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DELAWARES AND PENNSYLVANIANS AFTER THE WALKING PURCHASE

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The Walking Purchase of 1737 and the council of 1742 in which Canasatego declared the Delawares “women” led to the dispossession of the Delawares and their replacement on the landscape by Euro-American settlers. From the outset, Delawares considered the Walking Purchase wildly unjust and complained of Euro-American encroachment. They responded in varied ways: attempting to remain on lands at the Forks of the Delaware or migrating westward; moving in and out of Christian communities and Christian identities; protesting and seeking accommodation with provincial officials—until 1755 when all such efforts collapsed in the bloodbath of the Seven Years’ War. But at least since the early 1740s, many Delawares recognized that their people and the residents of Penn’s province were fast becoming “No more Brothers and Friends but much more like Open Enemies.”¹

As Francis Jennings showed, the fact that no very great disturbance occurred in the wake of the Walking Purchase is not evidence that Delawares failed to recognize it as a grave injustice.² Delawares complained about the Walking Purchase and all the colonial settlement that preceded and followed it, but they were ignored, then silenced. The idea that Delawares were content with the Walking Purchase until officious Quakers coaxed



them to complain originated in the official Pennsylvania reports designed to cover the impropriety. Informed but less partisan investigators locate blame with the Pennsylvania proprietors and their agents.³ Indeed, Delawares began complaining as soon as the walkers crossed Tohickon Creek and had not stopped when the Moravian missionary John Heckewelder heard them late in the eighteenth century.⁴ Teedyuscung, perhaps Nutimus's nephew and his choice to succeed as sachem, continued to complain eloquently in the generation after the purchase. A source sympathetic to the proprietors noted that "about the year 1756, or rather long before, the Indians under Tedyuscung made loud complaints against the proprietaries of Pennsylvania for defrauding them of their lands."⁵

The complaints, in fact, began several years before the infamous walk, in a period when Euro-American settlers were already streaming into the Forks uninvited; as a Delaware recounted, "people came fast . . . , so that in a short time it was full of Settlement and the Indians were oblig'd to remove farther back."⁶ Traders and settlers made significant inroads into the upper Delaware Valley in the late 1720s and early 1730s. Among the first was Pennsylvania chief justice William Allen, who received a grant from the Penn family for some ten thousand upper Delaware Valley acres. A French Huguenot, Nicholas Dupui, bought part of Allen's acreage on 10 September 1733.⁷ That year, land warrants were issued to Edward Marshall (who would be the sole finisher of the brisk walk of 1737) and his brothers above Tohickon Creek.⁸ Scots-Irish settlers encroached on lands at the Forks of the Delaware and Lehigh rivers by 1735.⁹ Mainly Presbyterians, these early settlers infiltrated the Forks before the purchase, as did at least one other Euro-American, trader John Mathers.¹⁰ On the eve of the walk, Daniel Broadhead received a warrant for six hundred acres from Thomas Penn. All of these individuals had every interest in seeing the purchase through to completion in hopes their warrants would be confirmed with legal patents. Allen in particular became giddy at the profits to be made.¹¹

As the Land Office began issuing patents to justify Allen's optimism, Delawares were no longer able to simply disregard the fraud of 1737. In January 1740 they filed a formal complaint about encroaching settlers with Pennsylvania chief justice and upper Bucks County resident Jeremiah Langhorne. "If this practice must hold why then we are No more Brothers and Friends but much more like Open Enemies," the Delawares said.¹² Governor George Thomas issued a condescending response, feigning astonishment at Delaware demands to be paid for lands within the bounds of

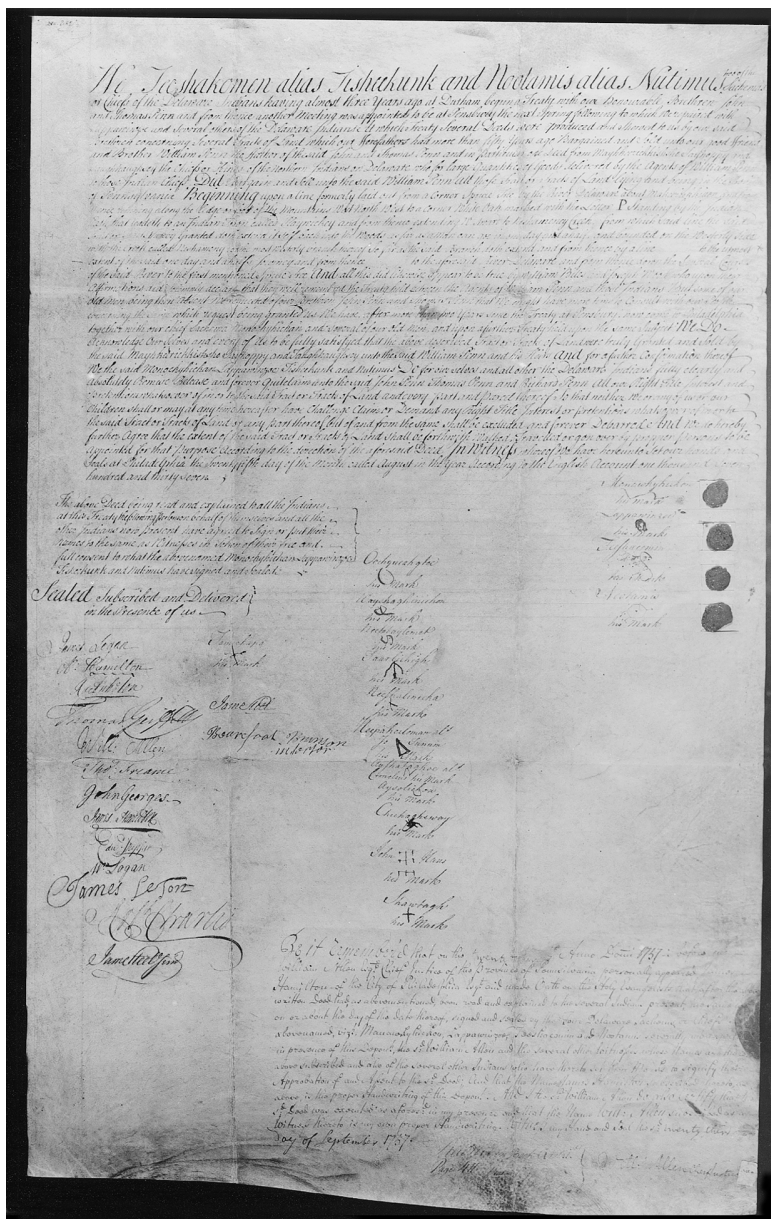


Figure 10 Deed of Nutimus, Teeshakommen, et al. . . . to John, Thomas, and Richard Penn, 25 August 1737: The “Walking Purchase.” Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg.



the purchase and urging Nutimus to “consider well what you do.” Thomas assured the Delaware that should conflict occur, the English enjoyed numerical superiority and intimated that the Iroquois Confederacy would come to the province’s aid.¹³

Meanwhile, on the Lehigh River, John and Thomas Penn were making plans to build the town of Easton and impose a series of manors and baronies on the Forks landscape, making it look much like their mother country. Ever since their visit to the confluence of the Lehigh and Delaware rivers in late 1734 or early 1735, the Penns had coveted the place and envisioned a commercial center there.¹⁴ Their idea of accommodating the Delawares to these schemes was to designate an Indian manor up the Lehigh beyond lands already surveyed for paying customers.¹⁵

In the early 1740s, increasingly intrusive settlement rapidly transformed the entire landscape of the Forks. One notable venture involved the English itinerant evangelist George Whitefield, whose contacts with Moravian bishop Peter Boehler in Savannah, Georgia, led to plans for “a Negro school in Pennsylvania where he [Whitefield] proposed to take up land and settle a town.”¹⁶ Between 30 April and 4 May 1740, Whitefield finalized arrangements to purchase five thousand acres from Allen for £2,200. Allen realized a 440 percent profit on his five-year investment.¹⁷ Whitefield named the tract Nazareth and hired Moravians under the direction of Bishop Boehler to build the proposed school. Doctrinal differences between Whitefield and the Moravians apparently brought the cooperative venture to an abrupt end, but the Moravians were determined to stay in the area and establish settlements from which to operate their ambitious educational, industrial, and proselyting ventures. As seen in chapter 5, these would prove vital to maintaining communication across a deepening frontier divide. Nathaniel Irish interested Boehler and then his replacement, Bishop David Nitschman, in a five-hundred-acre Allen tract astride a creek and bordered on the south by the Lehigh River in the heart of present-day Bethlehem. From a stock of nearly a dozen pioneers, supplemented by the immigration of “sea congregations,” the Moravian settlement grew and thrived. Within a few years Moravians extended their settlements between Bethlehem and Nazareth and the surrounding Forks land. They built mills and cultivated farms under the direction of the far-sighted Bishop Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg. Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, patron of the United Brethren in Saxony, came to Pennsylvania from 1741 to 1743 and oversaw Moravian settlement and proselytizing.

ing. Moravian tradition recalls the 1740s as a time of love feasts, abundant harvests, and “Indians who were friendly, and came to the farms on brief visits. They even helped in the harvesting and gave good service.” But sometimes “lurking in the vicinity” were what some Moravians called “wild Indians.”¹⁸

These, presumably, were the source of what the late eighteenth-century missionary John Heckewelder recalled as vehement protests “against the white people for settling in this part of the country, which had not yet been legally purchased of them, but, as they said, had been obtained by fraud.” Pennsylvania officials gave no heed and urged the Moravians to do likewise.¹⁹ But Moravians desired to convert Indians, not overtly displace them. They determined, in William Penn fashion, to compensate the Delawares for lands already purchased from Allen. Zinzendorf, said Heckewelder, “paid them out of his private purse the whole of the demand which they made in the height of their ill temper, and moreover gave them permission to abide on the land, at their village, where they had a fine large peach orchard, as long as they should think proper.”²⁰ Teedyuscung’s brother, Captain John, whose village occupied part of what is now Nazareth, received compensation from the Moravians for his houses, orchard, and grains and was permitted the freedom to enjoy the fruit of his labors.²¹ Delawares, then, loudly complained against Euro-American settlers who threatened their rights to the land but experienced mutually agreeable relationships with Moravians and others as long as they were compensated or able to remain on the land. Moravians understood that the key to maintaining peace with the Delawares was to negotiate with them; to this they were always agreeable. “Unfortunately,” as historian Jane Merritt observes, “not all men were Moravians.”²²

Nor did all Delawares respond to the Walking Purchase and its diplomatic aftershocks in the same way. Following Canasatego’s 1742 demand that they leave the Forks, many Native American residents relocated to the Susquehanna Valley, where the Presbyterian missionary David Brainerd tried to minister to them in 1744. They were anxious, he reported, because “the white people had abused them and taken their land from them.”²³ When he traveled to the Forks to try to convert the few remaining Delawares there, he found them resentful as well and worried that they would reject his message because of the abuse they endured at the hands of Euro-American settlers. “The number of Indians in this place is but small,” Brainerd wrote. “Most of those that formerly belonged here, are dispersed,



and removed to places farther back in the country. There are not more than ten houses hereabouts, that continue to be inhabited; and some of these are several miles distant from others.”²⁴

One of the few who both remained and listened to Brainerd was Tunda Tatamy. In 1733, at the same time Euro-Americans were beginning to scramble for lands in the region, Tatamy applied for “a piece of land of about 300 Acres on the Forks of Delaware.” Receiver General James Steel sent word to Bucks County deputy surveyor John Chapman to make a formal survey “with caution and by Consent of the Indians.”²⁵ Tatamy acquired this acreage as “consideration of services he had rendered as interpreter and messenger to the Indians.”²⁶ Tatamy received a patent for his farm on 28 April 1738, a patent converted to fee simple status four years later, shortly after Canasatego’s speech demanding that the Delawares vacate the Forks.²⁷ Tatamy did not approve of the proprietor’s schemes, but his prior service as the Penns’ guide and interpreter no doubt explains his favored treatment. The Penns’ grant to Tatamy upheld Canasatego’s demand that Delawares generally vacate the Forks while rewarding the prominent Delaware for his service.

The curious note from Steel to Chapman, that Tatamy’s survey should be conducted with consent of the Indians, leads one to wonder how Tatamy’s adoption of English property ways shaped his identity during this tumultuous period. Did he in some way consider himself estranged from “the Indians” around him? Moreover, one wonders what connections beyond coincidence with his property acquisition informed Tatamy’s conversion to Christianity. During the extended process of acquiring his farm, which lay in the heart of the Forks land encompassed by the walk, Tatamy, his Delaware wife, daughter, and two sons became Presbyterians. On 26 July 1742—a mere two weeks after Canasatego’s “women” speech—Count Zinzendorf visited “Tatamy’s reserve” and found him “farming in a small way on a grant of 300 acres given him by the Proprietaries’ agents.” Tatamy welcomed Zinzendorf and his entourage and entertained them with “an account of the mode of sacrifice practiced by his heathen brethren.” The missionaries capitalized on the chance to speak of “the great sacrifice of the Lamb of God, made for the remission of sins.” How their teaching resonated with Tatamy cannot be known. Zinzendorf noted only vaguely that Tatamy “professed Christianity.”²⁸ After Canasatego ordered them to depart, Tatamy, Captain John, and other Delawares petitioned the Pennsylvania governor for permission to remain at the Forks, arguing that they

intended to live the settled life of other Christians, harmoniously with settlers and in “enjoyment of the same Religion and Laws with them.”²⁹ Provincial Secretary Richard Peters, an ordained Anglican minister, doubted the sincerity of “those rascals, the Delaware Fork Indians,” had them catechized, and determined that they only “pretend[ed] to be converted to the Calvinistical scheme of religion.” So much the worse then, thought Peters, that on their petition they “had the impudence to subscribe themselves, ‘Your Honour’s brethren in the Lord Jesus.’”³⁰

When Brainerd again visited the Forks in 1744 and enlisted Tatamy as his interpreter, the missionary perceived little spiritual progress in him. “He was,” said Brainerd, “well fitted for his Work in regard of his Acquaintance with the Indian and English Language, as well as with the Manners of both Nations. And in regard of his desire that the Indians should conform to the Customs and Manners of the English, and especially their manner of living; But he seem’s to have little or no Impression of Religion upon his Mind, and in that Respect was very unfit for his Work.”³¹ Brainerd wanted it noted on earth and in heaven that he “labour’d under great disadvantages in addressing the Indians, for want of his [Tatamy’s] having an experimental, as well as more doctrinal Acquaintance with divine Truths.”³² To the missionary, Tatamy “appeared very desirous that the Indians should renounce their Heathenish Notions and Practices, and conform to the Customs of the Christian World” but lacked “concern about his own Soul.”³³ Of Delawares less receptive to his ministrations, Brainerd wrote in frustration, “the manner of their living is likewise a great disadvantage to the design of their being Christianized. They are almost continually roving from place to place.”³⁴

Nonetheless, Brainerd’s persistence, coupled with the threat of removal, convinced perhaps a dozen Delawares including Captain John and ultimately even Tatamy and his family to embrace Christianity with sufficient fervor to meet the missionary’s standards. Unsurprisingly, Brainerd’s account of Tatamy’s conversion is generically Calvinist. During late July 1744, while Brainerd preached and the knowledgeable but spiritually slumbering Delaware interpreted, Tatamy “was somewhat awaken’d to a concern for his Soul; so that the next Day he discours’d freely . . . about his spiritual concerns, and gave . . . [Brainerd] an Opportunity to use further Endeavours to fasten the Impressions of his perishing State upon his Mind.” Still “these impressions seem’d quickly to decline, and he remain’d in a great Measure careless and secure, until some time late in the Fall of the Year.”



For several weeks Tatamy languished. "At this Season divine Truth took hold of him, and made deep Impressions upon his Mind. He was brought under great Concern for his Soul, and his Exercise was not now transient and unsteady, but constant and abiding, so that his Mind was burden'd from Day to Day' and 'twas his great Enquiry, *What he should do to be saved.*"³⁵

According to Brainerd, Tatamy lost considerable sleep and was "under a great Pressure of Mind . . . while he was striving for Mercy." He envisioned what "seem'd to be an impassible Mountain before him. He was pressing towards Heaven as he thought, but his Way was hedg'd up with Thorns that he could not stir an Inch further. He look'd this Way and that Way, but could find no Way at all." Tatamy labored persistently but in vain for deliverance. He could not "help himself thro' this insupportable Difficulty" until he finally "gave over striving, and felt that it was a gone Case with him, as to his own Power, and that all his Attempts were, and forever would be vain and fruitless." Brainerd struggled to discern whether Tatamy's "own *Imagination*" or "divine *Illumination*" was at work, and only pronounced himself "satisfi'd" when Tatamy became "divorc'd from a Dependence upon his own Righteousness, and good Deeds." Subsequently, Brainerd found Tatamy "as if he was now awaked out of Sleep." Convicted of his sin and misery, the convert sensed the "impossibility of helping himself by any Thing he could do," and only then found a powerful assurance of hope. After this conversion experience, Brainerd saw in Tatamy's "publick Performances" external evidence of a changed nature. Now Tatamy preached with "admirable Fervency, and scarce knew when to leave off." This change was so "*abiding*" that Tatamy was no longer tempted, though "much expos'd to *strong Drink* . . . moving free as Water; and yet has never . . . discover'd any hankering Desire after it." In all this, Brainerd concluded, Tatamy manifested "considerable Experience of spiritual Exercise, and discourses *feelingly* of the Conflicts and Consolations of a *real* Christian." He appeared "like another Man to his Neighbors."³⁶

A baptismal ceremony on 21 July 1745 sealed the changing cultural identities of Tatamy and his wife, whose name is unknown. Tunda Tatamy became Moses Tatamy. Similarly, Joseph Peepys, Thomas Store, Isaac Still, John Pumpshire, and Stephen Calvin exchanged traditional names for appellations of apostles, prophets, or reformers. These were the same Delawares who stayed in the Forks or New Jersey and adapted to English

property ways. Many Pennsylvanians were not as critical of these Delaware conversions as was Richard Peters when he labeled them “rascals.” Those who were more sympathetic saw the Delawares maturing from the stock category of “savage” to that of “civilized Indian.” If these Pennsylvanians never quite considered Tatamy one of them, at least the propertied Presbyterian Delaware was on his way to becoming “one of our Indian Friends.”³⁷ By the 1750s, Tatamy, who thought of his property as “my place in the forks,”³⁸ had learned to write, as had his son William. His daughter Jemima also enjoyed “the advantage of some schooling.”³⁹ By “improving” and acquiring recognizably English rights to property, and finally by fully embracing Presbyterianism, Tatamy identified himself in loose terms as a peer of fellow Presbyterian and property holder William Allen. If the remaining socioeconomic gulf mocked such tenuous parity, Tatamy’s cultural adaptations gained him a degree of acceptance in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania society that most Delawares never achieved. His ability to speak English, his willingness to adopt European-style farming, and his conversion to Presbyterianism empowered him to continue living at the Forks. He continued to serve Pennsylvania as a negotiator and translator. During the long controversy over the Walking Purchase, he furnished clear statements of Delaware history and evidence against the proprietors.⁴⁰

Tatamy’s accommodations left a mixed legacy to his family. His son William was shot by a colonist near Bethlehem in July 1757 and lingered a month before dying. Tunda himself apparently died in 1762. His daughter Jemima received an education financed by Quakers, but little else is recorded about her. In 1769 the Pennsylvania Assembly granted the request of Tunda’s son Nicholas for two hundred acres in perpetuity because of “the Services of his father, an Interpreter, and faithful friend to this Province.”⁴¹ At that time, he was, like his father before him, described as “Tatamy, an Indian.” The 1790 and 1800 federal censuses, however, categorize Nicholas’s descendants as White. This racial reclassification suggests that it was only possible for Delawares to maintain possession of land at the cost of surrendering their Delaware identity.⁴²

Still, this was perhaps a preferable fate to that of Delawares who made different choices. Brainerd’s account lamented the “paganism” of the Susquehanna Delawares and their Native American neighbors. Nonetheless, many of these people were attracted to the Moravians, including Teedyuscung, who remained on the fringes of the purchase for several years. As



mentioned in the previous chapter, the Iroquois deeded to Pennsylvania the land lying north of the Walking Purchase in 1749. Simultaneously, Teedyuscung and many other Delawares living in kinship groups at Meniolagomekah received baptism at the nearby Moravian mission of Gnadenhütten, at present-day Lehigh on the western edge of the Walking Purchase. The Moravians also attracted Teedyuscung's brother Weshichagechive because their Native followers "were very happy and contented in their Hearts, and that they liv'd no longer like other Indians, doing bad Things."⁴³ He requested baptism and was christened Nicodemus in June 1749.

Other members of Weshichagechive's kinship group followed, including Teedyuscung. The Moravian missionaries sought signs of true religious conversion in Teedyuscung but found him "unstable" and of a "wavering disposition." Still, Teedyuscung was apparently deeply moved by the doctrine of redemption through Christ and became "convicted of sin." After passing a probationary period, on 12 March 1750 "he was baptized in the little turreted chapel on the Mahoning" by a Moravian bishop who described him as "the chief among sinners."⁴⁴

For reasons that remain obscure, Teedyuscung left the Moravians and accepted an Iroquois invitation to move north to Wyoming in spring 1754. Displaced and highly dissatisfied, he and other Delawares brooded over "the Injuries they had receiv'd from the English in being cheated of the Fork Lands and obliged to retire farther back over the Mountains[.] This so enraged them that they resolved no longer to bear the Injuries." Braddock's 9 July 1755 defeat by the French and allied Indians gave these Delawares "a favourable Opportunity of taking Revenge" for the injustices of the Walking Purchase.⁴⁵ According to a nineteenth-century Moravian historian, Delawares determined that "wherever the white man was settled within this disputed territory" they would attack by surprise and without mercy, taking scalps, burning homes, outbuildings, and crops.⁴⁶

In October 1755, Delawares and Shawnees descended on the settlements of Euro-Americans within the bounds of the Walking Purchase. Easton, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the hinterland became a hotbed of fear and activity. Farther west, Delaware warriors descended on settlers at Penn's Creek below Shamokin, killing above a dozen and carrying off nearly that many more. A few weeks later Euro-Americans at Great Cove on the Susquehanna met similar fates at the hands of allied Indians under the Dela-

ware Shingas. By early November, raiders struck from the Tulpehocken Valley to the Minisink and over the Delaware River into New Jersey. Later that month, they attacked the Moravian settlement on the east side of the Mahoning River adjacent to Gnadenhütten and slew or captured several men, women, and children. Then, on Christmas eve, warriors burned Gnadenhütten itself.⁴⁷ Early the next year, Teedyuscung—whom Richard Peters described as “near 50 Years Old, a lusty, rawboned Man, haughty and very desirous of respect and Command” and able to “drink three quarts or a Gallon of Rum a day without being drunk”—returned to the Forks with a vengeance to lead additional attacks in Northampton County. According to Peters, “He was the Man that persuaded the Delawares to go over to the French and then to Attack the Frontiers.”⁴⁸ Teedyuscung’s Delawares and their Shawnee allies claimed more than one hundred lives.⁴⁹ The retribution took an especially high toll on Edward Marshall, the walker of 1737. Although he confessed that the Delawares had been defrauded, Marshall had no affection for them and they none for him. When violence broke out he took his family to New Jersey and remained there until spring 1756. Shortly thereafter, Delawares descended on his home near Jacobus Creek, shot his daughter Catherine, and kidnapped his pregnant wife, whose scalped remains were later discovered in the Poconos. Having not found Edward at home, Delawares returned in August and killed his son Peter but again missed their main target.⁵⁰

The Delaware raiders also threatened their kinsmen who remained loyal to the Moravians, supposedly warning that their ears would be opened with a hot iron if they refused to hear the call to war.⁵¹ A 29 November 1755 letter dictated by fourteen Indians, including five Delawares, among whom was a Moravian named Augustus, pleaded with Governor Robert Hunter Morris to protect them from both Teedyuscung’s forces and Euro-Americans bent on counter-retaliation. They specifically cited conversion and recognition of English property ways as justification. “We have hitherto been poor heathen,” they protested, but “the [Moravian] Brethren have told us words from Jesus Christ our God and Lord, who became a man for us and purchased salvation for us with his blood” and “permitted us to live upon their land.” For Morris, this acknowledgment of the efficacy of Christianity and legitimacy of Moravian land rights under Pennsylvania law earned these Native Americans the protection of the colony. “As you have made it your own choice to become members of our civil society,



and subjects of the same Government, and determine to share the same fate with us," the governor replied, "I shall make it my care to extend the same protection to you as to the other subjects of his Majesty."⁵²

But most Euro-Pennsylvanians were in no mood to offer much protection to any Indians. On 16 December 1755, Edward Shippen wrote to Chief Justice Allen, foremost holder of Forks real estate, about a "courageous, resolute" frontiersman who was curious to "know whether any handsome premiums is offered for scalps, because if there is he is sure his force will soon be augmented."⁵³ A few weeks later Richard Peters wrote to Thomas Penn to assure him that no matter how much he spent to defend the colony, "little good will be done without giving handsome rewards for scalps," despite problems that might arise from indiscriminate attacks on Delawares "who are or may be inclined to be our friends."⁵⁴ Several companies of frontiersmen, Peters reported, had already "voluntarily offered themselves" to take advantage of the offer of cash for scalps.⁵⁵

The "rudeness, lawlessness, and ignorance of the back inhabitants . . . will bring a general Indian war over us," Conrad Weiser complained to Thomas Penn. "They curse and dam[n] the Indians and call them murdering dogs into their faces without discrimination, when on the other hand these poor Indians that are still our friends do not know where to go for safety; in the woods they are in danger of being killed, or their young men joining our enemy. Among us they are in danger of being killed by the mob."⁵⁶ Delawares were indeed caught in an awful dilemma. They could have no sense of security as an independent body between the Iroquois, the Pennsylvanians, and the French. From the Wyoming Valley in November 1755 the Delawares Weiser had in mind sent word to Governor Morris emphasizing their dependence on and loyalty to the English and begging for information and assurance. "We are as children here," the message read, "till we receive words. We believe that we are in great Danger For we hear the Hatchets fly about our Ears and we Know not what will befall us, and therefore We are afraid."⁵⁷

In Philadelphia on 14 April 1756, Governor Morris declared war on the Delawares over the opposition of a Quaker-dominated Assembly. Sir William Johnson, King George's superintendent for Indian affairs in the northern department, was just then planning how he could conciliate Delawares through Iroquois diplomatic channels. He fumed that "these hostile Measures which Mr. Morris has Entered into . . . [were] Throwing all our Schemes into Confusion" and giving the French an advantage. "What will

the Delaware and Shawonese think of Such Opposition and Contradiction in our Conduct?”⁵⁸ A variant of Johnson’s question occurred to Thomas Penn, who wondered about a rather different French advantage. Reflecting that scalp bounties would lead to “private murder” of men, women, and children, Penn expressed his concern that “in some of the French pieces lately published we are reproached with it as a cruel and unchristian-like practice.”⁵⁹

The tumultuous social and cultural transformations and adaptations that rocked the Upper Delaware River Valley in the wake of the Walking Purchase defied all attempts at categorization. In the eyes of most Pennsylvanians, neither Christian names nor solemn rituals could guarantee Delawares’ rights to lands in or outside the bounds of the Walking Purchase. In Delaware minds, survey documents that began describing their land as “vacant” could not alienate ancient claims. Nor could imposed fences, gardens, and manors transform the landscape without disastrous consequences. Delawares responded to their dispossession in a variety of ways. They complained and resisted, capitulated and converted. They ultimately gave much more than ground. Tatamy and a few other Delawares forged new identities acceptable to European colonists, though the process proved neither seamless nor painless. Other Delawares mediated a middle way by adapting Moravian ideas and forms. Still others, like Teedyuscung, sought payment in kind for the toll of colonization. Alas, having forsaken an idealistic commitment to peace for more pragmatic means of possession, most Pennsylvanians were only too eager to return that violent payment with interest.