

NOTES

Introduction

1. James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 37.
2. William A. Hunter, "Documented Subdivisions of the Delaware Indians," *Bulletin of Archaeological Society of New Jersey* 35 (1978): 20–40; Marshall J. Becker, "Cultural Diversity in the Lower Delaware River Valley, 1550–1750: An Ethnohistorical Perspective," in Jay F. Custer, ed., *Late Woodland Cultures of the Middle Atlantic Region* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 90–101; Robert Steven Grumet, "'We Are Not So Great Fools': Changes in Upper Delawaran Socio-Political Life, 1630–1758" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1979).
3. Laurence M. Hauptman, "Refugee Havens: The Iroquois Villages of the Eighteenth Century," in Christopher Vecsey and Robert W. Venables, eds., *American Indian Environments: Ecological Issues in Native American History* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1980), 128–39; Peter C. Mancall, *Valley of Opportunity: Economic Culture Along the Upper Susquehanna, 1700–1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 27–70; Michael N. McConnell, *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724–1774* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 6–60.
4. Francis Jennings, "'Pennsylvania Indians' and the Iroquois," in Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds., *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600–1800* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 75–91; Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 241–44.
5. Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 34–38. See also Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), which appeared too recently to have had the impact it deserves on the chapters below.
6. See Wilbur Zelinsky, "Geography," in Randall M. Miller and William Pencak, eds., *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 389–94; William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of Colonial New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983); and Timothy Silver, *A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists and Slaves on the South Atlantic Frontier, 1500–1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).
7. Peter C. Mancall, *Valley of Opportunity: Economic Culture Along the Upper Susquehanna, 1700–1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 29–85; Tim H. Blessing, "The Upper Juniata Valley," in John B. Frantz and William Pencak, eds., *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 153–70; Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 19–49.
8. James H. Merrell, "Shamokin, 'the Very Seat of the Prince of Darkness': Unsettling the Early American Frontier," in Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute, eds., *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 16–59.
9. See Jane T. Merritt, "Metaphor, Meaning, and Misunderstanding: Language and Power on the Pennsylvania Frontier," in Cayton and Teute, eds., *Contact Points*, 60–87; Merritt, "Cultural Encounters Along a Gender Frontier: Mahican, Delaware, and German Women

in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania,” *Pennsylvania History* 67 (2000): 523–52; and Natalie Zemon Davis, “Iroquois Women, European Women,” in Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker, eds., *Women, “Race,” and Writing in the Early Modern Period* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 243–58.

10. Irene Silverblatt, *Sun, Moon, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Karen Anderson, *Chain Her by One Foot: The Subjugation of Women in Seventeenth-Century New France* (London: Routledge, 1991).

11. William McLoughlin, “Cherokee Anomie, 1794–1840: Red Men, Red Women, Black Slaves,” in Richard L. Bushman and Stephan Thernstrom, eds., *Uprooted Americans: Essays in Honor of Oscar Handlin* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1997); Peter Mancall, *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

12. For another example, see David Hsiung, “Death on the Juniata: Delawares, Iroquois, and Pennsylvanians in a Colonial Whodunit,” *Pennsylvania History* 65 (1998): 445–77. A classic study of alcohol excusing Native American crime is William Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979). See also Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 86, 263–68.

13. Gregory Evans Dowd, “Thinking and Belonging: Nativism and Unity in the Age of Pontiac and Tecumseh,” *American Indian Quarterly* 16 (1992): 309–35; Dowd, *War Under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

14. Peter Kolchin, “Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America,” *Journal of American History* 89 (2002): 154–73. For a provocative discussion of these issues for Pennsylvania, see Peter Rhoads Silver, “Indian-Hating and the Rise of Whiteness in Provincial Pennsylvania” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2000).

15. *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, from Its Organization to the Termination of the Revolution*, 16 (Harrisburg: Theo. Fenn and Co., 1853), 404.

Chapter 1

1. Pehr Kalm, *Peter Kalm’s Travels in North America: The English Version of 1770*, ed. Adolph B. Benson (New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1937).

2. Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Society and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 184; Williams, *Problems in Materialism and Culture: Selected Essays* (London: Verso, 1980), 70.

3. Williams, *Problems in Materialism and Culture*, 67, assumes that there is a unified mankind that has a shared, monolithic understanding of nature.

4. The account of this incident is from “David De Vries’s Notes,” *NEP*, 5.

5. *Ibid.*, 17.

6. *Ibid.*, 5.

7. In the American colonies, domesticated animals were often at the root of tensions between Indians and colonists. European animals (especially pigs) tended to thrive in the woods, breeding rapidly, eating away undergrowth, contributing to soil erosion, and out-competing native animal species. Domestic animals often caused conflicts by wandering into Indian crops. Natives tended to be displeased by the damage the animals caused and defended their crops by killing the offending animal; animal owners rarely recognized Indian rights in such matters and often exacted retribution with little restraint. See William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang,

1983), 82–107; Virginia DeJohn Anderson, “King Philip’s Herds: Indians, Colonists, and the Problem of Livestock in Early New England,” *WMQ* 51 (1994): 601–24; and Stephen Aron, “Pigs and Hunters: ‘Rights in the Woods’ on the Trans-Appalachian Frontier,” in Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute, eds., *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 175–204. The issues described above were less important at Swanendael than they would be in later colonial encounters; the small size, the newness, and the brief existence of the station seem to have prevented such conflicts from developing. However, the Americans there reacted to European animals strongly and violently nonetheless.

8. Near present-day Lewes, Delaware.

9. The “Delaware Valley” in this essay refers to the lands surrounding the Delaware River and Bay and their tributaries; in present-day terms: southern New Jersey, northeastern Delaware, and southeastern Pennsylvania.

10. The classic study of New Sweden is Amandus Johnson, *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, Their History and Relation to the Indians, Dutch and English, 1638–1664* (New York: Appleton, 1911).

11. Amandus Johnson, trans., *The Instructions for Johan Printz, Governor of New Sweden* (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Society, 1930), article 18.

12. The strongest statement of this position is Marshall Joseph Becker, “Lenape Archaeology: Archaeological and Ethnological Considerations in Light of Recent Excavations,” *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 50, no. 4 (1980): 19–30. Becker asserts that the Lenape had little, if any, subsistence reliance on agriculture before contact in “A Summary of Lenape Socio-Political Organization and Settlement Patterns at the Time of European Contact: The Evidence for Collecting Bands,” *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 4 (1988): 79–83.

13. See C. A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians: A History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1972); Herbert C. Kraft, ed., *A Delaware Indian Symposium* (Harrisburg: PHMC, 1974); and Kraft, *The Lenape: History, Archaeology, and Ethnography* (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1986). There is abundant room for further study of the Lenapes both before and after contact.

14. Alfred Crosby, “Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation of America,” *WMQ* 33 (1976): 289–99.

15. Arguments and estimates range quite broadly regarding the numbers of Natives killed by foreign diseases. See Henry Dobyns, *Their Number Became Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); Wilbur R. Jacobs, “The Tip of an Iceberg: Pre-Columbian Indian Demography and Some Implications for Revisionism,” *WMQ* 32 (1974): 123–32; John W. Veran and Douglas H. Ubelaker, eds., *Disease and Demography in the Americas* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992). Also, different Native groups were affected by diseases at different times. The restructuring of the human landscape of the American southeast may have been initiated by the incursion of the De Soto expedition in the 1540s, whereas the Iroquois in the lower Great Lakes region were relatively isolated from disease until the mid-seventeenth century. See Patricia Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis, 1500–1700* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 128–43, and Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 58–60.

16. Pehr Lindeström, *Geographia Americae, or a Description of Indiae Occidentalis*, 165.

17. See Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Ecological Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1972), 187–88.

18. See J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 1970); Stuart Schwartz, ed., *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

19. Genesis 1:26–29. Lynn White, Jr., famously found in these passages the blame for all the modern world's ecological problems in "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis," in White, *Dynamo and Virgin Reconsidered: Essays in the Dynamism of Western Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971). This analysis does not argue for such broadly realized consequences but still acknowledges the real and meaningful significance of such ideas in shaping the thoughts and practices of colonizing Europeans.

20. Useful reconstructions of Native understandings of spiritual relations within the natural world are found in Catherine Albanese, *Nature Religion in Early America: From the Algonkian Indians to the New Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), chap. 1, and Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), chap. 1.

21. See Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, esp. chap. 4. On landholding patterns in New Sweden, see "Returns of Inhabitants and Lands Owned and Improved in Portions of Philadelphia County in 1684," in Henry D. Paxon, *Where Pennsylvania History Began: Sketch and map of a trip from Philadelphia to Tinicum Island . . .* (Philadelphia: George H. Buchanan, 1926), 217–18.

22. See Weslager, *Delaware Indians*, 36–40.

23. Keith Thomas examines how these ideas were important in early modern England in *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500–1800* (London: Allen Lane, 1983), chap. 1.

24. Johnson, trans., *Instruction for Johan Printz*, 88.

25. Ibid.

26. Johan Printz, "Report to the Right Honorable West India Company in Old Sweden, sent from New Sweden, February 20, 1647," in Johnson, trans., *Instruction for Johan Printz*, 129.

27. See Alfred Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

28. Printz, "Report, 1647," 135.

29. Johan Papegoja to Pehr Brahe, 15 July 1644, in Johnson, trans., *Instructions for Johan Printz*, 159.

30. The prospect of an archaeological examination of Tinicum Island is detailed in Robert E. King, "Tinicum Island: A Swedish Legacy" (Master's thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1973).

31. Printz, "Report, 1647," 131.

32. King, "Tinicum Island," 14.

33. Brahe to Printz, 9 Nov. 1643, in Johnson, trans., *Instruction for Johan Printz*, 156.

34. Printz to Axel Oxenstierna, 26 Apr. 1653, in *ibid.*, 187–89.

35. For New England, the standard account of the Pequot War is Alfred A. Cave, *The Pequot War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996). For a broader context, see Alden T. Vaughan, *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620–1675* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1965); and Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500–1643* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982). An interesting interpretation of Kieft's War in New Netherland is Evan Haefeli, "Kieft's War and the Cultures of Violence in Colonial America," in Michael A. Bellesiles, ed., *Lethal Imagination:*

Violence and Brutality in American History (New York: New York University Press, 1999). For a broader history of the colony, see Oliver A. Rink, *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986). For Virginia, see Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing off in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 183–86; and Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), 92–107.

36. Israel Acrelius, “Account of the Swedish Churches in New Sweden,” *NEP*, 72–73.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Printz to Oxenstierna, 1 Aug. 1651, in Johnson, trans., *Instruction for Johan Printz*, 179–84.

39. *Ibid.*, 182.

40. Johnson, trans., *Instruction for Johan Printz*, 80.

41. *Ibid.*, 80–81.

42. The climate of the Delaware Valley was too cold for the best tobacco and too warm for the thickest, most valuable beaver pelts. Johan Printz, “Relation to the Noble West India Company in Old Sweden, despatched from New Sweden on June 11, Anno 1644,” in Johnson, trans., *Instruction for Johan Printz*, 121.

43. Christopher L. Miller and George R. Hamell, “New Perspectives on Indian-White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade,” *JAH* 73 (1986): 311–23.

44. Lindeström, *Geographia Americae*, 211.

45. *Ibid.*, 237.

46. *Ibid.*, 357.

47. *Ibid.*, 162–63.

48. See James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), for analysis of how these tensions influenced Indian-colonial relations in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania.

Chapter 2

1. The “each . . . branches” and “spread . . . ground” quotations are from Thomas Clarkson, *Memoirs of the Public and Private Life of William Penn* (London, 1813), 339–40; all others are from Thomas F. Gordon, *The History of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1829), 75. Gordon’s account drew heavily from Clarkson’s, which was the first in print and was mainly a description of Benjamin West’s painting. See Helmut von Erffa and Allen Staley, *The Paintings of Benjamin West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 207. Benjamin West’s “conquest . . . dagger” statement is as quoted in Laura Rigal, “Framing the Fabric: A Luddite Reading of Penn’s Treaty with the Indians,” *American Literary History* 12 (2000): 557.

2. For an example of a more critical perspective and a bibliography of the debate and consensus on the alleged benevolence of Penn’s policy, see Thomas J. Sugrue, “The Peopling and Depeopling of Early Pennsylvania: Indians and Colonists, 1680–1720,” *PMHB* 116 (1992): 3–31 and nn1–2. See also Daniel K. Richter, “Onas, the Long Knife: Pennsylvanians and Indians, 1783–1794,” in Frederick E. Hoxie, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Native Americans and the Early Republic* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 126–61; James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 28–30; and J. William Frost, “William Penn’s Experiment in the Wilderness: Promise and Legend,” *PMHB* 107 (1983): 577–605.

3. Ann Uhry Abrams, “Benjamin West’s Documentation of Colonial History: William Penn’s Treaty with the Indians,” *Art Bulletin* 64 (1982): 60; *PWP*, 2:128–29.

4. This chapter's approach is partly drawn from Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). This approach is also similar to other recent scholarship reflecting the influence of the new cultural history, itself influenced by cultural studies and its linguistic and semiotically inflected approach to resistance, ceremonies, memory, and visual artifacts. See Hoxie et al., eds., *Native Americans and the Early Republic*; Colin G. Calloway, "Introduction: Surviving the Dark Ages," in Calloway, ed., *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1997), 1–28; and Jean M. O'Brien, "'Divorced' from the Land: Resistance and Survival of Indian Women in Eighteenth-Century New England," *ibid.*, 144–61.

5. Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 35–37, 61–62, 106–7; Hannah Benner Roach, "The Planting of Philadelphia: A Seventeenth Century Real Estate Development," *PMHB* 92 (1968): 3–47; T. J. C. Brasser, "The Costal Algonkians: People of the First Frontiers," in Eleanor Burke Leacock and Nancy Oestreich Lurie, eds., *North American Indians in Historical Perspective* (New York: Random House, 1971), 66–78.

6. Ives Goddard, "The Delaware Jargon," in Carol E. Hoffecker et al., eds., *New Sweden in America* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), 137–39.

7. Robert Juet, *Juet's Journal: The Voyage of the Half Moon from 4 April to 7 November 1609*, ed. Robert M. Lunney (Newark, N.J.: n.p., 1959), 28; David Pietersz De Vries, "From the 'Korte Historiae Ende Journaels Aenteyckeninge,'" *NEP*, 7–8; Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware: Their History and Relation to the Indians, Dutch and English: 1638–1664*, 2 vols. (New York: Appleton, 1911), 170–71.

8. Thomas Campanius Holm, *Description of the Province of New Sweden*, trans. Peter S. Du Ponceau (Philadelphia, 1834), 144; Goddard, "Delaware Jargon," 142–44.

9. De Vries, "Korte Historiae," *NEP*, 7–49; Amandus Johnson, trans., *The Instruction for Johan Printz, Governor of New Sweden* (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Society, 1930), 231, 273–75; Gunlög Fur, "Cultural Confrontation of Two Fronts: Swedish-Lenape and Swedish-Saamis Relations in the Seventeenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1993), 46; "Affidavit of Four Men from the Key of Calmar" *NEP*, 87–88. On use rights, see Peter Thomas, "In the Maelstrom of Change, The Indian Trade and Cultural Process in the Middle Connecticut River Valley: 1635–1665" (Ph.D. diss., University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1979), 133–44.

10. Francis Jennings, "Glory, Death, and Transfiguration: The Susquehannock Indians in the Seventeenth Century," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 112 (1968): 17–20. See also Thomas, "In the Maelstrom of Change," 285–329.

11. Johnson, *New Sweden*, 408; Johnson, ed., *Instruction for Printz*, 272.

12. Johnson, ed., *Instruction for Printz*, 273.

13. Johnson, *New Sweden*, 375–76; Johnson, ed., *Instruction for Printz*, 78–80; Stellan Dahlgren and Hans Norman, *The Rise and Fall of New Sweden: Governor Johan Risingh's Journal 1654–1655 in Its Historical Context* (Stockholm: Uppsala University, 1988), 66–67.

14. Johnson, *New Sweden*, 436–37.

15. Regula Trenkwalder Schonenberger, *Lenape Women, Matriliney, and the Colonial Encounter, Resistance, and Erosion of Power (c. 1600–1876): An Excursus in Feminist Anthropology* (Bern: P. Lang, 1991), 161–68, 172–73; Barry C. Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians* (Harrisburg: PHMC, 1984), 34–35; Jennings, "Glory, Death, and Transfiguration," 15–53; Marshall Becker, "Lenape Population at the Time of European Contact: Estimating Native Numbers in the

Lower Delaware Valley,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133 (1989): 112–19; Dahlgren and Norman, *Rise and Fall*, 207; Goddard, “Delaware Jargon,” 213–39; Anthony F. C. Wallace, “Women, Land, and Society: Three Aspects of Aboriginal Delaware Life,” *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, no. 17 (1947): 1–35; Robert Steven Grumet, “Sunksquaws, Shamans, and Tradeswomen,” in Mona Etienne and Elenor Leacock, eds., *Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Praeger, 1980), 43–62; C. A. Weslager, *Delaware Indians: A History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 63; Holm, *Description of New Sweden*, 145–46.

16. Schonenberger, *Lenape Women*, 154–83; Thomas Young, “The Relation of Thomas Young,” *NEP*, 43; Wallace, “Women, Land, and Society,” 13; Kathleen M. Brown, “The Anglo-Algonquian Gender Frontier,” in Nancy Shoemaker, ed., *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 27–31.

17. Dahlgren and Norman, *Rise and Fall*, 175.

18. Peter Lindeström, *Geographia Americae with an Account of the Delaware Indians*, ed. and trans. Amandus Johnson (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Society, 1925), 126–29, 175, 177, 179 (quotation p. 129).

19. *Ibid.*, 128–31.

20. *NEP*, 112n; Johnson, *New Sweden*, 30–35.

21. Hans Norman, “The New Sweden Colony and the Continued Existence of Swedish and Finnish Ethnicity,” in Hoffecker et al., eds., *New Sweden in America*, 189–90; William Whitehead et al., eds., *Documents Relating to the Colonial, Revolutionary, and Post-Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey* (publisher varies, 1880–1945), 1st ser., 1:72–73; Victor Hugo Paltsits, ed., *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York: Administration of Francis Lovelace, 1668–1673* (Albany: State of New York, 1910), 2:5, 502; Jennings “Glory, Death, and Transfiguration,” 30.

22. Norman, “New Sweden Colony,” 189–90; Leiby, *Dutch and Swedish Settlements*, 91.

23. For biographical information and activities of Peter Rambo, Peter Cock, Lars Cock, Israel Helme, and Henry Jacob Falkinburg, see Johnson, *New Sweden*, 462–63; Smith, *History of West New Jersey*, 94; Whitehead et al., eds., *Documents Relating to New Jersey*, 1st ser., 1:114–15, 182–83, 21:399, 403, 412, 431, 513, 649, 671, 684, 23:221–22; Charles T. Gehring, ed., *New York Colonial Manuscripts: Dutch*, vols. 20–21, *Delaware Papers (English Period): A Collection of Documents Pertaining to the Regulation of Affairs on the Delaware, 1664–1682*, New York Historical Manuscript Series (Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1977), 273; Frank H. Stewart, *Indians of Southern New Jersey* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1973), 60; Goddard, “Delaware Jargon,” 144–45; PWP, 2:264, 268; Smith, *History of New Jersey*, 94; John Frederick Lewis, Jr., *The History of an Old Philadelphia Land Title: 208 South Fourth Street* (Philadelphia: Patterson and White, 1934), 42, 45.

24. Paltsits, ed., *Minutes of Executive Council of New York*, 2:501–2; Jennings, “Glory, Death, and Transfiguration,” 30, 39–42; Whitehead, ed., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey*, 182–83.

25. Francis Jennings, “Miquon’s Passing: Indian-European Relations in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1674 to 1755” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1965), 54; Dahlgren and Norman, *Rise and Fall*, 121.

26. Barry Levy, “From ‘Dark Corners’ to American Domesticity: The British Social Context of the Welsh and Cheshire Quakers’ Familial Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1657–1685,” in Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, eds., *The World of William Penn* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 215–39; Bartlett Burleigh James and J. Franklin Jameson, eds., *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679–1680* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1913), 156; P. Richard Metcalf, “Who Should Rule at Home? Native American Politics and Indian-White

Relations,” *JAH* 61 (1974): 651–65; Erik Johnson, “Some by Flatterings Others by Threatenings” (Ph.D. diss., University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1993), 43, 69–73, 78–85, 189–96.

27. Hugh Barbour and Arthur O. Roberts, eds., *Early Quaker Writings: 1650–1670* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1973), 425–26 (quotation from p. 495); C. A. Weslager, *The English on the Delaware: 1610–1682* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1967), 231–32; Samuel Smith, *The History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New-Jersey* (Burlington, N.J., 1765), 92–105; Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania & New Jersey* ([Philadelphia], 1685); Stewart, *Indians of Southern New Jersey*, 60–61.

28. Budd, *Good Order Established*, 32–33.

29. James and Jameson, eds., *Journal of Danckaerts*, 139, 149, 159.

30. Gabriel Thomas, “An Historical and Geographical Account of Pensilvania and of West-New-Jersey 1698,” *NEP*, 342–43; James and Jameson, eds., *Journal of Danckaerts*, 159–60.

31. *The True Account of the Dying Words of Ockanikon* (London, 1682), reprinted in *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* 9 (1909): 164–66.

32. Budd, *Good Order Established*, 29–32; Gehring, ed., *Delaware Papers*, 75, 79, 273; Frank H. Stewart, *Notes on Old Gloucester County, New Jersey* ([Camden]: New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania, 1917), 262–63; *PWP*, 2:263, 264.

33. *Dying Words of Ockanikon*, 166.

34. Budd, *Good Order Established*, 32.

35. William Penn, “To the Kings of the Indians,” 18 Aug. 1681, *PWP*, 2:128–29; Penn, “Additional Instructions to William Markham,” 28 Oct. 1681, *ibid.*, 129; “Penn to The Committee of Trade,” 14 Aug. 1683, *ibid.*, 435.

36. [Edward Byllynge], “Present State of West-Jersey,” *NEP*, 191–92; William Penn, “Some Account of Pennsylvania,” *NEP*, 202–6; Dahlgren, “The Crown of Sweden and the New Sweden Company,” in Hoffecker et al., eds., *New Sweden in America*, 54–55; Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (New York: Scribner’s, 1965), 22–52; Charles Wilson, *England’s Apprenticeship, 1603–1763* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1965), 226–39; David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 3–4, 146–49, 168–69.

37. Penn, “Letter to the Free Society of Traders,” *NEP*, 230.

38. Endy, *William Penn and Early Quakerism*, 324 (quotation); Beatty, *William Penn*, 268–69; Anthony F. C. Wallace, “New Religious Beliefs Among the Delaware Indians, 1600–1900,” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 12 (1956): 1–21.

39. *PA*, 4th ser., 1:21–22.

40. Pennsylvania deeds, *PWP*, 2:261–69 (quotations); James and Jameson, eds., *Journal of Danckaerts*, 156; Weslager, *Delaware Indians*, 162.

41. Penn, “A Further Account of Pennsylvania,” *NEP*, 260; Carl Bridenbaugh, “The Old and New Societies of the Delaware Valley in the Seventeenth Century,” *PMHB* 100 (1976): 162–63; “Letter of Thomas Paschall,” *NEP*, 254.

42. Nicholas More to Penn, 1 Dec. 1684, *PWP*, 2:608; *PA*, 1st ser., 1:66.

43. William Penn to Thomas Holme, 8 June 1685, in Weslager, *Delaware Indians*, 169; *PA*, 1st ser., 1:62.

44. Penn, “Further Account,” 276.

45. “A Humble Remonstrance & Address of several, the Adventurers, Free holders & Inhabitants and others therein concerned” in Roach, “The Planting of Philadelphia,” *PMHB* 92 (1968): 187.

46. *PWP*, 3:106–7, 112–13; *MPCP*, 1:162, 181–82, 187–88; Robert Proud, *History of Pennsylvania*, 337–38, notes rumors of a similar incident in 1688 that was resolved without bloodshed by a conference.

47. Penn, *Some Proposals for a Second Settlement* (London, 1690), quoted in Jennings, “Miquon’s Passing,” 89; Weslager, *Delaware Indians*, 169–70.

48. *PA*, 1st ser., 1:88, 91–92, 92–93, 95, 116–17, quotation from pp. 116–17 (*italics added*).

49. “Letter of Paschall,” 250–54; Penn, “Further Account,” 276.

50. Francis Daniel Pastorius, “Circumstantial Geographical Description of Pennsylvania . . . 1700,” *NEP*, 409–10; “Letter of Paschall,” 250–54; William Markham to William Penn, 22 Aug. 1686, *PWP*, 3:107; Esposito, “Indian-White Relations,” 234–35; Marshall Joseph Becker, “Hannah Freeman: An Eighteenth-Century Lenape Living and Working Among Colonial Farmers,” *PMHB* 114 (1990): 249–69; William Markham to Penn, 25 June 1696, *PWP*, 3:451, 453; Marshall Joseph Becker, “Lenape Population at the Time of Contact: Estimating Native Numbers in the Lower Delaware Valley,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133 (1989): 112–22; “John Ladd’s Account with Jeremy the Indian” in Stewart, *Indians of Southern Jersey*, 16–18; Smith, *History of New Jersey*, 95–96.

51. See Henry J. Cadbury, “Caleb Pusey’s Account of Pennsylvania,” *Quaker History* 64 (spring 1975): 49, for a memoir by a man acquainted with Penn who mentions an early meeting with Lenape leaders.

52. *PWP*, 4:51.

53. *PA*, 1st ser., 1:364, 370–71, 392, 393, 413.

54. *Ibid.*, 431, 442–45, 467–68.

Chapter 3

1. Peter Lindeström, *Geographia Americae with an Account of the Delaware Indians, Based on Surveys and Notes Made in 1654–1656*, trans. Amandus Johnson (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Historical Society, 1925), 207–9.

2. On Quaker dreams, see Carla Gerona, “Stairways to Heaven: A Cultural Study of Early American Quaker Dreams” (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1998); Gerona, “Mapping Ann Moore’s Secrets: Dream Production in Late-Eighteenth-Century Quaker Culture,” *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 16 (fall 2000): 43–70; and Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). For a Quaker perspective, see Howard Brinton, “Dreams of Quaker Journalists,” in Brinton, ed., *Byways in Quaker History: A Collection of Historical Essays by Colleagues and Friends of William I. Hull* (Wallingford, Pa: Pendle Hill, 1944), 230. On Quaker spirituality in general, see J. William Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1973), and Howard H. Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years: The History and Beliefs of the Society of Friends Since George Fox Started the Quaker Movement* (Wallingford, Pa: Pendle Hill, 1994).

3. On dreams in Iroquois society, see esp. Anthony Wallace, “Dreams and the Wishes of the Soul: A Type of Psychoanalytic Theory Among the Seventeenth Century Iroquois,” *American Anthropologist* 60 (1958): 234–48. For a comparative discussion of dreams among Indians and Europeans, see Natalie Zemon Davis, “Iroquois Women, European Women,” in Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker, eds., *Women, “Race,” and Writing: In the Early Modern Period* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 243–58.

4. On Indian and Quaker relations, see Rayner W. Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians, 1655–1917* (Philadelphia: Associated Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 1917); and Diane Brodatz Rothenberg, “Friends Like These: An Ethnohistorical Analysis of the Interaction between Allegany Senecas and Quakers, 1798–1823” (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1976). On Indian and Euro-American relations in Pennsylvania, see James Merrell, *Into the*

American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999). On Quaker pacifism, see Peter Brock, *Pioneers of the Peaceable Kingdom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

5. See, e.g., Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Mechal Sobel, *Teach Me Dreams: The Search for Self in the Revolutionary Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Sobel, "The Revolution in Selves: Black and White Inner Aliens," in Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Fredrika J. Teute, eds., *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 163–205; and Morton Kelsey, *God, Dreams, and Revelation: A Christian Interpretation of Dreams* (1968; Minneapolis: Augsburg-Fortress, 1991).

6. See Calvin Martin, "The Metaphysics of Writing Indian-White History," in Martin, ed., *The American Indian and the Problem of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). Other overviews of Native American historiography include James Merrell, "Some Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians," *WMQ* 46 (1989): 94–119; and Daniel K. Richter, "Whose Indian History?" *WMQ* 50 (1993): 379–93. Some of the most important recent work on America in the European consciousness includes Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Harper, 1984); Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); and Stephen Greenblatt, *Marginal Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). A useful collection of essays is Karen Ordahl Kupperman's *America in European Consciousness, 1493–1750* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995). A good collection of articles that focuses on cultural exchanges is Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika Teute, eds., *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

7. See Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist* 58 (1956): 264–81; and Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972).

8. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 330, xi; Jane Merritt, "Dreaming of the Savior's Blood: Moravians and the Indian Great Awakening in Pennsylvania," *WMQ* 54 (Oct. 1997): 723–46. See also Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Ruth Benedict, "The Vision in Plains Culture," *American Anthropologist* 24 (1992): 1–23; Lee Irwin, *The Dream-Seekers: Native American Visionary Traditions of the Great Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994); Barbara Tedlock, *Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); and Hugh Brody, *Maps and Dreams* (New York: Pantheon, 1982).

9. I have uncovered about four hundred mentions of dreams and visions in Quaker journals, commonplace books, letters, and other texts from the late seventeen hundreds to the early nineteen hundreds. More than half of these are detailed narratives of visionary dreams, but only about twenty concern Native Americans. In describing dreams or visions this chapter follows the language of the sources. If a source describes a "dream," I call it a dream. If a source describes a "vision," I call it a vision.

10. In addition to Mechal Sobel's and my own work, see Ann Kirschner, "'Tending to Edify and Instruct': Published Narratives of Spiritual Dreams in the Early Republic," *Early American Studies* 1, no. 1 (spring 2003): 198–229. For other studies of dreams in early American culture, see Merle Curti, "The American Exploration of Dreams and Dreamers," *Journal*

of the History of Ideas 27 (1966): 391–416; David D. Hall, *World of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Beliefs in Early New England* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 213–38; Jesse Lemisch, “Listening to the ‘Inarticulate’: William Widger’s Dream and the Loyalties of American Revolutionary Seamen in British Prisons,” *Journal of Social History* 3 (1969–70): 1–29; Christine Heyrman, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997); Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), esp. 184, 186, 222–23, and 238–39. For recent overviews of religion in early America that stress its multifaceted nature, see Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*; and Charles L. Cohen, “The Post-Puritan Paradigm of Early American Religious History,” *WMQ* 54 (1997): 695–722.

11. George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. Norman Penney, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 2:251. The vision is also in William S. Simmons, *Spirit of the New England Tribes: Indian History and Folklore, 1629–1984* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1986), 68. On George Fox and Indians, see Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians*, 19–23. A good secondary account of Fox’s voyage is H. Larry Ingle, *First Among Friends: George Fox and the Creation of Quakerism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 231–42. First encounter dreams and prophecies can be found in Ella Elizabeth Clark, *Indian Legends of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960), 151–52; James Axtell, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 129–34; Simmons, *Spirit of the New England Tribes*, 66–67, 71–72; Todorov, *Conquest of America*, 63–97; George Henry Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Indians in North America*, trans. George Ignatius La Trobe (London, 1794), 123–24; and James P. Ronda, “Generations of Faith: The Christian Indians of Martha’s Vineyard,” *WMQ* 38 (1980): 369–70.

12. Roger Williams provides an interesting comparison. Although he details the Indian practice of visionary dreaming, he does so in a factual and descriptive (even ethnographic) manner that does not accord divine “truth” to dreams (*A Key into the Language of America* [London, 1643], 19–20). A more typical view is that of the Rev. Joseph Fish, who thought that Indians who paid attention to visions were simply misguided. See William S. Simmons and Cheryl L. Simmons, eds., *Old Light on Separate Ways: The Narragansett Diary of Joseph Fish, 1765–1776* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1982), 93–94.

13. For the view that Indians were poor, see [John Burnyeat], *The Truth Exalted in the Writings of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Christ John Burnyeat Collected Into this Ensuing Volume as a Memorial to his Faithful Labours in and for the Truth* (London, 1691), 45. On Delaware Indians, see C. A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians: A History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1972), and Paul A. W. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: PHMC, 1964).

14. Fox, *Journal*, 2:250–51. [Burnyeat], *Truth Exalted*, 49. For George Bishop’s account, see Bishop, *New England Judged by the Spirit of the Lord* (1703; Philadelphia: T. W. Stuckey, 1885), 36–38.

15. Thomas Thompson Jr., A Vision, 28 Nov. 1702, Manuscripts, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.

16. Usually attributed to Samuel Clarke, one commonplace book identified it as N. Davis’s dream, “A Friend in New England.” See [Samuel Clarke], *Strange and Remarkable Swanzeey Vision* (Salem, Mass., 1776), 5. The manuscript version attributed to N. Davis is “A Dream or Vision of a Friend in New England the 21st Day of the 11th Month 1734,” in Milcah Martha Moore, Notebook of Milcah Martha Moore, QCHC.

17. For an example of how Puritans believed Indian wars represented God’s judgment, see Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the Warr with the Indians*, in Richard Slotkin and

James K. Folsom, eds., *So Dreadfull a Judgement: Puritan Responses to King Philip's War, 1676–1677* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1978), and Mary Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, ed. Neal Salisbury (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997).

18. The best study of Quakers in Massachusetts is Carla Gardina Pestana, *Quakers and Baptists in Colonial Massachusetts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). For an account of the historiographical tradition following the Quaker executions, see Pestana, "The Quaker Executions as Myth and History," *JAH* 80 (1993): 441–69.

19. William Penn, "To the King of the Indians," in Jean Soderlund, ed., *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: HSP, 1983), 86–88. See also chapter 2, above.

20. [Thomas Chalkley], *Journal* (Philadelphia, 1749), 49–50. On Conestoga during this period, see Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 83, 106–27.

21. Wallace, "Dreams and Wishes of the Soul," 235.

22. [Chalkley], *Journal*, 49–50.

23. *Ibid.*, 50. A good account of this period is Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from Its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 223–367. Also see Sydney V. James, *A People Among Peoples: Quaker Benevolence in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 89.

24. On Weiser, see Joseph S. Walton, *Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York: Arno Press, 1971); and Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945); Conrad Weiser to Christopher Sau[e]r, Dec. 1746, *PMHB* 1 (1877): 319; Conrad Weiser, Memorandum, 1:33, Conrad Weiser Papers, HSP.

25. For an account of this dream, see Walton, *Conrad Weiser and Indian Policy*, 385; and Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 151–52.

26. In New York, for example, William Johnson supposedly exchanged a scarlet uniform for five hundred acres of Mohawk Chief Hendrick's land based on their dream exchanges. See Samuel G. Drake, *The Book of the Indians of North America* (Boston, 1833), 24–25. Richard Peters, a Penn family secretary, said that if an Indian dreamed of some impending disaster and requested rum as a preventative, the request should be met (Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 271).

27. For the reformation of Quaker religion during the Seven Years' War, see Jack Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748–1783* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), esp. 150–86.

28. Ann Whitall, Diary, 16 Mar. 1760, QCHC.

29. Substance of conferences between several Quakers in Philadelphia and the heads of the six Indian Nations, QCHC. For an account of the Seven Years' War as it affected the Quakers and Indians, see Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crown, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988); and Theodore Thayer, *Israel Pemberton: King of the Quakers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943). On the Friendly Association, see Theodore Thayer, "The Friendly Association," *PMHB* 67 (1943): 356–76.

30. John Churchman, *An Account of the Gospel Labours and Christian Experiences of a Faithful Minister of Christ John Churchman, Late of Nottingham in Pennsylvania, Deceased* (Philadelphia, 1779), 185–86.

31. Churchman, *Account*, 183–84. For discussions of treaties, see Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 225–30; and Jennings, *Empire of Fortune*, 341–48. On Teedyuscung, see Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949).

32. Churchman, *Account*, 186.
33. Ibid.
34. Phillips P. Moulton, ed., *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman* (Richmond, Ind.: Friends United Press, 1989), 297–98, 124–37.
35. John W. Jordan, ed., “Journal of James Kenny, 1761–63,” *PMHB* 37 (1913): 1–47, 152–201, esp. pp. 163, 169, 184; James Kenny, “Journal to the Westward, 1758–59,” ed. Jordan, *ibid.*, 395–449.
36. Kenny, “Journal to the Westward,” 434; Kenny, “Journal,” 153.
37. Kenny, “Journal,” 176–77.
38. On Neolin, see White, *Middle Ground*, 283; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 128–29; Charles Hunter, “The Delaware Nativist Revival of the Mid-Eighteenth Century,” *Ethnohistory* 18 (1971): 39–49; and Kenny, “Journal,” 176.
39. Kenny, “Journal,” 184. See also Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 1.
40. Kenny, “Journal,” 191, 40, 191–92.
41. Ibid., 193.

Chapter 4

1. Gunlög Fur, “‘Some Women Are Wiser Than Some Men’: Gender and Native American History,” in Nancy Shoemaker, ed., *Clearing a Path: Theorizing the Past in Native American Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 84–85.
2. Granville John Penn presented the belt to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1857, where it remained until the HSP transferred its artifacts to Philadelphia’s Atwater Kent Museum in 2001 (Nicholas B. Wainwright, *One Hundred Years of Collecting by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1824–1974* [Philadelphia: HSP, 1974], 6).
3. In 1711, Isabelle Montour and her kin produced six hundred wampum belts in New York. Vetch Account, Aug. 1711, Peter Van Brugh and Hendrick Hansen, Account Book for the Vetch Expedition Against Canada, Aug. 1711, New-York Historical Society, New York.
4. Here I follow the method of reconstructing women’s work found in Helen C. Rountree, “Powhatan Indian Women: The People Captain John Smith Barely Saw,” *Ethnohistory* 45 (1998): 17–18. See also Barbara A. Mann, “The Fire at Onondaga: Wampum as Proto-Writing,” *Akwesasne Notes*, n.s. 1, no. 1 (1995): 40–48. For an archaeologist’s imaginative use of evidence to reconstruct Native women’s work, see Janet D. Spector, *What This Awl Means: Feminist Archaeology at a Wahpeton Dakota Village* (St. Paul: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).
5. For the recent evolution of historians’ conceptions about the Anglo-American frontier, see James H. Merrell, “Indians and Colonists in Early America,” in Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Strangers Within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 125; and Kathleen M. Brown, “Brave New Worlds: Women’s and Gender History,” *WMQ* 50 (1993): 317–21. I have expanded Brown’s notion of a gender frontier to include social and personal interaction in general.
6. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich describes patterns of work and social interaction, primarily among Euro-American women, in *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650–1750* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982); and *A Midwife’s Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990).
7. Historians of the gender frontier have dealt with intermarriage. See Jennifer S. H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980); Jacqueline Peterson, “Métis Society and Culture in

the Great Lakes Region” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1981); Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown, *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985); Lucy Eversvald Murphy, “To Live Among Us: Accommodation, Gender, and Conflict in the Great Lakes Region, 1769–1832,” in Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika I. Teute, eds., *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 270–303; Susan Sleeper-Smith, “Women, Kin, and Catholicism: New Perspectives on the Fur Trade,” *Ethnohistory* 47 (2000): 423–52.

8. Nancy Shoemaker, “Categories,” in Shoemaker, ed., *Clearing a Path*, 55–57.

9. Joan Kelly, “Did Women Have a Renaissance?” in Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, eds., *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1977); Joan Hoff-Wilson, “The Illusion of Change: Women and the American Revolution,” in Alfred F. Young, ed., *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976); Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

10. Rountree, “Powhatan Indian Women,” 2.

11. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich provides a model for such imaginative use of interdisciplinary tools. She writes of a seventeenth-century Algonkian basket and the story behind its acquisition by an English family: “Interpreting such an object requires both imagination and skepticism, imagination to see new possibilities in an old story, but skepticism about its placid surface.” *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001), 43–44.

12. John W. Jordan, ed., “Spangenberg’s Notes of Travel to Onondaga in 1745,” *PMHB* 2 (1878): 429; Journal of Martin Mack, 19 Sept. 1745, 28: 217: 12b, MAB.

13. I have told her story more fully in “The ‘Celebrated Madame Montour’: ‘Interpreter’ Across Early American Frontiers,” *Explorations in Early American Culture* 4 (2000): 81–112.

14. Jacqueline Peterson has traced the “ethnogenesis” of the *métis* in the Great Lakes region of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The roots of the *Métis* nation of Canada lay there, but descendents of these early *métis* “became” entirely French or entirely Indian, especially those within the United States (“Prelude to Red River: A Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Métis,” *Ethnohistory* 25 [1978]: 47).

15. Besides her two documented marriages, Isabelle Montour was rumored to have had liaisons with two other French men and an Ottawa chief, Outoutagan or Jean Le Blanc. Her sisters married French traders and interpreters; one sister, Marguerite, may later have married a Miami. Their older brother married a Sokoki woman and, later, an Algonquin; the younger brother married an Abenaki. Michel Germaneau, Isabelle’s son by her first marriage, married the daughter of a French trader. Her son Andrew, whose father was probably Carandowana, married first a Lenape and then an Oneida woman. Catherine and Esther Montour, who were sometimes called Madame Montour’s granddaughters, married Lenape and Seneca chiefs, respectively. James P. LaLone, “Montour Family,” unpaginated typescript in author’s possession, 1989; Alison Duncan Hirsch, “Madame Montour,” 87–90, 93, 97, 101.

16. Cadwallader Colden, “Letters on Smith’s History of New York,” in *Collections of New York-Historical Society* 1 (1868): 200; Robert Hunter to Kilian van Rensselaer, 15 May 1712, Hunter MSS, New-York Historical Society, New York.

17. *NYCD*, 5:268, 273.

18. See James Hijiya, “Why the West Is Lost,” *WMQ* 51 (1994): 279n; and the response by Paul Boyer et al., *ibid.*, 721.

19. Nancy Hagedorn, "'A Friend to Go Between Them': Interpreters Among the Iroquois, 1664–1775" (Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 1995).
20. *PA*, 2d ser., 1:231; *MPCP*, 3:176, 200.
21. Evelyn A. Benson, "The Huguenot Letorts: First Christian Family on the Conestoga," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 65 (1961): 92–105; *MPCP*, 1:396–97; Penn Letters and Ancient Documents, 1:248; American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.; Simone Vincens, "French Pioneers in Lancaster County," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 85 (1981): 152–57; *PWP*, 4:154–57.
22. Joseph H. Coates, ed., "Journal of Isaac Zane to Wyoming, 1758," *PMHB* 30 (1906): 419; Jordan, ed., "Spangenberg's Notes," 424; William C. Reichel, ed., *Memorials of the Moravian Church* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1870), 1:133.
23. *MPCP*, 2:388.
24. John Richardson, *An Account of the Life of . . . John Richardson* (Philadelphia: Friends' Book Store, 1880), 132–40.
25. *MPCP*, 3:129.
26. Petition to the Governor and Council and Accounts of James Le Tort, October 1704, Logan Papers, 11:4, HSP; *PWP*, 4:49–53, 98–99.
27. "The Journal of Christian Frederick Post" [Oct. 1758–Jan. 1759], in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846* (Cleveland: A. H. Clark, 1904), 1:238.
28. Cadwallader Collection–George Croghan Section, box 2, 1768 Accounts, folder 1; box 3, 1773 Accounts, folder 1; Accounts, n.d., folder 11, HSP.
29. *MPCP*, 3:172, 200.
30. *Ibid.*, 116–17.
31. Mack, Journal, 19 Sept. 1745. The woman known in Pennsylvania as Marguerite Montour, or "French Margaret," was probably Marguerite Fafard, who appears in the church records of Detroit and the province of Quebec. Her mother was Marguerite Couc Montour of Trois Rivières and St. Joseph, the older sister of Isabelle Couc Montour. No matter what their baptismal names, both male and female relatives in this widespread family adopted the name "Montour," which was well known in the world of Native-Euro-American trade (Hirsch, "Madame Montour," 92, 97).
32. For instance, Charles Hanna's lengthy list of "Pennsylvania Indian Traders" is an all-male one. He includes both Jacques and James Le Tort but does not mention Anne Le Tort, who actually ran the family's trading post much of the time. Another list transcribed by Hanna is a census of the civilian inhabitants of Fort Pitt in the 1760s, which includes the names of many women. "Nearly all the male inhabitants of Pittsburgh were Indian Traders," he writes, but he says nothing about the work women there were doing. *The Wilderness Trail* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), 2:326–43, 360–61.
33. James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999); Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Michael N. McConnell, *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724–1774* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).
34. Merrell, "Indians and Colonists," 137–38.
35. John Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States* (1881; repr., New York, 1971), 157.
36. *Ibid.*, 158; Petition and Accounts of Le Tort, HSP.
37. Benson, "Huguenot Letorts," 92–105; *MPCP*, 1:396–97; Penn Letters and Ancient Documents, 1:248; Vincens, "French Pioneers," 152–57; *PWP*, 4:154–57.

38. Cadwallader Collection—George Croghan Section, box 2, 1768 Accounts, folder 1; box 3, 1773 Accounts, folder 1; Accounts n.d., folder 11, HSP.

39. Peter Wraxall, *An Abridgment of the Indian Affairs Contained in Four Folio Volumes, Transacted in the Colony of New York, from the Year 1678 to the Year 1751*, ed. Charles H. McIlwain (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), 144.

40. Albany Indian Commissioners' Minutes, 19 June 1725, reel 1220, vol. 1, f. 137a, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa. Jean Montour was Isabelle's and Marguerite's younger brother, Jean-Baptiste Couc. Jean-Baptiste Fafard, known as Maconce, was Marguerite's son, and Joseph Montour was her nephew, the son of her older brother.

41. For the difficulties of travel across Pennsylvania, see Paul A. W. Wallace, *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: PHMC, 1987), 2–3 and passim; and Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 128–56.

42. Journal of Thomas Chalkley, quoted in Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 1:78. The name “Canatowa” is in *MPCP*, 2:73.

43. Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 138; Journal of Martin Mack; “A Missionary's Tour to Shamokin and the West Branch of the Susquehanna, 1753,” *PMHB* 39 (1915): 442.

44. Le Tort Account; *PWP*, 4:51.

45. Weynepeeweyta was “Cousin to Savannah,” the Shawnee chief (*MPCP*, 3:148). Her testimony at the Provincial Council hearing of the case (*MPCP*, 3:149–50) seems to be the longest recorded speech by a Native woman from Pennsylvania during this early period. A brief account of the case from her perspective is in Alison Duncan Hirsch, “Women and the Fur Trade in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania,” in Louise Johnston, ed., *Aboriginal People and the Fur Trade: Proceedings of the Eighth North American Fur Trade Conference*, Akwesasne (Cornwall, Ontario, and Roosevelttown, N.Y.: Mohawk Council of Akwesasne and Mohawk Nation Council of Chiefs, 2001), 204.

46. For more on the Moravians and hospitality, see chapter 5, below.

47. *PWP*, 4:98–99; Alison Duncan Hirsch, “Instructions from a Woman: Hannah Penn and the Pennsylvania Proprietorship” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1991), 185–86.

48. Hannah Penn to James Logan, 12 Mar. 1719, Penn Family to James Logan, Penn Papers, HSP, 1:76.

49. Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, 1696–1760, Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), 80, 139–40, 188, 196, 219; Journal of Martin Mack, 15, 17, 23 Oct. 1745.

50. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 1:304.

51. *PWP*, 4:597, 605.

52. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 305.

53. *PA*, 1:254–55. James Le Tort translated and Edmund Cartlidge transcribed the message about the incident, sent by Lenape leaders to the governor. Eight years after his trial and conviction, Cartlidge was just as active in the trade as ever. It is tempting to imagine that the Shawnee woman here was Weynepeeweytah, reprising her role in this archetypal frontier drama. But, unlike that of the Cartlidge brothers, her name never reappears in the record.

54. *MPCP*, 3:39.

55. *Ibid.*, 383.

56. *Ibid.*, 6:149. Peter Mancall writes, “Indian women often played a pivotal role in this Indian rum trade.” He gives other examples of both European and Native men blaming Indian women for the trade. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 60.

57. *MPCP*, 3:426.

58. Journal of Martin Mack, 16, 21, 23 Oct. 1745.

59. Ann Firor Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

60. Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 145–59.

61. Gary B. Nash, “The Hidden History of Mestizo America,” *JAH* 82 (1995): 941–64. For Pennsylvania’s historical marker program, the first established in the nation, see George R. Beyer, *Guide to the State Historical Markers of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: PHMC, 2000) and <http://www.phmc.state.pa.us>, which includes a searchable guide to the markers. Hannah Freeman’s marker is in Beyer, *Guide*, 105. Marshall Becker has written about her in “Hannah Freeman: An Eighteenth-Century Lenape Living and Working Among Colonial Farmers,” *PMHB* 114 (1990): 249–69. The Montour women are in Beyer, *Guide*, 70, 73, 239, 246, 274, although the markers omit Esther’s last name.

62. Beyer, *Guide*, 107, 137, 188, 215, 218, 261. The Moravian women named were Ester Brodhead, Catharine Hillman, Helen Haines, Rebecca Jones, Mary Clark, Catherine Holly, Hannah McMichael, and Mary Solathe.

63. Beyer, *Guide*, 59, 73, 113, 115, 118, 176, 177, 202, 224, 225, 246, 279, 280, 282, 283, 331, 346, 385. For Benigna Zinzendorf, see Katherine M. Faull, *Moravian Women’s Memoirs: Their Related Lives, 1750–1820* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1997).

64. Beyer, *Guide*, 94, 225, 226, 240, 244, 246, 329, 337, 354, 387.

Chapter 5

1. Martin Mack, Diary of a journey to New England (German and English), 17 and 18 Feb. 1743, items 1 and 3, folder 3, box 111 (hereafter written as 1 and 3: 3: 111), *RMM*, reel 1. All mission diaries listed below come from the *RMM* microfilm collection. These records are nearly all in German. Unless otherwise noted, translations into English are my own. Jeannette Mack was also known as Anna and “Jannetje.” For variants of her name, see William C. Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1870), 1:34n, 53n; and Carl John Fliegel, comp., *Index to the Records of the Moravian Mission Among the Indians of North America* (New Haven, Conn.: Research Publications, 1970), 2:594.

2. Fliegel, *Index*, 2:594, 464, 703; Mack, Diary of a journey, 18 Feb. 1743 (quotations).

3. Catalogs of Indian converts, 1: 2, 3, and 5: 313, *RMM*, reel 33; Ted J. Brasser, *Riding on the Frontier’s Crest: Mahican Indian Culture and Culture Change* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974), 7; Ives Goddard, “Delaware,” *Handbook*, 213–16, 221; Franz Laurens Wojciechowski, *Ethnohistory of the Paugussett Tribes: An Exercise in Research Methodology* (Amsterdam: De Kiva, 1992), 14–16, 85–88.

4. John Ettwein and David Zeisberger, “Kurze Nachricht von den Missionen der Evangelischen-Brüder-Kirche unter den Heiden in North-America,” 1: 8: 313; John Heckewelder, *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren Among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians, from Its Commencement in the Year 1740, to the Close of the Year 1808 . . .* (Philadelphia: McCarty and Davis, 1820; repr. [New York]: Arno Press, 1971), 19–31; Joseph Mortimer Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741–1892 . . .* (Bethlehem, Pa.: Times Publishing, 1903), 394–404.

5. The story of the Moravian missions contributes significantly to the debates about Native American women’s responses to Christianity. Some scholars argue that Indian women primarily resisted or faced subjugation to an essentially patriarchal Christianity presented by missionaries: Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Karen Anderson,

Chain Her by One Foot: The Subjugation of Women in Seventeenth-Century New France (London: Routledge, 1991); Regula Trenkwalder Schönenberger, *Lenape Women, Matriliney and the Colonial Encounter: Resistance and Erosion of Power (c. 1600–1876): An Excursus in Feminist Anthropology* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1991). Like my own study, however, many works note the importance of Indian women adopting and adapting Christianity. Michael Harkin and Sergei Kan note that “in most cases there is clear evidence of [Indian] women adapting to the missionary message,” and they ask, “why were women in many cases the earliest and/or most enthusiastic converts?” (Harkin and Kan, “Introduction” to special issue on Native American Women’s Responses to Christianity, *Ethnohistory* 43 [1996]: 563–71 [quotation on 565]). For more on adaptive approaches to Christianity among Indian women, see Harkin, “Engendering Discipline: Discourse and Counterdiscourse in the Methodist-Heiltsuk Dialogue,” *ibid.*, 643–61; Kan, “Clan Mothers and Godmothers: Tlingit Women and Russian Orthodox Christianity, 1840–1940,” *ibid.*, 613–41; Nancy Shoemaker, “Kateri Tekakwitha’s Tortuous Path to Sainthood,” in Shoemaker, ed., *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 49–71; Jane T. Merritt, “Cultural Encounters Along a Gender Frontier: Mahican, Delaware, and German Women in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania,” *PH* 67 (2000): 502–31; and James P. Ronda, “Generations of Faith: The Christian Indians of Martha’s Vineyard,” *WMQ* 38 (1981): 369–94.

6. Catherine A. Brekus, *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740–1845* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 26 (quotation). See also Susan Juster’s discussion of eighteenth-century Baptist revivalists’ dilemma “of creating a sense of community among individuals who thought themselves beyond the bounds of conventional social categories” (*Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics and Evangelicalism in Revolutionary New England* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994], 79).

7. Katherine M. Faull, trans., *Moravian Women’s Memoirs: Their Related Lives, 1750–1820* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1997), xxviii (first and second quotations); Beverly Prior Smaby, “Female Piety Among Eighteenth-Century Moravians,” *PH* 64 (supplemental issue, 1997): 155–58 (third quotation on 155). On the choir system, see Beverly Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem: From Communal Mission to Family Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 10–11; and Jacob John Sessler, *Communal Pietism Among Early American Moravians* (New York: Henry Holt, 1933), 94–105.

8. David Zeisberger, “History of the Northern American Indians,” ed. Archer Butler Hulbert and William Nathaniel Schwarze, *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, vol. 19 (Columbus, 1910), 77; Samuel Hopkins, “Historical Memoirs Relating to the Housatonic Indians,” *Magazine of History with Notes and Queries* 5, no. 17 (1911): 63–64; “Letter from William Penn to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders, 1683,” *NEP*, 231; “Letter of Isaack de Rasieres to Samuel Blommaert, 1628 (?),” *NNN*, 107; M. R. Harrington, “A Preliminary Sketch of Lenape Culture,” *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 15 (1913): 215; Goddard, “Delaware,” *Handbook*, 219.

9. Zeisberger, “History,” 13 (first quotation), 16 (third quotation); John Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States* (Philadelphia: HSP, 1876), 156 (second quotation).

10. Heckewelder, *History*, 158, 116–17 (first and second quotations), 215 (third quotation), 245–46 (fourth and fifth quotations), 247 (sixth quotation); M. R. Harrington, “Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape,” *Indian Notes and Monographs*, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, no. 19 (n.p., n.d.), 63. For a more general discussion of such rituals, see Margaret Connell Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607–1783* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 15–17.

11. Indian Conference, Gnadenhütten, 31 Oct. 1747, 2: 1: 119, *RMM*, reel 6; Gnadenhütten diary, 17 May 1748, 1: 3: 116, *RMM*, reel 4.

12. Indian Conference, Gnadenhütten, 31 Oct. 1747; Gnadenhütten diary, 21 May 1747, 1: 1: 116 (first quotation); *ibid.*, 15 June 1747, 1: 1: 116 (second quotation); Friedenshütten diary, 17, 18 July 1767, 1: 4: 131, *RMM*, reel 7 (third quotation); *ibid.*, 18 July 1771, 1: 8: 131. On the range of foods eaten, see Fliegel, *Index*, 3: 1121. Women commonly prepared a corn-based food called *Agridges*: Friedenshütten diary, 18 Sept. 1770, 1: 7: 131; Fliegel, *Index*, 3: 1115; Friedenshütten diary, 21 Nov. 1770, 1: 7: 131. Making hemp bags was a very old practice; see the seventeenth-century account of David Pietersz de Vries, “From the ‘Korte Historiae Ende Journaels Aenteyckeninge,’” in *NNN*, 219. For another view of the changing agricultural roles of Native men and women in the eighteenth century, see Merritt, “Mahican, Delaware, and German Women,” 522–25.

13. Gnadenhütten diary, 7 Feb. 1749, 1: 5: 116 (first quotation); Fliegel, *Index*, 3: 943; 2: 464, 557–58; Gnadenhütten diary, 20 Dec. 1748, 1: 4: 116 (second quotation); *ibid.*, 6 July 1747, 1: 1: 116 (third quotation). For other examples of missionary women meeting in conversation with Indian women, see *ibid.*, 31 July, 1, 5 Aug., 1 Sept. 1747, 1: 2: 116; *ibid.*, 4 Jan. 1749, 1: 5: 116; Pachgatgoch diary, 11 Aug. 1752, 1: 7: 114, *RMM*, reel 3; Friedenshütten diary, 1, 8 Oct. 1769, 17 June 1770, 1: 6 and 7: 131. Merritt, “Mahican, Delaware, and German Women,” 517–18, 522, 529, also considers female relationships.

14. Shekomeko diary (English), 12 Mar. 1744, 2: 1: 112, *RMM*, reel 2 (first quotation, emphasis added); Pachgatgoch diary, 12 Nov. 1758, 9, 16 Feb. 1759, 10 June 1760, 1: 8 and 9: 115, *RMM*, reel 4; Wechquetank diary, 19 Mar. 1761, 1: 2: 124, *RMM*, reel 6; *ibid.*, 22 Mar. 1761, 1: 2: 124 (second quotation). On Grube’s health, see Fliegel, *Index*, 2: 521–22.

15. Wechquetank diary, 5 Mar. 1762, 1: 3: 124; *ibid.*, 6 Mar. 1762 (quotation); Catalog of Indian converts, 1: 4: 313.

16. Gnadenhütten diary, 12/1 Sept. 1747, 1: 2: 116 (first quotation); *ibid.*, 7 May 1747, 1: 1: 116 (second quotation); *ibid.*, 18 Aug. 1747, 1: 2: 116 (third quotation). On Esther’s later influences on Native women, see Friedenshütten diary, 12 Jan. 1766, 1: 2: 131. For additional examples of Native women holding spiritual conversations with other Native women, see Gnadenhütten diary, 8 Mar. 1750, 1: 7: 116; Friedenshütten diary, 23 Feb. 1767, 1: 4: 131.

17. Gnadenhütten diary, 5 Feb. 1747, 1: 1: 116.

18. Gnadenhütten diary, 20 Apr. 1754, 1: 1: 118, *RMM*, reel 5 (first long quotation); *ibid.*, 19 May 1754, 1: 1: 118 (second long quotation). See also *ibid.*, 6 April 1754, 1: 1: 118. On Moravian bands, see Sessler, *Communal Pietism*, 98.

19. Gnadenhütten diary, 21 June 1747, 1: 1: 116 (Sarah’s delivery); *ibid.*, 3 Feb. 1749, 1: 5: 116 (Beata’s delivery); *ibid.*, 8 Dec. 1747, 1: 2: 116 (Lydia’s delivery).

20. Pachgatgoch diary, 16 June 1753, 1: 8: 114 (first quotation); *ibid.*, 20 Mar. 1754, 1: 9: 114 (second quotation); Gnadenhütten diary, 7/18 Dec. 1750, 1: 1: 117, *RMM*, reel 5 (third quotation).

21. Salem diary, 28 Aug. 1781, 1: 1: 148, *RMM*, reel 10; Goshen diary (English), 18 Feb. 1801, 1: 8: 171, *RMM*, reel 19 (quotation); Schechschequanunk diary, 8 and 10 Aug. 1771, 1: 3: 133, *RMM*, reel 8; Memoir of Gottlob Sensemann, MAB; Zeisberger, “History,” 80.

22. Shekomeko diary, 12 Mar. 1744, 2: 1: 112; Fliegel, *Index*, 2: 594; Gnadenhütten diary, 19 Dec. 1753, 1: 4: 117; *ibid.*, 29, 30 May 1751, 1: 2: 117; Pachgatgoch diary, 1 Dec. 1755, 1: 3: 115; Heckewelder to Seidel, 21 Mar. 1781, 14: 3: 215.

23. Friedenshütten diary, 22 May 1768, 1: 5: 131 (first quotation); *ibid.*, 7 June 1767, 1: 4: 131 (second quotation); *ibid.*, 3 June 1770, 1: 7: 131; Gnadenhütten diary, 2 Jan., 10, 28 Feb. (third quotation), 29 Mar. 1747, 1: 1: 116; *ibid.*, 3 Aug. 1747, 1: 2: 116; Anthony F. C. Wallace, “Woman, Land, and Society: Three Aspects of Aboriginal Delaware Life,” *Pennsylvania Ar-*

chaeologist 17 (1947): 6–7; Brasser, *Riding*, 6–7; Gary Steven Kinkel, *Our Dear Mother, the Spirit: An Investigation of Count Zinzendorf's Theology and Praxis* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1990), 74, 10.

24. Nain diary, 29 Dec. 1758, 14: 1: 125, *RMM*, reel 7; Pachgatgoch diary, 13 Mar. 1763, 1: 12: 115; Gnadenhütten, Ohio, diary, 5 July 1773, 1: 1: 144, *RMM*, reel 9; Gnadenhütten diary, 9 Dec. 1747, 1: 2: 116. See also Merritt, “Mahican, Delaware, and German Women,” 518–19.

25. Gnadenhütten diary, 3 Mar. 1748, 1: 3: 116.

26. Gnadenhütten diary, 3 May, 26 July 1747, 1: 1 and 2: 116; Pachgatgoch diary, 28 Jan. 1753, 1: 7: 114; Shekomeko diary, 6 Mar. 1746, 1: 1: 111; Philadelphia Barracks diary, 25 May 1764, 1: 2: 127, *RMM* (quotation), reel 7; Gnadenhütten diary, 23 Jan. 1752, 1: 3: 117; Friedenshütten diary, 29 May, 26 Dec. 1768, 1: 5: 131; *ibid.*, 2 Feb. 1770, 1: 7: 131; Sessler, *Communal Pietism*, 101–2.

27. Gnadenhütten diary, 28 Apr. 1747, 1: 1: 116 (first quotation); Bethlehem diary, 25 Feb./8 Mar. 1746, microfilm copy, reel 2, MAB (second quotation); Smaby, *Transformation*, 146; Bethlehem diary, 27 Feb./10 Mar. 1746. On views of pregnancy during the colonial period, see Catherine M. Scholten, *Childbearing in American Society, 1650–1850* (New York: New York University Press, 1985), 16–21.

28. Memoir of Johann Georg Jungmann, MAB; Fliegel, *Index*, 2:557–58; Mabel Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania* (Nazareth, Pa.: Moravian Historical Society, 1953), 45; Faull, *Memoirs*, xxix.

29. Shekomeko diary, 13 Nov. 1743, 1: 1: 111; Gnadenhütten diary, 14 Jan. 1752, 1: 3: 117; Langundo Utenunk diary, 18 Nov. 1770, 1: 1: 137, *RMM*, reel 8; Fliegel, *Index*, 2: 464, 557–58.

30. Gnadenhütten diary, 18 Oct. 1751, 1: 2: 117.

31. For an overview of the work of these women, see Fliegel, *Index*, vol. 2; Carl John Fliegel's translation of catalog of Indians, 2 and 4: 3191, *RMM*, reel 34; and Merritt, “Mahican, Delaware, and German Women,” 531.

32. The Moravian emphasis on female leadership seemed radical in eighteenth-century America, raising hostility and suspicion against the church. As Smaby writes, male Moravian leaders after 1760 “had tired of the unending criticism of the Moravian Church and resolved to bring their religious practice into line with that of other Protestant churches.” By 1760, male leaders were ready to move closer to mainstream attitudes and practices. During the 1760s leaders prevented women from holding churchwide offices and strengthened male authority (Smaby, “Female Piety,” 160–61 [quotation on 160]).

33. Fliegel's catalog of Indians.

34. The linguistic ability of Jungmann was certainly an ongoing help in her relations with Indian women. Moravian records are probably not a good indicator of the range of the activities of Schmick and Jungmann in the post-1765 period. No doubt these women were even more involved than extant mission records suggest. We might know more about their activities had one of them been married to David Zeisberger, who dominated Moravian work among the Delawares and Mahicans in this time period and kept many, though not all, mission records. A bachelor until 1781, he did not have a spouse to inform him of women's activities and his writings do not provide rich accounts of the work of missionary women. Zeisberger often appears primarily interested in male activities, and he sometimes aroused opposition from Indian women. Goschgoschunk diary, 4, 6 July 1768, 1: 1: 135, *RMM*, reel 8; Merritt, “Mahican, Delaware, and German Women,” 531–32; Zeisberger to Seidel, 11 June 1781, 1: 5: 229, *RMM*, reel 32.

35. John Ettwein to Zeisberger and William Edward, 10 Mar. 1778, no. 1251, Ettwein Papers, MAB.

36. One of the most successful leaders was Esther who was instrumental in inspiring a

revival among the female population at Friedenshütten in 1765–66 when there was no Euro-American woman at the Susquehanna mission. Indian *Arbeiterinnen* reported that many Indian women requested baptism during this revival. Zeisberger acknowledged Esther's role in the conversions: "We have become aware of a new working again of the Savior among the women, especially among several, among whom one had not noticed anything before. They declared to Esther they wanted from now on to become totally the Savior's." Indians in the Ohio country later recognized Esther as an important figure. Wyalusing diary, 5 and 12 Jan. 1766, 1: 2: 131, *RMM*, reel 7; Zeisberger to Seidel, 20 Jan. 1766, 15: 2: 229. When she died in 1780, many Indians from the vicinity of the Ohio missions honored her by attending her funeral. Gnadenhütten, Ohio, diary, 21, 22 Aug. 1780, 1: 11:144. Other Indian leaders from the later period were Anna Caritas, Anna Salome, and Anna. Anna Caritas was a "Saaldienerin" and "Helferin" in the Ohio country. The renowned midwife Anna Salome was also a member of the Helpers Conference at Schönbrunn, as was Anna. Petquottink diary, 28 Mar. 1789, 1: 2: 155, *RMM*, reel 10; Schönbrunn diary, 3 Mar. 1774, 1: 5: 141; *ibid.*, 21 Sept. 1775, 1: 7: 141; *ibid.*, 8 Apr. 1776, 1: 7: 141; *ibid.*, 27 Apr. 1776, 1: 8: 141.

37. Goshen diary (English), 2 Feb. 1801, 1: 8: 171, *RMM*, reel 19.

Chapter 6

1. The evidence for Sawantaeny's death is found in *MPCP*, 3:148–56; and "An Indian Council held at Philadelphia, 21 March 1721/2," Society Miscellaneous Collections, Indians, 1682–1900, box 11C, folder 2, HSP. Pages 10–12 of the latter manuscript are labeled "Depositions of Jonathan Swindel and William Wilkins" and provide the fullest account of the incident. In the manuscript of the March 1722 council, Logan indicated that he thought the crime had been committed on 9 January. According to the date written at the top of p. 10, Swindel's and Wilkins's depositions were taken before Governor Sir William Keith on 22 March 1722. Less useful depositions given by witnesses George Rescarrick and Richard Satler, Jr., can be found in Indian Treaties, Du Simitière Collection, folder 2, LCP. Satler's deposition, given on 10 March 1722, dates Sawantaeny's death in the last week of February, which contradicts Logan's account and the depositions of Swindel and Wilkins. Sawantaeny's death has also been discussed in Francis Jennings, "Miquon's Passing: Indian-European Relations in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1674 to 1755" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1965), 198–206; Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 290–91; Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 123–24; and James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 115–21.

2. Although the recorded council minutes for these meetings describe Tanachaha as a representative of the "Five Nations" of the Iroquois, the appellation may be incorrect. Given that the Tuscaroras became the sixth member of the Iroquois League at some point during 1721 or 1722, it is difficult to fit the change from the Five to the Six Nations into the chronology of Sawantaeny's death and its aftermath told here. To avoid confusion, I have used the terms "Iroquois nations" or "Iroquois Confederacy" instead of either the Five or Six Nations.

3. For Merrell's use of this metaphor, see *Into the American Woods*, 116, 121.

4. This term is taken from Robert Cover, "The Folktales of Justice: Tales of Jurisdiction," in Martha Minow, Michael Ryan, and Austin Sarat, eds., *Narrative, Violence, and the Law: The Essays of Robert Cover* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 173–203.

5. For discussions of “jurisgenerative” and “jurispathic,” see Robert Cover, “Nomos and Narrative,” in Minow, Ryan, and Sarat, eds., *Narrative, Violence, and the Law*, 95–172, esp. 155–59.

6. I do not mean to suggest by this sentence that the Pennsylvanians’ position was monolithic nor that there was a single “Indian” stance toward Sawantaeny’s death. The distinctions among Pennsylvanians and Indians, respectively, will be treated along with the distinctions between various Pennsylvanians and Indians, below. For an account of early provincial-Indian relations that emphasizes William Penn’s role in constructing the myth of his own benevolence toward the Indians, see James Spady, “Friendly Meetings: The Art of Conquest and the Mythical Origins of Pennsylvania, ca. 1620–ca. 1730” (master’s thesis, College of William and Mary, 1996); and his essay in this volume.

7. The Sawantaeny case is discussed in Jennings, “Miquon’s Passing,” 198–206; and Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 115–21. For explorations of the comparative treatment of Europeans and Indians under colonial law, see Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 45, 49, 77–81, 132; Alden T. Vaughan, “Tests of Puritan Justice,” in Vaughan, *Roots of American Racism: Essays on the Colonial Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 200–211; Lyle Koehler, “Red-White Power Relations and Justice in the Courts of Seventeenth-Century New England,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 3 (1979): 1–31; Glenn W. LaFantasie, “Murder of an Indian, 1638,” *Rhode Island History* 38 (1979): 67–77; Yasuhide Kawashima, *Puritan Justice and the Indian: White Man’s Law in Massachusetts, 1630–1763* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1986); James P. Ronda, “Red and White at the Bench: Indians and the Law in Plymouth Colony, 1620–91,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 110 (1974): 200–215; James W. Springer, “American Indians and the Law of Real Property in Colonial New England,” *American Journal of Legal History* 30 (1986): 25–58. For an interpretation of intercultural homicides that emphasizes reciprocity, not equality, as the normative standard that Indians and colonists aspired to, see Katherine Hermes, “‘Justice Will Be Done Us’: Algonquian Demands for Reciprocity in the Courts of European Settlers,” in Christopher L. Tomlins and Bruce M. Mann, eds., *The Many Legalities of Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 123–49.

8. Vaughan, “Tests of Puritan Justice,” 212.

9. See, e.g., Vaughan’s discussion of colonists’ increasingly harsh legal treatment of Indians, “Tests of Puritan Justice,” 210–12; and Kawashima, *Puritan Justice and the Indian*, 149–79. Jennings’s explanation of Sawantaeny’s death also falls into this category; he has argued that the Cartlidges’ arrest and eventual freedom were the result of a power struggle between Logan and Pennsylvania Governor Sir William Keith (*Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 291–93). One major exception to this trend is Alan Taylor’s comparative study of intercultural killings between Euro-Americans and Iroquois in Canada and upstate New York following the American Revolution: Taylor, “Covering the Grave,” unpub. seminar paper presented at the Massachusetts Historical Society, September 2000, cited with permission of the author.

10. My notion of “national characters,” individuals who embody the “national character” of the state, is drawn from David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 108–76, esp. 124–26.

11. See James Axtell, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 9–44.

12. Kawashima, *Puritan Justice and the Indian*, 150, 154, argues that equality under the law was the nominal basis for justice under Puritan legal codes. Kawashima does not deny

that equality was limited by race, religion, and gender, but does indict the Massachusetts Puritans for failing to live up to their own code.

13. Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

14. I use the term “our” advisedly here. Just as I hope to stress the diversity of perspectives among Europeans and Indians—rendering the terms “European” and “Indian” useful heuristics more than accurate descriptors—I do not mean to deny alternative readings of this event by speaking in the “we.” As shall become clear in the conclusion, I hope that this chapter might provide an example of the ways in which mediating between multiple historical moral narratives may help mediate moral narratives in the present.

15. For the treaty, see “Treaty with the Susquehannah Indians, 12 Sept. 1700,” George Vaux Collection of Correspondence and Documents, QCHC. Determining the “identity” of the “Susquehanna Indians,” as that term was used in colonial Pennsylvania’s diplomatic records, is an admittedly problematic task, given that the ethnic or tribal terms used by colonial clerks often appear on close inspection to have a haphazard relation to the ethnic or tribal designations ethnohistorians use to describe eastern indigenous peoples. In this case, I am following Francis Jennings’s assertion that early eighteenth-century Susquehanna Valley Indians were “an ethnic mixture [of] Iroquois, Shawnees, Conoys, Nanticokes, Delawares, Tuscaroras, and Tutelos apparently intermingled and intermarried with the Susquehannock-Conestoga” peoples who had moved there after the Susquehannock tribe was dissolved in the 1670s and re-formed as the Conestoga tribe in the 1690s (Jennings, “Susquehannock,” *Handbook*, 362–67, quotation from p. 366; see also Jennings, “Glory, Death, and Transfiguration,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 109 [1968]: 15–33).

16. On William Penn’s early attempts to force outsiders to carry physical tokens of their good character, such as passes or seals, see John Smolenski, “Friends and Strangers: Religion, Diversity, and the Ordering of Public Life in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1681–1764” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2001), 101–6.

17. On the often paradoxical relation between indigenous agency and authority and the limits of colonial law more generally, see Lauren F. Benton, “Colonial Law and Cultural Difference: Jurisdictional Politics and the Formation of the Colonial State,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41 (1999): 563–88.

18. See Smolenski, “Friends and Strangers,” chap. 3.

19. On the rapidly changing nature of treaty councils during the colonial period, see Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 253. Even the most famous treaty council outside of Philadelphia—Penn’s Great Treaty of 1701—took place at the proprietor’s mansion at Pennsbury, not at an Indian or a neutral site.

20. I am using “periphery” here as a relative term, of course. After all, Philadelphia itself was a “periphery” of Indian “cores” to the west; see Jeanne Chase, “Porous Boundaries and Shifting Borderlands: The American Experience in a New World Order,” *Reviews in American History* 26 (1998): 54–69; and James H. Merrell, “The Customes of Our Countrey” in Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Strangers Within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 117–56.

21. For a discussion of wampum in establishing authority at the outset of conferences, see Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 32, 189.

22. *MPCP*, 2:245.

23. *Ibid.*, 386–90.

24. *Ibid.*, 472.

25. My discussion of the communicative role of wampum relies here partially on Merrell’s discussion of wampum’s meaning (*Into the American Woods*, 187–93 and *passim*) and

on Gordon M. Sayre's analysis of the relation between wampum and writing (Sayre, *Les Sauvages Américains: Representations of Native Americans in French and English Colonial Literature* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997], 144–218, esp. 162–63, 186–88, 213). As I hope my discussion will show, I think that the functional differences between wampum and alphabetic script in colonial political, legal, and diplomatic relations were smaller than Sayre suggests.

26. *MPCP*, 1:372.

27. *Ibid.*, 447.

28. *Ibid.*, 2:403.

29. *Ibid.*, 386–90.

30. *Ibid.*, 471.

31. *Ibid.*, 511–12.

32. *Ibid.*, 200, 204.

33. *Ibid.*, 510.

34. Logan Papers, 11:2, HSP. This event may well have renewed the desire of many Indians for the provincial government to license traders more effectively, as evidenced by the September 1700 treaty Logan negotiated with the Susquehanna Indians, discussed above.

35. *MPCP*, 2:247 (emphasis added).

36. *Ibid.*, 403–5.

37. *Ibid.*, 512.

38. *Ibid.*, 45–46.

39. “Articles of Agreement Between William Penn and the Susquehannah, Shawoneh, and North Patomack Indians,” 23 Apr. 1701, *PA*, 1st ser., 1:144–47.

40. *MPCP*, 2:247.

41. Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, 1:34, HSP.

42. *MPCP*, 1:372–73, 2: 244–48, 469–72.

43. The quotation is from Connessoa of the Onondaga (Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, 1:34, HSP). For a similar comment from Gookin, see *MPCP*, 2:516.

44. *MPCP*, 2:45–46, 244–48.

45. *Ibid.*, 3:148–49.

46. *Ibid.*, 149. As Jennings has pointed out, Logan failed to include the depositions of Swindel and Wilkins in his official report. Jennings's speculation that Logan suppressed these testimonies because they showed Cartlidge's culpability is more dubious, however. The very manuscript account that Logan “suppressed” notes that Keith was present at the depositions; this raises the question of who, exactly, Logan was trying to hide the depositions from. See “An Indian Council held at Philadelphia, 21 January 1721/2,” Society Miscellaneous Collections, Indians, 1682–1900, box 11C, folder 2, pp. 10–12, HSP.

47. This fact was in some dispute, as one witness claimed not to have seen Sawantaeny with his gun, while four witnesses claimed that he did have his gun. Since one of these witnesses was Sawantaeny's wife, who claimed she was in the cabin when he left with his gun, I believe that he actually did retrieve his gun.

48. The testimony can be found in *MPCP*, 3:150–52.

49. *Ibid.*, 155.

50. *Ibid.*

51. For a further discussion of these laws, see Smolenski, “Friends and Strangers,” 103–4.

52. The most recent interracial death was that of Francis LaTore, at the hands of a group of Indians (probably Shawnee warriors). LaTore, a servant, had run away from his master, who then hired local Indians to capture or kill him. They killed him. See *MPCP*, 2:533–34.

53. The only indirect evidence that Logan, at least, may have been aware of this statute

is his long association with William Penn as the proprietor's agent. Logan arrived in 1699—when the mixed-jury statute was still on the books although not enforced—and was in all likelihood aware of Penn's unusual and progressive ideas on diplomatic and legal relations with Indians.

54. Weynepeeweyta was, as noted above, a Shawnee who had close ties to the Seneca on the Pennsylvania frontier (Charles Callender, "Shawnee," *Handbook*, 622–23). It is difficult to know whether Sawantaeny's place of residence and status were defined by his tribal background and lineage or Weynepeeweyta's; although the Shawnees were at this time both patrilineal and patrilocal (*ibid.*, 626–27), the Senecas were matrilineal and matrilocal, as were the Delaware and Conestoga people living in the region. This confluence of different political lineage systems in one community makes determining Sawantaeny's political affiliation in death even more problematic.

55. *MPCP*, 2:608.

56. *Ibid.*, 3:24.

57. Smolenski, "Friends and Strangers," 218–77; Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 291–92.

58. Jennings, *Invasion of America*, 45, 49, 77–81, 132.

59. Indian Treaties, Du Simitière Collection, folder 4, LCP. This Indian Council was not recorded in the official minutes of the Provincial Council. See *MPCP*, 3:160–61.

60. The Cartlidges, in their petition for bail to the Provincial Council on 22 Mar., had implied that Sawantaeny might still be alive, noting that they were "heartily sorry for the Death of the Indian (if He be really dead)" (*MPCP*, 3:156).

61. Indian Treaties, Du Simitière Collection, folder 4, LCP. Although this manuscript does not say which treaty Civility was referring to when he held "a Parchment in his Hand," it was most likely the "Treaty with the Susquehannah Indians" from September 1700 that prohibited unlicensed traders from selling alcohol to those Indians; see note 15, above. This treaty became an issue in 1735, see below.

62. *MPCP*, 3:163–65.

63. *Ibid.*, 168.

64. See Keith's message to the Iroquois nations (*ibid.*, 194); and his reiteration of the same theme at a September meeting in Philadelphia (*ibid.*, 197).

65. Keith quoted Satcheechoe's message at the September council at Albany; see *ibid.*, 198.

66. *Ibid.*, 200.

67. Jennings sees this as the true beginning of Pennsylvania's participation in the Covenant Chain, arguing that Penn had largely ignored the Iroquois in his dealings, making treaties primarily with the Delaware and the Susquehanna (Conestoga) Indians. (*Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 290–94).

68. This point is also made by Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 293–94. In one critical respect, however, Keith did reject the Iroquois claim to sovereignty over the region. He gladly took control of the lands around Conestoga that the Iroquois ceded, but, he told those assembled at Albany, "You know very well that the Lands about Conestogoe, upon the River Susquehannah, belong to your old friend and kind Brother William Penn." Keith had managed to accept their gift without recognizing their authority to give it (*MPCP*, 3:202).

69. On narrative contextualization and fact-making, see Clifford Geertz, "Local Knowledge: Fact and Law in Comparative Perspective," in Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 167–234.

70. Jane T. Merritt and Nancy Shoemaker have recently argued for the significance of familial and body language, respectively, as structuring metaphors in Indian-colonial diplo-

macy in Pennsylvania. See Merritt, “Metaphor, Meaning, and Misunderstanding: Language and Power on the Pennsylvania Frontier,” in Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute, eds., *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 60–87; Nancy Shoemaker, “Body Language,” in Janet Moore Lindman and Michelle Lise Tartar, eds., *A Centre of Wonders: The Body in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 211–22. I do not intend to suggest here that familial or body language is insignificant to Civility’s speech, or in any other Indian-colonial interactions for that matter. I am suggesting, however, that although Civility employs these metaphors in describing the relationship between his people and the provincial government, his normative statements regarding how the provincials should act are grounded in a history of alliance, friendship, and reciprocity. In this case—where Civility is making claims on the colonial government—normative folktales of justice are used in combination with descriptive metaphors of connection.

71. *MPCP*, 3:46.

72. *Ibid.*, 2:599–600, 607–8. For other examples of Pennsylvania’s Indians invoking Penn’s example, see *ibid.*, 3:46, 123; “Account of Indian Council held at Philadelphia 15 Sept. 1718,” Logan Papers, 9:7; “James Logan’s Report on Meeting with Indians,” *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1858), 6:254–57. James Spady has discussed Keith’s (and later, Patrick Gordon’s) references to Penn’s history with the Indians as a continuation of a myth propagated by the proprietor himself about his own benevolence. See Spady’s “Friendly Meetings” (1996) and his chapter in this volume. I would argue from the evidence presented here that Civility and other negotiators for the Conestoga and Delaware Indians were more instrumental in making the mythic relationship between Penn and provincial Indians central to colonial-Indian treaty discourse in the 1720s than was Penn’s earlier propaganda. It seems likely that Keith’s and Gordon’s mentions of the Penn myth were more directly related to Indians’ repeated invocation of the Penn-Indian relationship in the 1710s and 1720s than they were to anything Penn said or wrote about his relations with local Natives.

73. Both “Miquon” and “Onas” are Indian puns. Each word means, in its respective language, “quill” or “pen,” thus working as cognates for Penn.

74. The discussion here is influenced by Robert A. Williams, Jr.’s analysis of Native American treaties as stories. See Williams, *Linking Arms Together: American Indian Treaty Visions of Law and Peace, 1600–1800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

75. *MPCP*, 3:221.

76. Merrell suggests that Civility conspired with the Cartlidges to bury Sawantaeny immediately both to keep the peace and to keep the Iroquois out of Pennsylvania, although he does not develop the question of whether or not any Indians in Pennsylvania would have desired that the Cartlidges be tried under English law for murder (Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 117).

77. I should make clear that I do not intend by this passage to further the “myth” of the Iroquois Empire, or to suggest that the Iroquois attempt to bring the Indians on the Susquehanna under their influence was the equivalent of the colonial expansion of Pennsylvania’s government and authority. As Jennings and Matthew Dennis have argued, the notion that the Iroquois nations functioned as an imperial or colonial power in any way comparable to European colonialism is inaccurate. See Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 10–24; Jennings, “‘Pennsylvania Indians’ and the Iroquois,” in Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds., *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600–1800* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 75–92; Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-Century America* (Ithaca:

Cornell University Press, 1993), 6, 67, 229, 256, 257–58. Hinderaker, on the other hand, may go too far in this direction; his discussion of the settlement of Sawantaeny's death ignores the fact that non-Iroquois Indians were affected by the agreements reached between the Iroquois and Keith. He thus misses the fact that many Indians living on Pennsylvania's borders did consider the Iroquois unwanted intruders, if not "imperial" in the sense discussed above (*Elusive Empires*, 125–28).

78. *MPCP*, 3:302–3; *PA*, 1st ser., 1:215–21; "James Logan's Report," 258–63; Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 158–64; Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 247; Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires*, 123–24.

79. "James Logan's Report," 258–63.

80. *MPCP*, 3:313.

81. *Ibid.*, 329–31.

82. *Ibid.*, 337.

83. *PA*, 1st series, 1:303–4; *MPCP*, 3:605.

84. *MPCP*, 3:435–52. Critically, however, whereas Gordon described this agreement on harboring fugitive slaves as implying that all Pennsylvania laws would be upheld on the frontier—including those punishing those guilty of intercultural assault or homicide—his Iroquois counterparts were silent on that issue.

85. *MPCP*, 3:500–505.

86. *Ibid.*, 4:90–95.

87. Jennings, *Invasion of America*, 128–45.

88. My understanding of how assertions of jurisdiction transform space into territory—a particular kind of space under the domain of a single sovereign authority—is influenced by Christopher L. Tomlins, "The Legal Cartography of Colonization, the Legal Polyphony of Settlement: English Intrusions on the American Mainland in the Seventeenth Century," *Law and Social Inquiry* 26 (2001): 315–72. I should note that my argument here implicitly disagrees with the emphasis Tomlins places on colonial charters in mapping colonial rule; I argue here that ongoing practices of sanction and ratification, not the initial jurisdictional chartering, play the key role in producing territorial sovereignty. This is particularly true with respect to Tomlins's analysis of Pennsylvania. My disagreement is more a matter of emphasis and priority, however, than a rejection of Tomlins's fundamental argument, which is quite accurate.

89. *MPCP*, 3:330–31.

90. *Ibid.*, 448–49. See also *MPCP*, 3:331.

91. Civility's attempts to retrospectively incorporate the Shawnees into the 1700 and 1701 treaties suggests that these two weaker Indian groups had made common cause in their efforts to stem the expansion of Iroquois influence to the south.

92. *MPCP*, 3:606.

93. Michael Meranze, "Even the Dead Will Not Be Safe: An Ethics of Early American History," *WMQ* 50 (1993): 373.

94. *Ibid.*, 375, 378.

95. My argument here is heavily influenced by Daniel K. Richter's trenchant critique of the contemporary uses of this kind of early American victimology ("Whose Indian History?" *WMQ* 50 [1993]: 379–93).

96. My thinking here is deeply influenced by Cover, "Nomos and Narrative," and Axtell, *After Columbus*, 34–44.

97. Nor should we assume that Sawantaeny would necessarily have wanted to describe himself in a single, unifying narrative. As Richard White has pointed out, many Native American cultures were far more likely to employ multiple—and potentially contradictory—narratives of self to convey their social and political identity; see White, "'Although I am

dead, I am not entirely dead. I have left a second of myself": Constructing Self and Persons on the Middle Ground of Early America," in Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Fredrika J. Teute, eds., *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 404–18. On identity as a product of personal narratives, see Charlotte Linde, *Life Stories: The Creation of Coherence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). This discussion of cultural position and the interpretation of narratives is influenced by Arnold Krupat's discussion of the difficulties of an "authentic" indigenous literary criticism and the problems of Native American autobiography (*Ethnocriticism: Ethnography, History, Literature* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992], 153, 201–31).

98. For a discussion of the process by which dissenters or otherwise marginalized individuals—such as Sawantaeny—can have their "true Americanness" ratified and become symbolically incorporated into the national fold, see Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, 349–52.

Chapter 7

1. "Proceedings Against John Toby at Paxton, February 15–17 [1751]," Weiser Collection, HSP. This consists of the two depositions and Weiser's account of events. There are two copies of each item, both in Weiser's hand, one of which is noticeably neater, suggesting that it was copied from the rougher version, which was probably the original. Another copy of the series is found at the Lancaster County Historical Society.

2. Alden T. Vaughan, "Frontier Banditti and the Indians: The Paxton Boys' Legacy, 1763–1775," *PH* 51 (1984): 19–20.

3. See Harold E. Driver, *Indians of North America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 309–29, for contrasting Indian customs about killing. For the Paxton Boys' assumption that the war with Indians was continuous, see *MPCP*, 9:138–42.

4. James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 152–53, 181–83, 194. A recent work that is in agreement on the basic point that Indian males did not routinely molest white female prisoners is Sharon Block's "Coerced Sex in British North America, 1700–1820" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1995), 235–39. Block, however, believes some captive women were forced to marry Indians when given the alternative of acceptance or death (239–41).

5. P. A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, 1696–1760: Friend to Mohawk and Colonist* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), 294–97, 333–35.

6. "Proceedings Against John Toby."

7. John and Edmund Cartlidge and Sawantaeny, for instance, had been drinking prior to their fateful argument; see chapter 6, above, and James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 115–16.

8. "Proceedings Against John Toby." Assuming there had been consistent spacing by the original penman, the crossed-out portion of the sentence is too narrow to have accommodated the thirteen character spaces of "private parts" yet too wide for the four letters in "cock." The language in Weiser's report is suspiciously similar to a victim's statement in a rape case heard in an English court, in the Lent session of 1759, suggesting that a very standardized wording was expected in rape indictments. "He had thrown her to the ground and lay with me, and entered his — into my —. I cried out murder as long as ever I was able; he stopt my mouth with my apron; I had hardly breath, and was near almost gone. He hurt me very much." Quoted in J. M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England, 1660–1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 125.

9. Conrad Weiser to Nanticoke Indians, 17 Feb. 1751, RG–21, Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776 (microfilm roll B2, item 564), PSA.

10. Weiser to [Gov. James Hamilton], 20 Feb. 1751. PHMC, Conrad Weiser Homestead, Womelsdorf, Pa.

11. David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 194, 304; Hugh F. Rankin, *Criminal Trial Proceedings in the General Court of Colonial Virginia* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1965), 222. Block quantifies and analyses the different systems applied to black and to white males but does not compare treatment of accused Indians because of paucity of examples (“Coerced Sex in British North America,” 125–78).

12. Act of 27 Nov. 1700, chap. 4, James T. Mitchell and Henry Flanders, comps., *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, 17 vols. (Harrisburg: State Printer, 1896–1915), 2:7; Act of 12 Jan. 1706, chap. 120, *ibid.*, 2:178; Act of 31 May 1718, chap. 236 at sec. 4, *ibid.*, 3:202. Separate statutes pertaining to Negroes offending white females were passed on 27 Nov. 1700 (*ibid.*, 2:77) and 12 Jan. 1706 (*ibid.*, 2:233).

13. Negley K. Teeters, *Scaffold and Chair: A Compilation of Their Use in Pennsylvania, 1682–1962* (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1963), 62–65.

14. *The King v. Patrick Kennedy*, *The King v. James DeWar*, *The King v. Thomas Fryer*, and *The King v. Neal McCarriher*, March 1772 session of oyer and terminer court, Chester County. RG–33, Records of the Supreme Court, Eastern District, oyer and terminer courts, papers 1757–1787, Chester County, PSA.

15. Examination of Patrick Kennedy and Neal McCarriher, 3 Dec. 1771; Examination of Thomas Fryer, 2 Dec. 1771; Examination of James DeWar, 2 Dec. 1771; Examination of Jane Walker in the presence of Thomas Fryer and James DeWar, 2 Dec. 1771, *ibid.*

16. MPCP, 4:280–82, 5:277; PA, 1st ser., 1:547–48. For Samuel Bethel and his tavern, see Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago: Everts and Peck, 1883), 362–63; Jerome Wood Jr., *Conestoga Crossroads* (Harrisburg: PHMC, 1976), 11, 12, 50.

17. MPCP, 4:420–21, 447, 573–74.

18. Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 42–55; Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 175–83. Basic documents about the murders can be found in MPCP, 4:675–84, and PA, 1st ser., 1:643–44, 646.

19. G. S. Rowe, *Embattled Bench: The Pennsylvania Supreme Court and the Forging of a Democratic Society, 1684–1809* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), 88–89; Act of 19 Oct. 1744, chap. 362, *Statutes at Large*, 5:5–6. The text of the Treaty of Lancaster is printed in Julian P. Boyd, ed., *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1736–1762* (Philadelphia: HSP, 1938), 41–79; Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 181.

20. MPCP, 5:543–45.

21. *Ibid.*; C. A. Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians, Past and Present* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1983), 150–52; Christian F. Feest, “Nanticoke and Neighboring Tribes,” *Handbook*, 246. The Nanticokes’ reputation for sorcery, poison, and treachery was so well established that it is also possible they assumed Pennsylvania would prefer that they live far away. They originally moved to Pennsylvania in the 1740s after the partially substantiated belief arose in Maryland that in 1742 the tribe had plotted, with Shawnee support, an uprising (Weslager, *Nanticoke Indians*, 97–99, 135–47).

22. PA, 8th ser., 4:3479.

23. MPCP, 9:328–32; Oscar J. Harvey and Ernest G. Smith, *A History of Wilkes-Barre, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania*, 6 vols. (Wilkes-Barre, Pa.: Raeder Press, 1909–30), 1:443. Harvey was convinced that “ore” meant anthracite coal. For Anderson, see SCP, 3:xvn.

24. Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 312–13.

25. *MPCP*, 9:619–20; *SCP*, 3:165–66.

26. Although horse theft had long carried a death sentence in England, it did not in early American colonial history. There was no comprehensive branding system, so ownership was difficult to prove and any unguarded horse could be assumed to be an available natural object. Owners of missing horses could usually describe them only as “strayed or stolen.” Indians had developed a reputation for being habitual horse thieves, but the problems of proving that a particular Indian had taken a particular horse were daunting. In Pennsylvania, the crime was more seriously punished after the Act of 21 Feb. 1767, and Toby and Turbutt Francis may have intended this to be French’s fate. See *MPCP*, 7:172; *ibid.*, 9:384, 698; Act of 31 May 1718, chap. 236, *Statutes at Large*, 2:199 (at 211–12); Act of 24 Feb. 1721, chap. 241, *ibid.*, 240; Act of 9 May 1724, chap. 279, *ibid.*, 3:422; Act of 21 Feb. 1767, chap. 557, *ibid.*, 7:90; “Strayed or Stolen away from the Borough of Wilmington . . .,” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2 May 1751.

Chapter 8

1. Witham Marshe, “Journal of the Treaty Held with the Six Nations by the Commissioners of Maryland, and Other Provinces, at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, June 1744,” *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1st ser., 7 (1801): 179.

2. Daniel G. Brinton, *The Lenape and Their Legends; with the Complete Text and Symbols of the Walam Olum, a New Translation, and an Inquiry into Its Authenticity* (Philadelphia: D. G. Brinton, 1884), 121; Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, 1696–1760, Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), 73, 126; Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with the English Colonies from Its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 362.

3. Donald A. Grinde Jr., “Iroquois Political Theory and the Roots of American Democracy,” in Oren R. Lyons and John C. Mohawk, eds., *Exiled in the Land of the Free: Democracy, Indian Nations, and the U.S. Constitution* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1992), 241, 251. See also Grinde, *The Iroquois and the Founding of the American Nation* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1977); and Bruce E. Johansen, *Forgotten Founders: Benjamin Franklin, the Iroquois, and the Rationale for the American Revolution* (Ipswich, Mass.: Gambit, 1982). The most to-the-point refutations are found in Elisabeth Tooker, “The United States Constitution and the Iroquois League,” *Ethnohistory* 35 (1988): 305–36; and William A. Starna and George R. Hamell, “History and the Burden of Proof: The Case of Iroquois Influence on the U.S. Constitution,” *New York History* 77 (1996): 427–52.

4. Canasatego plays a role in a number of authoritative studies of the period. See, e.g., Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*; Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*; William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); and James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999).

5. William M. Beauchamp, ed., *Moravian Journals Relating to Central New York, 1745–66* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Dehler Press, 1916), 22; Hanni Woodbury, personal communication, 1994.

6. See Fenton, *Great Law*, 193.

7. Beauchamp, ed., *Moravian Journals*, 13.

8. Fenton, *Great Law*, 411.

9. John Bartram, *A Journey from Pennsylvania to Onondaga in 1743* (Barre, Mass.: Imprint Society, 1973), 58–59; Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 160.

10. Beauchamp, ed., *Moravian Journals*, 46.
11. *Ibid.*, 56, 58.
12. *Ibid.*, 46.
13. *Ibid.*, 14; *MPCP*, 4:662, 665, 668.
14. *MPCP*, 5:401.
15. Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 255, 256, 270.
16. *NYCD*, 5:485–87; Richter, *Ordeal*, 232; John Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), 81.
17. *NYCD*, 6:362.
18. Quoted in Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 88.
19. *Ibid.*, 126.
20. *MPCP*, 4:564.
21. Beauchamp, ed., *Moravian Journals*, 85.
22. *Ibid.*, 94–95.
23. *Ibid.*, 94–97.
24. *Ibid.*, 70.
25. *Ibid.*, 73–74.
26. *Ibid.*, 75.
27. *Ibid.*, 79; Richter, *Ordeal*, 263–66.
28. Richter, *Ordeal*, 266; *NYCD*, 5:275, 487–88; 9:1041, 1083–85, 1090.
29. Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 307; Richter, *Ordeal*, 271.
30. Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 307; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 189, and see esp. chaps. 5 and 6.
31. White, *Middle Ground*, 168.
32. Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 307.
33. *Ibid.*, 307–8; James H. Merrell, “‘Their Very Bones Shall Fight’: The Catawba-Iroquois Wars,” in Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds., *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600–1800* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 115–33.
34. Francis Jennings, “Miquon’s Passing: Indian-European Relations in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1674 to 1775” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1965); Richard L. Haan, “The Problem of Iroquois Neutrality: Suggestions for Revision,” *Ethnohistory* 27 (1980): 317–30. The Mohawks remained uninterested in Pennsylvania and the Susquehanna lands throughout a good part of the eighteenth century. Their attention was directed toward the English in Albany, with whom they traded and to whom they were fast losing their lands. There also was the French presence in the Champlain Valley to be reckoned with. And they had lost significant numbers of their population to disease and emigration to the St. Lawrence missions, causing them to stay close to their homeland. These factors taken together explain their lack of participation in Pennsylvania treaty business. Fenton, *Great Law*, 401–3, 410; Jennings, *Iroquois Empire*, 251.
35. *MPCP*, 4:80. For an account of Shickellamy’s life, political involvements, and accomplishments, see James H. Merrell, “Shickellamy, ‘A Person of Consequence,’” in Robert S. Grumet, ed., *Northeastern Indian Lives, 1632–1816* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 227–57; and Merrell, *Into the American Woods*.
36. Quoted in Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 44.
37. *Ibid.*; Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 322–23.

38. Quoted in Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 324.
39. Richter, *Ordeal*, 275; Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 322–23; Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 67, 70.
40. Richter, *Ordeal*, 275.
41. *MPCP*, 4:80. At the 1742 treaty in Philadelphia, Canasatego observed: “This affair was recommended to you by our Chiefs at our Last Treaty [1736], and you then, at our earnest desire, promised to write a Letter to that person who has the authority over those People, and to procure Us his Answer” (*ibid.*, 4:570). This suggests that either Canasatego had been well coached about what he was to say to the governor, or that he had been present at the 1736 treaty and was recalling what had taken place.
42. *MPCP*, 4:583–86; Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 126.
43. *MPCP*, 4:559–60.
44. *Ibid.*, 561.
45. Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 328–42. See also Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*; and Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949).
46. *MPCP*, 4:570.
47. *Ibid.*, 573.
48. *Ibid.*, 575.
49. *Ibid.*, 575–76.
50. *Ibid.*, 579.
51. *Ibid.*, 579–80. The label “women,” applied to the Delawares, has often been linked to the false notion of their defeat by the Iroquois. It is, however, perhaps more relevant in situations where the Delawares acted as mediators or agreed to let the Iroquois speak for them, at least in New York. See Francis Jennings, “‘Pennsylvania Indians’ and the Iroquois,” in Richter and Merrell, eds., *Beyond the Covenant Chain*, 79–80.
52. *MPCP*, 4:580. By 1742, many Delawares, perhaps the majority, had already migrated west. C. A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians: A History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 173–95.
53. Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 344.
54. *Ibid.*, 343–46; *MPCP*, 4:567.
55. *MPCP*, 4:567–69.
56. John Bartram, *Travels in Pensilvania and Canada* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1966).
57. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 147; *MPCP*, 4:644–46.
58. *MPCP*, 4:660.
59. *Ibid.*, 661.
60. Beauchamp, ed., *Moravian Journals*, 23; Marshe, “Journal,” 179–80.
61. *MPCP*, 4:644–46, 661–62; Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 354–55.
62. *MPCP*, 4:654, 641, 663.
63. *Ibid.*, 667–68.
64. *Ibid.*, 728.
65. *Ibid.*, 700.
66. *Ibid.*, 703–4.
67. *Ibid.*, 706–7.
68. Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 357.
69. *Ibid.*, 359–60; *MPCP*, 4:715–16, 726, 729.
70. Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 361–62.
71. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 221; *MPCP*, 4:778.

72. *MPCP*, 4:778.
73. *Ibid.*, 731–32.
74. Quoted in Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 225.
75. Beauchamp, ed., *Moravian Journals*, 13–14.
76. *NYCD*, 6:300; *MPCP*, 5:18, 22–23.
77. See Timothy J. Shannon, *Indians and Colonists at the Crossroads of Empire: The Albany Congress of 1754* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 33–35.
78. *NYCD*, 6:289; *MPCP*, 5:9; Julian P. Boyd, ed., *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1736–1762* (Philadelphia: HSP, 1938), 309–10.
79. Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 307, 335.
80. Boyd, ed., *Indian Treaties*, 309.
81. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 229.
82. *MPCP*, 5:24.
83. *Ibid.*, 18.
84. Boyd, ed., *Indian Treaties*, 310.
85. *MPCP*, 5:8–9.
86. *Ibid.*, 4:735, 5:19.
87. See Tooker, “United States Constitution and the Iroquois League,” 321–22.
88. Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 8 May 1749, Conrad Weiser Correspondence, 1741–66, HSP (1st quotation); Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 277–85 (2d quotation from p. 279). This account of the 1749 conference was written in collaboration with David Preston.
89. Quoted in Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 278–79.
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Ibid.*, 281.
92. Quoted in *ibid.*, 282.
93. Quoted in *ibid.*
94. *MPCP*, 5:395–410 (quotation from p. 400).
95. *MPCP*, 5:408, 477.
96. *Ibid.*, 5:399.
97. *Ibid.*, 399–400.
98. Beauchamp, ed., *Moravian Journals*, 46–47.
99. *Ibid.*, 49–50.
100. *Ibid.*, 53.
101. Christian Daniel Claus, *Daniel Claus’ Narrative of His Relations with Sir William Johnson and Experiences in the Lake George Fight* (New York: Society of Colonial Wars, 1904), 5.
102. Helga Doblin and William Starna, trans. and eds., *The Journals of Christian Daniel Claus and Conrad Weiser: A Journey to Onondaga, 1750*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 84, pt. 2 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1994), 16. Compare: “They informed me further that Mr Camerhoff went from Onontago, to the Cajuger and Sinicker Country and told the Indians there that he had bought a great piece of Land of Canasatego and paid him with Silver Ornaments (I doubt the Truth of this Last article and believe it was invented to blaken Canasategos Character) but it was currently reported at Onontago, and perhaps occasioned his Canasategos Death” (quoted in Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 314).
103. *MPCP*, 5:467.
104. Doblin and Starna, trans. and eds., *Journals*, 14–15; see Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 314.
105. Doblin and Starna, trans. and eds., *Journals*, 15; see Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 314.
106. Beauchamp, ed., *Moravian Journals*, 54–56, 95–97.

107. Ibid., 54. The historical record does not contradict any of Cammerhoff's statements. See Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 313–15; *RMM*, reel 34, box 317, folder 1, items 3 and 4.
108. Beauchamp, ed., *Moravian Journals*, 60.
109. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 343–46.
110. Doblin and Starna, trans. and eds., *Journals*, 15; Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 314.
111. Claus's version of Canasatego's death was probably written twenty-five or more years after the fact. He had little reason to misrepresent what had happened. See Jennings, *Iroquois Empire*, 363n.
112. *MPCP*, 5:480. The word is "buried" in the original document. Francis Jennings, personal communication, 1994.
113. Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 364–65.
114. Doblin and Starna, trans. and eds., *Journals*, 13; *MPCP*, 5:467, 475.
115. Doblin and Starna, trans. and eds., *Journals*, 17.

Chapter 9

1. Delawares to Jeremiah Langhorne, Smithfield, 3 Jan. 1741, Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, vol. 4, Indian Walk, 30, HSP.
2. Francis Jennings, "Miquon's Passing: Indian-European Relations in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1674 to 1755" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1965), 380–84.
3. Charles Thomson, the Pennsylvania schoolmaster and later secretary of the Continental Congress, witnessed negotiations between Delawares and King George's representatives. He investigated the causes of Delaware alienation and published his findings in *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese from the British Interest* (Philadelphia, 1759). John Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary who learned Delaware ways firsthand and from his predecessor David Zeisberger, wrote an *Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: HSP, 1876). Like Thomson, Heckewelder documented Delaware dissatisfaction with the Walking Purchase. The later Moravian chronicler William Reichel relied on them.
4. Heckewelder, *History*, 66–69.
5. Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, Indian Walk, 4:43, HSP.
6. Account of the Walking Purchase by Moses Tetamie, Friendly Association Papers, 1:407, QCHC.
7. William J. Buck, *History of the Indian Walk, Performed for the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania in 1737* ([Philadelphia]: privately printed, 1886), 43.
8. Ibid., 205–6.
9. William C. Reichel, ed., *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1870), 218.
10. "Affair of Nicholas Depue," [*Pennsylvania*] *Department of Internal Affairs Monthly Bulletin* 21, no. 1 (October 1953): 32.
11. William Allen to John Penn, 17 Nov. 1739, Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, 3:91, HSP.
12. Delawares to Jeremiah Langhorne, Smithfield, 3 Jan. 1741, Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, vol. 4, Indian Walk, HSP.
13. George Thomas to Delaware Indians, 21 Mar. 1741, Penn Manuscripts, vol. 4, Indian Walk, HSP.
14. Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, 17 July 1752, HSP.
15. Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, 12 Apr. 1759, Penn Manuscripts, Supplementary Saunders Coates, 17:92, HSP.

16. Quoted in Ralph Grayson Schwarz, *Bethlehem on the Lehigh* (Bethlehem, Pa.: Bethlehem Area Foundation, n.d.), 5.
17. Pennsylvania Land Records, Patent Books, F6, 102, PSA; Northampton County Deed Books, C1, 156–64, Northampton County Courthouse, Easton, Pa.; Buck, *History of the Indian Walk*, 45; Schwarz, *Bethlehem on the Lehigh*, 5.
18. Elizabeth L. Myers, *The Upper Places: Nazareth, Gnadenthal, and Christian's Spring* (Easton, Pa.: Northampton County Historical and Genealogical Society, 1929), 4.
19. Heckewelder, *History*, 47–70; Joseph M. Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741–1892* (Bethlehem, Pa.: Times Publishing, 1903), 50–52, 153–56.
20. Quoted in Buck, *History of the Indian Walk*, 46.
21. Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares, Teedyuscung, 1700–1763* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), 38.
22. Jane Merritt, “Dreaming of the Savior’s Blood: Moravians and the Indian Great Awakening in Pennsylvania,” *WMQ* 54 (1997): 746.
23. Sereno Edwards Dwight, ed., *Memoirs of the Reverend David Brainerd* (New Haven, Conn.: S. Converse, 1822), 176.
24. *Ibid.*, 151, 168, 174–78.
25. James Steel to John Chapman, 17 May 1733, James Steel Letterbook, HSP.
26. “Count Zinzendorf and the Indians, 1742,” in Reichel, ed., *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, 1:26–27.
27. Pennsylvania Land Records, Applications, 1732–33:17, PSA; Pennsylvania Land Records, Patent Book A8:405–6, PSA; Patent Book A9:530–32, PSA. The fullest treatment of Tatamy is William A. Hunter, “Moses (Tunda) Tatamy, Delaware Indian Diplomat,” in Robert S. Grumet, ed., *Northeastern Indian Lives, 1632–1816* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 258–73.
28. Zinzendorf, as quoted in Reichel, ed., *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, 1:26–27.
29. *MPCP*, 4:624–25.
30. Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, 21 Nov. 1742, Peters Letterbook, vol. 5, HSP. Penn replied, “I hope the Governor has given such an answer to the Fork Indians as you say he intended, their assurance is indeed astonishing, you have not informed me how they [be]-came converted to Calvinism and I suppose they are not acquainted with much of their doctrines” (Penn to Peters, Penn Letterbooks, 2:25, HSP).
31. David Brainerd, *Mirabilia Dei Inter Indicos; or The Rise and Progress of a Remarkable Work of Grace Amongst a Number of the Indians in the Provinces of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1746), 8.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*, 9.
34. Dwight, ed., *Memoirs of Brainerd*, 178.
35. Brainerd, *Mirabilia Dei Inter Indicos*, 9–10, emphasis in original.
36. *Ibid.*, 10–14.
37. He was so designated by the 1738 patent that granted him full rights to his farm. Pennsylvania Land Records, Patent Book A8:405–6, PSA.
38. Quoted in Hunter, “Moses (Tunda) Tatamy,” 264.
39. Bernhard Adam Grube, *Diarium von Meniowolagamekah*, 14, 17 May, 14 June 1752, MAB; *MPCP*, 8:463–72; PA, 3:707–9; Samuel Parrish, *Some Chapters in the History of the Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures* (Philadelphia: Friends Historical Association, 1877), 117.
40. Steven C. Harper, *Promised Land: The Holy Experiment, the Walking Purchase, and*

Dispossession of the Delawares, 1600–1763 (Bethlehem, Pa.: Lehigh University Press, forthcoming).

41. Resolution requesting a warrant for two hundred acres for Tatamy, an Indian, 1769, Pennsylvania Land Papers, Moore Collection, HSP.
42. Hunter, “Moses (Tunda) Tatamy,” 258–72; James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 145; Marshall J. Becker, “The Boundary Between the Lenape and Munsee: The Forks of the Delaware as a Buffer Zone,” *Man in the Northeast* 26 (1983): 1–20.
43. Quoted in Merritt, “Dreaming of the Savior’s Blood,” 730.
44. Quoted in Reichel, ed., *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, 1:119–20.
45. Moses Tatamy, Account of Indian Complaints, Friendly Association Papers, 1:65, QCHC.
46. Reichel, ed., *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, 1:192.
47. Ibid., 1:193–94.
48. Peters to Thomas Penn, 4 Aug. 1756, Peters Letterbook, 1755–57, HSP.
49. Reichel, ed., *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, 1:200; Buck, *History of the Indian Walk*, 222–23.
50. Buck, *History of the Indian Walk*, 222–29, 236–38.
51. Reichel, ed., *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, 1:207.
52. Robert Hunter Morris to Moravian Indians, 4 Dec. 1755, in Reichel, ed., *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, 1:211.
53. Edward Shippen to William Allen, 16 Dec. 1755, HSP.
54. Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, 4 Jan. 1757, HSP.
55. Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, 7 Jan. 1757, HSP.
56. Conrad Weiser to Thomas Penn, 28 Feb. 1757, HSP.
57. Friendly Association Papers 1:63, QCHC.
58. *MPCP*, 7:109.
59. Thomas Penn to William Peters, 7 July 1756, HSP.

Chapter 10

1. Richard Peters identified the Stuarts as illegal settlers in 1750: see *MPCP*, 5:444.
2. Beverley W. Bond, ed., “The Captivity of Charles Stuart, 1755–57,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 13 (1926): 58–81.
3. Bond, ed., “Captivity of Charles Stuart,” 61–62. Alan Taylor’s review of James Merrell’s *Into the American Woods* calls for an investigation of ordinary settlers’ relations with Natives (“The Bad Birds,” *New Republic* 9 [August 1999]: 45–49).
4. I am defining “ordinary settlers” as the middling to poor farmers, tavern keepers, rural artisans (blacksmiths, millers, carpenters, weavers, etc.), and squatters living on small tracts of frontier land with their families. I also use the term to denote ordinary Indian settlers or villagers who are often neglected at the expense of well-known Indian sachems and warriors.
5. *PWJ*, 10:645.
6. For a detailed analysis of land tenure arrangements between Natives and colonists on the New York–Pennsylvania–Six Nations borders, see David L. Preston, “The Texture of Contact: European and Indian Settler Communities on the Iroquoian Borderlands, 1720–1780” (Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 2002).
7. Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, 31 July 1749, Thomas Penn Letterbooks, 2:272–73,

Thomas Penn Papers, HSP; Richard Peters to the Proprietors, 25 April 1749, Richard Peters Letterbooks, 1737–50, Richard Peters Papers, 348, HSP.

8. New York Council Minutes, 3 Mar. 1722, 13, 14 May 1746, New York Council Minutes, 1668–1783 (A1895), 12:250, 21:91–92, New York State Archives, Albany.

9. The proprietors launched three expeditions in 1748, 1750, and 1768 to eject squatters from disputed lands within their charter claims.

10. Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, “From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History,” *American Historical Review* 104 (1999): 814–41. For an exploration of the “Iroquoian borderlands” surrounding the Six Nations, see Preston, “Texture of Contact,” 2–17.

11. See James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man’s Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972); and D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on Five Hundred Years of History*, vol. 1, *Atlantic America, 1492–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 131–44.

12. Rowland Berthoff and John M. Murrin, “Feudalism, Communalism, and the Yeoman Freeholder: The American Revolution Considered as Social Accident,” in Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson, eds., *Essays on the American Revolution* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 256–88; Lemon, *Best Poor Man’s Country*, chap. 2; Alan Tully, *William Penn’s Legacy: Politics and Social Structure in Pennsylvania, 1726–1755* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 3–15.

13. The proprietors’ land purchases at the 1749 Philadelphia treaty, the 1754 Albany Conference, and the 1768 Fort Stanwix treaty encompassed the Susquehanna and Juniata valleys and much of the Ohio country. For explanations of the treaties, see William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998).

14. James Anderson, quoted in Patrick Griffin, “The People with No Name: Ulster’s Migrants and Identity Formation in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania,” *WMQ* 58 (2001): 587–614; *MPCP*, 9:509 (2d quotation); Lucy Simler, “Tenancy in Colonial Pennsylvania: The Case of Chester County,” *WMQ* 43 (1986): 542–69; James T. Lemon and Gary B. Nash, “The Distribution of Wealth in Eighteenth Century America: A Century of Change in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1693–1802,” *Journal of Social History* 2 (1968): 1–24.

15. Richard Maxwell Brown, “Backcountry Rebellions and the Homestead Ethic in America, 1740–1799,” in Richard Maxwell Brown and Don E. Fehrenbacher, eds., *Tradition, Conflict, and Modernization: Perspectives on the American Revolution* (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 73–99; Daniel Vickers, “Competency and Competition: Economic Culture in Early America,” *WMQ* 47 (1990): 3–29; Stephen Aron, *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1996), 79–81.

16. *PA*, 1st ser., 2:14 (1st quotation), 8th ser., 4:3325 (2d quotation); *MPCP*, 6:218–19 (3d quotation), 4:445 (4th quotation); Phillip W. Hoffman, “Simon Girty: His War on the Frontier,” in Nancy L. Rhoden and Ian K. Steele, eds., *The Human Tradition in the American Revolution* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2000), 221–40; Griffin, “People with No Name,” 587–614.

17. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 341; Aron, “Rights in the Woods,” 175–204; Aron, *How the West Was Lost*, chaps. 1 and 2; John Mack Faragher, *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer* (New York: Henry Holt, 1992), 19–23; Daniel H. Usner, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992). See also chapter 11, below.

18. Pennsylvania Provincial Council Minutes, 1 Sept. 1728, in Francis Jennings, William N. Fenton, Mary A. Druke, and David R. Miller, eds., *Iroquois Indians: A Documentary History of the Diplomacy of the Six Nations and Their League*, 50 microfilm reels (Woodbridge, Conn.: Research Publications, 1984), reel 10; *MPCP*, 3:599.
19. David Landy, "Tuscarora Among the Iroquois," in *Handbook*, 520; *MPCP*, 8:722–23; Barry C. Kent, Janet Rice, and Kakuko Ota, "A Map of Eighteenth Century Indian Towns in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 51, no. 4 (1981): 1–18, esp. 8–9, 12; Henry Harbaugh, *The Life of Rev. Michael Schlatter* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1857), 172–73.
20. George Armstrong, warrant no. 40, 3 Feb. 1755, Original Warrants, Cumberland County, Records of the Land Office (RG–17) (microfilm reel no. 3.46), PSA; New Purchase Register, entries 3793, Records of Land Office, PSA (microfilm reel 1.9); John W. Jordan, *A History of the Juniata Valley and Its Peoples*, 3 vols. (New York: Historical Publishing, 1913), 1:30–31 (quotations).
21. *MPCP*, 5:544 (1st quotation); "Diary of J. Martin Mack's, David Zeisberger's and Gottfried Rundt's Journey to Onondaga in 1752," in William M. Beauchamp, ed., *Moravian Journals Relating to Central New York, 1745–66* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Dehler Press, 1916), 151 (2d quotation), 179; *MPCP*, 7:676 (3d quotation). See also chapter 9, above, on Teedyuscung's role in intercultural diplomacy during the Seven Years' War.
22. Marshall J. Becker, "Hannah Freeman: An Eighteenth-Century Lenape Living and Working Among Colonial Farmers," *PMHB* 114 (1990): 249–70; *PA*, 8th ser., 2:1701; 1st ser., 1:239; 2d ser., 19:626; *MPCP*, 3:48–49, 4:656–58, 8:198–99, 247; "Journey to Onondaga in 1752," in Beauchamp, ed., *Moravian Journals*, 151; William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983); Virginia DeJohn Anderson, "King Philip's Herds: Indians, Colonists, and the Problem of Livestock in Early New England," *WMQ* 51 (1994): 601–24; Timothy Silver, *A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in the South Atlantic Forests, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
23. *PA*, 1st ser., 1:205–6 (1st quotation); *MPCP*, 3:507 (2d quotation); Jonathan Edwards, *The Life of David Brainerd*, ed. Norman Pettit, vol. 7 of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 347; Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley, *The Correspondence of John Bartram, 1734–1777* (Miami: University Press of Florida, 1992), 400 (4th quotation); Preston, "Texture of Contact," chaps. 1–4. On the Delaware Jargon, see chapter 2, above. On friendly relations between Euro-American settlers and the Conestoga Indians see also Rhoda Barber, *Journal*, HSP.
24. U. J. Jones, *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley* (Harrisburg: Telegraph Press, 1940; orig. pub. Philadelphia, 1856), 64–65.
25. See James H. Merrell, "Shikellamy, 'A Person of Consequence,'" in Robert S. Grumet, ed., *Northeastern Indian Lives, 1632–1816* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 227–57.
26. Abraham H. Cassell, ed., "Notes on the Iroquois and Delaware Indians," *PMHB* 1 (1877): 165–66; *PA*, 1st ser., 2:319–20.
27. *PA*, 8th ser., 4:3327; Merrell, "Shikellamy," 227–57; *MPCP*, 4:648, 561.
28. *PA*, 1st ser., 2:24 (1st quotation); *MPCP*, 5:389 (2d quotation); *MPCP*, 5:391–92; Warren Hofstra, "'The Extension of His Majesty's Dominions': The Virginia Backcountry and the Reconfiguration of Imperial Frontiers," *Journal of American History* 84 (1998): 1281–312.
29. *PA*, 1st ser., 2:15; Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, 1696–1760: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), 277–79; idem, *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: PHMC, 1965), 49–53, 168–70; *MPCP*, 5:394–95 (quotation).

30. PA, 1st ser., 2:15; John W. Jordan, ed., “The Journal of James Kenny, 1761–1763,” *PMHB* 37 (1913): 177.
31. PA, 1st ser., 2:24. Weiser later informed the Shamokin Indians that Scaroyady “had given liberty (with what right I could not tell) to settle.”
32. James Lynch, “The Iroquois Confederacy and the Adoption and Administration of Non-Iroquoian Individuals and Groups Prior to 1756,” *Man in the Northeast*, no. 30 (fall 1985): 83–99; Kathleen J. Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England, 1500–1650* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 43, 137–39; Anthony F. C. Wallace, “Woman, Land, and Society: Three Aspects of Aboriginal Delaware Life,” *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, no. 17 (1947): 1–35.
33. Michael N. McConnell, “Peoples ‘In Between’: The Iroquois and the Ohio Indians, 1720–1768,” in Richter and Merrell, eds., *Beyond the Covenant Chain*, 93–114; Paul A. W. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania*, 2d ed. (Harrisburg: PHMC, 1993), 181; Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 275.
34. *MPCP*, 5:407–8.
35. Richard Peters to the Proprietors, 5 July 1749, Richard Peters Letterbooks, 1737–50, 363, HSP; Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 297; Joseph S. Lucas, “The Course of Empire and the Long Road to Civilization: North American Indians and Scottish Enlightenment Historians,” *Explorations in Early American Culture* 4 (2000): 166–90.
36. Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 7 Feb. 1754, Berks and Montgomery Counties Miscellaneous Manuscripts, 1693–1869, HSP.
37. Richard Peters to the Proprietors, 16 May, 5 July 1749, Richard Peters Letterbooks, 1737–50, 357, 363; “Letter from Thomas Penn to James Tilghman, November 7, 1766,” *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 57 (1974): 239–48 (quotation p. 242); Woody Holton, “‘Rebel Against Rebel’: Enslaved Virginians and the Coming of the American Revolution,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 105 (1997): 157–92.
38. Thomas Penn to James Hamilton, 9 Oct. 1749, Thomas Penn Letterbooks, 2:390; Richard Peters to the Proprietors, 11 Sept. 1749, Richard Peters Letterbook, 1737–50, 381; Peters to the Proprietors, 5 May 1750, Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, 5:9; Conrad Weiser to Peters, 7 Feb. 1754, Berks and Montgomery Counties Manuscripts. For Indian-settler tenant relations, see New Purchase Applications, 1769, Land Records, PSA (microfilm reel 1.9) [Arthur Auchmuty, no. 46]; William Henry Egle, ed., *Minutes of the Board of Property, PA*, 2d ser., 1:239–43. Periodic famines and food shortages also may have induced some Susquehanna Indians to negotiate land tenure relationships that involved payment-in-kind: see “An Account of the Famine Among the Indians of the North and West Branch of the Susquehanna, in the Summer of 1748,” *PMHB* 16 (1892): 430–32; and James H. Merrell, “Unsettling the Early American Frontier,” in Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika Teute, eds., *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 23, 28. For Andrew Montour’s role, see Merrell, “‘The Cast of His Countenance’: Reading Andrew Montour,” in Ronald Hoffman et al., eds., *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 13–39.
39. “The Report of Richard Peters,” PA, 8th ser., 4:3321–32. For other narratives of Peters’s expedition, see Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 277–78, 294–97.
40. Richard Peters to the Proprietors, 12 July 1750, Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, 5:29; Thomas Penn to Peters, 27 Aug. 1750, Thomas Penn Letterbooks, 3:20; Abraham Slack (or Schlechl) never applied for a survey of his Path Valley tract. He lived there in the early 1760s but had relocated to the Wyoming Valley by 1769: Original Warrants, no. 167,

Cumberland County (microfilm reel 3.51); New Purchase Register, 1769, application no. 2580, Land Records, PSA (microfilm reel 1.9).

41. *PA*, 8th ser., 4:3321–32 (quotations pp. 3323, 3331, 3324).

42. *MPCP*, 5:452–55, 468–69.

43. *Ibid.*, 4:3324–25.

44. Using the households in the Peters's report as a sample, I was able to identify definitively forty-four of the sixty-one squatter households using the Pennsylvania Land Records, Minutes of the Board of Property, and Cumberland County tax lists from the 1750s and 1760s. For references to William and Mary White, see *PA*, 3d ser., 24:776; 20:567; for Peters's promises to settlers, see *Minutes of the Board of Property in PA*, 3d ser., 1:140, 152, 234, 241, 346, 2:248–49; and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 16 December 1763.

45. Richard Peters to the Proprietors, 20 July 1750, Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, 5:39.

46. Thomas Penn, quoted in Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988), 101–6; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 18 March 1756 (Delawares). On the 1754 Albany Congress, see Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 350–63; Jennings, *Empire of Fortune*, 104; and Timothy J. Shannon, *Indians and Colonists at the Crossroads of Empire: The Albany Congress of 1754* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).

47. *PA*, 2d ser., 2:684; Charles Desmond Dutrizac, "Local Identity and Authority in a Disputed Hinterland: The Pennsylvania-Maryland Border in the 1730s," *PMHB* 115 (1991): 35–62; Paul B. Moyer, "Wild Yankees: Settlement, Conflict, and Localism Along Pennsylvania's Northeast Frontier, 1760–1820" (Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 1999).

48. Dorothy V. Jones, *License for Empire: Colonialism by Treaty in Early America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), xii.

49. "Journal of James Kenny," 199; *MPCP*, 9:481–82, 507.

Chapter 11

1. Reports at the time disagree as to the exact number of Paxton Boys who attacked the Lancaster jail. On 27 Dec. 1763 both Sheriff John Hay and David Henderson estimated the size of the group at approximately fifty men. Edward Shippen, Sr., reported "upwards of a hundred men" riding into town (Hay to John Penn, *MPCP*, 9:103; David Henderson to Joseph Galloway, Friendly Association Papers, QCHC; Shippen to Penn, *MPCP*, 9:10).

2. Henry's description appears in John Dunbar, ed., *The Paxton Papers* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957), 29.

3. Benjamin Franklin, "A Narrative of the Late Massacres, in Lancaster County, of a Number of Indians," in Leonard Labaree, ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 11:53.

4. Penn to Assembly, 3 Jan. 1764, *MPCP*, 9:109.

5. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 9 Feb. 1764.

6. For a full text of the *Declaration and Remonstrance*, see Dunbar, ed., *Paxton Papers*, 101–10.

7. Brooke Hindle, "The March of the Paxton Boys," *WMQ* 3 (1946): 461–86. Dunbar, ed., *Paxton Papers*, introduction. Although his article is more narrative than analytical, Hubertis Cummings agrees with the contention that the Euro-American frontiersmen acted out of a democratic motive against an autocratic Philadelphia government ("The Paxton Killings," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 44 [1966]: 219–43).

8. James Kirby Martin, "The Return of the Paxton Boys and the *Historical State* of the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1764–1774," *PH* 38 (1971): 117–33.

9. James Crowley, "The Paxton Disturbance and Ideas of Order in Pennsylvania Politics," *PH* 37 (1970): 317–39; George Franz, *Paxton: A Study of Community Structure and Mobility in the Colonial Pennsylvania Backcountry* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989).
10. Alden T. Vaughan, "Frontier Banditti and the Indians: The Paxton Boys' Legacy, 1763–1775," *PH* 51 (1984): 2.
11. Richard Slotkin pioneered the proposition that violence against Indians was a constructive force in the development of an early American identity. He argued that the relation between White men and Indians and the wilderness was fundamentally violent and that that violence formed the root of the American identity (*Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600–1860* [Middletown Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1973]).
12. The most thorough and impressive treatment of Washington's skirmishes with the French and the subsequent global conflict is Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1765–1766* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000).
13. Although it is impossible to know the exact number of Euro-Pennsylvanians killed and captured during the war, historian Matthew Ward estimates that Delaware warriors and their French allies killed more than 1,500 Euro-Americans and took another 1,000 captive along the Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiers. See Ward, "La Guerre Sauvage: The Seven Years War on the Virginia and Pennsylvania Frontier" (PhD. diss., College of William and Mary, 1992), appendix C.
14. When the first wave of Scots-Irish settlers arrived in the 1720s and 1730s, Provincial Secretary James Logan explicitly supported their settlement in frontier regions because he believed that the people who "had so bravely defended Derry and Inniskillin" in Ireland would be suitable to defend provincial boundaries from potential Native American attacks (quoted in Franz, *Paxton*, 95).
15. Daniel Vickers, "Competency and Competition: Economic Culture in Early America," *WMQ* 47 (1990): 3–29.
16. My understanding of patriarchy and manhood as constructions shaped by age, a desire for economic independence, a need to control labor, and a sense of duty to protect and support family members has been informed by a number of scholars of early American history, including Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Anne Spencer Lombard, "Playing the Man: Conceptions of Masculinity in Anglo-American New England, 1675–1765" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1998); Daniel Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); and Lisa Wilson, *Ye Heart of a Man: The Domestic Life of Men in Colonial New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).
17. Weiser to Morris, 19 Nov. 1755, *PA*, 1st ser., 2:504–5.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. For a discussion of the hierarchy among patriarchs, see Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), chap. 3.
21. Lurgan Township, Cumberland County, petition to Governor Robert Morris, 1 Aug. 1755, *MPCP*, 6:533; Lancaster County petition to Morris, 1 Nov. 1755, *PA*, 1st ser., 2:450; Cumberland County petitions to Morris, 7 Aug. 1755, 21 Aug. 1756, *ibid.*, 385–86, 757–58.
22. Morris to the Assembly, 15 Oct. 1754, *MPCP*, 6:166.

23. Paul Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763–1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 17.
24. Petition of York inhabitants to Morris, n.d., *MPCP*, 7:233–34.
25. Petition of Derry Township to Denny, 16 May 1757, *PA*, 1st ser., 3:159.
26. Hoops to Morris, 3 Nov. 1755, *PA*, 1st ser., 2:462–63.
27. Earl P. Olmstead, *David Zeisberger: A Life Among the Indians* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1997), 96.
28. “A Brief Narrative of the Incursions and Ravages of the French and Indians in the Province of Pennsylvania,” 29 Dec. 1755, *MPCP*, 6:768.
29. James Burd to Edward Shippen, 2 Nov. 1755, *PA*, 1st ser., 2:455.
30. Potter to Peters, *MPCP*, 6:673–74.
31. Michael Roup to William Parsons, 24 Apr. 1757, *MPCP*, 7:493–94.
32. According to William Hunter, settlers typically selected an existing building, such as a well-built barn, church, house, or mill, for modifications to become a fort (*Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753–1758* [Harrisburg: PHMC, 1960], 549).
33. Michael Roup to William Parsons, 24 Apr. 1757, *MPCP*, 7:493.
34. General Council for Cumberland County, 30 Oct. 1755, Lamberton Scotch-Irish Collection, box 1, folder 23, HSP.
35. Burd to Edward Shippen, 2 Nov. 1755, *PA*, 1st ser., 2:455.
36. Jacob Morgan to William Denny, 4 Nov. 1755, *PA*, 1st ser., 3:30–31.
37. Groups such as these fit the model of rural crowds advanced by Thomas Slaughter, who maintains that rural crowds were distinct from the urban mobs historians have described in the revolutionary period because of “their interpersonal violence, their lack of respect for institutions, and their intolerance for lawful authority.” Frontier crowds in Pennsylvania from the first days of the war to the Paxton Boys fit this model (“Crowds in Eighteenth-Century America: Reflections and New Directions,” *PMHB* 115 [1991]: 14).
38. Weiser to Morris, 30 Oct. 1755, *MPCP*, 6:657–59, quotation from p. 657.
39. Parsons to Peters, 31 Oct. 1755, *PA*, 1st ser., 2:443.
40. I use the term *metonym* instead of *metaphor* to emphasize the cathartic power of Euro-American frontiersmen’s activities. The actions frontiersmen engaged in were not simple acts of substitution where an external or independent thing stood as a metaphor or substitute for the central object or objective. Further, analyzing frontiersmen’s actions as metonyms for war helps to explain otherwise irrational acts. Wasting ammunition in a time of war and scarcity was not an efficient strategy for waging war, but for frightened Euro-Americans, engaging in limited warlike actions was a way of participating in the larger processes of war without exposing themselves to additional danger. For an anthropological use of *metonymy*, see Pamela Wright, “The Timely Significance of Supernatural Mothers or Exemplary Daughters: The Metonymy of Identity in History,” in Jane Schneider and Rayna Rapp, eds., *Articulating Hidden Histories: Exploring the Influence of Eric R. Wolf* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995): 243–61. Roman Jakobson explores the linguistic relation between *metonymy* and *metaphor* in “The Metaphoric and Metonymic Poles,” in *Selected Writings*, vol. 2, *Word and Language* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), 254–59.
41. James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 24–25.
42. In his study of George Robert Twelves Hewes, Alfred Young documents how participation in crowd activity could alter an individual’s understanding of his society and its conflicts. Hewes’s participation in such events as the Boston Massacre and the Boston Tea Party not only politicized him, but also accelerated his movement toward a more democratic view of society. Thus, a mob could shape and legitimate a particular ideology, whether democracy

or the racialization of Indians (*The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution* [Boston: Beacon Press, 1999], 52–56).

43. The eastern Delaware leader Teedyuscung exemplified the porousness of the boundary between friend and enemy during the war. At the beginning of the war Teedyuscung, a man who had been baptized by the Moravians, led raids against Euro-American settlers. By 1756, however, he presented himself to the Pennsylvania government as a spokesman for the Delawares and the Six Nations and participated actively in the peace conferences at Easton. See Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), 39–40, 83–86, 103–6.

44. Dunbar, ed., *Paxton Papers*, 107.

45. For a detailed discussion of the conferences, see Steven Auth, *The Ten Years' War: Indian-White Relations in Pennsylvania, 1755–1765* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), chap. 4.

46. Horsfield to Morris, 7 July 1756, *MPCP*, 7:190–91.

47. Extract from William Parson's diary, 26 July 1756, *PA*, 1st ser., 2:725.

48. Spangenberg to Morris, 26 June 1756, *MPCP*, 7:173.

49. The disruptive settlers were subsequently released with a warning to behave better in the future (Weiser to Denny, 18 July 1757, *PA*, 1st ser., 3:221–22).

50. For the Moravians' efforts on behalf of the Indians, and their concerns about the danger inherent in hosting so many Indians in Bethlehem, see Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg to Israel Pemberton, 28 June 1756, Friendly Association papers, 1:137, QCHC; same to William Denny, 29 Nov. 1756, 23 Apr. 1757, *PA*, 1st ser., 3:69, 141; and same to Richard Peters, 31 July 1758, *ibid.*, 500–501.

51. Jack Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748–1783* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), chap. 7.

52. For a narrative summary of the activities of the Friendly Association during its eight-year life span (1756–64), see Theodore Thayer, "The Friendly Association," *PMHB* 67 (1943): 356–76. Francis Jennings resurrected the role of the Friendly Association from the dustbin of history when he credited the Quakers with "the rebuilding of British credit among Indians" (*Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* [New York: W. W. Norton, 1988], 339). The anger the Paxton Boys felt toward pacifist Quakers generally, and the Friendly Association particularly, was apparent in the eighth point of the *Remonstrance* they submitted to the governor, which cited Israel Pemberton "for not only abett[ing] our Indian Enemies, but [keeping] up a private intelligence with them" (Dunbar ed., *Paxton Papers*, 109). Pemberton so feared the wrath of the Paxton Boys that he fled Philadelphia as they approached the city in winter 1764 (James Pemberton to John Fothergill, Mar. 7, 1764, Pemberton Papers, 34:127–28, HSP).

53. The construction of an Indian racial identity was not a one-way process. While Euro-American settlers increasingly pointed to a singular Indian race, Native spiritual leaders also sought to build a pan-Indian unity in opposition to Euro-Americans; see Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), chap. 2. Daniel K. Richter points to 1763 as a crucial turning point in the evolution of racial thinking and antagonism on the part of both European and Native Americans: "In parallel ways, Pontiac and the Paxton Boys preached the novel idea that all Native people were 'Indians,' that all Euro-Americans were 'Whites,' and that all on one side must unite to destroy the other" (*Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001], 207). Richter and I agree that 1763 was a crucial turning point in the process of mutual racialization and that the events of that year did not mark the end of that process.

54. Joseph S. Lucas, "Conquering the Passions: Indians, Europeans, and the Idea of Cultural Change in Early American Social Thought, 1580–1830" (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1999), 137–38, 158–65.
55. The Conestogas signed their first treaty of alliance with the Pennsylvania government in 1701 (*MPCP*, 2:10).
56. Morris to John Ross, 8 Mar. 1756, *PA*, 1st ser., 2:595.
57. Elder to Peters, n.d. Nov. 1755, *MPCP*, 6:704–5.
58. Same to same, 30 July 1757, *PA*, 1st ser., 3:251.
59. "Some Account of the Missions in Pennsylvania, &c., delivered at a Convention of the Clergy of that Province at Philadelphia," 2 May 1760, in William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, 5 vols. (Hartford, Conn.: Church Press, 1870–78), 2:316.
60. Murray to the Secretary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 19 Apr. 1763, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to American Colonial Church*, 2:346.
61. Hamilton to James Burd, 22 Feb. 1760, Shippen Papers, 5:15, HSP.
62. Edward Shippen to James Burd, 1 Sept. 1762, Burd-Shippen Papers, Miscellaneous Items, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
63. McKee to Burd, 9 July 1763, Shippen Papers, 6:41.
64. David Crockett, *Narrative of the Life of David Crockett of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1973); Michael A. Lofaro, ed., *Tall Tales of Davy Crockett: The Second Natville Series of Crockett Almanacs, 1839–1841* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987); Frank M. Meola, "A Passage Through 'Indians': Masculinity and Violence in Francis Parkman's *The Oregon Trail*," *American Transcendental Quarterly* 13 (1999): 5–25.

Chapter 12

1. For a more thoroughgoing description of this event, see James H. Merrell, "'The Cast of His Countenance': Reading Andrew Montour," in Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Fredrika J. Teute, eds., *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 13–17. See also Examination of Moravians, 2 Nov. 1755, *PA*, 1st ser., 2:459–60; and John Harris to Governor Robert Morris, 28 Oct. 1755, *MPCP*, 6:654–55.
2. Proclamation of Reward for the Perpetrator of the Murder of Edward Gobin, August 11, 1804, *PA*, 4th ser., 4:535–36.
3. Several recent studies have noted frontier insurgents' use of Indian disguise; more important, they have shed light on the fact that between 1750 and 1800 America's hinterlands were the scene of numerous disputes over land and authority that pitted White settlers, government officials, and land speculators against one another. See Alan Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors: The Revolutionary Settlement of the Maine Frontier, 1760–1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); idem, "Agrarian Independence: Northern Land Rioters After the Revolution," in Alfred F. Young, ed., *Beyond the American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1993): 221–45; Michael Bellesiles, *Revolutionary Outlaws: Ethan Allen and the Struggle for Independence on the Early American Frontier* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993); and Paul B. Moyer, "Wild Yankees: Settlement, Conflict, and Localism Along Pennsylvania's Northeast Frontier, 1760–1820" (Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 1999).
4. Some of the more recent studies that discuss Indian-European relations and the impact of colonization on Pennsylvania's Indians include Peter C. Mancell, *Valley of Opportu-*

nity: *Economic Culture Along the Upper Susquehanna, 1700–1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); and James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999).

5. For narratives of the Wyoming dispute, see SCP, passim.

6. Alan Taylor, "'A Kind of Warr': The Contest for Land on the Northeast Frontier, 1750–1820," WMQ 46 (1989): 4–5, 11; Bellesiles, *Revolutionary Outlaws*, 27–32; Thomas L. Purvis, "Origins and Patterns of Agrarian Unrest in New Jersey, 1735–1754," WMQ 39 (1982): 602–10; William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 54–81.

7. William E. Price, "A Study of a Frontier Community in Transition: The History of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, 1750–1800" (Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 1979), 9; Robert J. Taylor, *Colonial Connecticut: A History* (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1979), 29, 56–59; SCP, 1:lviii–lxii.

8. Julian P. Boyd, "Connecticut's Experiment in Expansion: The Susquehannah Company, 1753–1803," *Journal of Economic and Business History* 27 (1931): 40–41; Price, "Frontier Community in Transition," 23–25; SCP, 1:lviii–lxiv.

9. SCP, 1:xxxii–xxxiii, lxxiv–lxxv; Boyd, "Connecticut's Experiment in Expansion," 42–43. For more on New England's seventeenth-century town corporations, see John Frederick Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

10. Susquehannah Company meeting minutes, 18 July 1753, 1 May, 20 Nov. 1754, SCP, 1:28–29, 86–87, 168; Boyd, "Connecticut's Experiment in Expansion," 42.

11. Susquehannah Company meeting minutes, 18 July, 6 Sept. 1753, SCP, 1:28–29, 40–41.

12. Richard Peters to the Pennsylvania Proprietors, 27 Nov. 1753, SCP, 1:42; Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, 1 Feb. 1754, SCP, 1:51–52.

13. James Hamilton to Roger Wolcott, 4 Mar. 1754, SCP, 1:56; Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), 47–53.

14. Richard Peters to Sir William Johnson, 18 May 1761, SCP, 2:98.

15. For a comprehensive examination of the Albany Congress and its impact, see Timothy J. Shannon, *Indians and Colonists at the Crossroads of Empire: The Albany Congress of 1754* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).

16. SCP, 1:lxvii–lxviii, Deed from Indians of the Six Nations to the Susquehannah Company, 11 July 1754, SCP, 1:101–21; Shannon, *Indians and Colonists*, 108–9.

17. Shannon, *Indians and Colonists*, 161–71; Francis Jennings, "'Pennsylvania Indians' and the Iroquois," in Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds., *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600–1800* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 75–91.

18. For a more detailed account of Delaware attitudes, their involvement in the Seven Years' War, and how their decision to go to war was connected with the Wyoming dispute, see SCP, 2:i–xvi; Memorandum of Conrad Weiser's Conversations with Moses Tetamy and Others, 26 Nov. 1756, SCP, 2:2–5; Thomas Penn to William Logan, 21 June 1757, SCP, 2:11; and Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988), 263–81.

19. A good description of the process by which the Delawares made peace with the English and the Six Nations can be found in Jennings, *Empire of Fortune*, 274–81, 342–48, 396–403.

20. Richard Peters to Lewis Gordon, 15 Sept. 1760, SCP, 2:24; Memorandum of a Confer-

ence with Teedyuscung, 18 Sept. 1760, *SCP*, 2:25; Minutes of the Indian Conference at Easton, Aug. 1761, *SCP*, 2:111–12.

21. Susquehannah Company meeting minutes, 19 May, 27 July 1762, *SCP*, 2:130–31, 145–46.

22. Wallace, *King of the Delawares*, 254–58; *SCP*, 2:xxvi–xxvii; Conference with Teedyuscung, 19 Nov. 1762, *SCP*, 2:180–83.

23. For an overview of Teedyuscung's efforts to resist the Connecticut claim, see *SCP*, 2:xvii–xxxii; for an account of Teedyuscung's death and the circumstances that surrounded it, see Wallace, *King of the Delawares*, 258–61.

24. For an examination of the imperial government's involvement in the Wyoming dispute, see *SCP*, 2:xxxiii–xlii; and Instructions from the Privy Council to Thomas Fitch, 15 June 1763, *SCP*, 2:256.

25. Wallace, *King of the Delawares*, 261–66; Frederick J. Stefon, "The Wyoming Valley," in John B. Frantz and William Pencak, eds., *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 134–36.

26. Dorothy V. Jones, *License for Empire: Colonialism by Treaty in Early America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 21–35, 58–63, 75–92; Michael N. McConnell, "Peoples 'In Between': The Iroquois and the Ohio Indians, 1720–1768," in Richter and Merrell, eds., *Beyond the Covenant Chain*, 93–112; Peter Marshall, "Sir William Johnson and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1768," *Journal of American Studies* 1 (1967): 149–79.

27. *SCP*, 3:i–xvi; Susquehannah Company meeting minutes, 28 Dec. 1768, *SCP*, 3:43–47; Instructions to Charles Stewart and Others, 1769, *SCP*, 3:331–32; James Kirby Martin, "The Return of the Paxton Boys and the Historical State of the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1764–1774," *PH* 38 (1971): 126.

28. Oscar Jewell Harvey, *A History of Wilkes-Barre* (Wilkes-Barre, Pa.: Raeder Press, 1909), 2:640–44; Stewart Pearce, *Annals of Luzerne County* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1866), 100–119; Deposition of John Philip De Hass, September 26, 1770, *MPCP*, 9:682–84.

29. Harvey, *History of Wilkes-Barre*, 2:640–41; Pearce, *Annals of Luzerne County*, 101.

30. Alexander Graydon to James Burd, October 16, 1763, *SCP*, 2:272; extract from the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 27 Oct. 1763, *SCP*, 2:277; George W. Franz, *Paxton: A Study of Community Structure and Mobility in the Colonial Pennsylvania Backcountry* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), 66–67.

31. For an overview of the Paxton Boys' massacres and Pennsylvania's frontier crisis, see Alden T. Vaughan, "Frontier Banditti and the Indians: The Paxton Boys' Legacy," *PH* 51 (1984): 1–29, and Brooke Hindle, "The March of the Paxton Boys," *WMQ* 3 (1946): 461–86.

32. Robert G. Crist, "Cumberland County," in Franz and Pencak, eds., *Beyond Philadelphia*, 112–13; Eleanor M. Webster, "Insurrection at Fort Loudon in 1765, Rebellion or Preservation of the Peace?" *Western Pennsylvania History Magazine* 47 (1964): 125–40; Dorothy Fennell, "From Rebelliousness to Insurrection: A Social History of the Whiskey Rebellion, 1765–1802" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1981), 10; Lt. Col. Reid to General Gage, 1 June 1765, 4 June 1765, *MPCP*, 9:268–69; General Gage to John Penn, 16 June 1769, *MPCP*, 9:267–68.

33. Crist, "Cumberland County," 113–15; Martin, "Return of the Paxton Boys," 121–23; Deposition of William Blyth, 19 January 1768, *MPCP*, 9:414.

34. Richard M. Brown, "Back Country Rebellions and the Homestead Ethic in America, 1740–1799," in Richard M. Brown and Don E. Fehrenbacher, eds., *Tradition, Conflict, and Modernization: Perspectives on the American Revolution* (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 76–79.

35. SCP, 3:xv–xviii; Edmund Physick to Thomas Penn, 19 Apr. 1769, SCP, 3:101–2, 103n2; Edmund Physick to Thomas Penn, 28 Sept. 1769, SCP, 3:185; Martin, “Return of the Paxton Boys,” 126–27.
36. SCP, 4:vi–vii; Petition of Lazarus Young and Others, 11 Sept. 1769, SCP, 3:176–77; Executive Committee to John Montgomery and Lazarus Young, 15 Jan. 1770, SCP, 4:5–6; Martin, “Return of the Paxton Boys,” 120, 128–30.
37. John Penn to Thomas Penn, March 10, 1770, SCP, 4:42–43.
38. SCP, 3:xxiii–xxvi; Susquehannah Company meeting minutes, 12 Apr. 1769, SCP, 3:96–98.
39. For narratives of the first Pennamite-Yankee war, see James R. Williamson and Linda A. Fossler, *Zebulon Butler: Hero of the Revolutionary Frontier* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1995), 18–25; Harvey, *History of Wilkes-Barre*, 2:625–796; and Stefon, “Wyoming Valley,” 133–52.
40. Eliphalet Dyer and Others to Jonathan Trumbull, 27 Mar. 1771, SCP, 4:192, 194–95n; Zebulon Butler’s Memorandum Book, February–May 1770, SCP, 4:81–82; Warrant for the Arrest of Lazarus Stewart and Others, 20 March 1770, SCP, 4:50–51.
41. For an overview of the Paxton Boys’ involvement in the Wyoming dispute and of Pennamite-Yankee violence, see SCP, 4:i–xxv; and Moyer, “Wild Yankees,” 25–37.
42. Charles Stewart to John Penn, 21 Jan. 1771, SCP, 4:153–54; Deposition of William Sims, 21 Jan. 1771, SCP, 4:155–56; Deposition of William Nimens, 25 Jan. 1771, SCP, 4:156–57; Deposition of Peter Kachlein, 31 Jan. 1771, SCP, 4:163–64.
43. Act of the Connecticut General Assembly Erecting the Town of Westmoreland, Jan. 1774, SCP, 5:268–69. For an account of the relation between the Wyoming dispute and revolutionary loyalties, see Ann M. Ousterhout, “Frontier Allies: Indians and Tories,” in *A State Divided: Opposition in Pennsylvania to the American Revolution* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1987), 231–45, and idem, “Frontier Vengeance: Connecticut Yankees vs. Pennamites in the Wyoming Valley,” *PH* 62 (1995): 330–63.
44. SCP, 5:l–lii; extract from *Connecticut Courant*, 22 Jan. 1776, SCP, 6:422–25; Sheriff William Scull and Others to Governor Penn, 30 Dec. 1775, SCP, 6:425–26.
45. SCP, 7:xvi–xvii; Ousterhout, “Frontier Vengeance,” 336–37. For information on Vanderlip, see Minutes of a Meeting of the Proprietors and Settlers Held in Wilkes-Barre, 14 Sept. 1773, SCP, 5:167–68; Minutes of a Meeting of the Proprietors and Settlers in Wilkes-Barre, 22 Nov. 1774, SCP, 6:292–93; Ousterhout, *State Divided*, 272–73n.
46. Mancall, *Valley of Opportunity*, 130–59; Gregory Knouff, “‘An Arduous Service’: The Pennsylvania Backcountry Soldiers’ Revolution,” *PH* 61 (1994): 45–74; Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 26–64.
47. Harvey, *History of Wilkes-Barre*, 2:951–52; 3:1254–55, 1277–79; Mancall, *Valley of Opportunity*, 139.
48. David Craft, *History of Bradford County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1878), 101–3; James Edward Brady, “Wyoming: A Study of John Franklin and the Connecticut Settlement into Pennsylvania” (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1973), 20–22, 146–86.
49. Proclamation Announcing the Trenton Decree, 6 Jan. 1783, SCP, 7:247–49. A detailed account of the events leading up to the Trenton Decree can be found in SCP, 7:xxii–xxxiii, 144–246.
50. Moyer, “Wild Yankees,” 50–88; SCP, 7:xxxiii–xxxix, 8:xvi–xxii.
51. Knouff, “‘Arduous Service,’” 68; SCP, 9:209–10.
52. Deposition of William Brink, 27 July 1784, SCP, 8:7–8; Deposition of Henry Brink, 15 Aug. 1784, PA, 10:651; Deposition of Wilhelmus Van Gordon, 15 Aug. 1784, PA, 10:652; Deposi-

tion of Catherine Cortright, 11 Aug. 1784, *PA*, 10:642; John Franklin to William Samuel Johnson, Eliphalet Dyer, and Jesse Root, 11 Oct. 1784, *SCP*, 8:109–10.

53. John Franklin's Diary, 3 July to 7 Dec. 1784, *SCP*, 8:155–56.

54. Deposition of James Moore, 14 Sept. 1784, *PA*, 10:656–57; Deposition of John Stickafoos, 24 Sept. 1784, *PA*, 10:667–68; Deposition of Harmon Brink, 22 Sept. 1784, *PA*, 10:661.

55. Alexander Patterson to John Armstrong Jr., 28 Sept. 1784, *SCP*, 8:85; Deposition of Henry Shoemaker, 28 Sept. 1784, in Harvey, *History of Wilkes-Barre*, 3:1438–39.

56. John Franklin to Frederick Antes, Daniel Montgomery, and William Bonam, 23 Oct. 1784, *SCP*, 8:130–31; John Armstrong, Jr., to John Dickinson, 25 Oct. 1784, *SCP*, 8:135; Deposition of John Armstrong, Jr., 28 July 1784, *PA*, 10:623–24.

57. Deposition of Henry Brink, 14 Jan. 1785, *SCP*, 8:200.

58. Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 39.

59. Charles W. Upham, *The Life of Timothy Pickering*, 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1873), 2:381–82; Samuel Wallis to Samuel Meredith, 11 Oct. 1792, *SCP*, 10:161; Deposition of Thomas Smiley, 15 July 1801, in Craft, *History of Bradford County*, 45–46.

60. For insights into the character of popular protest in early modern Europe, see Buchanan Sharp, "Popular Protest in Seventeenth-Century England," in Barry Reay, ed., *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 271–308; Martin Ingram, "Ridings, Rough Music and Mocking Rhymes in Early Modern England," *ibid.*, 166–97; and William Pencak, Matthew Dennis, and Simon P. Newman, eds., *Riot and Revelry in Early America* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002). For an exploration of the links between European popular protest and backcountry unrest in America, see Paul B. Moyer, "A Riot of Devils: Indian Imagery and Popular Protest in the Northeastern Backcountry, 1760–1845" (master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1994), 10–18.

61. Moyer, "Riot of Devils," 32–41; Peter Shaw, *American Patriots and the Rituals of Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 204–20; Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 10–37.

62. Moyer, "Riot of Devils," 18–31; Bellesiles, *Revolutionary Outlaws*, 91; Alan Taylor, "Agrarian Independence," 222–23; *idem*, *Liberty Men*, 185–205.

63. For an account of the decline of Wild Yankee resistance and the settlement of the Wyoming dispute, see Moyer, "Wild Yankees," 241–71.

64. Taylor, *Liberty Men*, 185–89.

Chapter 13

1. On the general early colonial English tendency to comment on Indian cultural differences rather than skin color, see Alden T. Vaughan, "From White Man to Redskin: Changing Anglo-American Perceptions of the American Indian," *American Historical Review* 86 (1982): 917–53. On the development of racial ideology among Pennsylvanians in the era of the Seven Years' War, see chapter 11, above, and Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

2. Dana D. Nelson, *National Manhood: Capitalist Citizenship and the Imagined Fraternity of White Men* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1998); David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1999); Alexander Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Verso, 1990); and Carol Smith-Rosenberg, "Dis-Covering the Subject of the 'Great Constitutional Discussion,' 1786–1789," *JAH* 79 (1992):

841–73. On the movement toward universal White manhood suffrage beginning in the Jeffersonian era and continuing through the 1830s and 1840s, see Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 28–29. On the consolidation of racism in the wake of postrevolutionary northern emancipation, see, e.g., Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 246–79. On the varied yet complementary ways that the racial Othering of Indians and African Americans served to bolster the power of dominant Euro-Americans, see Patrick Wolfe, "Land, Labor, and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race," *American Historical Review* 106 (2001): 866–905.

3. RWPF, R11329; R11329; (M804); John C. Dann, ed., *The Revolution Remembered: Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 283, 310–11.

4. *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, 17 Oct. 1778. On Indian motives for fighting in the Revolution as a defense of their own communities and independence, see Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1812* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 65–89; Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 366–412.

5. *Pennsylvania Packet*, 8 Apr. 1777; Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 26–64, quotation from p. 46. On settler intrusions on Indian land and murders of Indians straining neutrality, see Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 65–78.

6. Daniel Brodhead to Captain Clark, 11 Oct. 1779, Order Book of Daniel Brodhead, Darlington Memorial Library, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Orderly Book of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, Draper Manuscript Collection, microfilm, 2 NN 33, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.; William Irvine to George Washington, 20 Apr. 1782, in C. W. Butterfield, ed., *Washington-Irvine Correspondence* (Madison, Wis., 1882), 109. The Eighth Pennsylvania (Continental Army) Regiment was largely recruited from the frontier regions of the state; see John B. B. Trussell in *The Pennsylvania Line: Organization and Operations* (Harrisburg: PHMC, 1993), 106.

7. RWPF, S13746; S22073; S7963; R7207; S12751; W24117; S23042; W5155; S22341; S7377.

8. Karen Halttunen, "Early American Murder Narratives: The Birth of Horror," in Richard Wrightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, eds., *The Power of Culture: Critical Essays in American History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 67–101, quotation from p. 85; Petition of Westmoreland Militia, 23 Jan. 1781, SCP, 7:79–80.

9. RWPF, S12779; S23637; S4731; W5155; Dann, *Revolution Remembered*, 304.

10. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 13 Mar. 1776, 14 July, 20 Oct. 1779; Joseph Martin to Col. B. Logan, 20 Feb. 1783, Draper Manuscript Collection, 46 J 74; Erkuries Beatty, "Journal of an Expedition to Onondaga," *PA*, 2d ser., 15:223; "Petition of the Inhabitants of Westmoreland to the Continental Congress," 12 Mar. 1778, SCP, 8:38. On the Wyoming Valley region and the conflict between "Yankees" and Pennamite "Tories," see Paul B. Moyer, "Wild Yankees: Settlement, Conflict, and Localism Along Pennsylvania's Northeast Frontier, 1760–1820" (Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 1999); Anne M. Ousterhout, *A State Divided: Opposition in Pennsylvania to the American Revolution* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1987), 5, 230–70; William E. Price, "A Study of a Frontier Community in Transition: The History of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, 1750–1800" (Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 1979), 131–32; and chapter 12, above.

11. Given such imprecise and historically evolving understandings of Whiteness, it is no surprise that historians themselves have difficulty defining the term. For a critique of recent

“Whiteness studies scholarship” that takes its practitioners to task for definitional vagueness and elusive discussions of causality and power, see Eric Arneson, “Whiteness and the Historians’ Imagination” *International Labor and Working Class History Journal*, no. 60 (fall 2001): 3–32. For an effective response to Arneson that acknowledges such limitations but defends the utility of the field, see Eric Foner, “Response to Eric Arneson,” *ibid.*, 57–60.

12. William Rogers, “Journal of Reverend William Rogers, D.D.,” *PA*, 2d ser., 15:270; Beatty, “Journal of Expedition to Onondaga,” *ibid.*, 242.

13. Quoted in Dann, *Revolution Remembered*, 259. Equations of certain ethnic groups with specific skin colors was varied and unsystematic as reported in the popular Pennsylvania press of the mid-eighteenth century. On 25 July 1775, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* ran an advertisement regarding a runaway “English servant man,” Stephen Archer, who was described as having a “brown complexion.” On other occasions, the same paper referred to a runaway Irish servant’s “yellow complexion” (30 July 1766), a “Negroe Man, named Tony” who was “of a very yellow complexion” (7 May 1767), and an Irish servant, Brian Rooney with a “black complexion” (10 Apr. 1766).

14. On the ethnic, religious, and local disputes that divided European Americans on the Pennsylvania frontier both before and during the Revolution, see the essays in John B. Frantz and William Pencak, eds., *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Gregory Knouff, “The Common People’s Revolution: Race, Class, Masculinity, and Locale in Pennsylvania, 1775–1783” (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1996), 314–25; and Liam Riordan, “Identity and Revolution: Everyday Life and Crisis in Three Delaware River Towns,” *PH* 64 (1997): 56–101. On the ethnic heterogeneity and conflict in the greater Ohio Valley, see Elizabeth A. Perkins, *Border Life: Experience and Memory in the Revolutionary Ohio Valley* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 81–115. On the 1777 Pennsylvania militia law that made “every white male person” liable for militia service, see *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 26 Mar. 1777. On the White male status as a prerequisite for loyalty oaths and the militia law in Pennsylvania, see Theodore C. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, eds. and trans., *The Notebook of a Colonial Clergyman: Condensed from the Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1959), 171–74.

15. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 May 1779; James Dunlop to Jonathan Hoge, 22 June 1778, RPRG, reel 14, frame 309; *Pennsylvania Packet*, 6 May, 13 Aug. 1778; John Piper to President Wharton, 4 May 1778, RPRG, reel 13, frame 1287.

16. RWPF, S16378; R8633, R1638; Dann, *Revolution Remembered*, 260–61.

17. Quoted in Dann, *Revolution Remembered*, 254.

18. For more specifics on the common military culture of torture, killing prisoners, and scalping that emerged via cultural exchange among both revolutionaries and Indians, see Gregory T. Knouff, “Soldiers and Violence on the Pennsylvania Frontier,” in Frantz and Pencak, eds., *Beyond Philadelphia*, 171–93. On the role of race and simultaneous and contradictory desire and repulsion toward the other in the construction of early American national subjectivity, see Smith-Rosenberg, “Dis-Covering the Subject,” 843–48.

19. Quoted in Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 75.

20. Edward Hand to Jasper Yeates, 2 Oct. 1777, in Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777–1778* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1912), 119; John Gibson to Edward Hand, 1 Aug. 1777, *ibid.*, 35; John Gibson to Edward Hand, 1 Aug. 1777, Edward Hand Correspondence, 1777–1785, Darlington Memorial Library, University of Pittsburgh; Edward Hand to the Delawares, 17 Sept. 1777, in Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defense*, 86. On the alliance of Delawares with the revolutionaries and the latter’s increasing reluctance to differentiate between friendly, neutral, and

hostile Delawares, see Carola Wessel, “‘We Do Not Want to Introduce Anything New’: Transplanting the Communal Life from Herrnhut to the Upper Ohio Valley” in Hartmut Lehmann, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renate Wilson, eds., *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

21. “Portion of the Narrative of Captain John Stuart,” in Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defense*, 159.

22. Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 77–78; Orders, 29 July 1779, Orderly Book of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, Draper Manuscripts Collection, 2 NN 108.

23. Quoted in Randolph C. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989 [orig. pub., 1940]), 250.

24. Daniel Brodhead to Joseph Reed, 2 Nov. 1780, RPRG, reel 16, frame 1273; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 81–83.

25. Nancy Shoemaker, “How Indians Got to Be Red,” *American Historical Review* 102 (1997): 625–44; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 47–89, quotation from p. xiii.

26. John Piper to President Wharton, 4 May 1778, RPRG, reel 12, frame 1286; Examination of Richard Weston, 22 May 1778, *ibid.*, reel 14, frame 93–94.

27. Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 47–89.

28. John Piper to President Wharton, 4 May 1778, RPRG, reel 12, frame 1286.

29. William Irvine to George Washington, 16 Apr. 1783, in Butterfield, ed., *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, 149.

30. *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, 16 Apr. 1782.

31. Solon J. Buck and Elizabeth Hawthorn Buck, *The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1939), 197–98; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 85–87; Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 75–78.

32. William Irvine to George Washington, 20 Apr. 1782 in Butterfield, ed., *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, 99; David Howell to Moses Brown, 6 Nov. 1782, in Paul H. Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789* (CD-Rom edition, Summerfield, Fla.: Historical Database, 1998), 18:448. On the rationalizations for killing the Moravian Delawares, see Buck and Buck, *Planting of Civilization*, 197, and White, *Middle Ground*, 390.

33. Slaughter, *Whiskey Rebellion*, 75–77.

34. See chapter 11, above. My interpretation of what transpired at Gnadenhütten builds upon Thomas Slaughter’s theoretical perspective in his analysis of the Paxton Boys’ massacre of the Conestoga in 1764 in “Crowds in Eighteenth Century America: Reflections and New Directions,” *PMHB* 115 (1991): 3–34.

35. Paul A. W. Wallace, ed., *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958), 189–99; quotation from p. 195.

36. *Ibid.*, 193.

37. Slaughter, *Whiskey Rebellion*, 76; White, *Middle Ground*, 190–91.

38. Wallace, *Thirty Thousand Miles*, 197; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 86–89.

39. Gordon S. Wood, “Equality and Social Conflict in the American Revolution,” *WMQ* 51 (1994): 703–16. The pension applications were recorded in the 1820s and 1830s, a period in which, according to Alden Vaughan in “From White Man to Redskin,” 917–53, the term *Red* was popularly used to describe Indians and their supposed complexions. The veterans preferred to imply that Indians were non-White rather than having any specific skin color of their own.

40. Jill Lepore, “Remembering American Frontiers: King Philip’s War and the American Imagination” in Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute, eds., *Contact Points: American*

Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 327–60; Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600–1860* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1973), 313–516; White, *Middle Ground*, 368–75; and Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 10–37.

41. Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, eds., *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: St. Martin's Press, 1995); John Mack Faragher, "More Motley Than Mackinaw: From Ethnic Mixing to Ethnic Cleansing on the Frontier of the Lower Missouri, 1783–1833" in Cayton and Teute, eds., *Contact Points*, 304–26; Bernard W. Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973).

42. Larry E. Tise, *The American Counterrevolution: A Retreat from Liberty, 1783–1800* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1998), 453–80; Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 246–79; Lois E. Horton "From Class to Race in Early America: Northern Post-Emancipation Reconstruction," *Journal of the Early Republic* 19 (1999): 629–49; Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness*, 58–59.

43. Smith-Rosenberg, "Dis-Covering the Subject," 841–73; Joan R. Gundersen, *To Be Useful to the World: Women in Revolutionary America, 1740–1790* (New York: Twayne, 1997), 167–84; Susan Scheckel, *The Insistence of the Indian: Race and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 3–14, 151.

Afterword

1. Douglas Greenberg, "The Middle Colonies in Recent American Historiography," *WMQ* 36 (1979): 416.

2. Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail; Or, The Ventures and Adventures of the Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path, with Some New Annals of the Old West, and the Records of Some Strong Men and Some Bad Ones* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911); C. Hale Sipe, *The Indian Chiefs of Pennsylvania; Or, A Story of the Part Played by the American Indians in the History of Pennsylvania, Based Primarily on the Pennsylvania Archives and Colonial Records, and Built Around the Outstanding Chiefs* (Butler, Pa.: Ziegler Printing, 1927); Sipe, *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania: An Account of the Indian Events, in Pennsylvania, of the French and Indian War, Pontiac's War, Lord Dunmore's War, the Revolutionary War and the Indian Uprising from 1789 to 1795* (Harrisburg: Telegraph Press, 1929).

3. Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, 1696–1760: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945); Paul A. W. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania*, rev. ed. by William A. Hunter (Harrisburg: PHMC, 1986 [orig. pub. 1961]); Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949).

4. Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from Its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984); Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988). Since Jennings's work, a handful of other scholars have examined the Pennsylvania frontier. See, e.g., Peter C. Mancall, *Valley of Opportunity: Economic Culture Along the Upper Susquehanna, 1700–1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), esp. chaps. 1–4; James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999); Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763* (Chapel Hill: Uni-

versity of North Carolina Press, 2003). An excellent overview of the literature up to 1990 and a useful interpretation of Indian history in this region is Daniel K. Richter, “A Framework for Pennsylvania Indian History,” *PH* 57 (1990): 236–61.

5. This sentence is inspired by Edmund S. Morgan, “Conflict and Consensus in the American Revolution,” in Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson, eds., *Essays on the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), 309. Morgan, himself echoing Patrick Henry’s 1765 speech that “Charles had his Cromwell,” wrote of “a society where a Hamilton had his Jefferson, a Hoover his Roosevelt, and a Nixon—might profit by their example.”

6. It might also be that the dearth of Native groups in the state today, when Indians are visible and vocal in other states up and down the eastern seaboard, could further limit interest in Pennsylvania’s Indian past.

7. William N. Fenton, “Locality as a Basic Factor in the Development of Iroquois Social Structure,” in idem, ed., *Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 149 (Washington, D.C., 1951), 39–54.

8. Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 5.

9. He is not the first to do so. See Thomas J. Sugrue, “The Peopling and Depeopling of Early Pennsylvania: Indians and Colonists, 1680–1720,” *PMHB* 116 (1992): 3–31. Nonetheless, it seems fair to say that that Founder’s reputation remains, in most minds, untarnished. An excellent survey is J. W. Frost, “‘Wear the Sword as Long as Thou Canst’: William Penn in Myth and History,” *Explorations in Early American Culture* 4 (2000): 13–45.

10. Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, chap. 7.

11. Quoted in chapter 10, above.

12. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

13. White himself was careful to say that his middle ground “was not an Eden, and it should not be romanticized. Indeed, it could be a violent and sometimes horrifying place” (*ibid.*, x). Those following in his footsteps have been less careful about offering a balanced, nuanced view of intercultural relations.

14. James Axtell, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 182–221.

15. Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500–1643* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960), chaps. 2 and 6.

16. Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip’s War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998).

17. The classic accounts of this conflict are Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon’s Rebellion in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957); and Stephen Saunders Webb, 1676: *The End of American Independence* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), bk. 1.

18. Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670–1732* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1928), 17–21.

19. *PWP*, 2:128–29.

20. Jane T. Merritt, “Metaphor, Meaning, and Misunderstanding: Language and Power on the Pennsylvania Frontier,” in Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute, eds., *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830* (Chapel Hill:

University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 84–85; Frost, “William Penn,” 23–24; Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 122–27, 275, 277.

21. *MPCP*, 2:553; “At a Council held at Philad[elph]ia ye 15th of 7ber 1718 in ye Court house,” Papers of James Logan, box 11, folder 7, HSP.

22. *MPCP*, 2:607; Council at Philadelphia, 15 Sept. 1718, Logan Papers, box 11, folder 7, HSP.