

RESEARCH NOTE

MAKING HISTORY: DOCUMENTING THE 1737 WALKING PURCHASE

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Several popular accounts tell how, in the summer of 1737, the Pennsylvania proprietors negotiated with four Delaware sachems for land west of the Delaware River that could be traversed by a walker in day-and-a-half. When the walk was executed in September, the hired walkers traveled more briskly and northwesterly than the Delawares assumed they would. Indeed the ablest walker covered more than sixty miles, resulting in Delaware complaints.

Such popular retellings of the story contribute to a folk consciousness where there is too much certainty about what exactly happened. There is little demand for someone to cloud this story, whose so-called facts are already well known. As William Heller wrote, “there is no doubt the Indians honestly believed they had been betrayed, but the facts lead us to believe that there was no intention on the part of the whites to demand only what *their deed* called for.”¹ Delaware complaints did not match these facts. They were therefore sincere but mistaken and considered too simple to understand such sophisticated things.

PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY: A JOURNAL OF MID-ATLANTIC STUDIES, VOL. 77, NO. 2, 2010.
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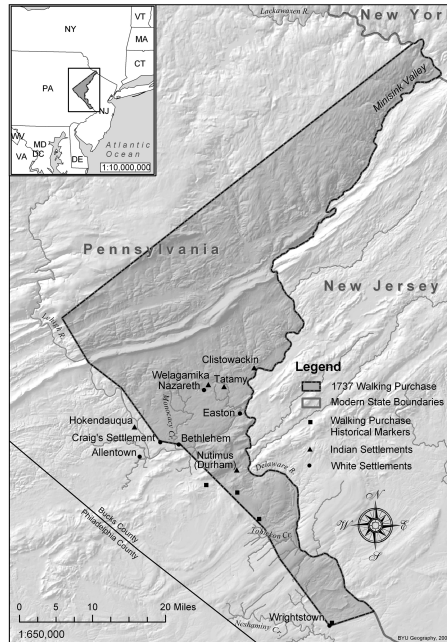


FIGURE 1

Francis Jennings was first to notice that the facts in this case are not what they seem. In 1970 he published an iconoclastic article titled “The Scandalous Indian Policy of William Penn’s Sons: Deeds and Documents of the Walking Purchase.”² That is a significant story, but another set of deeds and documents of the Walking Purchase unfold another chapter, one that emphasizes Delawares as active agents in history and the concerted suppression of it. Delawares were almost absent from the popular narratives and only passively concerned in Jennings’s focus on the Penns’ policy. Did it have to be that way? Were Delawares passive? Did Delawares actively influence historical outcomes? Did they have a story to tell? In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Quaker Collection at Haverford College repose a few precious documents in which Delawares speak for themselves. Most of these have only recently been published under the editorship of Alden Vaughan in *Early American Indian Documents*. These precious sources reveal Delawares as actively, outspokenly involved in all that led to, comprised, and followed the Walking Purchase.³ Moreover, not until a rapidly-deteriorating map in the Penn Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is read in the

light of these Delaware accounts can the facts of the Walking Purchase be recovered. The Delawares documented their story, but it was quickly buried under the considerable weight of the official story, a tale based on actual events but crafted carefully by James Logan and his accomplices under the auspices of the Penns. That is a historical fact.

Informed by more than a half-century of negotiating land deals with Europeans, Delawares in 1682 marked a deed offered by agents of William Penn. That act created between Neshaminy Creek and the Delaware River something close to what Richard White called a “middle ground,” a shared landscape where both natives and colonists were free to come and go. There were ominous undertones in the document. It reflected Penn’s assumption that the landscape could become privately-posessed, alienable land.⁴ The deed invited its readers to envision boundaries by referring to “a certaine white oak,” “gray stones over against the Falls of Dellaware River,” and a “white oak marked with the letter P standing by the Indyan Path.”⁵ It called on such natural features to facilitate its readers’ visualization of a boundless landscape in terms of the subjective geometry to which they were accustomed. Most tellingly, it assigned the subdivisions to individuals, as in “John Wood’s land.”⁶ But the Delawares negotiated until Penn’s agents added an amendment that ensured them the ability to “freely pass Throu” the land “with out molestation[n].”⁷ When Delawares marked deeds, including this 1682 deed and the 1737 Walking Purchase, they consistently intended to signify “a relationship commencing rather than a deal closing.”⁸

By February 1684, colonists were encroaching too much on Delawares. Tammany, the legendary sachem, forbade further settlement, threatening to burn the homes of newcomers until Penn’s agents offered reciprocity for their encroachment.⁹ Penn responded like an English parent, not a pacifist. “You must make them keep their word,” he told his agents, “and if the Indians will not punish him, we will and must.”¹⁰ But it was Tammany who dictated policy.¹¹ Delawares exercised significant control over land usage early in Penn’s holy experiment. Negotiations followed their terms well into the 1680s. The observation that “after Penn’s founding of Pennsylvania, compromise was increasingly a Lenape [Delaware] obligation, and brotherhood and friendship increasingly required Lenape subordination” is clear from this historical distance, but the Delawares who signed Penn’s deeds, including Tammany, felt less impotent and regarded the situation as more nuanced and less determined.¹² Penn’s government, after all, began supplying Tammany with regular gifts, made plans to purchase the land in question, and meanwhile stopped sending settlers to occupy it prematurely. Delawares compelled Penn

to establish his famous policy, "neither to take possession himself nor suffer others to possess themselves of any lands without first purchasing them from the Indians who had a right to them."¹³

Pennsylvania Quaker folklore maintains that Penn and Delawares reached an agreement for land lying west of the Delaware River and north of the July 15, 1682 purchase. They concluded to walk north together for three days and impose a boundary at the end of their walk to run east to the River. Penn would then buy the enclosed area for an agreeable amount of goods. As the story goes, after a day and a half Penn was satisfied that more than enough land had been covered and an agreement was reached to walk the remaining day and a half at an unspecified future time.¹⁴

The Delawares' version of this story says that Penn and Delawares agreed to begin at a certain spruce tree and walk northeast along the Delaware River for a day and a half. When they reached Tohickon Creek they followed it west until they marked some oak trees to signify the western border that ran south to the 1682 purchase. Then "Penn went to England & afterwards died," as did the Delaware sachem.¹⁵

Documenting this story is problematic. Did it occur between 1682 and 1684 while Penn was in Pennsylvania or after he left for England, or, less likely, during his second sojourn in Pennsylvania from 1699–1701. The only documentation other than the reminiscences noted above is an incomplete 1686 deed and an extract from a letter Surveyor General Thomas Holme sent to William Penn. These sources suggest that paperwork was drafted on August 25, 1686, after Penn's departure. But no original deed has ever been found. Moreover, the consistency of Delaware accounts is compelling evidence that the negotiations came to nothing. Both Delawares and Pennsylvania officials granted this as *fact* until James Logan, who came to Pennsylvania about 1699 and assumed control of the land office at Penn's behest, rewrote history beginning in 1735. That year Logan asserted that the incomplete document was a copy of an authentic, executed deed. Historians have too willingly trusted him.¹⁶ There is nothing like proof in the historical record that a 1686 purchase was concluded. There is considerable evidence that it was not. As Delaware tradition put it, "the Matter remained unsettled."¹⁷

Penn's sons were desperate by 1730 to clear upper Delaware Valley land of native claims. James Logan masterminded a course of action. He sent secret surveying expeditions into the Lehigh River Valley, acknowledging at the time that he had no pretense to do so. Logan sold the surveyed tracts to private investors (keeping the most advantageous for the Penns).¹⁸ Meanwhile

he tested how far hearty woodsmen could get in a day and a half on a path cleared in advance, and then invited Delawares to the negotiating table where he gave them a lesson in alternative history.

On May 5, 1735 at Pennsbury manor, the Pennsylvania proprietors and their agents claimed for the first time in their dealings with Delawares, including a sachem named Nutimus, that William Penn had already purchased the coveted land from their ancestors way back in 1686.¹⁹ The details of the transaction were distant enough to be only vaguely remembered and therefore subject to manipulation to fit current proprietorial aims. The best documentation Logan could find was the “unconsummated *draft*” of an agreement, which, if it had been agreed upon, would have given the proprietors claim to land north of the 1682 purchase as far as a man could walk in a day and a half.²⁰ The document produced at Pennsbury in 1735 purported to be a copy of the original. It outlined preliminary terms for a land transfer, but had glaring gaps regarding the directions and distance of the bounds of the tract in question. It bore no signatures, signs, or seals. Very unlike other such documents, it made no mention of payments made or due.

This weak document was evoked as authoritative only in desperation. It was conspicuously absent a few months earlier when Nutimus met the Penns at Durham, afterwards mocking them for the way they begged and pleaded with him for the land. At Pennsbury, Logan showed the Delaware sachems the copy of the 1686 document and “made a Speech to the said Indians” designed to conflate the historical deed-draft with a fictitious, fully agreed upon and paid-for transaction.²¹

Logan cleverly evoked William Penn’s reputation and policy, mentioned specifically and thereafter implied that payment had obviously already been made, and then summoned guilt by lamenting that the sachems “used to be esteemed an honest people.”²² Then, to provide the sachems “full Satisfaction respecting the Regularity and Fairness of the said Purchase,” James Logan presented Anabaptist minister Joseph Wood and William Biles, Esquire, a long time Justice of the Peace and former speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly. They swore to the Delawares that they “were present in the year 1686 and saw the Said Purchase fairly made, and Part of the Goods mentioned in the Deed for it delivered to the Indians, and that he the said Joseph Wood was a subscribing witness to the said Deed.” This testimony was both persuasive and problematic. Two witnesses, “both well known to the said Indians,” had solemnly sworn, but to what? They emphasized the transfer of “Part of the Goods mentioned in the Deed,” though one of its glaring features is the absence of

any mention of goods to be transferred.²³ Wood swore to having signed, yet no original deed with his signature, or any other, could be produced.

Tunda Tatamy, the Delaware interpreter, was at Pennsbury and left a detailed account of the deliberations, which focused not on the authenticity of the 1686 document, but on how it was to be interpreted. How far up the river did the Penns want land, and who, precisely, had the power to give it to them? Nutimus argued that he was sachem to the Delawares north of Tohiccon Creek and that no one else could convey that land to the proprietors. He insisted that if Delawares had sold that land to Penn in 1686, they had no power to do so.²⁴ This was plain, Nutimus argued, from the terms of the 1686 agreement, which specified, according to Delaware recollection, that the walk was to begin at the Spruce Tree on the river bank that marked the northeast corner of the 1682 purchase, and “proceed no farther up the Delaware than Tohicon,” but rather “up the River to the Mouth of Thoiicon” [*sic*].²⁵ It was then to follow “the Course of that Creek” westward, and thus its northern bound would fall far south of the Lehigh River Valley.

Logan was nonplussed to find the sachem’s knowledge of the 1686 transaction to be precisely accurate. He “asked Nutimus how he came to know what the Bargain was” as he must have been too young to witness the negotiations and the Delawares had no written records. “Nutimus said he had it from his fathers. Besides from the Indian way of selling Land he could not but know.”²⁶ Nutimus then lectured Logan on the Delaware way: “No Land can be sold without all the Indians round being made acquainted with the Matter,” because “the Chief always—with the Leave of the others—undertook to sell & when he had agreed he called together the head of the families who had any Right in the Land sold & divided among them the Goods he got for the Land” and explained the transaction.

Then the heads of families again divide their portion among the Young people of their Family & inform them of the sale & thus every individual who have any right must be fully acquainted with the matter. Besides whenever a sale is made the Chief who sells calls the Chief of the neighboring Tribes who are his friends and have no right, in order to be witnesses of the Sale & to make them remember it he gives them a share of the Goods.²⁷

Failing to manipulate Nutimus, Logan tried to impugn his claim by asking how he had any rights to land in the Forks since he was born in Jersey.

"Nutimus said his mother came from this side the River, & by her he had a Right here." "Nutimus," Tatamy remembered, "thought this a trifling question," and turned it on Logan by asking "how he came to have a Right here as he was not born in this Country?"²⁸ Nutimus further explained that the Delawares did not conceive of the river as a boundary in the same way the colonists did. The exchange typified the different assumptions that informed English and Delaware property ways. Logan thought in terms of imposed boundaries and the absolute right of the English to the land. Nutimus thought of the land as fluid and exposed Logan's imperialistic assumptions. Annoyed and increasingly desperate, Logan pressured Nutimus, telling him how bad it would be for his people if he failed to come to terms. A brilliant man used to power, Logan was unaccustomed to meeting his intellectual match. He blamed Nutimus for the deterioration of their relations. He assured the sachem and perhaps himself of his own power with outstretched arms, claiming that he was a "big man" while Nutimus, by contrast, was "as the little Finger of his left hand."²⁹ Logan had come to Pennsbury hoping that Delawares "would not raise any Disputes about that Purchase," but Nutimus did not recall that the 1686 agreement had ever been finalized and he would not relinquish the Forks until he could consult the eldest Delawares and verify Logan's claims.³⁰

Logan returned to Philadelphia with a serious problem. He had warranted, secretly surveyed, and taken payment for thousands of acres in the Lehigh Valley. That land would not repay its purchasers until it was cleared of Indian claims. Delawares refused to relinquish their claims. So in 1736 James Logan drafted and executed a treaty between Pennsylvania and the Iroquois Confederacy in which they quitclaimed on behalf of their cousins the Delawares all the land Logan wanted.³¹ Knowing that the Iroquois made no claims to the disputed land, Logan, with Conrad Weiser's expert help, carefully laid a legal foundation for dispossessing the Delaware and paved the way for regulated settlement and proprietorial profits.³² By getting the Iroquois to quitclaim the land, Logan could technically continue Penn's policy of negotiating with the Indians and simultaneously avoid the Delawares. Logan's directions to Weiser clarify this motive.³³ Knowing it would be hard to persuade the Iroquois to quitclaim land to which the Delaware, not they, had rightful claim, Logan wanted Weiser to emphasize that "they do not grant us any Land on Delaware therefore observe to them that this is not at all intended by it but they only release and quit all their Claim there and as they make none it is in reality nothing & yet may prevent disputes hereafter."

If this line of reasoning was not persuasive, Logan included "ten pounds more wrapt within the Belt to be aplied or not as there shall be occasion." Weiser was to spin the transaction to fortify the Iroquois "against the Impressions the Indians from Delaware will endeavour to make on them."³⁴

On October 27, 1736, Weiser sent word to Logan that after "consideration from morning till night," and evidently aided in their deliberations by rum courtesy of the proprietors, "15 of the chiefs have syned and four of their younger people have syned for Witness and two of my neighbours besides me." Weiser added that "it went very hard about syning over their right upon delaware because they sayd they had nothing to doe there about the land, they were afraid they should doe any thing a mis to their gosens [cousins] the delawars."³⁵ Cunningly, secretly James Logan and Conrad Weiser had obtained crucial Iroquois cooperation in pressuring Delawares in the Forks. Historians have admired Logan's diplomacy in this instance. His brilliant but duplicitous actions proved devastating to the Delawares.³⁶

Armed with an Iroquois alliance, Thomas Penn and James Logan cajoled Delaware sachem Lapowinzo to relinquish the desired lands in the summer of 1737. He expressed willingness, but predicted a protest from Delawares led by Nutimus.³⁷ Logan was ready. He invited Nutimus, Monikyhiccon, Lapowinzo, and Tishecunk to Stenton, his estate north of Philadelphia, for an August 25–26, 1737 meeting to discuss the purchase one more time.

The Delaware sachems came with information from their elders that a 1686 agreement had been reached, "but without making the Indians any Pay for the Lands."³⁸ Thomas Penn again began his entreaty with conciliating remarks and reminders of the Delawares' goodwill toward his father for his kindness to them. Again the proprietor presented the August 1686 document as evidence that land north of the 1682 purchase had been not only negotiated but paid for by Penn, and all that remained was for the sachems to agree to release their claims.

Manawkyhickon acknowledged the mutually satisfying negotiations Delawares enjoyed with William Penn. He guardedly said "he should be sorry if after this mutual love and friendship anything should arise that might create the least misunderstanding." He offered a belt of wampum and an explanation. The Delawares were hesitant to agree to terms because they were not sure exactly how much land the Penns were asking for.³⁹ Andrew Hamilton then drafted a map "to shew and explain to the Indians the Boundaries of the said Land and the Course of the one and Half Day's Walk, which was to determine and fix the Extent or Head Line of that Purchase to the Northward."⁴⁰

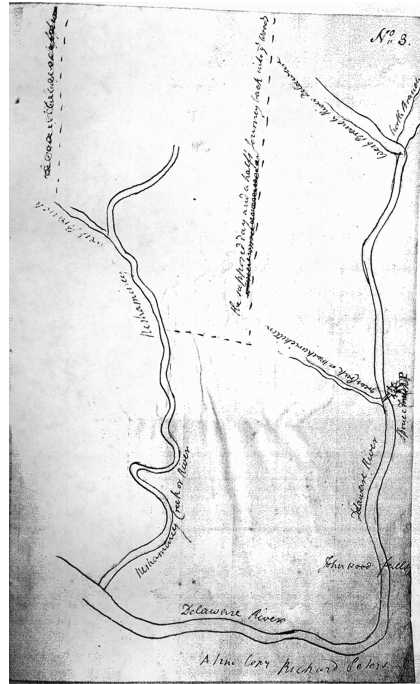


FIGURE 2

Neither Penn nor Allen nor any interested Pennsylvanians wanted the Delawares to comprehend the vastness of the land they sought. So Hamilton's map depicted the Delaware River from its west-east bend east of Philadelphia to its turn northward. It represented the Spruce Tree on the Delaware bank, and Neshaminy Creek, between which the northern boundary of the 1682 purchase extended east to west. Further north, though greatly compressed in scale, the map showed the "West Branch Delaware River," or the Lehigh, flowing into the Delaware. Between these two lines it purposely did not represent Tohickon Creek. A dotted line was added to give an impression of the direction the walk would take, jutting east from Neshaminy and then abruptly north toward the Lehigh, disguised as Tohickon Creek.⁴¹

As William Allen remembered the events of August 25, 1737, after the four sachems had the map explained to them and "fully considered what had been then shewn and said to them, they declared themselves fully satisfied and convinced of the Truth thereof and that the lands mentioned in the said Deeds had been fairly sold by their Ancestors to the said William Penn;

and that they were willing to join in a full Confirmation thereof to the said Proprietors.”⁴² The minutes of the meeting agree, but reveal how the deceptive image disguised the duplicitous Proprietorial intentions. After conferring, Manawkyhickon “said that all that they had heard touching the said Deed and now seeing the lines in it laid down they are sufficiently convinced of the truth thereof, and that the lands therein mentioned were sold by their ancestors to William Penn, and that they have no objection, but are willing to join in a full and absolute confirmation of the said sale.” The sachems marked a document that confirmed the 1686 deed-draft and called for the walk to be made “forthwith.”

Andrew Hamilton’s map holds the key. It seems to have been carefully prepared to convey the impression to the sachems that all they were relinquishing was land south of Tohickon Creek, which the Delawares had been willing to do since 1686. The misleading scale, the conspicuous absence of Tohickon Creek, and the dotted line of the projected walk, which was much closer and more nearly parallel to the general course of the Delaware River than the actual walk—these features almost certainly caused the sachems to think that what the map showed as the Lehigh River was actually Tohickon Creek. And since the Lehigh (disguised as Tohickon) and the dotted line showing the course of “the approved day and a half’s journey back into ye woods” both ended near the top of the map, it appeared that the proprietors were finally asking for the land north of the 1682 survey and south of Tohickon.

Thus what might appear to be waffling by the Delawares was actually (mis)informed negotiation, ending, they thought, in their terms being met to the very letter. The Penns had created the illusion that all they were asking for the Delawares had been willing to grant since 1686. The August 1737 meeting ended with Delawares obtaining the same promise from Thomas Penn that Delawares since 1682 had required of the Pennsylvania proprietors: “As the Indians and white people have ever lived together in a good understanding, they the Indians would request that they may be permitted to remain on their present settlements and plantations tho within that purchase, without being molested.” Penn repeated his earlier assurances on this point “and confirmed them.”⁴³ These were promises he did not intend to keep.

His agents crafted documents, visual aids, and offered verbal explanations that, when presented to the sachems in veiled terms, persuaded Delawares to relinquish title to Bucks County land, well south of the Forks. Once marked by the sachems, the 1737 quitclaim proved to be perfectly ambiguous to suit proprietorial aims. It enabled the Penns to capitalize on the land speculation

so far advanced up the valley. Best of all, the proprietors and their agents now had legal title, official papers with ancient precedents that gave them unquestioned authority with everyone except Delawares who might call their claims into question.

The pieces of the proprietorial conspiracy came together at Stenton—the land already surveyed and sold, the preliminary walk with its reconnaissance that the Forks could be encompassed in a day-and-a-half, depositions that transformed a preliminary deed for an aborted 1686 deal for land below Tohickon into an already purchased tract that extended far north of that Creek. Finally an illusory map caused the sachems to think they were releasing claim to land below Tohickon Creek but nothing to the north in the Lehigh Valley. Cartographer Mark Monmonier explained that the “lack of maps—really a lack of what the European invaders recognized as maps—was one of the many technological disadvantages that made the conquest of the New World not only quick and easy but also morally right in the minds of the colonists.”⁴⁴

Satisfied that their interests were protected and pleased to facilitate good relations with their “Honourable Brethren John and Thomas Penn” because they were sons of the sachems’ “good Friend and Brother William Penn,” Monockyhicon, Lappawinzo, Tishecunk, and Nutimus added their marks to a document they did not write and likely could not read. It confirmed the 1686 document, even to preserving the blank spaces, the eventual contents of which would determine the direction of the walk and the bearing of the survey line to be drawn from its end to the Delaware River. This confirmation deed of 1737 had another feature that set it apart from an earlier deed that stipulated that both settlers and Delawares “may freely pass Throug[h]” the lands held by the other “with out molestio[n].”⁴⁵ The Walking Purchase deed betrayed Thomas Penn’s verbal, recorded promise that Delawares could remain on the landscape “tho[ugh] within that purchase, without being molested.”⁴⁶ The tone of the 1737 document, in contrast to the earliest deeds between Penn and Delawares, was distinctly comprehensive and final:

The Delaware Indians fully clearly and absolutely remove, release, and forever quit claim unto the said John Penn, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn all our Right, Title, Interest, and Pretensions whatsoever of in or to the said Tract or Tracts of Land and every Part and Parcell thereof so that neither we nor any of us or our children shall or may at any Time

hereafter have challenge, claim or demand any Right Title Interest or Pretensions whatsoever of in or to the said Tract or Tracts of Land or any part thereof, but of and from the same shall be excluded and forever debarred.⁴⁷

The Penns and James Logan needed that document to legitimize their activities but also as an insurance policy against the outrage their actions would generate among Delawares once they understood the duplicity. For now, though, all that remained was to prosecute the prearranged walk. Thomas Penn sent instructions to Bucks County sheriff Timothy Smith to see the job through expeditiously.

Very few unofficial documents of the Walking Purchase remain. Most of Thomas Penn's papers between July 1736 and November 1738 are missing and his agents were circumspect with their words.⁴⁸ One of few forthcoming Thomas Penn letters informed his brothers that the Walking Purchase "takes in as much ground as any person here ever expected." Even better, it did so "at no very great Expence." He added that "the Minutes of the Treaty are not settled in so exact a Manner as I shal[l] have them reduced to."⁴⁹

The 1737 Walking Purchase circumscribed an area slightly smaller than Rhode Island⁵⁰—1,110 square miles, 710,000 acres, including land Thomas Penn had been selling since 1728 that William Allen and others had purchased and would now sell at extraordinary profits. Penn had not forgotten to reserve some for himself, his brothers, and kin, or to set aside a reservation called Indian Manor. Delaware interpreter Tunda Tatamy described "what ye Indians call ye hurry walk," noting that in its wake "People came fast to settle the Land in the Forks, so that in a short time it was full of Settlement & the Indians were oblig'd to remove farther back."⁵¹

As settlers came fast and thick to fill the Forks, they left little no room spatially or culturally for Delawares.

Unlike most of the other colonies, Pennsylvania avoided ethnic violence as it dispossessed its native inhabitants, at least until 1755. War was anathema in the pacifistic holy experiment, yet the Penns and their agents used an entire arsenal of potent European weapons with devastating consequences.⁵² An old, unconfirmed deed became authoritative; secret surveys were conducted; a covert trial walk gathered intelligence; culminating with the drafting of an illusory map transformed Lenapehoking into Penn's Woods, with emphasis on the possessive. As Tatamy testified, the authority vested in these documents of dispossession persuaded Pennsylvanians they could legitimately occupy

Delaware lands.⁵³ Moreover, this pacifistic dispossession left no dissonance for future Pennsylvanians since the weaponry seemed innocuous and civilized. Such weapons left strange wounds. No Delawares died as an immediate result of the Walking Purchase. There is no Wounded Knee in Eastern Pennsylvania or a historical Trail of Tears leading from there. Delawares were dispossessed diplomatically as Pennsylvania officials created a historical record that made them appear fair and just.⁵⁴ But it is a fact of history that the execution of the deed that William Heller thought gave legitimacy to the Walking Purchase revealed intent to defraud. “The Walking Purchase is a classic example not only of deception practiced upon contemporaries,” wrote Francis Jennings, “but of obfuscation in history. It needs to be seen in full context.”⁵⁵ Where official Pennsylvania memory obfuscates the facts, Delaware memory matches them. Full context, therefore, means that Delawares must take their historical place as active, articulate participants whose suppressed historical voices deserve to be heard.

NOTES

1. William J. Heller, et al., *History of Northampton County, Pennsylvania and the Grand Valley of the Lehigh* (New York: American Historical Society, 1920), 49. Emphasis added.
2. Francis Jennings, “The Scandalous Indian Policy of William Penn’s Sons,” *Pennsylvania History* 37:1 (January 1970), 19–39.
3. Especially see Donald H. Kent, editor, “Weshaykanikon’s Account of the Walking Purchase of 1686,” (1:81) and “Petition of Delawares regarding the Walking Purchase, Nov. 21, 1740,” “Petition of Delawares regarding the Walking Purchase, Jan 3, 1741,” (2:24–25), and Alison Duncan Hirsch, editor, “Moses Tatamy’s Account of Delaware Claims, c. Nov. 1756,” and “Moses Tatamy’s Account of Indian Complaints, c. Aug. 1757” (3:163, 296), all in Alden T. Vaughan, ed., *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789* (Washington, D.C.: University Publications of America, 1979–2004).
4. Jennings, “Scandalous Indian Policy,” 84.
5. Jean R. Soderlund, *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 156–58; Richard S. Dunn, et al., editors, *The Papers of William Penn*, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), 2:262.
6. Soderlund, *William Penn*, 155–57.
7. Soderlund, *William Penn*, 160.
8. Amy C. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 37–38. Steven C. Harper, *Promised Land: Penn’s Holy Experiment, The Walking Purchase, and the Dispossession of Delawares, 1600–1763* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2006), 67.

9. Thomas Holme to William Penn, February 8, 1684/85, Etting Collection, Pemberton Papers, 28:7, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
10. Minutes and Proceedings of the Provincial Council, 31, May 28, 1692. William Penn to Thomas Holme, August 8, 1685. Both documents housed at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
11. Extract from Mr. Markham's Letter No. 1, dated 22nd August 1686. Board of Trade Papers, Proprieties, 21:1, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Penn Mss. Indian affairs, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
12. James O'Neil Spady, "Friendly Meetings: The Colonization of the Lenapes and the Discursive Antecedents of Penn's Treaty with the Indians," in William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter, eds., *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods: Indians, Colonists, and the Racial Reconstruction of Pennsylvania* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 20.
13. Board of Trade Papers, Proprieties, 21:1, Minutes of August 26, 1737, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
14. Edward Morris to Roberts Vaux, January 24, 1827, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
15. Account of the Walking Purchase by Moses Tetamie, Friendly Association Papers, 1:407, Quaker Collection, Haverford College; Moses Tetamie's Account of Indian Claims, Taken from his Mouth at Easton, 1757, Etting Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
16. Even Francis Jennings, in his 1966 dissertation, accepted the idea that a 1686 purchase had been consummated, though his later article on the documents of the Walking Purchase reconsiders that idea. Jennings, "Miquon's Passing," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1966, 315; and "Scandalous Indian Policy," 19–39.
17. When agents of Penn's heirs tried in the 1750s and 1760s to convince Sir William Johnson that the 1686 transaction had been finalized, they presented only extracts from several letters, none of which proves their case. Rather, phrases like, "when the Indians are paid," reappear conspicuously in 1687 and 1688. Pennsylvania officials presented evidence of intention, but could not demonstrate conclusive consummation of the 1686 walking purchase. Board of Trade Papers, Proprieties, 21:1, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Penn Mss. Indian affairs, Document C, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
18. James Logan to John, Thomas, and Richard Penn, December 6, 1727, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; William J. Buck, *History of the Indian Walk* (Philadelphia: Edward S. Stuart, 1886), 41.
19. James Steel to Barefoot Brunson, April 12, 1735, James Steel Letterbook 1730–1741, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
20. The words and emphasis belong to Francis Jennings, "Scandalous Indian Policy of William Penn's Sons," 30. The 1686 document is most readily available in James Sullivan, ed., *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* (Albany: State University of New York, 1921), 3:840.
21. Logan went on about "the Purchase made from their Ancestors of the Lands in and near the Forks of the River Delaware by the Said William Penn Esquire or his Agents in the said Year 1686; and that the Purchase had been fairly made by the said old Proprietor for a large Consideration paid to the Ancestors of the said Indians, and a good Deed executed by them for the said Lands. That the Indians had always found and knew the old Proprietor to be an honest good Man, and that he allways was kind to and used them well, and never would permit any Lands to be settled till he had purchased and

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- fully satisfied the Indians for them and that his sons the then Proprietors were therefore not a little surprized and concerned that they should now (as he understood some of them did) make Objections to or entertain any Doubts about that Purchase." Board of Trade Papers, Proprieties, 21:1, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Penn Mss. Indian affairs, Document G, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
22. Penn Manuscripts. Indian Affairs 3:100, Document G, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 23. Ibid.
 24. Account of the Walking Purchase by Moses Tetamie, Friendly Association Papers 1:407, Quaker Collection, Haverford College.
 25. Weshayanickon's Account of the Walking Purchase of 1686, Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs 4:61, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Account of the Walking Purchase by Moses Tetamie, Friendly Association Papers 1:407, Quaker Collection, Haverford College.
 26. Account of the Walking Purchase by Moses Tetemie, Friendly Association Papers 1:407, Quaker Collection, Haverford College.
 27. Ibid.
 28. Ibid.
 29. Sullivan, *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 3:767.
 30. Account of the Walking Purchase by Moses Tetemie, Friendly Association Papers 1:407, Quaker Collection, Haverford College. Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, 1:300, Document G, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Logan to Weiser, October 18, 1736, Logan Papers 10:64, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. John Penn to James Logan, February 17, 1736/37, Penn Letter Books 1:189. John Penn to Thomas Penn, February 17, 1736/37, Penn Letter Books 1:185, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 31. Logan to Weiser, October 1736, Logan Papers 11:26, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 32. Logan to Weiser, October 18, 1736, Logan Papers 10:64, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 33. Logan wrote, "The reason to be given for ... their not making any Grants to the Indians further than to allow them to live on the Land is this: that the five nations are our Brethren honest wise discreet and understanding men and we can treat with them with pleasure but the others are weak and too often knavish ... Pesquootomen Nootamis and the like to whom we are always very kind & take great care of them as of ourselves that they may in no point be abused yet we are not willing to enter upon Treaties with them as with our Brethren of the five nations for whom we keep our fire and therefore would treat with them only in behalf of all or any of the others. And all this should be said on presenting the Belt. If more will sign the Deed they may and witness it thy self with some others one or two white men." Logan to Weiser, October 18, 1736, Logan Papers 10:64, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 34. Ibid.
 35. Conrad Weiser to James Logan, October 27, 1736, Logan Papers 10:65, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 36. Julian Boyd, "Indian Affairs in Pennsylvania, 1736–1762," in Julian Boyd, ed., *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1938).
 37. Ibid., 25–26.
 38. Weshaykanickon's Account of the Walking Purchase of 1686, Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs (Indian Walk) 4:61, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

39. Board of Trade Papers, Proprieties, 21:1, Minutes of August 26, 1737, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
40. William Allen Deposition, Board of Trade Papers, Proprieties, 21:1, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
41. Penn Manuscripts 3:103, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
42. William Allen Deposition, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
43. Minutes of August 27, 1737, Board of Trade Papers, Proprieties, 21:1, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
44. Mark Monmonier, *Drawing the Line* (New York: Henry Holt, 1995), 107.
45. Soderlund, *William Penn*, 160.
46. Minutes of August 26, 1737, Board of Trade Papers, Proprieties, 21:1, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
47. Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, 3:100, Document G, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
48. Receiver General James Steel penned one of few surviving letters material to the Walking Purchase survey. He wrote to Letitia Aubrey Penn, the proprietors' sister, in September 1737: "The old Indian purchase was circumscribed according to the Deed produced and proved at Pennsbury when a treaty was held there in thy presence [in] 1682[6] & the surveyor general and thy nephew who attended the people that walked over the land—and afterwards continued their Journey from the upper point of the one & one half days walk to the River Delaware, which employed them about four days— informed us on their return home, that after they crossed the great Ridge of Mountains, they saw very little good, or even tolerable land fit for cultivation or Settlement. The course of their line not being prescribed in the deed of the purchase, the agent of the proprietaries instead of running by the nearest course to the river ran northeastward across the country, so as to strike the Delaware near the mouth of Lackawaxin Creek, thus extending far up the River, taking in all the Minisink Country and many thousand acres more, than if they had run by the nearest acres to the Delaware." James Steel to Letitia Penn Aubrey, September 1737, in "Monroe, Pike, and Wayne Counties," unpublished mss., Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
49. Thomas Penn to John Penn and Richard Penn, October 11, 1737, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, 3:55, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
50. Rhode Island occupies 1,212 square miles.
51. According to Tatamy, "Manawkeyhicon who then resided at Wyoming went down to Philadelphia attended by Nutimus & sevl. Of the Fork Indians, at wch: time [1737] Manawkeyicon tho he had no Right to the Land was persuaded to sign a Writing whereby he conveyed over to ye Proprietaries as much Land as a man could walk over in a Day & half; Nutimus it is said was drawn in to Sign it tho' it does not appear that he ever recd any Consideration for it. They accordingly had the Land walked over by what ye Indians call ye hurry walk & instead of following the Course of the River as they ought, they had a Line laid out by the Compass by wch: they were enabled to travel over a Vast Extent of Country, & by this time People came fast to settle the Land in the Forks, so that in a short time it was full of Settlement & the Indians were oblig'd to remove farther back." Account of the Walking Purchase by Moses Tetamie, Friendly Association Papers 1:407, Quaker Collection, Haverford College.

RESEARCH NOTE

52. Neal Salisbury, "Native People and European Settlers in Eastern North America, 1600–1783," in Bruce G. Trigger and Wilcomb E. Washburn, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 436.
53. Account of the Walking Purchase by Moses Tetamie, Friendly Association Papers 1:407, Quaker Collection, Haverford College.
54. Report of the Committee of the Council, Penn Papers, Indian Affairs, 3:29–30.
55. Francis Jennings, "Miquon's Passing," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1966), 312.