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PHASE I

VOLUME I: Background

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that "one is tempted to call this Protohistoric Osage." The safest parallel is still a very vague one, however. The White River triangular points (Fresno points) found both in the survey area and in the Table Rock Reservoir (Chapman 1960:Table 22) have direct identical parallels with the main type of triangular projectile point used on historic Osage sites, namely the Brown site (23VE3) dated to 1725-1775 by Chapman (1959:Figure 35). One thing seems clear: Late Woodland populations did seem to abandon their area to some degree after A.D. 1400 (Price 1977:303). Whether this population loss is due to local complex problems or imported ones (e.g., smallpox from European contact) is unclear. For a comparative reading on this problem of historic sources vs. prehistoric archaeology, the classic example is still Deetz's (1965) analysis of the historic vs. prehistoric Arikara on the Middle Missouri River.

The Delaware Indians in Missouri

The Delaware occupation of Southwest Missouri was an event unique both in the history of the area and in the history of the tribe, and although short-lived, it had a marked effect on the ecology and pioneer settlement of the study area.

These people, who were one of the first North American Indian groups contacted by the Europeans, called themselves the Lenni Lenape (original people). They were Algonkian speakers and at the time of contact had a settlement/subsistence pattern that alternated between maize horticulture and wild food processing, using deer, water birds and fish for protein. Their small villages of round or rectangular lodges were scattered up and down the Delaware River watershed on the Atlantic coast. Originally there were perhaps 12,000 people in 40 or 50 villages. Clan identifications influencing village composition, direction of travel, and what spokesmen were

appointed to deal with the government, were retained throughout their wanderings (Weslager 1972).

The first land-transaction involving the Delaware is dated June 1, 1629. Through it the Dutch got a tract of Delaware land in exchange for a quantity of trade goods. The Delaware, like most American Indians, did not understand the European concept of selling and vacating land; this transaction was only the beginning. The Delaware, wherever they moved, were always squarely in the way of westward expansion so they would make little-understood agreements which resulted in their being forced off their land and into conflict with some other Indian tribe whose territory they entered, only to be pushed again when the white settlers demanded their land. They made eight major moves before the small, disorganized remains of the tribe settled in Oklahoma in 1868 (Weslager 1972).

With the end of the Revolutionary War the more acculturated Delaware Indians saw that this meant an end to the treaties they had with the English, so they began to negotiate with the Americans and the Spanish who owned Louisiana Territory (including Missouri) from 1762 to 1800. The Spanish saw that these progressive Indians could be used to form a buffer between themselves and the aggressive American settlers on one side and the hostile Osage on the other. In 1782 four principal chiefs (unnamed) and 40 Indians representing the Shawnee, Delaware, Chickasaw, and Cherokee came to St. Louis with four large blue and white wampum belts and negotiated a peace with the Spanish. They said they had traveled for a year and had united 130 tribes east of the Mississippi. They asked for protection from the King of Spain so they could unite and separate themselves from alliances with the English. Their goal was to set up an all-Indian state (Houck 1908:311).

A small village of 20 Delaware was reported on the west bank of the Mississippi in 1788 (Houck 1908:208). In 1793 the governor of Spanish Louisiana gave them an official grant of land 25 miles square "east by the Mississippi River, west by the White River, north by St. Come River, and south by Cape Girardeau" (Weslager 1972:353). Houck (1908:212) says the Delaware had about six villages close to Shawnee villages where members of Tecumseh's family lived. They were thrifty farmers, cultivating little farms and "bringing the best cattle to the St. Louis market." They had teachers and their children went to school with the children of neighboring European settlers. These were obviously progressive Delaware who were trying to adjust to a new way of life.

Houck (1908:218-219) says that in 1806 the Delawares had a village on White River near Forsythe, in what is now Taney County and a village on James Fork, in what is now Greene County; in addition the Shawnee and Delaware villages were located on the Meramec and Current rivers. On the headwaters near Pilot Knob, an Indian village was located in 1818, presumably belonging to the Shawnees and Delawares. These early settlements paved the way for the later mass migration of Delaware to these areas.

No record has been found as to how many Indians were in the Cape Girardeau group. Houck (1908:220) says they were crossing the Mississippi in substantial numbers. By 1816 Indians at Cape Girardeau were having problems with white settlers and desired to move (Houck 1908:220). Their chiefs included Paterson (Meshe Kowhay), Natcoming and Ketchum (Tah-whee-lalen), all of whom later joined Chief Anderson on the James River. However, some of this Cape Girardeau group did not go to the James River, instead going first

to Arkansas and then to Texas. Until his death in 1831, Chief Anderson hoped that he would be able to reconcile the differences and get all the Delaware together.

In 1818, President Monroe (1817-25) decided to implement the act of March 25, 1804, which established a government policy of moving all Indians west of the Mississippi. At the Treaty of St. Mary's, Ohio, on October 3, 1818, the Miami and Delaware ceded their land in Indiana in exchange for cash payments and land of equal worth west of the Mississippi. The Delaware share was a perpetual annuity of $4,000 in silver coin. They were also to receive 120 horses, suitable provisions, a sufficient number of pirogues to transport their families across the Mississippi River, and a blacksmith to maintain their horses in their new home. A secret agreement allowed annuities of $360 and $140 to Chiefs Anderson and Lapinihile, the two principal leaders. Eighteen chiefs and "important men" signed the treaty. Anderson was not really pleased with the agreement, particularly since the Delaware had not inspected the land allotted to them, but he saw this as an opportunity to unite the Delaware as one nation in one location for the first time.

The annuities negotiated were a lump sum paid to the group and were divided among the members present, so the amount of money they had to spend was constant. At the time of the move to Missouri all the annuities for the whole group totaled $6,540 a year plus the $500 for the chiefs. Other groups got additional one-time payments. The Sandusky group under Captain Pipe got $3,000 at the time of the move, and the Cape Girardeau group later negotiated a treaty giving them $24,000 to discharge past debts and to help them move. Three Cape Girardeau area chiefs, Paterson, Natcoming and Ketchum got perpetual private annuities of $100 each.

The Delaware were given three years to move to the James River. Moving 2000 people (Weslager 1972:352; Foreman 1936:103) with limited resources was a formidable job, particularly when their destination was an undeveloped wilderness. Weslager (1972:360-361) says:

> The fact that the Indians were compensated for lands they ceded to the government, and given new lands gratis on which to settle (for which the government had to pay the western tribes residing on those lands in order to extinguish title) did not lessen the hardship and inconvenience. With their family life disrupted, the Indians had to travel over unfamiliar trails, suffering many privations, as they sought new homes in strange territory. Some owned horsedrawn vehicles in which they transported their families; others crowded their wives and children into farm wagons hired by the government for their use; many went on horseback, and some walked. Blankets, clothing, furs, and bedding were packed in hap-hazard fashion, usually piled in wagons already overloaded with broadaxes, adzes, augurs, chisels, saws, and other tools, bags and barrels of sweet corn and beans, sacks of peachstones, and other vegetable and fruit seeds. When they reached the new location their livelihood would depend on the crops they could raise and the wild animals they could kill. The aged and infirm who were least inclined to leave their homes usually constituted a special problem, and sometimes they almost had to be carried off bodily. . . . No matter what means of transportation was used, the pace was slow and painful, and weeks, sometimes months were required for Indian families to reach their destinations due to rains, windstorms, and heavy snows. Many of the children died en route from epidemics of measles and undiagnosed diseases, while others suffered frozen fingers and toes, as well as malnutrition, during the winter. Sickness often delayed a party. They were forced to set up temporary camps, and during the delay they used up all the food, and families went hungry.

The main body of Delaware moved in the fall of 1820, when a large number of Delaware from Indiana (perhaps 1,346 according to Weslager 1961:361) and their horses were taken across the Mississippi River via the boat ferry at Kaskaskia, Illinois (Foreman 1936:35;89f).

The group of about a hundred who came from Ohio were so frightened of the steamboat that they rode cross-country on horseback rather than go downriver in the boat. One group coming from the White River in Indiana was forced to winter in 1820-21 near Vincennes, Illinois, badly in need of

food. Delaware are also reported camped on the Embarras River near Vincennes the winter of 1822.

Getting across the Mississippi River was only one barrier--they still had to cross Missouri. The route followed was probably the known Indian trail across the crests of the divides, now approximated by modern Highway 44 between St. Louis and Marshfield. Near Pleasant Prairie (modern Marshfield) the trail turned south, following the James River to its confluence with Wilson's Creek. Pettijohn's homestead, located here, became the location of the main Delaware Trading House. This route was followed by traders with wagonloads of goods; it is described by Miller (Escott 1878:23) who traveled it in 1830. Most early settlers from Tennessee came in via this route. Under the best of conditions this trip took two or three weeks, but for the poorly equipped Indians it took much longer.

> After finally getting across the river, one of the groups of Delawares decided to camp along the Current River, which flows through Carter and Shannon counties in Missouri. The women dug up the earth along the river banks and planted their seed corn, hopeful of raising food to carry with them, but the young plants were killed by an early frost. Hunger and sickness followed, and during this trying period even Chief Anderson was taken ill. A large number of Delawares were camped on the Current River in July and August, 1822, when the government paid the annuities. (Weslager 1972:361)

Others are reported to have camped on the headwaters of the Gasconade River, sharing a village with the Shawnee, in modern Wright County near Mansfield, Missouri (Boyd 1975:27).

The land to which they were going had been selected for them by General William Clark, former co-captain of the Lewis and Clark expedition. The land extended 70 miles east-west, 44 miles north-south, and included parts of modern Barry, Stone, Christian, Greene, and Lawrence counties. A map published in 1827 shows the Delaware and Shawnee allocations. Just north

of them is the Kickapoo allocation, and the north-south line to the west is the "Osage line," an imaginary barrier behind which the Osage were supposed to stay. The Cherokee allocation is south in Arkansas across the White River (Figure 13 illustrates the Indian lands and is based on an 1824 map).

On the 1827 map Indian villages are shown at the mouths of Beaver and Swan Creeks on the White River and near the James-Finley junction (although the Finley is not shown). The spot marked "Delaware Town" (Figure 13) is in Section 18 of the study area and marks the main Delaware settlement around the Delaware Trading House (23CN3). The traders called it the Delaware Trading House or the James Fork Trading post (Gillis 1869-72:36). Another much less important trading post (23SN41) was at the mouth of Swan Creek on the White River from 1827 to 1829. The James Fork Trading post was a service primarily for the Delaware and the Swan post was for the Weas, Peorias, and Piankashaws who were assigned the land on Swan Creek. The Delaware Trading House also traded with Shawnees, Peorias, Weas, Piankashaws and an occasional Osage. Escott (1878:19) says:

> The Indian town and trading post referred to, was at what is now known as the Berry Gibson place, in the northwest part of Christian County, on the James, and extending from the lane where the county road crosses the river, about three-fourths of a mile down its banks. This was their principal town, and for several years the home of the greater part of the nation. There were, however, some suburban towns scattered up and down the James and on the banks of Wilson's Creek.

By 1825 most of the Delaware were assembled on the James River, but Chief Anderson was not happy with the location. He did not find it suitable for their lifestyle, and the land was not rich enough for intensive agriculture to support so many people. They were also constantly being raided by the Osage. Weslager (1972) says that the Delaware liked the White River

of Indiana, which reminded them of their original homelands. When they exchanged lands, they expected an equivalent tract which the James River territory, with its limited potential, was not. In addition, pressures were continuing from the white settlers who wanted these lands opened up to them. A new treaty (the Treaty of James Fork) was negotiated, but this time Anderson was not willing to accept land and move without seeing it first. The Treaty was tentatively approved on September 24, 1829, but was not signed until October 19 after six trusted men had approved the new land in Kansas. Isaac McCoy, a Baptist minister who had worked with the Delaware in Indiana, was employed by the government to survey the new tract. He was accompanied by Chief John Quick representing the Delaware, and the survey was completed during the spring of 1830.

Unlike most of the other chiefs, Anderson was in a hurry to leave Missouri (Clark letters 9/14/1830), and left with about a hundred people in the fall of 1830 before final government authorization was received. They arrived in Kansas in November, 1830. Menard and Gillis, traders on government contract, helped most of the Delaware move the next year. Forty teams and wagons were provided for the move. Gillis moved the remainder of the Delaware, "mostly the poor ones," by the end of 1831 and then wound up his affairs and closed the trading post (Gillis 1869-72:31). Shortly before he died, Anderson wrote to Secretary of War Lewis Cass on September 22, 1831.

> Father Cass: I inform you that nearly all our nation are on the land that the Government has laid off for us, and I hope that if the Government fulfill all its promises, that before many years the balance of my nation who are now scattered, some on the Red River and some in Spanish country (Texas) will all come here on this land. We are well pleased with our present situation. The land is good, and also the food and water, but the game is very scarce (Weslager 1972:375)

The new land was good--2,000,000 rich acres at the junction of the Kaw

(Kansas) and Missouri rivers, where Kansas City stands today. It was squarely in the way of expansion, and was particularly coveted by the railroads. After years of pressure the Delaware gave it up for a fraction of its value and moved on to Oklahoma in 1868.

Although the Delaware ceded their land rights and the main body left Missouri in 1831, there were many Delaware reported in the area over the next few decades. The 1844 survey map of Missouri still refers to "Delaware Village" (E. Hutawa 1844, Sectional Map of the State Of Missouri). There were also Osage and Cherokee as well as Delaware. Some Delaware women had married white men and stayed behind.

As the Osage had done, the Delaware did, coming back to the hunting grounds they knew after they had been moved to Kansas. The last big Delaware hunt on record was in 1846. According to Boyd (1975:29), a Delaware party camped near the mouth of the Niangua River at a spot now covered by the Lake of the Ozarks (about 75 miles north of the study area).

Local traditions say that in or near the study area there were Delaware villages along most of the James River bottoms extending from those north of Sections 1 and 2, where Thomas Patterson's homestead was established (Patterson Spring), down to the James-Finley junction. Previously reported sites along the north township boundary which may have Delaware components are 23CN82, 23CN83, 23CN84, 23CN85, and 23CN44. Other previously reported sites in the township with possible Delaware components are 23CN71 (Crowley), 23CN4, 23CN74, 23CN52, 23CN14, and 23CN3. Just south of the township boundary before the junction are 23SN634, 23SN635, 23SN636 and 23SN651.

Villages were generally placed on the "shoulder or second bottom a short way from the river bank on the best crop land" (Kingman 1960:3). Each

village was under a separate chief, or Captain, and was probably a kinship unit.

One chief's (Ketchum) village is said to be downstream from the trading post, in Section 19 or 20 (Gillis 1869-72:33). Captain Pipe (leader of the 100 Sandusky River Delaware) was of the Wolf Clan and had a separate village, as did Captain Beaver of the Turkey Clan (Melton 1977:8). Exact locations for these villages is not known. Local informants told Cooley and Fuller (1975a:30) that there was also a Turtle Clan village upstream on Wilson's Creek. The big bottom where Wilson's Creek joins the James was said to be the location of the Delaware race track where much drinking and gambling and competitive horse racing took place (Tong personal communication 1978). All of these are within the boundaries of the township study area.

The 1824 map shows Delaware town as being on the east side of the James, (Figure 13) not on the floodplain but on the higher land in Section 3, 7 and 18 of the study area. An 1833 map also shows it in this location. An 1835 survey map shows Delaware villages on the west bank of the James adjacent to Section 7 (Garrison 1835). The James River meander may have cut across that location so that that site has been washed away, but no field check has been done. The 1835 survey map (Surveyer's notes, Garrison 1835) also shows "fields" in the approximate areas where the race track, Paterson, Anderson and Ketchum villages were supposed to have been. Considering the numbers of Delaware involved, there were probably villages at all these locations and others.

This 1835 Survey map also shows the old Delaware trail (renamed the White River Road in 1833) coming in along the James River, connecting all these locations, and branching at Porter's (the old trading post) with one

branch going off to the west and the other leading south to the Marshall (later Yocum) mill and distillery at the James-Finley junction. This was the only commercial mill in the area from 1824 until the Griffin mill was built in 1839, and it served the Delaware during their occupation. Marshall, a wealthy man, was married to a Delaware woman and, aided by the often-repeated Delaware fondness for liquor, he died about 1829. Portions of the old trail are recorded by site number 23CN14 for that portion leading from the trading post toward the north, and number 23CN16 for that portion leading south below the James-Finley junction. There may have been a Delaware village (23CN651) below the junction at about the location of today's Jamesville.

In addition to these locations on the James, there probably were Delaware villages or camps on the Finley, at Elk Valley and Riverdale, where the ford was sometimes called the Delaware Ford and the burial ground was thought to be Delaware (Anderson 1959:61), and at Linden (Goodspeed 1894:329). Also, Petelo (or Pedelo) Creek, tributary to the Finley near Linden, was named for an Indian chief who had a village there when the first settler arrived (Moser n.d.:11). He may have been a Delaware, although the name does not appear on any of the treaties.

Archaeological sites are recorded for most of these locations but before the present study very little attention was paid to historic material. As yet one cannot distinguish archaeologically between Delaware and earlier Indian occupations and Delaware and later pioneer occupations.

Between 1821 and 1824 much clearing must have been done in the James River bottoms while food and shelter were provided for thousands of people and animals. There are several accounts of Delaware town, the community surrounding the trading post (23CN3). One source is the transcript of a law

suit filed in 1869 by two grandchildren of the white trader, Gillis, which contains eyewitness accounts, portions of which are reported by Melton (1977). Another source is Jack Howard, a grandson of Porter, whose memories were recorded by Tong in 1950. Howard was shown the locations of the trading post, racetrack, and villages by his grandfather who could remember seeing a few laggard Delaware when he came to the area about 1830.

The facilities of the trading post are described as follows:

> There was a store house for retailing and then a large log building where the goods were in bales or packages not broken and a house where the hired men slept, and there may have been others--cribs or hen houses (Melton 1977:15).

Each room was about 16 feet square. A black slave woman named Rhonda Jones lived in the south room and did the cooking. There were several other small houses nearby. One was occupied by another black couple with three or four children, who made cheese (probably for trade).

The Indian village extended up and down the James from the trading post. Weslager (1972:363) says that "typical of Indian communities it extended haphazardly up and down the river bank, with cornfields planted by the Indians lying between their cabins and the river." The cabins exhibited a variety of construction, probably depending on how long the inhabitants had been there, and whether they were progressive or traditionalists. Some were like those in temporary hunting camps, "small, rounded huts manufactured from tree limbs, brush, cedar boughs and covered with grass and hides from animals (Tong n.d.:2). Others were:

> . . . log cabins constructed similar to ones occupied by white men. Most of the cabins had puncheon floors and fireplaces, but a few were built directly on the ground with dirt floors and a hole in the center of the roof to allow smoke to escape from the fire burning in the center of the floor (Tong n.d.:2).

According to Holcombe (1883:722),

> Some of the houses at the Delaware town were quite respectable structures, being built of logs, chucked and daubed, with good clapboard roofs and puncheon floors, some of them with two or three rooms. The chief, Old John (sic) Anderson, had a very comfortable house.

These were horizontal log cabins, the type they had learned to make from the Moravian missionaries while they were living in Ohio. A contemporary account of Shawnee cabins at Yellville, Arkansas, is similar (Turnbo n.d.:716):

> . . . small huts mostly of cedar logs. They covered these with boards six feet long and about two courses to the side. It is told that the Indians notched their logs on top instead of the bottom like white people do.

Some of the Cape Girardeau Delaware were probably building their log cabins vertically in the style they had used in Southeast Missouri: "French fashion, posts set close together, the interstices filled out with clay" (Houck 1908:21).

The surveyor's reports concerning the site of the Delaware town describe the area some six years after the Delaware had been removed to Kansas (see treaty in Appendix B). The main site is located in Section 12, of the adjoining township, T27N, R23W.

> The Old Indian Village Delaware lies about 30 chains south, on the west bank of James Fork of White River. It is inhabited by one family only of whites and is in Ruins a few dilapidated cabins only remains on the site. There is 3 other settlements and Cabins in this Section on the River (Surveyor of R23W, T27N, Vol. 362, pp. 17).

> The site of the Old Indian Delaware village is situated immediately on the west bank of James Fork of White River about 30 or 40 chains west. This antique and celebrated village is now forsaken and in Ruins, a few dilapidated cabins only mark the spot of this once populus village so well known in the legendary history of the Delaware tribe of Indians by whom it was formerly inhabited (Surveyor of T27N, R23W, Vol. 342, p. 225).

The Delaware Trading House was the main source of Euro-American goods, for which the Indians traded furs. For example, an invoice reproduced by Melton (1977:17-19) lists $3,140.82 worth of goods brought in by William Gillis, the

Delaware trader, in October of 1827. Some of these items are hoes, axes, knives, and cast iron kettles. A government-employed white blacksmith, J. P. Pool, paid under terms of the 1818 treaty, made some items for the Delaware.

Although many of these items would be preserved archaeologically, and local residents report that trade beads have been found in the past, nothing definitely Delaware was found during the survey. Most of these materials were also used by later pioneers, who moved into the Delaware houses as soon as they were vacated and used anything the Delaware left behind, including stone mortars and manos as well as European goods.

EARLY EURO-AMERICAN SETTLEMENT

At some point not too long before Schoolcraft's visit in 1819, the study area was explored by hunters or prospectors supposedly from the St. Louis area who named the James and Finley (or Findley) rivers (Vaughn et al. 1876:14).

Lead deposits are shown on a 1793 map indicating the area was being explored by the English and French. In the 1803 Louisiana Purchase the study area became part of the United States, and rumors of its riches filtered back to tempt the adventuresome. According to Mathews (1961:490), after the War of 1812 there were many jobless soldiers and restive people looking for places to settle. They came to the Ozarks by keel boat and by ox wagon over the ridgetop trails, with wives and children, cattle and horses, swine and chickens. These people knew they were trespassing on Indian lands, but there was no law enforcement, and they took advantage of the fact to get a favorable site before others got there. In addition to trappers, hunters, and settlers, those that Mathews says "might be called honest. . . , there were cutthroats