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strength from our culture." Without such testimony, any books about Indian people are mute and ultimately sterile.

Charles E. Roberts
California State University,
Sacramento

The Delaware Indian Westward Migration: With the Texts of Two Manuscripts (1821-22) Responding to General Lewis Cass's Inquiries About Lenape Culture and Language. By C. A. Weslager. Wallingford, PA: The Middle Atlantic Press, 1978. 266 pp. \$16.00.

Between 1813 and 1831, Lewis Cass served as Governor of Michigan Territory and during that time he became extremely interested in the Native American. In 1821 he asked the region's Indian agents and other officials to interview the Indians in their area using a thirty-page published questionnaire Cass had prepared as a guide. *The Delaware Westward Indian Migration* contains two edited manuscripts compiled in this manner between 1821 and 1822. The first ("Answers to General Cass's Questions") was collected by an anonymous individual who interviewed the Delaware At Wapaghkonetta, the Shawnee town on the Ohio. The other document ("The Cass-Trowbridge Manuscript") was gathered a bit later by Cass's assistant, Charles C. Trowbridge, who examined Captain Chips, a Canadian Delaware then a resident at White River, Indiana. By 1821 the Delawares—or Lenni Lenape as they called themselves—had been in contact with whites for two hundred years and had, in the face of white expansion, been pushed out of their homelands in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. Taken in turn, these two manuscripts inform us of the impact of that process on the Delawares and is certain to be of interest to students of Delaware history and culture.

What is striking about the first document ("Answers to General Cass's Questions") is the cultural conservatism of the Shawnee town Delawares. In spite of nearly two centuries of gradual, but incessant, pressure from white expansion, the political structure, leadership values, family life, and subsistence patterns, of these Ohio Delawares echo accounts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Where change is noticeable, these Delaware adapted, rather than uncritically adopted, white culture. The questionnaire

is particularly illuminating on religion. The informants acknowledged beliefs in certain Christian tenets such as heaven and hell, Satan, sin, and the use of a coffin to bury the dead, but the Delaware incorporated these into a larger social matrix where shamans exhorted spirits to cure the sick, hunters gave offerings to insure the taking of game, the twelve Manitou of tradition carried prayers to the Great Creator, the bones of the dead were still reinterred, reincarnation remained a common belief, and the Big House Ceremony continued to remind its members of a shared culture.

The Cass manuscript (document no. 1) is interesting, too, in that it offers some possible research topics. The Delaware acknowledged that they still wore (metaphorically) the women's skirts put on them by the Iroquois. The meaning of the "Delaware as Women" has been argued for several decades and the comments in the Cass manuscript suggests that our understanding is still incomplete: most studies assume that either the Iroquois or Sir William Johnson removed the Delaware's "skirts" sometime before the American Revolution; furthermore, the Shawnee Town Delaware said that they received their status from the Senecas and Wyandots, which runs counter to the tendency to ascribe this decision to the League of the Iroquois, generally.

Most intriguing are the Cass manuscript's references to the demographic structure of the Delawares at Shawnee Town in 1821. The sections on hunting, food, and personal appearance combine to describe a relatively healthy population. So do the comments on child-rearing: births outnumbered deaths, the number of children in a family was about three, the average interval between births is given as "From 2 to 3 years," and a woman's fertile years were "From 16 to 40." These assertions deserve a close analysis. If a study utilizing the voluminous and largely unexplored Moravian and National Archive materials confirmed the Cass manuscript's general impression of these Ohio Delawares, then the general tendency to see the Ohio region as a haven for destitute refugees will require some revision. My own work on the eighteenth century Ohio Iroquois leads me to conclude that communities reorganized along traditional lines; they did not disintegrate. The Shawnee Town Delawares seem to have followed a similar pattern: How else do we explain their cultural continuity in light of the questionnaires estimate that by 1821 "the intermixing of the whites has undoubtedly been the cause for one half and perhaps more [Delawares] are mixed with white blood?" (130).

Lewis Cass expected to combine the Cass-Trowbridge document, the second of Weslager's edited manuscripts, with the first; scholars should be glad he did not. Weslager misses the point when he states that some of the "information obtained from Captain Chips, cannot be reconciled with the data given in the 'Answers to General Lewis Cass's Questions' [document no. 1] previously cited" (p. 185), for what a comparison shows is that there was no monolithic Delaware culture, but variations as each group responded to its own, varied, past. To be sure, a few items suggest that these White River Delawares had shifted further from previous practices than the group at Shawnee Town: children are subjected to "flogging" for disobedience; the last shaman had died or left this group over fifty years ago; the White River Delaware no longer believe in ghosts; Parents are seldom consulted concerning marriage, "although it is considered proper to ask." The majority of answers, however, can be matched to answers in the Cass manuscript. In general, a Shawnee Town Delaware visiting Captain Chips' camp would know his people.

What is strikingly different in this second document is Captain Chips' cynical and outspoken criticisms of whites. The Shawnee Town Delaware tended to avoid raising sensitive issues (a common cultural pattern in the eastern woodland), only indirectly reflecting on the impact of white expansion by noting "that they flourished and lived happier before the whites came among them than they have since" (p. 90). Captain Chips answers, however, do not hide his deep bitterness. He blames whites for bringing alcohol and famines and for stealing his people's land. Land, or the loss of it, weighed heavily on Captain Chips. In a telling passage he recounts his people's tradition of the fraudulent dispossession at the hands of Whites. The Delawares, Captain Chips asserted, told the first settlers:

That they might take a piece [of land] as large as the [cow]hide [in the possession of the whites] and lay themselves down upon it. The whites then cut the hide into a small string & having stretched it they carried [it] around a piece of land as could be encircled by the string, and told the Indians that that was the piece [of land] on which they wanted to lay themselves down (p. 169).

But Captain Chips' cynicism showed most when asked if the Delawares believed in a day of judgment. He acknowledged that they did: "the world will be at an end when the whites get into full possession of it" (p. 185).

While the Cass manuscripts offer much valuable information, they should be read with care. Many answers are given in the third person or offer derogatory opinions, suggesting that they came from local officials, and not the Delaware. A few answers reflect the tendency of informants to romanticize the distant past: Before whites came to this land, the Shawnee Delawares asserted, "they knew nothing about war that they all lived in perfect peace" (p. 90). Other answers were influenced by the Delawares reticence to address sensitive questions. When asked about any battles they may have engaged in with either Whites or Indians, the Delawares refused to answer—in 1821 there were, no doubt, people still alive who might wish to avenge the loss of a close relative or friend (p. 96). Then, too, the questioners learned nothing (and rightly so) of sexual mores, or as they put it, "the fondness that is manifested after dark" (p. 118).

Other caveats are minor. Weslager's historical narrative, which he carries into the 1970s and is intended to provide a context for the manuscripts, is too romanticized to be of much service to scholars. The editorial gloss on the texts seems haphazard with comments made at whim, rather than according to any systematic design; this is especially unfortunate for Weslager has researched the Delawares for years and his shared knowledge would have enhanced the value of this publication. Finally, Weslager might have been more precise in explaining his editorial procedure for the first document. The original Cass manuscript gives only answers to which Weslager matched Cass's published pamphlet of questions (p. 87). What is left unsaid is whether or not the manuscript's answers follow the same order as the published questions. I suspect that they do, but if the sequence varies, readers should be apprized of that fact. These criticisms, however, are negligible when compared to the service Weslager has rendered in making these documents widely available.

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American Indian Economic Development. Edited by Sam Stanley. The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton Publishers, 1978. 609 pp. \$44.00.

In the fall of 1973 several anthropologists, social critics and a development economist presented papers of historical perspectives