



Tribal Histories

Delaware Nation Research Report

November 2021

Table of Contents

Introduction.....3

Delaware Land Use in Texas.....3

 Pre-Contact3

 Spanish Provinces of Texas and Nuevo Santander5

 Mexican Province of Coahuila y Texas (1824-35).....8

 Republic of Texas (1836-1845)11

 State of Texas (1845-present).....21

 John Conner, Jim Shaw, Black Beaver, and Jack Harry22

 Reservation Life24

 Geographic Terms.....27

Resources identified as culturally sensitive for future planning.....29

Bibliography.....30

Introduction

The TxDOT Tribal Histories Project involves creating a set of geographic historical narratives of tribal presence in Texas through collaboration with participating Tribes. Taking a statewide approach, these histories will serve as resources to inform future statewide transportation planning, project development, tribal consultation activities, and public engagement by TxDOT.

The following research report focuses on the physical locations and specific time periods during which the Delaware Nation was present in Texas. This history reflects the Delaware Nation’s perspectives because the historical and archeological data sources used to construct it were recommended and approved by Erin Paden, the Delaware Nation’s Historic Preservation Director. Ms. Paden also provided comments on the draft report that are addressed here in the final report.

Ethnographic archival and documentary research for this broad overview focuses on providing background context and setting for Delaware peoples, tribes, and cultures associated with the region encompassing Texas. The following research report is organized chronologically and was compiled in consultation with the Delaware Nation Historic Preservation Office from both historic works and contemporary sources. Works consulted include ethnohistories, linguistic studies, tribal history compendiums, oral history, and folklore from both twentieth-century and contemporary contexts.

This research report was designed to facilitate the extraction of geographic data, along with calendar and event information, to populate a GIS dataset for use by transportation planners and the Tribe (Appendix). Information from the narrative and GIS dataset (to the extent permissible by the Delaware Nation) is also intended to be readily adapted for use in archeology reports and for educational outreach materials.

Delaware Land Use in Texas

Pre-Contact

The Delaware people speak an Algonquian language and call themselves Lenape, which combines the root words “lenni” meaning original and “ape” meaning people (Anderson 1990; Lipscomb 2021). According to their early traditions, the Delaware were the ancestral root from which other Algonkian tribes originated, including the Shawnee (Anderson 1990:232). The traditional home of the tribe was the present-day Delaware and Hudson River valleys, an area that extends from the Catskill Mountains in southern New York to Delaware Bay, encompassing New Jersey and portions of Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, and Delaware (**Figure 1**) (Goddard 1978). Their location on the Atlantic coast brought them into early contact with Dutch and English colonists. They became known as “Delaware” because they lived around the bay named in honor of Lord de la Warr, who was appointed governor of the English colony at Jamestown in 1610 (Lipscomb 2021).



Figure 1. Delaware homeland (adapted from Goddard 1978:214).

The Delaware people lived in small villages scattered along the numerous waterways of their ancestral region (Lipscomb 2021). Each village was an independent community with its own chieftains, who served as counselors and decision makers. Often residents of villages along the same stream constituted a band. The most influential village leader functioned as head of the band (Lipscomb 2021).

Traditionally, the Delaware lived in one-room bark huts, called wigwams, with a single doorway and a smoke hole in the roof (**Figure 2**) (Lipscomb 2021). At first contact with Europeans, their principal weapon was the bow and arrow. They grew corn, beans, pumpkins, squash, and tobacco, and supplemented their diet by hunting, fishing, and gathering plants. All of these

activities were accomplished without metal tools. Their clothing was made of animal skins, feathers, and plant fibers, and both men and women often painted and tattooed their bodies (Lipscomb 2021). Shortly after exposure to European warfare, alcoholism, and epidemic diseases, the tribe began leaving the Delaware, Lehigh, Schuylkill, and Hudson river valleys.

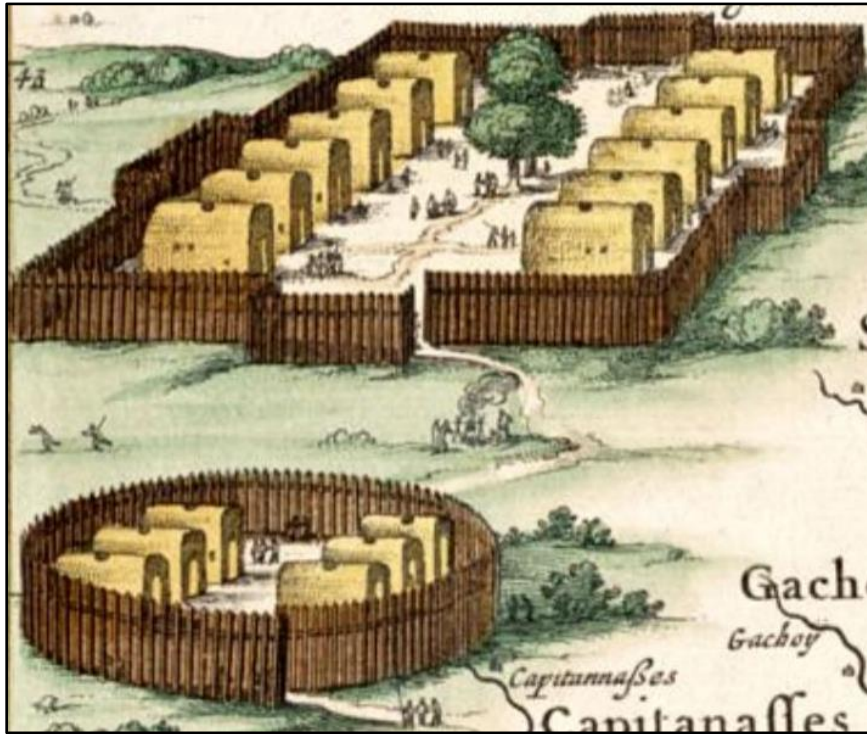


Figure 2. Lenape villages from map of Novi Belgii (circa 1655; BAE GN 00819C 06189100, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution).

Spanish Provinces of Texas and Nuevo Santander

Delaware leaders have traditionally served as peacemakers, and as ambassadors between various Indian tribes, on the one hand, and New Spain, Mexico, or the United States, on the other (Hale 1987). Their leaders also had unique abilities as interpreters and scouts for military and civilian expeditions, ensuring they were always on the cutting edge of frontier expansion. Delaware warriors have served the United States in every major war, beginning with the American Revolution (Hale 1987). Despite advocating peace and serving as allies to the United States, the Delaware have been repeatedly forced to relinquish their tribal lands.

In 1682 the Delaware people signed a treaty with William Penn in Pennsylvania (Hale 1987). This treaty is the first such agreement between Native Americans and a European government in North America. Penn's descendants, however, fraudulently claimed ownership of a tract beginning at the junction of the upper Delaware River and the tributary Lehigh River (near present-day Easton, Pennsylvania) and extending as far west as a man could walk in a day and a half, later to become known as the "Walking Purchase" or the Walking Treaty of 1737. Agents began selling land in the Lehigh Valley in the disputed area along the Lehigh River to

colonists while the Delaware still inhabited the area. Their communities were driven out of the Delaware, Lehigh, Schuylkill, and Hudson river valleys by European violence and exposure to epidemic diseases. The Delaware people would eventually be forced to migrate further west in Pennsylvania and then into Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Kansas, Texas, and eventually Oklahoma (Hale 1987).

Some Delaware communities were driven to the west in the 1740s, first to the Susquehanna River valley, and then across the Allegheny Mountains to the Ohio River, where they settled on land belonging to the Six Nations of the Iroquois (Lipscomb 2021). However, by 1768 the Iroquois ceded their land east of the Ohio River to the English, and the Delaware were forced to move west of the river and into present-day Ohio.

In 1755, Delaware and Shawnee warriors helped the colonists defeat Braddock's army during a failed British military expedition to capture a French fort (Hale 1987). During the American Revolution, White Eyes, a Delaware chief and a member of the turtle clan, supported the colonists. White Eyes was instrumental to signing the first Indian treaty with the fledgling United States in 1778. During the negotiations he had been led to believe that a fourteenth state would be added to the Union—an Indian state (Hale 1987:1).

After the American Revolution, Colonel George Morgan recommended to Congress that the Delaware, in recognition for their services during the war, be given 256,000 acres of land. An additional 30,000 was recommended to be given Chief White Eyes. However, while millions of acres of land were given to other soldiers, the Delaware actually lost land in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana (Hale 1987:17).

The Delaware signed the first treaty that the United States made with an Indian tribe in 1778 at Fort Pitt (present-day Pittsburgh) (Anderson 1990:232). After the American Revolution, different Delaware groups were forced out of their lands again when the United States did not uphold the treaty provisions prohibiting the encroachment of white settlement. Some were driven north and west to Canada and Spanish Territory, while others stayed within the Ohio territory (Obermeyer 2009).

After the death of White Eyes and the murder of 90 Christian Delaware people living along the Ohio River in 1782, many Delaware people were forced further west across the Mississippi River into Spanish Missouri (Hale 1987). The Absentee or Delaware Tribe of Western Oklahoma was formed largely by this splinter group of Delaware people who removed themselves to outside of the United States, first into Spanish Missouri, and then into Spanish Texas. Each time, the treaty guarantees to lands that they held evaporated when Euro-American settlements encroached upon them (Hale 1987).

Between 1778 and 1830 the Delaware people were party to 16 treaties with the United States that moved them from Ohio to Indiana, across Illinois, and later into Missouri, Texas, and Kansas (Hale 1987; Lipscomb 2021). Each time treaty agreements were broken, and the Delaware were not fairly compensated for the land seized. Though they were repeatedly promised new lands, most of these treaties were also broken. The Delaware were forced to migrate by each broken promise.

Some Delaware people were among the many immigrant tribes from the United States who ventured into Spanish Texas in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries (Lipscomb 2021). The Delaware people who moved themselves to Texas were comprised of the survivors of more than 200 years of upheaval and relocation as they were pushed west by advancing Euro-American settlers.

The main body of Delaware people lived on the White River in Missouri for nine years before the U.S. government moved them to the junction of the Kansas and Missouri Rivers in 1830. This tribe resided in Kansas until their final relocation to Indian Territory in 1868, when they were settled in northeastern Oklahoma on land purchased from the Cherokee Nation (Lipscomb 2021).

In 1789 a group of Delaware Indians received permission from Spanish officials to move into Missouri (Lipscomb 2021). They settled near Cape Girardeau, where they later became known as Absentee Delaware. The Cape Girardeau Delaware did not join the main body of Delaware people when they moved themselves to the White River in southwestern Missouri. Instead, they had located among the Western Cherokee in both Indian and Arkansas territories by 1819 (Hale 1987:4). The Cape Girardeau Delaware lived close to a group of Cherokee Indians who had moved themselves to southeast Missouri in 1794, living along the St. Francis River. The two Tribes united against the hostile Osage tribe who had attacked them. The St. Francis Cherokee then moved themselves by 1811 to between the Shoal and Petit Jean creeks, on the south side of the Arkansas River. After Cherokee Chief John Bowles learned during the survey of 1819 that they were situated outside of the area designated for them, he decided to move to Spanish Texas (Hale 1987:4-5).

Chief John Bowles and his band of Cherokee had originally come from Running Water Town, near present-day Mussel Shoals, Tennessee (Hale 1987). He and 60 families settled north of present-day Nacogdoches, Texas, where they were quickly joined by other Western Cherokee people and other refugees from the United States, including Shawnee, Delaware, Kickapoo, Quapaw, Choctaw, Biloxi, Iowa, Tohookatokie, Alabama, and Coushatta people. The main Delaware village was one or two miles southwest of present-day Alto, Texas, along State Highway 21 (formerly the Camino Real) (Gelo and Pate 2003:53; Hale 1987:6).

The Cape Girardeau Delaware were ousted from their Missouri lands by 1815 and moved toward Spanish Texas (Hale 1987:17; Weslager 1972:430). Remnants of that Missouri band moved into Texas around 1820 and settled in the northeastern corner of the Spanish province around the Red and Sabine Rivers (Anderson 1990:233; Lipscomb 2021). The Texas Delaware shared East Texas with remnants of the Caddo Indians along with other immigrant bands from the United States, and a growing number of Anglo settlers (Newcomb 1961:347; Anderson 1990:231). A Delaware village was noted along the Red River near Pecan Point in northeastern Texas from 1817 to at least 1831 (Hale 1987:6-7). The Delaware people did not enter Texas all at once and they did not come from or stay in one specific location.

The Delaware people laid claim to their East Texas lands through both verbal and written agreements with the Spanish and Mexican governments. By 1822 there were only a handful

of European settlers in Spanish Texas. The Delaware people were among the few occupants between the Sabine and Angelina rivers where they had settled on the authority of the Spanish government (Hale 1987:9). Cherokee Chief Richard Fields made the first attempt to acquire legal title to the lands the Cherokee, Delaware, and the other tribes occupied, signing an agreement with the Governor of the Province of Texas on November 8, 1822. The following year Chief Fields traveled to Mexico City to secure the title, but only received assurances that the treaty would be recognized as soon as a general colonization law passed (Hale 1987:10).

Mexican Province of Coahuila y Texas (1824-1835)

The Delaware Nation continued to have a peaceful relationship with Mexican officials, other immigrant tribes, and Anglo-American colonists after Mexico won independence from Spain in 1821 (Lipscomb 2021). The following year, a large band of Shawnee (that likely included Delaware people since the two tribes were closely associated) represented by 270 warriors, petitioned the Mexican authorities for land to settle. In December 1824, they signed a contract with Governor Rafael Gonzales of Coahuila y Texas, authorizing the legislature to grant one square mile of land per family along the southern bank of the Red River, where they were already cultivating crops (Anderson 1990:233).

The 1824 contract with Governor Rafael Gonzales authorizing the legislature to grant land along the southern bank of the Red River would be the only grant accomplished under the 1824 State Colonization Law (Anderson 1990:238). The Land Office was closed the next year leaving this contract unfulfillable. The Land Office reopened in November 1835; however, by then the Texas Revolution was underway and no title was issued to the tribes.

By 1826, more than 5,000 Shawnee families (probably including Delaware families since they often intermarried) were reported living at Nacogdoches (Anderson 1990:234). Stephen F. Austin formed an alliance in 1826 with immigrant Cherokee, Shawnee, and Delaware warriors when he planned a campaign against the Wichita (Newcomb 1961:344). This alliance was vetoed by the military commandant of Texas, General Mateo Ahumada, who deemed it bad policy to appear dependent on the Tribes for security. By 1828, between 150 to 200 Delaware families inhabited the Red River country in northeastern Texas (Anderson 1990:234; Gelo and Pate 2003:121).

When General Manuel de Mier y Terán inspected East Texas in 1828, the Delaware petitioned (in English) for land grants and for teachers to be assigned to their villages (Anderson 1990:235). General Mier y Terán was impressed with the level of acculturation that the Delaware had achieved and forwarded their (translated) request to Mexico City. General Mier y Terán ordered on August 15, 1830 that the Cherokee Indians be awarded land at the headwaters of the Trinity River and along the Sabine River (Hale 1987:14). When no action had been taken a year later, General Mier y Terán commissioned Colonel José de las Piedras to put each Cherokee family in possession of the land they were cultivating. Colonel Piedras attempted to follow these orders, but was expelled from the Province of Texas by a group of Euro-American settlers.

Jean Louis Berlandier and Lieutenant José María Sánchez y Tapia accompanied General Mier y Terán on his inspection and were impressed with the Delaware people's extensive agricultural practices (Berlandier 1969). Lieutenant Sánchez y Tapia's watercolor portrait of a Delaware man captured his colorful garments, sashes, turbans, and pendants. The Delaware women used their own home-woven cloth, while also importing considerable amounts of textiles through trade (Anderson 1990:235; Berlandier 1969). They eventually adopted European wool, cotton, linen, ribbons, and beads to use for their own clothing, but their clothing styles remained unchanged (**Figure 3**). As late as 1910, Jennie Bobb and her daughter Nellie Longhat were still wearing traditional Delaware clothes and jewelry that they crafted. Jennie Bobb was born in 1870 to Delaware Bobb and Qua-a-chit; her Delaware name was Touk-we-ning-she, meaning walnut tree (Hale 1987:107). Jennie Bobb's brother, Jim Bobb (1845-1924), was the Chief of the Absentee Delaware from the 1870s until his death. Nellie Longhat's father was a Shawnee named Blackstar.



Figure 3. Jennie Bobb (left) and her daughter Nellie Longhat wearing traditional Delaware clothes and jewelry that they crafted (circa 1910; Negative 56928, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution).

Most of the 300 Delaware and 400 Shawnee families in Texas in 1834 were situated near the Red and Sabine rivers north of Nacogdoches where each band formed its own village comprised of log houses (Anderson 1990:237). They farmed and raised cattle, but they also extended their trade networks to San Antonio where they occasionally encountered the Comanche (Anderson 1990:231).

The Coahuila y Texas legislature passed a decree on May 12, 1835, that authorized the selection of vacant lands to be awarded to, “the peaceable and civilized Indians which may have been introduced into Texas.” The big drawback for the Tribes was that they would be located westward on the frontier, not on the lands they had improved and maintained for so many years (Hale 1987:15). Despite many assurances, the Mexican government never granted the Delaware, Cherokee, or Shawnee people legal title to any land (Lipscomb 2021).

Republic of Texas (1836-1845)

As Texians began their revolution against the Mexican government in 1835, they wanted the Indian tribes to support them, or at least to remain neutral. Delaware men would function as scouts and emissaries in the relations between the Anglo Texians and the nomadic plains tribes (Anderson 1990:231). The provisional Texas government pledged to honor the land claims of 12 tribes living in eastern and northeastern Texas, including the Delaware who had a village on the Sulphur River (Anderson 1990:240; Lipscomb 2021). Three commissioners were appointed to negotiate a treaty with those groups. The resulting first treaty with the Indians by the Republic of Texas was concluded in February 1836.

The treaty designated the area north of the San Antonio Road and between the Angelina, Neches, and Sabine rivers, as communal Indian land (Anderson 1990:239; Lipscomb 2021). It allowed for the Tribes’ self-governance and exempted trade with the Tribes from taxation (McClendon 1948:35-36). Unfortunately for the Tribes, this agreement would never be ratified by the Republic of Texas government.

After the Republic of Texas won its independence from Mexico in March 1836, Euro-American settlers seeking cheap land flooded in. Many of these people were prejudiced against Native Americans and disregarded any rights the various tribes had earned through years of military and diplomatic service. President Sam Houston immediately pressured the senate to ratify the Cherokee Treaty, citing the safety of the frontier (Hale 1987:19). In April 1836, Cherokee Chief Big Mush wrote to the Republic’s Committee of Safety complaining about a Mr. H.M. Wilson who stayed among the tribes for several days and was hospitably treated. After leaving their village, Wilson began spreading rumors that the Indians had assembled a hostile army (Hale 1987:19).

The rumors spread by Wilson and others incited the white settlers into aggressive actions against the local peaceful Indians, as described by Chief Bowles in a letter to President Houston (Hale 1987:19). He requested a meeting with the President, and one was arranged for late September 1836 on the Trinity River with the intent of concluding treaties of peace and friendship with the Kichai, Caddo, Tawakoni, Waco, Ioni (Hainai), Comanche, Anadarko, and Tawehash.

During 1836, the peaceable Cherokee, Shawnee, and Delaware tribes had been working with the Texas military to negotiate treaties with other tribal groups. Chief Bowles was traveling to pacify the Comanches in 1837 when Delaware Indian Chief Jim Ned saw him among the Kichai (Hale 1987:21). Chief Jim Ned had a village along the Brazos River near Fort Graham (Clifford 2021) and later a village of approximately 65 Delaware Indians in Wise County (England 2021). Near Fort Graham, at least 18 archeological sites have been recorded, including 41BQ9, 41BQ10, 41BQ11, 41BQ22, 41BQ82, 41BQ83, 41BQ84, 41HI11, 41HI13, 41HI14, 41HI17, 41HI31, 41HI45, 41HI46, 41HI48, 41HI212, 41HI213, and 41HI306 (Table 1). These sites are comprised of small and large campsites, lithic scatters, a quarry, and a rock shelter. Six of the closest campsites were recorded in 1947 ahead of the construction of a dam along the Brazos River, which forms present-day Lake Whitney. Another nine were recorded in 1971. Until more is known about these sites, whether any contains a Delaware component remains to be determined. These sites, however, remain of interest to the Delaware Nation until such sites are assigned a temporal period or cultural affiliation can otherwise be determined.

Table 1. Archeological Sites Near Fort Graham

Site	Type	Distance (m)	Direction	Year Recorded
41HI13	Campsite/ Fort Graham	-	-	1947
41HI17	Rock Shelter	275	NE	1947
41HI11	Campsite	365	E	1947
41HI14	Campsite	455	SE	1947
41HI45	Campsite	1,130	SE	1947
41HI48	Campsite	1,719	SSE	1947
41HI31	Campsite	1,740	W	1947
41HI212	Quarry/ Lithic Scatter	2,015	NW	1971
41BQ82	Campsite	2,405	S	1971
41BQ83	Campsite	2,490	SSE	1971
41BQ84	Lithic Scatter	2,625	S	1971
41HI213	Campsite/ Lithic Scatter	2,695	NW	1971
41BQ22	Campsite	3,150	WSW	1971
41BQ11	Campsite	3,190	WSW	1971
41BQ10	Campsite	3,240	SW	1971
41HI46	Campsite	3,520	SE	1947
41BQ9	Campsite	3,670	WSW	1971
41HI306	Campsite	3,800	SE	2009

Delaware Indians also served the Texas surveyor Alexander Le Grand (Hale 1987:21). Le Grand was named a volunteer aide-de-camp to Gen. Thomas J. Rusk with the rank of captain in July 1836 (Estep 2021). President David G. Burnet, who had lived for many years with the Comanches, then named Le Grand commissioner two months later. He sent Le Grand to negotiate a peace treaty with the Comanche and Kiowa, while promoting him to major (Estep 2021).

Delaware scouts and interpreters went with Major Le Grand to Fort Gibson in Indian Territory, arriving in November 1836. He visited the Comanche Chief Chicony (She-co-ney) near the Wichita Mountains in present-day southwestern Oklahoma (Estep 2021). However, Major Le Grand lacked the authority to guarantee the Comanche hunting grounds, so Chief Chicony refused to negotiate a treaty. Major Le Grand returned to Nacogdoches by April 1837, accompanied by the Delaware scouts and diplomats (Estep 2021).

After generations of European contact, many Delaware people straddled both worlds because they descended from marriages between Delaware and white people (Anderson 1990:232). Sometimes scorned by both communities, these mixed-race descendants gained intimate knowledge of both cultures, augmenting their ability to serve as ambassadors. Throughout the Republic of Texas period, Delaware and Shawnee diplomats rendered vital aid as the new government struggled to maintain order among settlers and Tribes (Anderson 1990:232).

President Sam Houston sought peace with all Texas Indians and repeatedly enlisted the services of Delaware warriors and diplomats to protect the frontier from hostile tribes (Lipscomb 2021). In 1837 Delaware scouts accompanied several ranger corps as they patrolled the western line of settlement. Delaware hunters and trappers were able to travel great distances across treeless plains as well as deserts. In the fall of 1838, Texas Ranger Captain John C. (Jack) Hays accompanied a 17-member Delaware hunting party to the Pecos River (Anderson 1990:242). They traveled on foot, in part to avoid detection as they traversed Comanchería (Comanche country). At the river, they divided into two-man teams. One of these pairs encountered a passing Comanche war party and was attacked. The surviving hunter warned the others. They unanimously voted to pursue the Comanche, intending to catch them before they could cross the Rio Grande into Mexico.

Captain Hays was amazed by their remarkable endurance and ability to keep a steady pace for hours at night while the horse-mounted Comanche slept (Anderson 1990:242). They made only brief rest and food stops at waterholes along their route. Finally catching up to the Comanche as they slept near the Rio Grande, the Delaware men surrounded the camp and waited for dawn. The first Comanche to arise was shot with a musket rifle, while the others were felled by knives and axes in hand-to-hand combat. A few Comanche escaped to the Rio Grande, but most were shot before they could cross it (Anderson 1990:243).

The Senate took no action in December 1836 when the Cherokee Treaty was first on their agenda. Rumors of an alliance between Mexico and the Cherokee people may have doomed the treaty to failure (Hale 1987:20). When the Senate met, I. W. Burton reported on the East Texas Tribes. They lived in Nacogdoches County (present-day Cherokee, Smith, and adjoining

counties) along the Angelina, Neches, and Sabine rivers where about 220 people farmed, hunted, and raised livestock. The Tribal women engaged in domestic manufacturing. They were literate in their own language, and had a war leader (Chief Bowles) and a civil chief named Big Mush (Hale 1987:21). Burton argued that “their natural vested rights, which the different tribes of Indians now within our limits were invested with by the Mexican Government previous to our declaration of Independence and which they have not subsequently forfeited by overt acts against peace of this Republic, should be held sacred and inviolable” (Hale 1987:21-22).

The Texas Senate refused to ratify the Treaty of 1836. The Senate denied the existence of “associated bands” as part of the Cherokee community and, citing a lack of proof that rights had ever been conveyed or that land had been granted, claimed that part of the enumerated list of Chiefs contained those considered “the most savage and ruthless of our frontier enemies ever since and even at the very date of the signing of this Treaty” (Hale 1987:22). They further declared that the treaty had been made at a time when all parties were still citizens of Mexico, and therefore, the treaty was an unwarrantable assumption of authority. President Houston made no more attempts to have the Cherokee Treaty ratified during his term (Hale 1987:22).

Seven months after the Texas Senate failed to ratify the treaty, Agent Jeff Wright was sent among the Cherokee, Shawnee, Delaware, Choctaw, Biloxi, Kickapoo, Ioni, and Caddo people. A new agency was established northwest of present-day Alto, Texas near Chief Bowles’ village (Hale 1987:22). In June 1838, Agent Wright reported that Chief Bowles was willing to take the Caddo, Ioni, and Kichai people into his colony and be responsible for their conduct. However, he blamed the Waco, Tawehash, and Tawakoni for raiding. Chief Bowles offered to furnish 500 warriors to fight those Tribes alongside 500 Texans if Texas would make good on the Cherokee Treaty of 1836 (Hale 1987:23).

Chief Bowles was still trying to compromise and consummate his people’s land claim, while steps were being taken by the Texas Republic to survey a line between the Indian and white settlements. It was an attempt to preserve peace on the frontier, but by August 1838, it appeared that the Cherokees would be provoked into war (Hale 1987:23). Every movement by the Cherokees at that time was interpreted as preparation for war. When the Cherokees removed some of their women and children to the Red River, it was assumed that they were preparing for war (Hale 1987:23). At the same time, Thomas J. Rusk was reporting to President Houston that the Cherokees were seeking peace and that despite rumors of Chief Bowles meeting daily with the Mexicans, the latter had left without gaining any allies (Hale 1987:24).

Houston’s successor in 1838, Mirabeau B. Lamar, considered the immigrant tribes to be unauthorized intruders who threatened public safety and illegally occupied Texas land (Lipscomb 2021). President Lamar had been private secretary of Governor Troupe of Georgia at the time of the Cherokee removal from that state. He was not sympathetic toward the Tribes’ cause. Instead, he began a ruthless removal and extermination policy toward the Indians, culminating in the Cherokee War (1839), a conflict that involved all the immigrant

bands (Anderson 1990:243). In July 1839, I.W. Burton was part of a commission that proposed to the Cherokee Indians that they leave Texas upon payment for their improvements by the Republic, but the Cherokee people declined the offer (Mayfield 2021). The resulting war forced most of the immigrant Indians in the Republic of Texas, including the Delaware, north of the Red River and into Indian Territory (Lipscomb 2021).

The first outbreak of hostility occurred on October 15, 1838, when about 30 Anglo settlers along the Sabine were killed during the Killough massacre (Hale 1987:24-25). One couple and their infant survived. Thomas J. Rusk noted that a Cherokee Indian brought the survivors to safety, demonstrating that Tribe's innocence. The inevitable seemed to be happening though and the Cherokee continued to be blamed for any outbreak of violence, making war seem unavoidable (Hale 1987:24-25). In 1838 there were 80 Cherokee families, 250 Delaware families and 550 Shawnee living in Texas (Hale 1987:25).

In May 1839, Manuel Flores, the Mexican Indian agent at Matamoros, traveled to Texas to meet Mexican military officer Vincente Cordova, who was among the Tribes seeking their alliance with Mexico (Hale 1987:20-21). Flores was intercepted along with documents indicating he was trying to overthrow the Texas Republic (Hale 1987:26). He also carried letters addressed to Cherokee Chief Bowles and Big Mush. This spark ignited the Texans' anger against the Cherokee and other friendly tribes. Later historians like Henderson Yoakum and Walter Prescott Webb agreed that the Mexicans had only slight acquaintances with Chief Bowles and Big Mush, and that there was not sufficient evidence that the Cherokee did more than listen to the Mexicans (Hale 1987:26).

Also in May 1839, Chief Bowles refused to allow a military station at Great Saline and expelled a white person from the Cherokee grounds by virtue of a treaty made with the late Provisional Government (Hale 1987:26). What transpired between June 1 and July 15, 1839, is somewhat obscured by a lack of primary sources. John H. Reagan's memoir has often been cited as quoting Chief Bowles saying that the Cherokee people would fight. Reagan was a young newcomer to Texas when he accompanied Agent Martin Lacy to Chief Bowles' home in June of 1839, casting doubt on the accuracy of his memoir (Hale 1987:26-27).

Regardless, based upon Reagan and Lacy's report, Lamar sent General Rusk's East Texas regiment who met 400 more men on the east bank of the Neches River by July 14, 1839. The entire force was placed under Brigadier General Douglas who sent some forces along the west side of the Neches River (Hale 1987:27). Beginning on July 11, Chief Bowles, Spybuck (Shawnee), a representative of the Delaware chief, and about 25 warriors met on Council Creek (present-day Bowles Creek) near the Cherokee village with Texas commissioners who were using Sam Hill and Cordray as interpreters. General Albert Johnson relayed President Lamar's willingness to pay for the Cherokee and associated Tribes' improvements if they would leave the Republic of Texas. Chief Bowles said he would talk to his people and give their answer on July 12. Spybuck added, "I want peace and that all should be like brothers. It would be a great deal better if we all could agree and settle the business" (Hale 1987:27-28).

For the second day of talks, Chief Bowles, Spybuck, and 18 warriors attended. Bowles began by saying, “I will move my families and people from here and we will part from you in peace and friendship. I will return the road we came and go to my people again from whence we came” (Hale 1987:28). He requested three moons to complete their move. On July 13, the commissioners pushed to codify nine articles of agreement for the Tribes’ removal. Article I used the terminology “Cherokees and Associated Bands” when referring to those agreeing to depart Texas in peace. Interestingly, the Texas Senate had denied the very existence of these same people just a few months prior (Hale 1987:28).

Article II provided for reimbursement for improvements left behind, while Articles IV and V stipulated that the Cherokee people would not be paid for loss of property under Article II until they were escorted to the Republic’s boundary and crossed into the United States (Hale 1987:28). Article III required the Texas government to provide supplies to be used during removal, although Article VI agreed that the Cherokee people would not leave until all were ready. Article VII concerned sleeping arrangements along the removal route, separating the Cherokee people from their escorts overnight. Article VIII required the Cherokee warriors to disable every gun by removing its lock, a complex part essential to the functioning of the firearm. Finally, Article IX extended the same arrangements to the Delaware and Shawnee people, as well as to other Tribes agreeing to leave Texas (Hale 1987:28-29).

Chief Bowles objected to being escorted like a prisoner to the Republic’s border and to traveling without any gun locks, but he agreed to discuss the stipulations with the Cherokee people (Hale 1987:29). The next day, Chief Bowles requested another day to further discuss the agreement with the younger men of the Tribe, who were troubled by their fear that as soon as their gun locks were removed, the Cherokee people would be killed. Chief Bowles was still trying to convince them that it was better for them to leave Texas and to do so with an escort. He refused to sign the agreement until all the Tribes’ leaders agreed. The Texans insisted he sign immediately and that the others could sign later. At this point, Chief Bowles requested a private meeting and left with some of the elders present. When they returned, Chief Bowles said he was still unwilling to sign until other leaders like Big Mush arrived and requested three days to allow for their arrival (Hale 1987:29).

General Rusk refused to grant three more days and adjourned the council. The primary documents do not reveal the exact moment war was declared, but the commissioners were not inclined to give the Cherokee leaders any more time to decide (Hale 1987:29). Based on the negotiations during the prior four days, war should not have been a topic at that point because the Cherokee and other Tribes like the Delaware had already agreed to leave Texas. There remained only two points of contention, the military escort and gun locks (Hale 1987:30).

The commissioners decided no friendly arrangement was possible and the Secretary of War issued an order to commence what would be known as the Battle of the Neches, one of the darkest spots in Texas history (Hale 1987:30; Newcomb 1961:348). The battle began the same day the commissioners last met with Chief Bowles (Hale 1987:31). The Texas troops found the Cherokee village deserted and followed their trail toward the Upper Delaware

Village. The Tribes sought refuge with the Delaware, as they had done many times when all were in the eastern United States (Hale 1987:30). The Delaware people were still regarded as “peacemakers” and “grandfathers” by the other Tribes. The Texans may not have been aware of the Delaware Tribe’s status, although they, too, had relied on their diplomacy many times in the past. The Upper Delaware Village was situated 13.5 miles west of Tyler, Texas, and near present-day Battle Creek in Van Zandt County (Hale 1987:31).

The first day of fighting left 18 Cherokee warriors dead on Battle Creek just west of Chandler, Texas. The Upper Delaware Village was the site of the second day of fighting. The Shawnee fought initially, but left early, sending their gun locks as tokens of submission. They agreed to leave Texas in exchange for compensation for their lost livestock and crops (Hale 1987:30). General Rusk estimated that 500 to 600 Tribal warriors fought in the Battle of the Neches and that more than 100 had died, including Chief Bowles. The Upper Delaware Village was burned during the battle, sending the Delaware people fleeing again from a territory they had called home (Hale 1987:30). After Chief Bowles was brutally slain, the surviving Indians were relentlessly pursued for more than a week. Most of them sought refuge across the Red River with the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations (Hale 1987:69; Newcomb 1961:347).

By driving away friendly and peaceable Indians, Texas lost its buffer between Anglo settlements and the prairie tribes who were wont to raid them (Hale 1987:32). Without Delaware diplomacy, the Texas frontier was ravaged in 1840 by prairie tribes. Tensions grew worse after 30 Penateka Comanche leaders and warriors as well as five women and children of the tribe were killed as they were peacefully assembled at the Council House in San Antonio on March 19, 1840. During President Lamar’s administration from 1838 to 1842, Texas carried out an Indian policy of extermination (Hale 1987:35).

Delaware people fled to both Indian Territory and Mexico after the Battle of the Neches. A few scattered Delaware people remained in Texas, including at an abandoned Kickapoo camp on Village Creek until 1841 when they, too, were forced northward by Texas Rangers (Anderson 1990:245). The Delaware developed a trading relationship with the Comanche and became instrumental negotiators in freeing white captives from the Plains nomads, including John Parker and James Pratt Plummer in 1842, both of whom had been taken from Fort Parker six years prior.

After Houston was elected to a second term as president in late 1841, he immediately reinstated his peace policy (Lipscomb 2021). He realized that the best way to pacify the frontier was to invite the return of the friendly Indians (Hale 1987:35). To this end, Texas signed a treaty at a Caddo Village near the Chickasaw Nation in Indian Territory on August 26, 1842. The treaty with friendly Tribes asked them to visit some 20 hostile tribes to persuade them to join the Texans in a series of councils. With this agreement some Delaware (including Jim Shaw, Jim Second-Eye, and John Conner), Shawnee, Caddo, and a few Cherokee people returned to Texas in 1843 to act as ambassadors for peace between the Texans and the hostile Tribes of Texas (Hale 1987:35; Richardson 1927). From this point forward, the story of Delaware scouts, ambassadors, and interpreters is inseparably linked with the history of

Indian relations in the Republic of Texas, as well as that of the United States in Texas after annexation (Richardson 1927:4).

President Houston's emissaries negotiated a treaty with the Delaware and remnants of eight other tribes in March 1843 at Bird's Fort on the Trinity River near present-day Fort Worth (Newcomb 1961:348; Anderson 1990:250). Later that year, President Houston requested that a group of about 20 Delaware scouts and their families help him make peace with the Comanche by settling along the Brazos and Bosque rivers (Anderson 1990:247; Lipscomb 2021). A Delaware Trading House was set up near present-day Waco on the Brazos River by March of 1843 (Hale 1987:37). They were later joined by more Delaware and Shawnee families and together occupied the Texas frontier until 1860 (Anderson 1990:247).

G. W. Terrell reported to President Houston in early March 1843 from the Delaware Trading House that two messengers arrived with a Delaware Chief who "had been for two months with the Wild Indians endeavoring to bring them in to the council. They state, to wit, that four other tribes, the [Wichita, Kichai, Waco, and Tawakoni] had agreed to come with them...Jim Shaw is yet out. He has been among the Comanche and [Kiowa]. Capt. McCullough says some of the Comanches told him that they would come in in about four moons—that they wanted peace with Texas...Shaw, I think will be able to give some more definite information when he comes...Chisholm and Sanchez have gone on for them [Wichita, Kichai, Waco, and Tawakoni], and have with them one of the principal men of the Delaware...I am fully satisfied that the traders have been doing all in their power to bring about this treaty, and many of the Delaware have made extraordinary exertions to effect it" (Hale 1987:37).

Using Delaware and Shawnee diplomats, Texas was able to conduct a very important Indian council in March 1843 at Tehuacana Creek, about nine miles east of present-day Waco (Hale 1987:37; Winfrey and Day 1995:129; Gelo and Pate 2003). Commissioners were present from both the Republic of Texas and from the United States. Commissioner G. W. Terrell wrote to President Houston from Tehuacana Creek that Shaw, Sanchez, and Chisholm had returned with 40 council delegates. Tribes represented included the Delaware, Shawnee, Caddo, Ioni, Anadarko, Tawakoni, Waco, Wichita, and Kichai. Interpreters were John Connor, James Second Eye, Jim Shaw, Red Horse, Luis Sanchez, and Jess Chisholm. All but Sanchez and Chisholm were Delaware. Chisholm—for whom the Chisholm Trail was later named—was Cherokee. The Shawnee Chief Linney was also present (Hale 1987:37).

Delaware Chief Roasting Ear spoke at the March 1843 Tehuacana Creek meeting. "Friends and brothers, I am very much rejoiced to meet you here today, and to see the course you are now pursuing I come here as I have understood you were going to enter into a treaty with all the Indians of Texas. I have taken the responsibility in conjunction with others of my tribe of coming here to represent the Delaware in council. I have been trying hard for some years to make a general peace among the Indians I wish very much to make peace between all the Red men and white men of Texas..." (Hale 1987:38-39; Winfrey and Day 1995[1]:159).

Delaware chiefs McCulloch, James St. Louis, and Roasting Ear entered Texas for the first time in the 1840s, along with other prominent Delaware leaders such as James Ned, Tall Man,

William Conner, James Second Eye (Sagundai), Jim Shaw, John Conner, Jacob, Jack Harry, and Red Horse (Hale 1987:36). The Texas Indians papers (Winfrey and Day 1995) list several Delaware people beginning in 1843, including Delaware Jim, Francis, Frank, Martin, Red Horse, Captain Stump, Black Snake, Delaware Bob, Delaware William, Jack Ivy, James Ned, Menchara, and others. It is possible that, after the inhumane treatment the Delaware people had received in the summer of 1839, none of the Delaware who came to Texas in the 1840s had been there earlier (Hale 1987:36). Chief Jim Ned is the only one mentioned in the later records who had been in Texas prior to 1839, and he may have never left Texas. Beginning in 1843, the most ardent supporters for peace in Texas included Chief James St. Louis, Chief Roasting Ear, Chief McCulloch, Jim Shaw, John Conner, Jack Harry, and James Ned (Hale 1987:36).

Most prominent among those Delaware leaders were John Conner, a mixed-blood chief, and Bill and Jim Shaw, brothers who had earned reputations as skilled traders and scouts. In May 1843, John Conner, Jim Shaw, and James Second Eye served as guides and interpreters for Colonel Joseph C. Eldredge, Houston's Superintendent of Indian Affairs, during an expedition to meet the Comanche (Hale 1987:39). Eldredge also hired four other Delaware men including Jack and Joe Harry as hunters, packers, and runners (Anderson 1990:249). They went to meet Penateka Chief Pahayuco at the Double Mountains in present-day Stonewall County.

By the end of March, everyone agreed to convene at a Grand Council where a permanent peace treaty would be concluded between the Republic of Texas and all Tribes living within or near its borders. The timing and location would be worked out later, meanwhile the Tribes were invited to trade with the nearby Torrey brothers and to plant corn anywhere north of the Torrey Trading Post until a permanent boundary line could be established (Anderson 1990:247). Chief James St. Louis, Chief Roasting Ear, and Chief McCulloch signed the agreement on behalf of the Delaware (Winfrey and Day 1995:154). Subsequently, a treaty of peace and friendship between the Republic of Texas and the Delaware, Chickasaw, Waco, Tawakoni, Kichai, Caddo, Anadarko, Ioni, Biloxi, and Cherokee tribes of Indians was concluded and signed at Bird's Fort on the Trinity River in September 1843 (Winfrey and Day 1995:242).

The 24 articles of the Bird's Fort Treaty addressed peace between all parties, prohibited the targeting women or children during warfare, created Indian Agents to hear grievances and intercede with the government, prohibited liquor sales to Indians, restricted trade to authorized trading posts, provided for the return of stolen property by either party, prohibited ammunition sales to Indians, established a boundary between the Tribes and white settlements, made harassing the Tribes a felony, let Tribes punish their own members, required Tribes to return any prisoners, and provided blacksmiths, teachers, and ministers for the Tribes (Winfrey and Day 1995:244-245). Article 22 promised to provide to peaceful Tribes enough powder, lead, guns, spears, and other arms for hunting, and to continue providing these supplies annually.

Delaware diplomacy again helped to bring the Comanche leaders to a treaty council where more than 500 people gathered in September 1843 at Tehuacana Creek (Anderson

1990:247; Lipscomb 2021). The Comanche signed a treaty that was basically the same as that signed in March 1843 at Bird's Fort and it was concluded January 24, 1844. The treaty resulting from the Tehuacana Creek councils was signed by Buffalo Hump and other Comanche chiefs. It called for peace and trade between Texans and the Comanche, but no agreement was reached on a boundary to separate the two nations. All of the prominent Delaware men were paid by the Texas government for their services facilitating the Tehuacana meeting (Anderson 1990:254; Winfrey and Day 1995:175-177).

When Anson Jones became the third President of the Republic of Texas in February of 1844, only the Wichita had not signed a treaty. Delaware diplomats led by Chief James St. Louis continued to aid in peace negotiations. At a meeting on Tehuacana Creek in May 1844, Chief James St. Louis addressed the Tribes who were preventing peace. He referred to them as his grandchildren and advised them to become peaceful (Hale 1987:41).

Delaware Chief John Conner was the son of William Conner, a white Indian trader, and his Delaware wife Mekinges, who was the niece of Chief Anderson from the Delaware Tribe in Missouri (Anderson 1990:247). Conner was fluent in Spanish, and made frequent trips to Mexico and the west coast as a hunter and scout. Based on his matrilineal status, Conner was elevated to a position of leadership among the Delaware (Anderson 1990:248).

Bill and Jim Shaw, whose Delaware names meant Tall Man and Bear Head, respectively, became well known as skilled traders and diplomats who were intimately acquainted with the upper Red River country (Anderson 1990:248). Jim Shaw demonstrated at the Tehuacana Creek councils that he personally knew practically all of the chiefs of the ten tribes represented and dozens of the warriors who were also present (Richardson 1927:6-).

Other noteworthy individuals included Jim Second Eye, brothers Jack and Joe Harry, and Chief Jim Ned who became valuable as messengers and mediators between the Comanche and white settlers. Jack Harry was especially commended for being a messenger between the Tehuacana Council grounds and the Capital at Washington-on-the-Brazos. He was also rewarded for recovering stolen horses from the Wichita bands and returning them to their owners (Anderson 1990:254). Chief Jim Ned became a capable scout and spy after having spent time among the Penateka Comanche and learning their customs and habits (Anderson 1990:249).

The Delaware ambassadors disappeared from Texas peace councils by 1845, but another major advocate of peace was emerging. Robert S. Neighbors was given his commission in February 1845 as an agent to the Lipan and Tonkawa tribes. Neighbors, along with Delaware Indians Shaw, Conner, and Harry continued to negotiate with the Comanche and other tribes throughout 1845 (Hale 1987:42).

In March 1845, a renegade band of Delaware warriors led by Jack Ned (Chief Jim Ned's brother) killed three Comanche at the headwaters of the San Marcos River, causing a rift between them and the Delaware, who had been the traditional diplomatic link between white settlers and the Comanche (Anderson 1990:256). Delaware diplomats arranged a visit to the Penateka village on the San Saba River to arrange a peaceful settlement. Bill Shaw

relieved all tensions when he arrived with large quantities of trade goods to distribute among the bereaving families. Some of the Delaware scouts were rewarded for their services as Indian diplomats, and all continued to function in their roles as wards and employees of the U.S. Army and Indian Bureau (Anderson 1990:259). Jim Second Eye became nationally known for saving Kit Carson in 1846 while serving as a scout and hunter for the John C. Fremont expedition.

State of Texas (1845-present)

The Delaware continued to play important roles as scouts, diplomats, and interpreters for the U.S. Army and the Indian Bureau after Texas was annexed to the United States in December 1845 (Lipscomb 2021). That year the citizens of Cedar Creek in Bastrop County petitioned the government authorities to allow a party of 10 Delaware people to remain in the area for trading purposes (Anderson 1990:255). The Delaware people were also known to hunt along Brushy Creek near present-day Round Rock. Cedar Creek residents' pleas were ignored, and the Delaware were expelled from the county.

Neighbors took several Comanche leaders from Texas to Washington, D.C. in July 1846 to meet with the President of the United States. Jim Shaw and John Conner, two of the Delaware who had been so supportive of peace in Texas, accompanied the group to Washington. Shaw and Conner addressed Commissioner William Medill, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, on July 20, 1846:

“We a delegation of that portion of Delaware Indians of Texas, have the honor to report for your consideration the following facts. About thirty years since a party of the Delaware Indians emigrated to Texas, and in the meantime have not received any annuity from the Government of the United States. Our people remained quietly in Texas during the late revolution and have at no time committed any acts of hostility against the whites. The late government of Texas made no provisions as to the rights of Territory to our people; they have necessarily been compelled to move from place to place, as the white man might dictate. They are now without a foot of land that can be called their own. They number about sixty families and are decidedly an agricultural people. On their going to Texas they were promised and expected at least the rights and privileges of any of the tribes of Indians then or now inhabiting that country. They are desirous of becoming permanently settled.”

While helping Texas and the United States to gain peace with various other Indian tribes, the Absentee Delaware people found themselves without land as late as 1846. They had not received any annuity from the U.S. government since they had been removed to Indian Territory and Texas. This latter statement, made by Shaw and Conner in 1846, indicates that the Delaware people in Indian Territory and those who had gone to Spanish Texas had not received any of the money from the Castor Hill Treaty of 1832, in which the United States government supposedly paid the Absentee or Cape Girardeau Delaware for their lands in Missouri (Hale 1987:43).

When the United States and Mexico War began in 1846, Texas sent troops into Mexico. Attached to the Texas military was a special spy company made up of Delaware Indians. The company's leader was the renowned scout, Chief Black Beaver. Delaware Indians also worked as scouts based out of Fort Martin Scott in Fredericksburg (Gelo and Pate 2003:94). For his services, Chief Black Beaver was given the abandoned Old Camp Arbuckle at the end of the war in 1848. Camp Arbuckle was near the Canadian River in Indian Territory, not far from the area of Edwards Trading Post, where the Delaware people had been residing (Hale 1987:47).

In February 1848, Neighbors traveled to a Kichai village about 150 miles above present-day Waco along the Brazos River. The few Delaware families still remaining in Texas were residing in the Kichai village along with Waco, Tawakoni, Caddo, Ioni, and Cherokee people (Hale 1987:48). Between 1843 to 1849, a number of Delaware and Shawnee people had returned to Texas with renewed hopes of getting land. The census of Indians in Texas for 1849 gave the population of the Delaware and Shawnee together as 650, with the Delaware people forming a small portion. Delaware people were still being called “Second Class Intruders” in reports in late 1848 (Hale 1987:49).

John Conner, Jim Shaw, Black Beaver, and Jack Harry

John Conner (**Figure 4**) helped guide the Chihuahua-El Paso expedition in 1848 and was compensated with a league of land (144,000 acres), granted by special act of the Texas legislature in 1853 (Anderson 1990:259). Jim Shaw helped John Meusebach settle his German community in the Hill Country among the Comanche in 1847 and continued to scout for military units on the western Texas frontier until his death in 1858. Prominent Delaware Chief Black Beaver (**Figure 5**) guided Captain Randolph B. Marcy’s map-making expeditions through western Texas in 1849, 1852, and 1854 (Lipscomb 2021). Marcy recommended that every expedition should employ Delaware guides and hunters as they, along with Shawnee, were the best (Anderson 1990:231).

Jack Harry, who made several trips to council with the Comanches in 1848 and 1849 for the Texans, died of cholera while traveling during the summer of 1849 (Hale 1987:49). A joint resolution by the Texas legislature in September 1850 called on the United States government to immediately remove “intruders” from the state. The intruding tribes listed were the Wichita, Tawehash, Kichai, Caddo, Anadarko, Ioni, Delaware, Shawnee, Iowa, and others. Nothing was to be done to secure land for the Indians, but the services of the Delaware diplomats to the State of Texas continued. With the death of Jack Harry, only two persons were acknowledged as capable of acting as interpreters—Jim Shaw and John Conner (Hale 1987:49).



Figure 4. Delaware Leaders in Washington, D.C. in 1867. Sitting (left to right): James Ketchum, James Conner, John Conner, Charles Journeycake, Isaac Journeycake, John Sarcoxie, Sr. Standing (left to right): James McDaniel (Cherokee); Black Beaver; Henry Tiblow; Agent John G. Pratt; Charles Armstrong; and John Young (Negative 56904, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution).

James Ketchum's Delaware name was Kock-kock-quas and he was born 1819 in Indiana, son of Chief Captain Ketchum and a half-white woman whose mother was kidnapped from her home in Kentucky as a child (Ketchum 1970). In 1831 the family moved to the Kansas-Missouri area and James, his mother, grandmother, and brother Charles served as interpreters for the missionaries of the Central Indian Mission. They joined the church, and the two boys later became Methodist ministers. In 1866 James was delegate to the treaty conference in Washington, D. C. (see Figure 4) whereby the Cherokee and Delaware were given citizenship and land-owning rights. In 1867 with his wife and six children, he bought a brick farmhouse and land at the site of the first town of Ketchum, Oklahoma, which was named after him and his wife, Elizabeth Connor. He died at the farm and was buried there, but in the 1930s the graves were moved to the cemetery at the present-day location of Ketchum, and a dam and lake built at the farm and old townsite (Ketchum 1970).



Figure 5. Delaware Chief Black Beaver (1869; BAE GN 00811A 06187600, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution).

Reservation Life

In 1854 the Delaware in Texas, along with other tribes, were moved to the Brazos Indian Reservation, established by the U.S. government on the Brazos River near the present-day community of Graham (Lipscomb 2021). One site was chosen on the Brazos River near the mouth of the Clear Fork River, and the other about 40 miles away, where the Clear Fork River crosses the present-day boundary of Haskell and Throckmorton counties. The Brazos Reservation was home to the Delaware, Shawnee, Tonkawa, Waco, Tawakoni, Anadarko, and Caddo people (Figure 6), while the one on the Clear Fork was for the Comanche.

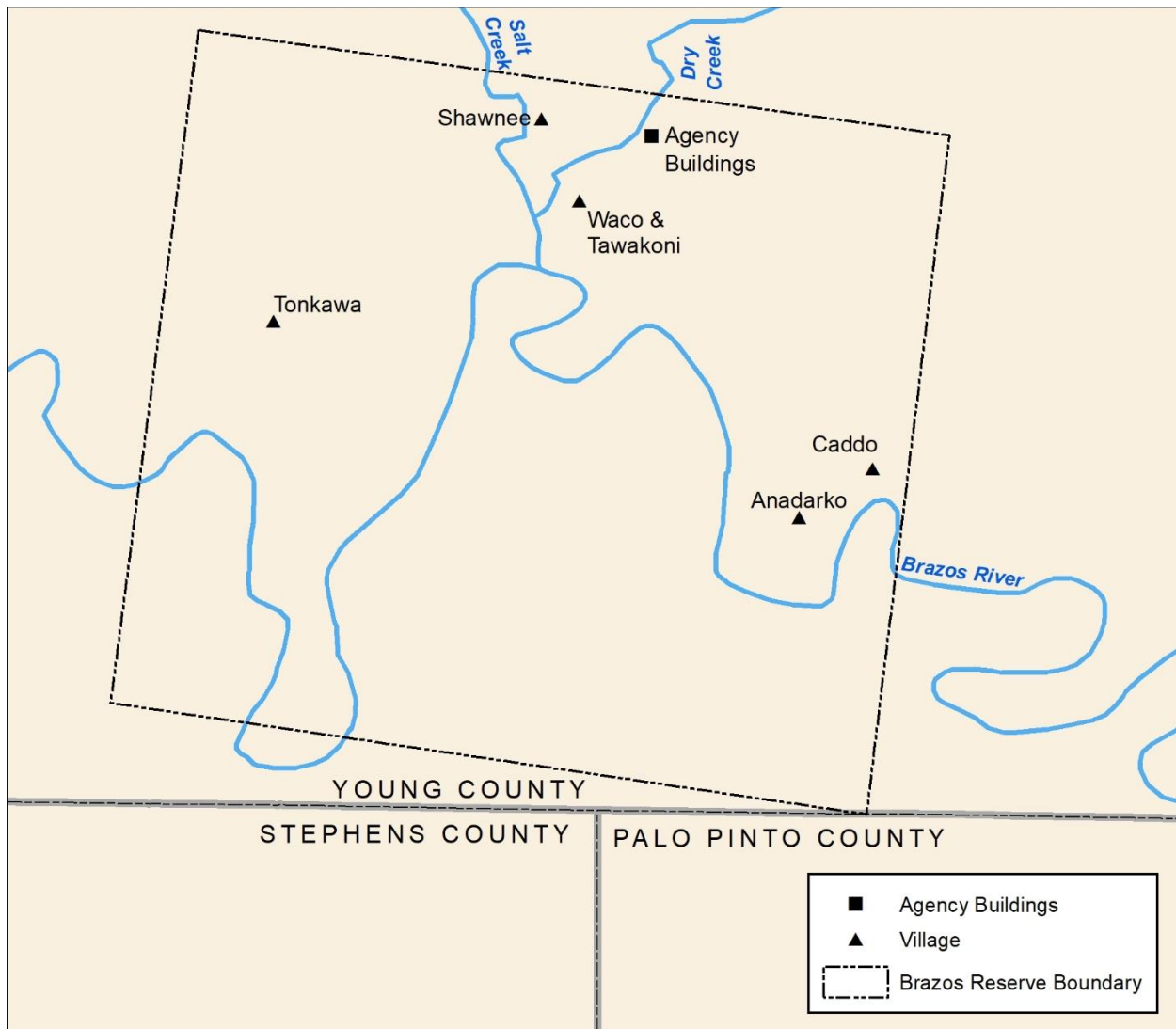


Figure 6. Brazos Reservation 1854-1859.

In January 1858, more than 100 warriors from the Brazos Reservation led by Captain Shapley P. Ross joined forces with Texas Ranger John S. (Rip) Ford. Delaware, Shawnee, and Wichita scouts located a Comanche camp across the Red River and near the Canadian River. The combined Texas forces engaged Chief Iron Jacket and about 300 Comanche warriors, defeating them, capturing Comanche women and children, and taking more than 300 horses (Newcomb 1961:357).

Brazos Reservation warriors helped defeat another Comanche group near Rush Springs in present-day Oklahoma during October 1858. The Comanche leaders were traveling home from a friendly meeting with U.S. officials and camped near a Wichita village. They were surprised by several companies of the Second U.S. Cavalry and about 125 of the Brazos Reservation warriors (Newcomb 1961:358).

Despite defeats like these, the Comanche did not stop their raids on the frontier settlements because their only choice was between raiding or starving (Newcomb 1961:358). The white citizens of Texas soon became intolerant of all Indians and directed their antagonism towards their peaceful neighbors on the reservations, who had been serving as faithful allies. By 1859 the situation on the reservations was intolerable. A barrage of unfounded claims was being made against the reservation Indians. White men killed innocent Indians and stole their livestock. If not for the protection of the U.S. Army, the Brazos Reservation would have been overrun by mobs of white men. Beginning on July 31, 1859, U.S. cavalry and infantry forces escorted the Indians from both reservations to Indian Territory and the Wichita Reservation near Fort Cobb (Newcomb 1961:358). Their route was the old Fort Belknap road leading to Fort Arbuckle. After crossing the Red River, the convoy proceeded up the eastern tributaries of Beaver Creek, past Rush Springs, to the Washita River near present-day Anadarko, Oklahoma (Hale 1987:67).

The former Brazos Reservation Indians were promised compensation for their land, livestock, and improvements like their 183 log houses, which alone were valued at nearly \$7,000 (worth more than \$225,000 today) (Hale 1987:67). Neighbors was instructed to pack everything moveable, and to sell the rest to the military or nearby citizens. Irate citizens prevented Neighbors from rounding up about half of the Tribes' livestock. The Comanche lost 566 horses and 105 cattle worth nearly \$15,000 (\$500,000 today) (Hale 1987:68). Neighbors' promises for compensation died with him. On his return from Indian Territory, he stopped at Fort Belknap where he was assassinated on September 14, 1859 (Hale 1987:71-72).

During the Civil War, the Wichita and most of the Tribes from the Brazos Reservation fled to Kansas. The Wichita had signed a treaty with Confederate forces whose terms the South subsequently failed to honor. After the war, they left present-day Wichita, Kansas, returning to Indian Territory. Their agency was established near Anadarko, and a consolidated group known as the "Wichita and Affiliated Tribes" was formed, composed of the Wichita proper (Tawakoni, Waco, Kichai, and Caddo), as well as Delaware, Shawnee, and some Penateka Comanche (Newcomb 1961:358-359).

The Delaware had been supporters of their Agent Matthew Leeper, providing scouts and interpreters like chiefs Black Beaver and Jim Ned up until September 1860, when Leeper joined the Confederates. Allies of the United States since the American Revolution, the Delaware continued their allegiance throughout the Civil War. Chief Black Beaver guided the U.S. troops from Fort Cobb northward to Kansas in June 1861 (Hale 1987:74-75).

The Delaware and other Tribes from the former Wichita Agency were back in Indian Territory again before the end of 1867 (Hale 1987:81). By that time, the Cape Girardeau Delaware people had experienced six removals since they had been forced from their lands near Cape Girardeau Missouri in 1815. They had been removed from Texas multiple times before fleeing the Civil War to Kansas in 1861 and returning to Indian Territory six years later. The old agency had been on the north side of the Washita River about six miles east of Fort Cobb (north of present-day Washita, Oklahoma). The agency was reestablished in 1867, situated about eight

miles east of the former agency and on the south side of the Washita River, near present-day Anadarko, Oklahoma (Hale 1987:83).

In 1874, the Anadarko Delaware decided to merge with the Caddo, while the main body of Delaware, who had been transported to Indian Territory from Kansas in 1868, remained citizens of the Cherokee Nation (Lipscomb 2021). Today, other Delaware groups reside in Wisconsin, Kansas, and Ontario, Canada.

Between 1890 and 1913, the United States forced Delaware youth to attend government boarding schools, where aggressive cultural assimilation was practiced. Their names were changed into Anglo-American names, they had to change their manner of dress, and they were forced to relinquish their language and only speak English. Despite these efforts, the Delaware Nation, venerated by other American Indians as “the grandfather tribe,” has survived a long journey. In the 1980s, the Delaware Nation became a federally recognized Indian tribe with their tribal headquarters in Anadarko, Oklahoma.

Geographic Terms

The presence of the Delaware Nation in Texas is acknowledged by a number of places, waterways, and other geographic features named for them throughout the state, including the Delaware Mountains, Delaware Springs, Delaware River, Jim Ned Lookout, and Jim Ned Creek.

The Delaware Mountains in western Texas are named for the Delaware Indians (Handbook of Texas 2021a). They begin just south of Guadalupe Pass in northwestern Culberson County and stretch 38 miles to the southeast. The highest elevation in the range is 5,632 feet above sea level. The mountains are characterized by long horizontal layers of sandstone, limestone, and shale, which were deposited during the Permian era, 250 million years ago. The Delaware Mountains form the uplifted eastern border of the salt flats in western Culberson County (Handbook of Texas 2021a).

Delaware Springs is a group of mineral springs located 20 miles east of the present-day community of Pine Springs in northeastern Culberson County (Gelo and Pate 2003:182). These springs were of great importance to early travelers and were variously known as Head Springs, Five Springs, Ojo de San Martín, and La Cienega (the swamp). They form the headwaters of the tiny Delaware River (also known as Delaware Creek), which rises in the Guadalupe Mountains National Park about a mile east of Guadalupe Peak in northwestern Culberson County. It is an intermittent stream that flows east to northeast for 70 miles to its mouth on the Pecos River (Gelo and Pate 2003:182).

Jim Ned Lookout is a knoll in present-day Montague County that was likely used for reconnaissance by the Delaware leader who was a scout for the Texas Militia in the 1840s (Gelo and Pate 2003:144). It rises 1,297 feet above sea level. Chief Jim Ned was also memorialized about 200 miles further southwest. Jim Ned Creek rises three miles northwest of present-day Tuscola in south central Taylor County and runs for 70 miles southeast, across Callahan and Coleman counties, to its mouth on Lake Brownwood, 11 miles northwest of Brownwood in central Brown County (Handbook of Texas 2021b). East Jim Ned Creek, which rises in southeastern Taylor County and flows south five miles to join the main Jim Ned Creek

about seven miles below its origin. The South Fork of Jim Ned Creek rises in northwestern Coleman County and runs northeast ten miles before converging with the main Jim Ned Creek. The South Fork of Jim Ned Creek was dammed in 1966 to form Lake Coleman in northern Coleman County (Handbook of Texas 2021b).

Resources Identified as culturally sensitive for future planning

The locations in Texas associated with the Delaware people include mountains, springs, waterways, farms, villages, hunting grounds, nutritional and medicinal plant gathering areas, battlefields and skirmish sites, and cemeteries that are considered culturally sensitive for future planning purposes.

Bibliography

Anderson, H. Allen

- 1990 The Delaware and Shawnee Indians and the Republic of Texas, 1820–1845. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 94(3):231-260.

Berlandier, Jean Louis

- 1969 *Indians of Texas in 1830*, John C. Ewers, editor and Patricia Reading Leclercq, translator. Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

Clifford, Roy A.

- 2021 Jim Ned, *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed July 13, 2021, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/jim-ned> . Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

England, B. Jane

- 2021 Wise County, *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed July 13, 2021, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/wise-county>. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

Estep, Raymond

- 2021 Alexander Le Grand, *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed July 08, 2021, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/le-grand-alexander>. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

Gelo, Daniel J. and Wayne J. Pate

- 2003 *Texas Indian Trails*. Republic of Texas Press, Dallas.

Goddard, Ives.

- 1978 Delaware. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 15: Northeast. Bruce Trigger and William Sturtevant, eds. pp. 213-239. Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

Hale, Duane Kendall

- 1987 *Peacemakers on the Frontier: A History of the Delaware Tribe of Western Oklahoma*. Delaware Tribe of Western Oklahoma Press, Anadarko.

Handbook of Texas

- 2021a Delaware Mountains, accessed August 21, 2019, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/delaware-mountains> . Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

- 2021b Jim Ned Creek, accessed August 21, 2019, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/rbj24>. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

Ketchum, Edith

- 1970 Letter to the Smithsonian accessed July 7, 2021 at https://www.si.edu/object/group-12-men-delegates-washington-1866-and-members-delaware-choke-agreement-1867-ca-1867:siris_arc_93091

Lipscomb, Carol A.

2021 Delaware Indians, *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 21, 2021, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/delaware-indians>. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

Mayfield, Albert Hunter

2021 James Shannon Mayfield, *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed July 08, 2021, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/mayfield-james-shannon>. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

McClendon, R. Earl

1948 The First Treaty of the Republic of Texas. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 52(1):32-48.

Newcomb, W. W. Jr.

1961 *Indians of Texas: From Prehistoric to Modern Times*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Obermeyer, Brice

2009 *Delaware Tribe in a Cherokee Nation*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Richardson, Rupert N.

1927 Jim Shaw the Delaware, *West Texas Historical Association Year Book* 3.

Weslager, Clinton A.

1972 *The Delaware Indians: A History*. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Winfrey, Dorman H. and James M. Day, editors

1995 *The Indian Papers of Texas and the Southwest, 1825-1916*. Volumes 1-5. Texas State Historical Association, Austin.