A New Jersey Haven for Some Acculturated Lenape of Pennsylvania During the Indian Wars of the 1760s

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INTRODUCTION

Accounts of Indian depredations are as old as the colonization of the New World, but examples of concerted assistance to Native Americans are few. Particularly uncommon are cases in which whites extended aid to Native Americans during periods when violent conflicts were ongoing and threatening large areas of the moving frontier.

Two important examples of help being extended by the citizens of Pennsylvania and New Jersey to Native Americans of varied backgrounds who were fleeing from the trouble-wrecked Pennsylvania colony took place during the period of the bitter Indian wars of the 1760s. The less successful example, the thwarted flight of the Moravian converts from the Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania and their attempted passage through New Jersey, is summarized here in the appendices. The second and more successful case involved a little known cohort of Lenape from Chester County, Pennsylvania. These people had separated from their native kin by the 1730s and taken up permanent residence among colonial farmers. During the time of turmoil for Pennsylvanians of Indian origin in the 1760s, this group of Lenape lived for seven years among the citizens of New Jersey. These cases shed light on the process of acculturation of Native American peoples in the colonies and also on the degree to which officials of the Jersey colony created a relatively secure environment for all the people of this area. They also provide insights into differences among various Native American groups as well as between traditionalists and acculturated members of the same group.¹

ANTI-NATIVE SENTIMENT IN THE 1760S

The common English name for the Seven Years War (1755-1763), the “French and Indian War,” reflects the ethnic alignments and generalized prejudices reflected in the New World manifestations of this conflict. Many European wars during the mid-18th century pitted the English against the French, but to the colo-
nists in the Delaware Valley the enemy was personified by "Indians." The "Indian" problem, however, actually increased during the period after the signing of the peace treaty early in 1763. The native allies of both the French and the British were not well treated in the early 1760s, and their dissatisfaction with the terms of the "peace" led to a series of Indian wars which focused attention on western Pennsylvania and the Ohio territory.

The strategic position of northwestern New Jersey and western Pennsylvania in the colonial defensive network led to considerable stress being placed on the colonists all along this extensive frontier during the Seven Years War. The native population then living in those regions primarily included people who had moved there relatively recently, as refugees or for their own convenience in taking advantage of the fur trade. From this strategic position they became a major factor in, or threat to, the safety of the colonists. These frictions increased after 1763. The extent of the disturbances generated widespread fear among colonial settlers on the frontier and, for different reasons, among the peaceful Native Americans settled near colonists living far from these areas of conflict.

Each of the colonies was eager to maintain amiable relations with the native peoples within its borders, but at times this was a rather confused procedure. Negotiations with the foraging Lenape, who had no formal leaders, and several other Native peoples living along the Pennsylvania frontier, many of whom also were termed "Delaware" by the government, came to be conducted through an immigrant from New Jersey known as Teedyuscung. The evidence that Teedyuscung and his kin were all born and raised as members of a native group from New Jersey, and that they had relocated into the Forks of Delaware only after 1730, is an important clue to Native American intercultural relations at this critical point in time. These relationships, or the lack thereof, help to explain the sad events which took place after the conclusion of the war in 1763, the year in which Teedyuscung died.

The Seven Years War, which officially began with a formal declaration in May of 1756, had its beginnings at least three years before, with the French and English contesting control of trade in the Ohio Valley. The war ended with a treaty in Paris early in 1763, leaving the British in control of most of North America east of the Mississippi River. English disdain for the Native Americans and the crown's inability to restrain settlement along the Ohio rapidly led to a critical deterioration in Indian-White relations. Pontiac and other Indian warriors led various Native American peoples in bloody campaigns which accelerated war hysteria in the east. Continued illegal colonial migration across the frontier assured continuation of these hostilities.
Brandywine Creek in southern Chester County, Pennsylvania and northern Newcastle County, Delaware. This area was the traditional hunting ground of the Brandywine band of Lenape, whose summer fishing stations after European contact are indicated (A-F). The Swedish Fortress Christina, built in 1638, was located near the earliest known example of these stations, at Hopokehocking (A).

Lenape Summer Stations:
A. Hopokehocking, ca. 1620 - ca. 1640.
B. Unknown, ca. 1640 - ca. 1660.
C. Unknown, ca. 1660 - ca. 1680.
D. The Big Bend, ca. 1680 - ca. 1701.
E. Northbrook, ca. 1701 - ca. 1720.
F. Montgomery Site, ca. 1720 - 1733.

Locations noted:
1. Kennett (now Kennett Square).
2. Christiana.
3. Concord (now also Concordville).
4. Embreeville (where H. Freeman was buried).
5. West Chester.
RELATIONS BETWEEN COLONISTS AND NATIVE AMERICANS IN NEW JERSEY

The New Jersey colony had been relatively free from problems with the various Native American peoples who lived there before any Europeans came to this region. Nevertheless, the citizens of the colony were well aware of difficulties which land purchases and culture change were creating in New York and throughout New England. Clearly some fear of the Native population was felt by colonists in New Jersey, whether the danger was real or only perceived. On October 3, 1745 the House of Representatives in New Jersey met to discuss these matters. The legislators carefully noted the sovereignty of their neighboring colonies, affirming that New Jersey would never "invade" its neighbors in order to become involved with Indian affairs beyond its own boundaries. Yet concern was noted for the recent treaty concluded in Albany between the native inhabitants and the colonial government, reflecting the possibility that those natives might cross into New Jersey and cause trouble. The New Jersey Council then resolved that should any Indians make war in any neighboring colonies, New Jersey would come to the aid of the subjects of His Majesty.5

By 1755 the English colonies were locked in a struggle with the French in which native allies were a major factor. For individual colonists this war, which was to bring Canada into the British empire, had a more immediate effect bearing on their safety in the face of random and unpredictable Indian depredations. Stereotypes and racial fears loomed large in the views of colonists, even those living at some distance from the frontier. On the other hand, many of the colonists along the frontier made a good living through the fur trade with natives. As this international conflict expanded in the late 1750s government concern focused on establishing military alliances with the native people who were suppliers in the colonial fur trade networks. Native hunters, however, tended to be strongly pro-French, and raids on the English settlers along the frontier soon became a major problem. The Munsee from northern New Jersey, as well as some natives originally from the southern part of the colony, were among the Native Americans who allied themselves with the French at this early period in the hostilities. However, the precise identities of these marauders and their cultural affiliations remain unknown.

Tensions between colonists and natives in New Jersey intensified in late 1755, after hostile Indians massacred a number of people at the Moravian community at Gnadenhütten in Pennsylvania. The wave of fear which swept through the Delaware Valley region is reflected in contemporary newspaper accounts. The
December 4, 1755 issue of the Pennsylvania Journal noted that Indians were pillaging along the frontier just beyond the Penaqualing (Pequelin) Mountains, and also that an expedition had been sent to stop them. By this time many of the Native Americans who had become Moravian converts had left this area to go to Philadelphia. Moses Tatamy, a well known native guide from New Jersey, and presumably others who had originally come from that less troubled colony, returned "home."6

Alarmed colonists reacted to the news of the Gnadenhütten massacre by arresting innocent natives. The Pennsylvania Gazette noted that "some Men, Women and Children, that were skulking about in Sussex County, and being a Terror to some of the Inhabitants, . . ." were put in the Trenton jail to prevent them from "committing any Outrages upon the People." The Pennsylvania Gazette, however, added that these 15 Indians, including women and children, were innocent of any crime. A fevered article in the rival Journal, on the other hand, suggested that these Indians would join hostile natives, and neglected to note that there were women and children in this group.7

The Native Americans in New Jersey had more reason to be concerned than did the colonists. On December 3, 1755 the governor of New Jersey and his Council met in Elizabethtown to discuss the "Petition of the Indians at Cranbury and Bethel lain before us . . ." regarding their safety. After discussion it was suggested that these New Jersey Indians be given a pass and that "Books be Provided . . ." to various agents in each county of the colony wherein they could "enter the Names & Natural Descriptions of the Persons . . . with the Number and Residence of their Family . . ." and indicate that each swears fidelity to His Majesty, and that each will wear a red ribbon to indicate that they are a friendly Indian and not a "Spy or an Enemy. . . ." The proclamation of this act, providing some limited protection to the loyal aboriginals within New Jersey, was followed by Council discussions of the need to set up blockhouses along the frontier.8 Would a red ribbon provide these peaceable people with adequate protection?

As the hostilities became increasingly lethal the colonial governor of New Jersey, Jonathan Belcher, called a meeting to discuss land claims and other grievances which had long bothered the native peoples of the colony, but previously had not been seen as matters of importance. In January of 1756 the governor and members of several native groups then resident in the colony met at Crosswicks, and there signed the first of two treaties in New Jersey intended to remedy several problems relating to aboriginal claims within the colony. Although relations between the Indians in New Jersey and the colonists were more cordial than those Pennsylvania History
in Pennsylvania, the government wanted to avoid a potentially dangerous population acting as a threat behind the frontier. The first meeting established the groundwork for resolving any differences and also signaled the native people of the good intentions of the government.

Despite the reports of Indian massacres in the extreme northwestern corner of New Jersey on June 7, 1756, the murder and attempted murder of five Native Americans in New Jersey later in 1756 generated a great deal of revulsion against the perpetrators. The responsible colonists were soon caught, tried, and executed. The adult victims of this outrage were Kate (Cate) and George, a Native American couple who had been living for many years in a wigwam near Pepack in Somerset County, New Jersey. Following a government call for Native Americans to express their position in the recently begun conflict, George had registered himself and Kate and their three children (a girl of 11 years and twins, 12 months old), as “Friendly Indians.” On the night of April 12, 1756 a gang of four colonial thugs attacked them with the intention of murdering them and taking their scalps to Philadelphia for bounty payment. In Philadelphia they could have claimed that these scalps had been taken along the frontier. Kate was killed and the children were badly injured, but like their father all three appear to have survived. By the end of June the assailants were in the Somerset County jail.

Continuing native raids on settlers living along the various colonial frontiers, which earlier had prompted Pennsylvania and Massachusetts to place a “premium” on Native Indian scalps, led New Jersey Governor Belcher to issue a similar Proclamation at a council meeting in Elizabethtown (June 2, 1756). This edict was directed against those “Delawares” who were noted as ravaging various colonies over the previous months and who now were believed to be operating in New Jersey. These “Delaware Indians & others who have been aiding them in their Incursions . . .” were declared “Enemies, Rebels, and Traitors” and were to be wiped out. Live males above the age of 15 brought a payment of 150 Spanish dollars; dead they were worth 130 dollars, but a scalp or other proof that a native had been killed was required. Females and males under 15 brought 130 dollars alive, perhaps because they could be sold as slaves. A reward of 150 Spanish dollars would be paid for any colonist recovered from captivity among the Indians.

Among the various Native American people who were involved in these raids along the frontiers were “Munsee and Pompton” of the northern parts of the Province of New Jersey as well as Native inhabitants of the southern part of the colony. The loyal Native Americans within the New Jersey colony, many of whom
had been party to the Treaty at Crosswicks which had been signed in February 1756, were to be granted protection, but their movements were to be limited by a prohibition which restricted ferry operators from carrying Indians across the Delaware or Raritan Rivers. Notices were to be sent to these loyal citizens who were then resident at Crosswicks, Cranberry [sic], and Pompton, three of the areas where enclaves of the more traditional bands were then known to be active.16

The various concerns noted earlier led the governor to issue an act in June of 1757, to remain in force for two years, addressing problems which long had plagued the natives still living in New Jersey. This act provided controls on alcohol sales, nullified all Indian debts which were incurred for drink, regulated sales of native lands to colonists, and appointed a commission to inquire into native land claims.

The degree of trust still placed in the aboriginal New Jerseyans during these difficult times can be seen in the call in 1757, extended to “well affected Indians,” for a regiment of 500 fighting men. Even after the report in the summer of 1757 that “the Savage Indian Enemy” had murdered several people on the colonial frontier, the New Jersey order for 120 men for defense did not exclude Indians from volunteering to serve the colony. This notice excluded anyone under 21 years of age as well as life slaves, “bought servants,” or apprentices without proper leave.17 After the fall of Fort William Henry to the French in August of 1757, many British prisoners and their Native American allies were released, only to be massacred by the Indian allies of the French. The presence among these victims of New Jersey soldiers reinforced the fears which recently had led the governor to restrict Native American activities.18

Toward the end of February 1758 representatives of the government of New Jersey met with delegates from the several Native American groups in New Jersey to settle their various land claims.19 The resolution of these claims involved the purchase of 3,000 acres of land for the “Indians” south of the Raritan (collectively identified as the “Jerseys”), to be held in trust by the governor and his commissioners. The Minisink claims were a separate matter, resolved by a cash payment of $1,00020. At the end of 1758 Governor Francis Bernard of New Jersey attended the October treaty (meeting) held at Easton, Pennsylvania at which many of the natives from New Jersey were present. Teedyuscung, a native from the Toms River band in New Jersey, had followed his family into the Forks of Delaware in the 1730s. By the 1750s he claimed to represent all the “Delaware” peoples, and appeared at these meetings at Easton to make a number of interesting claims.
These land claims, and their validity, were of little interest to Governor Bernard, who had earlier settled native matters in New Jersey officially and he felt for all time.

The legal settlement of native land claims in New Jersey did little to allay the fears of the colonists. The free movement across colonial borders of natives such as those of the Toms River band must have been generally known. The stealth with which Native Americans fought and the “fact” that “all Indians look alike” generated a proposal in New Jersey to organize a troop of rangers who would fight hostile Indians in their own way. \(^{21}\)

In New Jersey at that time, relatively far from the frontier, fears of native depredations were exacerbated by the murder, possibly by aboriginals, of at least five colonists in the upper Minisink area of East New Jersey in late 1763. Before Christmas, and probably about December 12th, of that year a Native American was killed in retribution by deer hunters in this same area. \(^{22}\) This unfortunate individual may have been a friendly person, but the colonists involved in his death were unable to identify any tribal affiliations, nor did they necessarily care. In this same month a general concern with native depredations led the government of New Jersey to try to further limit sales of guns and powder to the Native American inhabitants. \(^{23}\) Although the New Jersey government appears to have respected the basic rights of Native Americans living within the settled areas of the colony, it also evidenced a degree of ambivalence. Sometimes the government clearly acted to protect native rights, but often actions were taken which appear to reflect popular fears of these natives.

**PENNSYLVANIA LENAPE AND MORAVIAN CONVERTS FLEE TO NEW JERSEY**

In Pennsylvania far worse was happening. In December of 1763 virulent bigotry, liberally mixed with greed, led about fifty “rangers” (the “Paxton Boys”) resident in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania to massacre six of the 20 peaceful natives then living on a small tract of land within Conestoga Manor. These 20 Conestoga were the remnants of the once powerful Susquehannock Nation. \(^{24}\) The 14 survivors, away at the time of the initial attack, were placed in the Lancaster jail for their “protection” but subsequently they, too, were massacred. \(^{25}\)

This slaughter of peaceable people in the context of the general agitation created by news from the frontier, triggered the flight of many Native Americans living among the colonists, even from long settled and seemingly secure areas such as
Chester County. An autobiographical account by Hannah Freeman, one of the Lenape who sought refuge in New Jersey, provides us with a direct reference to this important historical episode. Hannah Freeman, commonly known as "Indian Hannah," notes that "The time Indians were killed at Lancaster [1763] she went to Jersey & Staid Seven years—." Hannah and several of her kin fled from their homes in Pennsylvania and took up residence in New Jersey, probably continuing to work as independent laborers. Although her autobiographical "life history," cited below, indicates that she lived among the "Jersey Indians," this "fact" may have been inferred by the recorder of her story.

The five Lenape women who left the area of Chester County, Pennsylvania during these troubled times were among an unknown number of Lenape, and perhaps some surviving Conestoga, who were provided with a safe place to live in New Jersey. We have no indication that they joined, or even knew of, the large group of Moravian converts who earlier had gone to Philadelphia from various areas of central Pennsylvania. After the massacre in the Lancaster area these five Lenape women went to New Jersey seeking safety, and the Moravian convert group also crossed into New Jersey in search of refuge.

The details of this seven year exile in New Jersey and how it affected the lives of Hannah Freeman and her kin remain a mystery, as does the reason for their ultimate return. One possible clue to their disposition during that interval has been found, from the journal of the governor and Executive Council of New Jersey for February 16, 1764. This records a meeting of the House in which a discussion of the "Indian war" and conscription of troops for action in the Ohio Territory was a major topic. In this context it is interesting to see how, despite the dreadful events along the frontier, the Speaker of the House could then add the following:

I think it proper at this time to mention to you, that some people in Pennsylvania having, Contrary to the Common principles of Humanity, murdered, in Cool Blood, a Number of Friendly Indians who had long lived Peaceably among the Inhabitants of province, in the manner that the Indians at Brotherton have resided among us; . . . I did, at the Request of Governor Penn, grant a passport for their safe Conduct through this Province, in their way to Sir William Johnson, They proceeded as far as Amboy, but being refused a passage through the Government of New York [sic], they are Since returned to Philadelphia. A small number of them, who were well Recommended to me, are, with my Permission, placed near Woodbury, I having received Assurances that the Township will be put to no Charge for their Support. The principal Inhabitants there having given them a Friendly Reception.
This reference to safe conduct through New Jersey alludes to the Moravian group which originally had relocated in Philadelphia. No evidence exists to indicate that any individuals from this group chose to separate themselves from their unit, although this is certainly possible. The reference to the “small number of them” who were “placed near Woodbury” may actually refer to Hannah Freeman and her kin, who may have come to be joined with the Moravian group, or at least been considered part of the “Indians” fleeing the problems in Pennsylvania.

Hannah’s statement that she and her kin spent their years of safety in New Jersey originally was recorded as it appears above, simply stating the area and the length of time. Her amanuensis then transcribed what appears to be the original account, and altered this passage to read as follows:

they continued living in their Cabins [in Pennsylvania] sometimes in Kennet and sometimes at Centre till the Indians were killed at Lancaster soon after which they being afraid, moved over the Delaware to N. Jersey and lived with the Jersey Indians for about Seven Years. . . .

We do not know if this reference to the people among whom she lived was omitted from the original account because the transcriber did not have time to include all the data as it was being provided by Hannah Freeman, but inserted it into the revised edition, or if the recorder simply assumed that these women had lived with the Indians. Yet another possibility concerns arrangements for getting to New Jersey, which may have been made by the Friends [Quakers] among whom she lived. If that were the case, she may have lived among Friends in Woodbury who were kin to the Quaker employers among whom she had lived in Pennsylvania. Quite possibly the recorder of her story, writing more than 30 years after this move took place, simply assumed that she had lived among Native Americans. Although it is possible that Hannah lived with the Native Americans in New Jersey, whose language is closely related to that of the Pennsylvania Lenape, we have no clear evidence for this and no other interactions between the Lenape and the peoples of New Jersey can be documented. We do know that in her old age Hannah noted that she hardly recalled of her native language, which suggests that she had infrequent opportunity to use it. Most likely Hannah and her kin lived among the Quakers then resident in the area of Woodbury.

Woodbury was one of the many areas of New Jersey then heavily settled by Quakers. Their Quaker relatives in Pennsylvania had been actively helping Native Americans in the eastern part of that province despite strong opposition. Their pacifist position and egalitarian values may have led the Friends in New Jersey to offer shelter to the acculturated Lenape from Pennsylvania, and also perhaps to
some of the Moravians. The total size of the group of refugee natives who accepted this offer of hospitality in New Jersey, how long they remained, and exactly which group they represented (Lenape or Moravians) cannot be determined.

The "Friendly Indians" noted by the Speaker of the House were the Moravian converts of native descent living in the Forks of Delaware area, most of whom were born in southern New Jersey or descended from these people. The sad story of the further relocation, in early 1764, of this group who had been brought to Philadelphia years before, and the kind treatment that they received during their brief passage through New Jersey, is linked to the successful relocation of Hannah Freeman and her kin. The smaller group seems to have survived this relocation without serious trauma, while the larger group suffered enormously.

This party of Moravian converts, originally 140 strong, had been sent from Philadelphia for their safety (see Appendix I). The planning, however, was wanting, and their journey was unsuccessful. From this record we see that it is possible that at least a small number might not have returned to Philadelphia. The majority, if not all, later returned to the Moravians who orchestrated their lives in the Forks of Delaware.

By 1763 most of the approximately 300 natives of southern New Jersey were officially living near or at Brotherton, a community established on a tract of more than 3,000 acres of land purchased for the purpose as a result of the Crosswicks Treaty of 1758. The Brotherton "village" was located some distance from Woodbury, in what now is Evesham Township, Gloucester County just south of Camden. However, none of the five Lenape women from Chester County fortunate enough to find a haven in New Jersey during the troubled years between 1763 and 1770 saw fit to remain among either the natives or Quakers on a long term basis. Does this reflect clear cultural distinctions between the Lenape of Pennsylvania and the native inhabitants of southern New Jersey, or differences between industrious working women who happened to be of Indian descent and the native traditionalists then clustered in the area around Brotherton? No members of the Moravian refugee group were interested in becoming resident at Brotherton despite many of them having kin born in the Jerseys and probably direct kin among the people at Brotherton. Presumably this reflects the religious preferences and newly developed sense of community held by the Moravians converts.

Searches of the meeting records of the Woodbury Friends, and of diaries of residents from that area during the period 1764-1770 have not provided references to any individuals who had sought shelter in New Jersey. Any information regarding their sojourn in this land, so close to that from which they had come, would...
help us understand their relationships with the colonists as well as with other Native American populations with which they have been commonly and erroneously merged, but such clues are remarkably elusive.

Bigotry and racism directed at the Native American population resident in New Jersey does not appear to have been stimulated by these war experiences, although old fashioned hatred certainly lingered. Two incidents of terrible deeds committed by colonists against Native Americans in New Jersey during this period actually point out just how secure this region had become. On June 26, 1766 two white men murdered two native women (Hannah and Catherine) near their home in the area of Moorestown, in Burlington County, New Jersey. The murderers were promptly caught, tried, and hanged. The white murderer of a visiting Oneida Indian in December of 1766 was caught, convicted, and hanged in Sussex County within the month. The murders seem to have been prompted by greed spurred on by racism, rather than being related to contemporary military activities. That the perpetrators of these deeds were swiftly apprehended, tried, and hanged may reflect the colonial government’s commitment to justice for Native American inhabitants of New Jersey.

CONCLUSION

The willingness of the citizens of New Jersey to help a small group of “Friendly Indians” from the farms of Pennsylvania in 1764 must be understood in the context of the stresses and fears generated by constant reports of the frontier fighting. Native Americans, including those who were allied with the French as well as former allies of the British, posed a major threat. Sons and daughters of New Jersey were moving west, and the news coming back from the troubled regions along the frontier in Pennsylvania and beyond was often worrisome.

The Moravian converts who were granted passage through New Jersey, but who were not allowed into New York, eventually rejoined their kin in Pennsylvania before the Mission Board sent them all to a site on the upper Susquehanna River. Their trials, however, were far from over (see Appendix I).

Hannah Freeman and several of her Lenape kin, all female, quietly returned to Chester County, where their former employers must have been pleased to see them. Their wages after 1770 continued to reflect the norms for farm workers at that time. Hannah’s life over the next 30 years appears to have been uneventful. This sojourn in New Jersey clearly demonstrates that in the 1760s Hannah Freeman and her kin were recognized as members of an ethnic group dis-
tinct from the Germans and English, or from any of the religious groups then appearing throughout this region, but identified in common with those Native American peoples still resident throughout New Jersey and eastern Pennsylvania. Our inability to account for Hannah's younger brothers during this period suggests that they, like their father before them, left for the frontier where their cultural traditions could be reinforced in acceptable and gainful male roles.

The American Revolution and its battles along the Brandywine River in southeastern Pennsylvania, where Hannah was born and worked most of her life, are not reflected in her own story. The events of importance to her were the births, marriages, and deaths of people whom she knew and worked for. Apart from the years when she was in New Jersey she never left the area of her birth. The importance of the kindnesses extended to her and to other Native Americans, particularly during this time of stress, by strangers living in another colony should be noted as part of a tradition of hospitality extended to people removed from areas of stress. As the nation expanded, places distant from the frontier were always more hospitable to people of native descent.

In the 1760s Hannah Freeman and her kin took refuge in one of the few areas in the colonies where hostilities to, and fears of the native peoples had been reduced. Over the next century the extent of such areas grew rapidly, but at the expense of the reduction of power among the traditional cultures of Native Americans as they confronted the inexorable expansion of a new nation.
Notes

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By 1750 a steady migration of Native Americans from all over New Jersey began to lower the number of individuals clearly identified in that colony as Natives. Many went to the Forks of Delaware, as noted by Weslager in The Delaware Indians, 261; others simply became "white," as documented by Hunter in "Moses (Tunda) Tatamy," 85.


10. Larrabee, Recurrent Themes, 8.


12. Ricord, Documents 17, 8.


15. These are groups collectively called the "Jerseys" pending the identification of their own term for themselves, and now sometimes called the "Lenape" of New Jersey. These peoples are popularly, but erroneously, termed the "Delaware." These various groups occupied all of southern New Jersey below the Raritan River as shown by Governor Francis Bernard in 1758 and reported in detail by recent research. See Hazard, Pennsylvania Archives First Series, 3: 346, and Becker, "The Moravian Mission," 83-117.

22. Ibid., 290.
23. Ibid., 285.

The infamous Paxton Boys have generated a large literature, including an excellent piece by Alden Vaughan, "Frontier Banditti and the Indians: The Paxton Boys' Legacy, 1763-1775," Pennsylvania History, 51 (January 1984): 1-29. See also Brook Hindle, "The March of the Paxton Boys," William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, 3 (October 1946), 461-486.

Of historical note is the fact that the flight of Hannah Freeman and her relatives in 1763 was presaged by a similar exodus during the period ca. 1625-1635 when Susquehannock incursions along the Delaware River may have forced some Lenape to seek refuge on the eastern shore (see "Relation of Captain Thomas Young, 1634," in, A. C. Myers, ed., Narratives of Early Pennsylvania West New Jersey and Delaware (New York: 1912), 37-49.

25. This fact of the story also suggests the possible survival of some of the Conestogas after the massacres in Lancaster. A note believed to date from 20 May 1775, some 12 years after the fact, sheds some light on the massacre of 1763. The information related suggests that the surviving relations of Jahass, one of the few Conestoga identifiable after the dispersal of 1674, had received payment for the lands lost after the massacre of 1763. Jahass was one of the 20 individuals identified as Conestoga, but he may have had kin who were intermarried with or living among the colonists and who made a claim on the estate of this Conestoga traditionalist. See Marshall J. Becker, "The Susquehannock (Conestoga) Indian Town on the Delaware River: Possible Survivors of the Dispersal of 1674," Manuscript on file at the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.

Alan W. Tully provides a good summary of the political conditions which led to the massacre of Conestoga Indians and to threats to the Moravian
converts still held in Philadelphia in "Ethnicity, Religion, and Politics in Early America," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 107 (October 1983): 514. Tully (p. 514, note 72) also offers several useful references to the Paxton Boys. Vaughan ("Frontier Banditti and the Indians: The Paxton Boys' Legacy, 1763-1775") suggests that the events of this period held considerable implications for Revolutionary alliances and also points out that the confrontations between Presbyterians and Quakers were reflected in these activities.

26. Marshall J. Becker, "Legends about Hannah Freeman, Keystone Folklore, 4 Summer 1992): 1-23. Included in this refugee group, besides Hannah, were Jane, plus Nanny and Betty and their mother. Hannah's mother, Sarah, appears not to have been with them, but this is not clear. Sarah may have died prior to 1763, or being elderly and infirm was simply left behind in Pennsylvania. This original version of the manuscript states that Aunt "Nanny died at [?] Jersey," but the recently published revised version suggests that Nanny was alive after 1770: Marshall J. Becker, "Hannah Freeman: An Eighteenth-Century Lenape Living and Working Among Colonial Farmers," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 115 (April 1990): 252. However, Nanny may have returned to New Jersey at a later date.

27. See Becker, "A Summary of Lenape socio-political organization," 81-83.


29. Ricord Documents 17: 363. See also Paul E. Beck, "The Manor of Conestoga" and Appendix 1, below.

30. This is reported in Hannah Freeman's life history, "Examination &c of Indian Hannah" (1797), an unnumbered Manuscript in the H. Freeman file, Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pa. (see Becker, "Hannah Freeman: An Eighteenth-Century Lenape Living and Working Among Colonial Farmers," 252.


A replication of this situation took place during the Civil War when the Chickahominy of Virginia elected not to side with the Confederacy, and some actually served with the Union. These people, identical to the free white small farmers among whom they lived, came under considerable pressure and many took refuge for several years among the Ojibwa of Ontario. See Theodore Stern, "Chickahominy: The changing culture of a Virginia Indian community," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 96 (1952): 206.


34. This supports Vaughan's suggestion in "Frontier Banditti" that religious alliances were a significant factor in these conflicts. See also Becker "The Moravian Mission."


36. Becker, "Hannah Freeman," p. 265. As Hannah approached 70 years of age and became
unable to continue her labors, the people for whom she had worked as well as other Friends made provision for her maintenance in their homes (see Becker, "Legends"). She lived comfortably for several years among the people for whom she had labored for many years. During this period the Chester County poorhouse was established and she was installed there as one of its first residents. Away from the people with whom she had spent a long life, she quickly declined in health and soon became one of the first residents of the small nearby cemetery. A small plaque on a large rock still marks that place. Chester County [PA] Poorhouse Admissions, Volume 1, 1800-1826. Manuscript on File at the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, PA.
Nazareth were disarmed and sent to Bethlehem on their way to Philadelphia. Some 125 appear to have been in the original group, which was put up in the Philadelphia Barracks (between Green and Tammany, from 2nd to 3rd streets). Protests from local rabble forced them to be taken to Providence Island in the Delaware where the summer maritime quarantine station for the city was located. The group was joined by John Papunhank [also spelled Papoonhanck] and Joe Chilloway, from the Wyalusing Mission, and possibly others. By the end of 1763 their numbers had grown to about 140 people.

Pontiac’s War was only one facet of the worsening conditions at the end of the formal war with France. The political environment for the Native American converts held in Philadelphia rapidly grew worse. In mid-December the massacre of the peaceful people at Conestoga, Pennsylvania, the descendants of the once mighty Susquehannock nation, reflected the extent of the danger to Native Americans throughout Pennsylvania. Two weeks later on January 4, 1764, the Provincial Assembly in Philadelphia voted £1,000 sterling to protect the recently arrived Moravian converts. Governor Penn, the grandson of William Penn, and the Council decided that the Moravian converts should be sent to live at Sir William Johnson’s trading station in the Mohawk Valley of New York. The converts immediately were made ready, without anyone considering the opinion of either Johnson or the governor of New York.

On January 5 the trip began, possibly on foot, with government appointed guides carrying letters from Pennsylvania granting safe passage to the Moravians. In two days they had passed Bristol and reached Trenton. By the time that they had reached Elizabethtown word arrived that Governor Colden had refused entry into New York to this large group of “Indians.” Nine days after setting out they were at Amboy, New Jersey under the protection of a troop of Highlanders, and with hopes that they might still be allowed into New York (see Nelson Documents 24: 298).

The New York Mercury for 16 January 1764 reported the murder of the Conestoga in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania which had occurred the month before. They noted that other Native Americans had become alarmed and requested to be removed from the Pennsylvania frontiers, but not a word appears regarding these Moravians who were at that very moment waiting across the Hudson River to be allowed into New York.

On the 18th of January the Moravian party left Amboy, to return to Philadelphia. They arrived on the 24th and returned to the grim barracks where they had spent so many years. Toward the end of the month word arrived that Matthew
Smith, the leader of the gang that had massacred the Conestoga, was bringing a large mob to Philadelphia to attack this group of refugees. A Captain Schlosser was ordered to defend the converts against the hostile whites. Smith, with about 200 men, crossed the Schuylkill at Swede's Ford, but Benjamin Franklin and others were sent to their encampment by the ford to negotiate with the mob. By some means they succeeded in dispersing them. Nevertheless, other dangers arose.

During the summer of 1764 smallpox killed a great number, and dysentery further reduced their numbers. The unfortunate converts remained in protective custody until after the official end of Pontiac's War, on December 6, 1764, and then decided to remain through the end of the winter since they could do little at their former homes until spring. On March 20, 1765 the 83 survivors left Philadelphia. Approximately 56 of them had died of disease during their confinement and the ordeal had not yet ended.

At Bethlehem the Mission Board wanted to send all of the members of the religious colony on the Nkyalusing (Machwihilusing) on the upper Susquehanna, just below the New York border. The caravan left Bethlehem on 3 April under the guidance of John Pupunhank and trekked through the abandoned hamlet of Wechquetank where one of the women, Magdalene, died and was buried. At Tunkhannock the boy Anthony died, but the group pressed on. In five weeks they reached the Susquehanna River at a point about ten miles above Wyoming. There they borrowed canoes to reach Wyalusing, where they arrived on May 9. There they established a new community, named it Friedenshütten, and planted their crops.

In the Treaty at Fort Stanwix, signed in November, 1768, the Six Nations sold to Pennsylvania all lands within the colony not previously sold, thus clarifying jurisdiction over the lands on which these Moravians were settled. By 1769, 81 individuals had built 27 log cabins and 17 bark covered huts, and the community at Wyalusing was still growing. Clarification of jurisdiction over the territory did not bring security to these people. On February 7, 1769 John Papoonhan [sic], from New Jersey, and Joshua the Mohican, as Moses Tatamy and others before them, petitioned the Proprietors of Pennsylvania for lands noting that the Proprietors "have always in their purchases reserved some lands for the Indians that had lived there before the purchase was made" (see William C. Reichel, ed., Memorials of the Moravian Church, vol. 1 [1871]: 213).

By June of 1772 the Moravians had built 39 log cabins and 13 thatched huts and created a thriving village. However, in September of 1771 the Mission Board at
Bethlehem had decided to move the Christian "Indians" to Big Beaver Creek in Lawrence County, Pennsylvania where they had been invited by the "Delaware." I suspect that the "Delaware" noted here were Pennsylvania Lenape, but the Christians to whom the invitation had been extended were mostly descended from the Lenape of southern New Jersey. The Mohican brethren, however, did not wish to go to Zeninge to live (Reichel, 199), indicating that cultural affinities still remained among these Moravian converts and that the Mohican could act as a unit distinct from the Jerseys.

In the spring of 1772 scouts went out and decided to settle their kin, possibly all from New Jersey, in the Tuscarawas Valley in the Ohio Territory, to the west of the "Delaware" in Lawrence County. Zeisberger named the place Schoenbrunn (Beautiful Spring/Welhik-Tuppeek). Among this group were two of Teedyuscung's sons, Teedyuscung's cousin Sam Evans and his son (both not yet baptized) and two other of his sons who were baptized non-communicants: Lucas and Tobias, as well as Evans' wife Ruth (see Reichel, 221-222). This group of Jerseys were all closely related and formed the core of this converted Moravian group.

On 11 June 1772 the 204 inhabitants of Wyalusing set out on yet another journey. Some 30 canoes carried part of the community while a second group went overland to Muncy Creek driving the horses and cattle. Like the Lenape of Pennsylvania their travels were far from over. Ultimately many of the surviving Moravian converts, or their descendants, continued on to Moraviantown in New Fairfield, Canada where a considerable number of their families can now be found.

APPENDIX II: Native Numbers in New Jersey.

The Native population of New Jersey never was very large. It was probably comparable to the aboriginal population of Lenape who lived in southeastern Pennsylvania and northern Delaware, or about 300 to 500 individuals (see note 3, above). By 1700 many Munsee who had sold their lands were beginning to move northwest into the area peripheral to Five Nations (Iroquois) territory. By 1730 the people of southern New Jersey were moving into the Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania, between the Lehigh and the Delaware rivers (Becker, "Native Settlements"). Of the nearly 300 Natives who joined the Moravians in the Forks or who were noted by the Brothers as visiting, the vast majority were from southern New Jersey (Becker, "The Moravian Mission"). Only four of these converts, just over 1%, were Lenape from their homes in nearby Pennsylvania. Since two of these Lenape died almost immediately after their baptism, one may infer that the Lenape, unlike the Jerseys, only joined the Moravians in extremis.
APPENDIX I: The Moravian Converts Retreat to Philadelphia and then cross to New Jersey.

The area of the Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania had been an uninhabited buffer zone between the territories of the Lenape and Munsee until about 1730. Native people from southern New Jersey, collectively now termed the "Jerseys," began to migrate into this region during the decade before the Moravians set up a mission there in 1742 (see Becker references in note 4). Many of the "Jerseys," for whom we still do not have the term which they used for themselves as an aggregate, and a few natives from areas in New England joined the Moravians. The Moravians archives and a summary by Paul E. Beck (in note 24, pages 12-16) offer clues to how a number of Moravian converts spent those troubled years after the Seven Years War in custody in Philadelphia. Groups of Moravian converts had formed communities at Meniolagomeka and elsewhere in the Forks of Delaware (see Becker 1988, note 2 for the locations of these hamlets). In 1755, Richard Peters claimed ownership of the area and on May 4 of that year this group of converts left Meniolagomeka and went to Gnadenhütten on the Mahony Creek (now Lehighton).

The situation remained surprisingly calm during the Seven Years War, but tensions increased rapidly after 1763. The post-war hostilities of former Indian allies of both the French and English created problems which soon extended to eastern Pennsylvania. The Moravian converts at Nain and Wechquetank begged the protection of the governor of Pennsylvania. Not only were the marauding Indians a threat to the Moravian converts, but by August of 1763 the Irish settlers in the neighborhood also were menacing the peaceable Moravian communities. On October 8, 1763 Captain Jacob Wetterhold and his party were massacred in this area, in conjunction with an attack on the Irish community only eight miles from Bethlehem. This inflamed settlers throughout the area and the colonials sought retribution. The congregation at Nain, located between the hostiles and the agitated white settlers, was particularly fearful. The missionary B. A. Grube saved the day, taking all the people from Wechquetank and Meniolagomeka to Nazareth where Zeisberger and the "Delaware" [Jerseys] were building a palisade. Obviously this was not considered to be the ideal solution. By 11 October the Moravians had set out from Nazareth and Nain for Bethlehem, with their ultimate destination being Philadelphia (Loskiel 1794, 2: 202-234).

The Pennsylvania Assembly decided that all of the Moravians of native descent were to come to Philadelphia, so on November 8, 1763 all of the people at
By 1746 note was made by the New Jersey Council that only two Indian men had lived near Cranberry during the past six years (Andrew and Peter), and before that (ca. 1740) only another two “who both, for misdemeaners by them Committed, removed thence to Crosswicks, . . . ” (New Jersey Archives Series 1, 6: 406). The matter was brought up because the Reverend Brainerd was bringing his first Christian converts into the Province, said to include 40 fighting men [of military age], and more were expected to follow. Obviously the sparse numbers of Native Americans were a factor in the low level of local concern about possible depredations, but the arrival of a sizeable group could easily change perceptions.

Whether Andrew and Peter remained near Cranberry in 1746 is questionable, but by 1755 one of the Native groups petitioning the provincial government is listed from Cranberry (New Jersey Archives, Series 1, 16: 566-568.) As recently as 1749 note was made that “Of Indians About Sixty Families reside in the Province . . . ” (New Jersey Archives Series 1, 7: 245). This would compute to a population of about 250 individuals.

Larrabee (Recurrent Themes, 8-15, and Table 1) counts about 200 people at Brotherton, Weepink, and Cranberry in 1761, when the government cut off their financial support. Larrabee suggests that after this termination many Native Americans in this area may have moved out “. . . or simply ceased to be counted as Indians.” This blending with the colonial population is what Hannah Freeman and many of her kin had done in a process that extended back to earliest contact. Moses Tatamy, who became a farmer, was counted as a Christian and not a “heaten.” His widow and children appears “White” on the first United States census in 1790 (Hunter, “Moses [Tunda] Tatamy,” 85).