s significance. More recently, Louis Berger Associates have devoted thousands of person-hours to the most intensive and extensive archaeological research ever conducted in the northeastern United States.

Abbott Farm contains evidence of intensive occupations, beginning ca. 3000 B.C. in the Late Archaic period and continuing almost unabated until ca. A.D. 1600 in the Late Woodland period. Its extensive Middle Woodland occupation initially was thought to have been influenced by the Hopewell Culture of the Midwest, but recent research interprets Abbott Farm as a permanent occupation site of peoples with a local, riverine-oriented economy.

Ronald A. Thomas (p. 1)

PLENGE SITE, one of the largest known Paleoindian sites in eastern North America, located on a terrace of the
Musconetcong River in northwestern New Jersey, where excavations by H. C. Kraft in 1972 produced a wide range of fluted projectile-point forms and other artifacts. No occupational features were found at the site, which had been extensively disturbed by plowing.
Edward B. Jelks (p. 380)

SAVICH FARM/KOENS-CRISPIN SITES, two adjacent sites at Marlton, New Jersey, that both contained cremation burials associated with furnishings of the Late or Terminal Archaic period of the Middle Atlantic region. Grave goods included well-made bannerstones, shaft smoothers, large Koens-Crispin type spear points, and other utilitarian items. The sites are estimated to date ca. 2500 B.C.
Ronald A. Thomas (p. 438-439)
Appendix B

Introduction

I have collected and recorded the names and addresses of some of the various organizations that can provide information on the Lenni Lenape people. For the purposes of this project I have concentrated on sources in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Colleges and Universities

Ramapo College
School of Intercultural Studies
Anthropology Program
Box 542
Mahwah, New Jersey  07430

Rutgers University
Department of Anthropology
Douglass College
Box 270
New Brunswick, New Jersey  08903
908-932-9885
Historical Societies

New Jersey Historical Society
230 Broadway
Newark, New Jersey 07104
201-483-3939

Libraries and Museums

Lenape Indian Museum and Village
Waterloo Village
Stanhope, New Jersey 07874
201-347-0900

Montclair Art Museum
3 South Mountain Avenue
Montclair, New Jersey 07042
201-746-5555

Morris Museum
6 Normandy Heights Road
Morristown, New Jersey 07960
201-538-0454

New Jersey State Museum
205 West State Street, CN-530
Trenton, New Jersey 08625-0530
609-292-6308
Newark Museum Library
43-49 Washington Street
Newark, New Jersey 07101
1-800-768-7386

Pocono Indian Museum
Route 209, P.O. Box 261
Bushkill, Pennsylvania 18324
717-588-9338

Princeton University
Museum of Natural History
Guyot Hall, Princeton Campus
Princeton, New Jersey 08544
609-258-4102

Rankokus Indian Museum
Rankokus Indian Reservation
P. O. Box 225
Rancocos, New Jersey 08073
609-251-4747

Seton Hall University Museum Library
South Orange Avenue
South Orange, New Jersey 07079
201-761-9543
Woodruff Indian Artifact Museum  
150 E. Commerce Street  
Bridgeton, New Jersey 08302  
609-451-2620

State and Regional Organizations  
New Jersey American Indian Center  
503 Wellington Place  
Aberdeen, New Jersey 07747

New Jersey Indian Office  
300 Main Street  
Suite 3 F  
Orange, New Jersey 07050  
201-675-0694

Tribal Councils  
American Indian Council of New Jersey  
P. O. Box 553  
18 A East Commerce Street  
Bridgeton, New Jersey 08302  
609-455-6910
Name: Theresa Doyle

Date and place of birth: October 14, 1948
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Elementary School: St. Agnes School
Blackwood, New Jersey
Graduated 1962

High School: St. Joseph High School
Camden, New Jersey
Graduated 1966

College: Glassboro State College
Glassboro, New Jersey
Graduated 1970

Graduate Appointment(s):
Helene Fuld Nursing Library
Blackwood, New Jersey
Library Volunteer
1994-1995

Wheaton Museum Library
Millville, New Jersey
Library Volunteer
1995-