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*The Peopling and Depeopling
of Early Pennsylvania: Indians and
Colonists, 1680-1720*

BENJAMIN WEST'S FAMOUS PORTRAIT of William Penn treating with the Delaware Indians under the spreading branches of the elm at Shackamaxon has become an icon of American history. The painting, although inaccurate in its detail, is laden with the symbolism of Christian reconciliation. It depicts the unrealized ideal of the American past: contact between natives and settlers without violence, colonization without conquest. West's image of Penn has counterparts in literature, poetry, and history. Penn's "Holy Experiment" has been continually depicted as a representation of the possibility, however fleeting, of harmony between the European colonists and the North American Indians.¹

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¹ On the enduring images of Penn see J. William Frost, "William Penn's Experiment in the Wilderness: Promise and Legend," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (hereafter, *PMHB*) 107 (1983), 577-605; see also Daniel Hoffman, *Brotherly Love* (New York, 1981). Penn's meeting with the Lenape at Shackamaxon has been the subject of dispute for at least 150 years; there is no direct evidence to substantiate the account. See Peter S. Du Ponceau and J. Francis Fisher, *A Memoir on the History of the Celebrated Treaty Made by William Penn with the Indians under the Elm Tree at Shackamaxon in the Year 1682* (Philadelphia, 1836);

European and American authors from the early eighteenth century to the present have looked to the history of early Pennsylvania as an anomaly in the otherwise violent history of cultural contact in the New World. Since 1708 when John Oldmixon wrote in his *British Empire in America* that Pennsylvania's Indians were "very civil and friendly to the English who never lost man, woman, or child by them," writers have marveled at the lack of bloody conflict in the Quaker colony. Oldmixon's belief that "this friendship and civility of the Pennsylvania Indian are imputed to Mr. Penn, the Proprietary's extreme humanity and bounty to them," is shared by virtually every historian writing about the colony's history. Few subjects evoke such consensus among historians as the history of early Pennsylvania. In the words of a prominent colonial historian, the lack of conflict in colonial Pennsylvania "was one of the miracles of history."²

This consensus is particularly surprising given the revolution which has occurred in the writing of the history of cultural contact in colonial North America. In the last twenty years, historians have reexamined the history of colonization from the once-ignored perspective of the

Thomas E. Drake, "William Penn's Experiment in Race Relations," *PMHB* 68 (1944), 372-374; and Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes from its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744* (New York, 1984), 245-248.

² Oldmixon quoted in Frost, "William Penn's Experiment," 597. Frederick Tolles, "Nonviolent Contact: Quakers and the Indians," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107 (1963), 93-101, quotation at 95. Other histories of Europeans and Indians in early Pennsylvania include Rayner Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians 1655-1917* (Philadelphia, 1917); Drake, "William Penn's Experiment"; Sherman Uhler, *Pennsylvania's Indian Relations to 1754* (Allentown, 1951); Paul A.W. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1961; rev. ed., 1981), esp. chapters 16 and 17; and three works by Francis Jennings, "Miquon's Passing: Indian-European Relations in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1674-1755" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1965), *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 223-248, and "Brother Miquon: Good Lord!" in Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, eds., *The World of William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1986), 195-214. Surprisingly, Jennings presents a generally favorable view of early Pennsylvania's Indian-European contact, a view that differs little from the traditional Quaker interpretation. Douglas Greenberg, "The Middle Colonies in Recent American Historiography," *William and Mary Quarterly* (hereafter, *WMQ*) 36 (1979), 415-416, offers a trenchant critique of histories of Indians in the region. For a useful overview essay, see Daniel K. Richter, "A Framework for Pennsylvania Indian History," *Pennsylvania History* 57 (1990), 236-261. See also Randall M. Miller, "Amerindian (Native American) Cultures in Pre- and Early European Settlement Periods in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Ethnic Studies Newsletter* (Summer/Fall 1989), 1-4.

Native American.³ By drawing upon archaeological and ethnographic evidence, they have been able to trace the effects of contact on the economy, social structure, and politics of Indian societies.⁴ The devastating demographic consequences of the European "invasion" can no longer be discounted.⁵ The ideology of the colonists, examined through the social histories of settlers as well as through written records, lends insight into the often baffling, contradictory attitudes of Europeans toward the Indians they encountered when attempting to plant colonies on America's "virgin soil."⁶ Close attention to the different atti-

³ See James Axtell, "The Ethnohistory of Early America: A Review Essay," *WMQ* 35 (1978), 110-144; Reginald Horsman, "Recent Trends and New Directions in Native American History," in Jerome O. Steffen, ed., *The American West: New Perspectives, New Dimensions* (Norman, 1979), 124-151; Calvin Martin, ed., *The American Indian and the Problem of History* (New York, 1987); James H. Merrell, "Some Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians," *WMQ* 46 (1989), 94-119.

⁴ Good examples of this approach include Gary B. Nash, *Red, White and Black: The Peoples of Early America* (2d ed., Englewood Cliffs, 1982); Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans and the Making of New England, 1500-1643* (New York, 1982); James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (Oxford, 1981); James H. Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* (Chapel Hill, 1989).

⁵ See especially Wilbur R. Jacobs, "The Tip of an Iceberg: Pre-Columbian Indian Demography and Some Implications for Revisionism," *WMQ* 31 (1974), 123-132. Also useful are William M. Denevan, ed., *The Native Population of the Americas in 1492* (Madison, 1976); Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, 1972); and Crosby, "Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation of America," *WMQ* 33 (1976), 289-299. The timing and extent of epidemics has been the subject of much contentious debate. See Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Number Became Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville, 1983); and his critics Dean M. Snow and Kim Lanphear, "European Contact and Indian Depopulation in the Northeast: The Timing of the First Epidemics," *Ethnohistory* 35 (1988), 15-33; and Henry F. Dobyns, Dean R. Snow, Kim Lanphear, and David Henige, "Commentary on Native American Demography," *Ethnohistory* 36 (1989), 285-307. A still valuable guide to the historiography of Indian population is Henry F. Dobyns, ed., *Native American Historical Demography: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington, 1976).

⁶ Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York, 1978); Nicholas P. Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America," *WMQ* 30 (1973), 575-598; Alden T. Vaughan, "From White Man to Redskin: Changing Anglo-American Perceptions of the American Indian," *American Historical Review* 87 (1982), 917-953. Excellent social historical approaches to the attitudes of colonists in various regions to the native population include Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom* (New York, 1975); William S. Simmons, "Cultural Bias in the New England Puritans' Perceptions of Indians," *WMQ* 38 (1981), 24-48; and James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contact of Cultures in North America* (Oxford, 1985).

tudes of Europeans and Indians to the natural world, the land and its plants and animals, has offered important insights into the consequences of the European peopling of North America.⁷

The new ethnohistorical and ecological approaches to contact are, however, absent from histories of colonial Pennsylvania. Historians have emphasized the ideology of William Penn and his Quaker followers. They have paid scant attention to the culture and history of the Indians who inhabited Penn's Wood, to the conditions which made possible Penn's successful settlement, and to the social and demographic consequences of colonization. Advances in the social and demographic history of colonization and in historical anthropology and ethnohistory issue a challenge to examine the early history of Pennsylvania anew. As Bernard Bailyn has written of colonial historiography, what is needed is "a fresh look at the whole story, and a general interpretation or set of interpretations that draws together the great mass of available material."⁸

An overview of the history of the Delaware Valley in the era of early colonization reveals remarkable similarities between Penn's colony and the rest of British North America. The heterogeneous lot of European settlers who landed on the banks of the Delaware—like their counterparts throughout British North America—brought with them European cultural assumptions, diseases, agriculture, and trade goods—all of which fundamentally remade the world they encountered. In the very process of settlement, Penn and his colonists unleashed forces which, even in the absence of coercion and violence, transformed the region's environment, decimated the native population, and pushed natives westward. The first seventy-five years of Pennsylvania might have been unscarred by military conflict, but within the first decades after the founding of Pennsylvania—as in most of British North

⁷ For examples of this relatively novel approach, see Calvin Martin, "The European Impact on the Culture of a Northeastern Algonquian Tribe: An Ecological Interpretation," *WMQ* 31 (1974), 3-26; Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1978); Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln, 1983); and William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England* (New York, 1983).

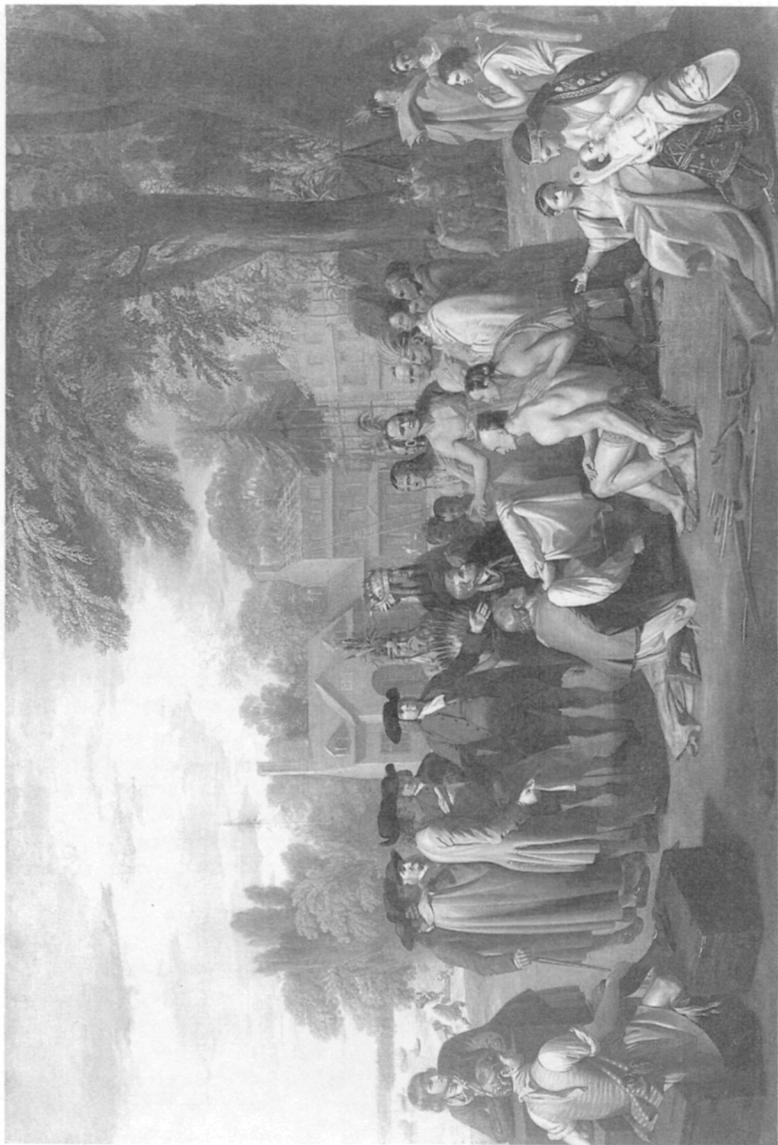
⁸ Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York, 1986), 7.

America—the land and its inhabitants grew unfamiliar to the natives. This essay will explore the history of cultural contact in early Pennsylvania, beginning with a sketch of contact-era Lenape society and the early European settlements that preceded Penn's colony, and turning to a reevaluation of the first decades of colonial Pennsylvania's settlement with special attention to population, disease, land, and alcohol.

A century before Penn's colonial venture, as Europeans began to establish their first permanent settlements in North America, a remarkably stable Native American culture flourished in the watershed of the Delaware River. At the time of first contact with Europeans, the Algonquian-speaking Indians who identified themselves as the Lenni Lenape, "Original People," were scattered in small bands along the banks of the Delaware and its tributaries. The dearth of archaeological evidence makes it extremely difficult to reconstruct the life of the pre-contact Lenape.⁹ The most prolific and persuasive of recent archaeologists writing on the subject has argued that the Lenape were primarily hunters and gatherers, unlike many semi-agricultural Algonquian groups in southern New England and the mid-Atlantic region.¹⁰ In

⁹ The best overviews of pre-contact archaeology include W. Fred Kinsey III, "Early Pennsylvania Prehistory: A Review," *Pennsylvania History* 50 (1983), 69-108; Jay F. Custer, *Delaware Prehistoric Archaeology: An Ecological Approach* (Newark, 1984); and Herbert Kraft, *The Lenape: Archaeology, History and Ethnography* (Newark, 1986).

¹⁰ Until the recent revisionist work of Marshall Becker, most archaeologists of early Pennsylvania assumed that the Lenape practiced agriculture and settled in semi-permanent villages. Although scholarship in the field of contact-era archaeology is still in flux, with few definitive works, Becker's work is especially influential. Two articles by Becker present his view of Lenape society most clearly: "Lenape Archaeology: Archaeological and Ethnological Considerations in Light of Recent Excavations," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 50, 4 (1980); and, "The Lenape Bands Prior to 1740: The Identification of Boundaries and the Processes of Change Leading to the Formation of the 'Delawares'," in Herbert Kraft, ed., *The Lenape Indian: A Symposium*, Seton Hall Archaeological Research Center, no. 7 (South Orange, 1984), 19-32. A digest of Becker's work arguing that the Lenape were collectors and including a bibliography of his articles and papers on the subject is "A Summary of Lenape Socio-Political Organization and Settlement Patterns at the Time of European Contact: The Evidence for Collecting Bands," *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 4 (1988), 79-83. For alternative views of the Lenape as agriculturalists, see Ives Goddard, "Delaware," in Bruce Trigger, ed. *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 15: Northeast* (Washington, 1978), 216-217; Paul A.W. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania*, 31-38; and Kraft, *The Lenape*, 115-159. The most important seventeenth-century account of the Lenape, which mentions their practice of cultivation as well as hunting, is Peter Lindeström, *Geographia Americae with an Account of the Delaware Indians* [1691], trans. Amandus Johnson (Philadelphia, 1925), 213-217, 219-220, 253-256.



Penn's Treaty with the Indians by Benjamin West (1771). West's famous painting conveys the image of early Pennsylvania as a peaceable kingdom that has dominated perceptions of Indian-European contact since the eighteenth century. Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

the spring and summer the Indians moved their bands to riverside base camps where they could fish, gather, and do some planting in fertile fields cleared by the burning of brush. During the winter, base camps were uninhabited as the bands moved inland in search of game. As in other Algonquian groups, there was a strict division of labor by sex in Lenape settlements. The women gathered and harvested, and the men hunted and fished. The year was punctuated with events of spiritual significance: an annual fish festival, lasting five or six weeks, and the famous Big House ceremony.¹¹

The native culture was not static. The Lenape adapted to changing social and economic circumstances in the Delaware and Susquehanna valleys. Susquehannock incursions in the middle of the sixteenth century, for example, led to the absorption of elements of Iroquoian culture in southeast Pennsylvania.¹² Still, the life of the Lenape on the eve of first contact with European explorers and settlers was remarkably peaceful. Unlike Iroquoian settlements to the north and west, the Lenape did not construct stockades, which can be taken as evidence of their peaceful coexistence with neighboring tribes. In addition, Lenape burial sites throughout the Late Woodland Period yield little evidence of violent death.¹³

Lenape bands were small and defined by kinship. Descent was matrilineal, but neither men nor women in the communities seem to have held positions of exclusive authority, despite numerous references to "Kings" in European accounts.¹⁴ The Swedish colonist and chronicler Peter Lindeström, in his account of the Lenape, was perplexed by this lack of hierarchy: "They show no reverence or honor to their ruler, which their sachem does not require of them but their sachem

¹¹ On Lenape ritual, see A.R. Dunlap and C.A. Weslager, "Contributions to the Ethno-History of the Delaware Indians on the Brandywine," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 30, 1 (1960), 18-21; Frank G. Speck, *The Delaware Big House Ceremony* (Harrisburg, 1936); Kraft, *The Lenape*, 161-194.

¹² Kinsey, "Early Pennsylvania Prehistory," 96-97.

¹³ Herbert C. Kraft, "Indian Prehistory of New Jersey," in Kraft, ed., *A Delaware Indian Symposium* (Harrisburg, 1974), 38.

¹⁴ Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Some Psychological Characteristics of the Delaware Indians During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 20, 1-2 (1950), 36-38; Goddard, "Delaware," 216; W.W. Newcomb, *The Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians* (Ann Arbor, 1956), 29-50; Paul A.W. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania*, 52-60; C.A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians: A History* (New Brunswick, 1974), 62-65.

may come to sit as soon last as first, thus and in other such things.”¹⁵ The relations between these autonomous kin-based groups was based on a series of reciprocal exchanges; there is little evidence of political structures that transcended kin groups. Archaeologists have debated the validity of the social and linguistic subdivision of the natives inhabiting the Delaware watershed. Some eighteenth-century sources and more recent ethnographic research supports the theory that three distinct groups, indiscriminately called the Delaware by historians, lived in what is now Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and lower New York. The Munsee inhabited the area between the lower Hudson Valley and the forks of the Delaware, and the Unami and Unalachtigo Lenape lived on the west and east sides of the Delaware valley below the fall line. No seventeenth-century accounts of this distinction exist, and it is not clear that the natives employed such distinctions at the time of initial European contact. Anthropologists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were preoccupied with demonstrating the political significance of these divisions, but it is most probable that the divisions were cultural and linguistic rather than political.¹⁶ Despite the varied findings, what has become clear is that, decentralized and living in small bands, the contact-era Lenape lacked the strong, cohesive tribal organization that enabled natives in other parts of British North America to resist European encroachment.

¹⁵ Lindström, *Geographia Americae*, 206.

¹⁶ The political organization of the Delaware has been the matter of much debate: most would agree that until the eighteenth century, there was little political organization beyond the kinship group. The validity of the use of the tripartite division, a related question, has been the subject of controversy. The most convincing discussion on this matter is Marshall Becker, “The Boundary Between the Lenape and the Munsee: The Forks of the Delaware as a Buffer Zone,” *Man in the Northeast* 26 (Fall 1983), 1-20; see also Becker, “The Lenape Bands Prior to 1740,” esp. 20-21. Herbert Kraft argues that “the term Lenape should really be used only with reference to the historic Unami-speaking bands” who lived south of the Raritan River and the Forks of the Delaware in “The Northern Lenape in Prehistoric and Early Colonial Times,” in Kraft, ed., *Lenape Indian Symposium*, 1. See also: William Hunter, “Documented Subdivisions of the Delaware Indians,” *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey* 35 (1978), 20-40; and Kraft, “Indian Prehistory,” 31-33. One unorthodox and not particularly convincing attempt to discount the notion of the division of the Delaware into autonomous hunting communities and to argue that a tribal political organization existed in the seventeenth century is Melburn D. Thurman, “Delaware Social Organization,” in Kraft, ed., *A Delaware Indian Symposium*, 111-134.

The population of the Lenni Lenape at the time of contact is difficult to determine given the limitations of source material. In 1600, according to the highest estimates, some 11,000 Indians (including the Munsee and Lenape) inhabited the Delaware watershed, living in about forty dispersed village bands. A significantly lower estimate suggests that a mere 360 to 500 Lenape lived in southeast Pennsylvania at the time of first contact with Europeans.¹⁷ Already, however, European diseases introduced by passing traders and explorers might have significantly reduced the Lenape population. The effects of this initial microbial contact cannot be underestimated. The Lenape, like other Indians in the Americas who encountered European travelers, were immunologically unprepared for the onslaught of new diseases.

Sixteenth-century sources are virtually silent on contact between European adventurers and Indians in the Delaware Valley, although it is probable that sometime in the 1500s the Lenape were exposed to Europeans and the diseases they carried. As early as 1524, the Florentine explorer Verazzano (sailing for the French) might have briefly visited the Delaware country. Spanish ships sailed the North American coast and English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish fishermen headed to the rich waters of the North Atlantic. Some might have found their way up the Chesapeake. It is also possible that European-carried pathogens reached the Lenape more indirectly. Diseases introduced to other tribes, especially those to the north, who came into contact with fur traders and fishermen possibly spread through the extensive Indian trade networks in eastern North America to the Delaware Valley in

¹⁷ Goddard, "Delaware," 214; Marshall Becker, "Lenape Population at the Time of European Contact: Estimating Native Numbers in the Lower Delaware Valley," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133 (1989), 112-122. Becker's higher estimate of 500 Lenape living in an area that includes southern Lehigh county, most of Berks and Bucks counties, and all of Montgomery, Delaware, Chester, and Philadelphia counties in Pennsylvania, along with New Castle County in Delaware points to a Lenape population density of about fourteen to fifteen per hundred square miles. If his lower estimate of 360 is accepted, only about ten to eleven Lenape inhabited each one hundred square miles—a remarkably low population density, even for a foraging group. By contrast, the estimates of population density for contact-era New England are much higher. The non-agricultural Indians of Maine lived forty-one persons per hundred square miles at the time of contact, and the semi-agricultural Indians of southern New England lived 287 persons per one hundred square miles at the time of contact. (See Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 42.) Becker's low figures would be explicable if he had accounted for the effects of epidemic diseases, but he discounts epidemic disease as a factor determining Lenape population.

the middle and late sixteenth century. By the early seventeenth century, the Lenape certainly came into direct contact with Europeans. Beginning with Hudson's famous voyage of 1609 through the first establishment of Dutch colonies in 1624, several Dutch ships ventured up the Delaware.¹⁸ The high mortality rates that accompanied the "virgin soil" pandemics had devastating consequences for Indian culture and religion. As Calvin Martin has argued, the onslaught of European disease profoundly upset the Indian's relation to the environment, thus "breaking native morale" and "cracking their spiritual edifice."¹⁹

The depopulation of the Lenape was the most significant consequence of the influx of Dutch and Swedish settlers to the Delaware Valley beginning in the 1620s and the mass migration of British, Irish, and German colonists to Pennsylvania after 1682. The disease that ravaged the Swedish settlers who arrived with chronicler Peter Lindeström in 1654 spread to the Indians. In 1663 an epidemic of smallpox swept through the Lenape. At least three smallpox epidemics had stricken the natives by 1677.²⁰ European colonists noted the calamitous effects of disease on the native population. In 1694 a German minister who lived in Pennsylvania during the smallpox epidemic of 1688-1691 noted the ravages of disease: "A great many of these savages have died, even since I came here, so that there are hardly more than a fourth part of the number existing that were to be seen when I came to the country ten years ago."²¹ In a letter written in 1698, a Welsh colonist reported that "there are but few of the natives now. Not 1 to

¹⁸ Kraft, "Indian Prehistory," 1; Albright Zimmerman, "European Trade Relations in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Kraft, ed., *Delaware Indian Symposium*, 58-61; Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca, 1960), 25-33. The question of the spread of epidemic disease in the sixteenth century is not settled: see Snow, "European Contact and Indian Depopulation," and Dobyns, et al., "Commentary on Native American Demography." None of the contributors to the debate contest the vast extent and dramatic consequences of seventeenth-century epidemic disease among North American Indians.

¹⁹ Martin, "European Impact," 17.

²⁰ Lindeström, *Geographia Americae*, 127-128; Weslager, *The Delaware Indians*, 134; Goddard, "Delaware," 213.

²¹ Trelease, *Indian Affairs*, 304; Rev. Daniel Pastorius, quoted in Newcomb, *Culture and Acculturation*, 11.

10 as was formerly.”²² Settler Gabriel Thomas’s remark that “the Indians themselves say that two of them die for every one Christian that comes in here,” is probably as accurate a statement as any expressing the tremendous depopulation of Pennsylvania’s Indians in the seventeenth century.²³

The opening of trade with European colonists, first the Dutch and Swedes, had important consequences for the Lenape economy. The subsistence hunting and gathering patterns of the pre-contact years were replaced by an involvement in the fur trade. Deer were plentiful in the Delaware Valley and throughout the eighteenth century the deerskin trade remained steady. The supply of beaver in the Delaware Valley was limited, however, and the competition for beaver with the Susquehannocks precipitated a 1633 conflict in which the Iroquoian-speaking Susquehannocks drove the Lenape from the fur-rich valleys of central Pennsylvania. The Lenape control of the Delaware River and their location in the vicinity of European trading posts put them in the position as mediators between more distant tribes and the coastal markets. Because they were less directly involved in the mass harvesting of beaver, the Lenape agricultural and hunting patterns were not affected as greatly as were those of other tribes to the north and west.²⁴ Instead of relying upon indigenous materials, the Lenape became increasingly dependent on the trade goods of Europeans. Seventeenth-century Lenape burial sites yield a growing number of European artifacts that the Indians incorporated into their rituals. They also consumed items of greater value for day-to-day use including clothing, copperware, and weapons. Colonists scrambled to satisfy the Indian demand for hard liquor, perhaps the most lucrative European commodity.

Unlike British colonists to the north and south, the Dutch and Swedes established few permanent communities. With the exception

²² Howard Williams Lloyd, ed., “Philadelphia in 1698,” *PMHB* 18 (1894), 247. (Quote from an unsigned letter from Philadelphia to Robert Johnson, minister of St. Illtyd, Wales, probably written by his son-in-law Rowland Ellis.)

²³ Gabriel Thomas, “A Historical and Geographical Account of Pensilvania and of West-New-Jersey” [1698], in Albert Cook Myers, ed., *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, 1630-1707* (hereafter, *Narratives*) (New York, 1912), 340.

²⁴ Zimmerman, “European Trade Relations,” 60-68; Carl Bridenbaugh, “Three Old and New Societies of the Delaware Valley in the Seventeenth Century,” *PMHB* 100 (1976) 145-148; Goddard, “Delaware,” 220-221; Weslager, *The Delaware Indians*, 104-136.

of small outposts at Christiana (Fort Brandywine) and Upland and a handful of cabins on the Delaware, these early colonists were few in number. In the 1650s when the pre-English population reached its peak, fewer than 1,000 Dutch and Swedes lived in the Delaware Valley. The violence of the contact between the Munsee and Dutch colonists on the Hudson stands in sharp contrast to contact on the lower Delaware: the low density of Dutch and Swedish settlement and the relative insignificance of the Pennsylvania fur trade in relation to the Hudson Valley trade limited conflict in the Delaware Valley.²⁵

These small European settlements were also generally free of tension over the complex matter of land acquisition that would lead to serious misunderstanding in other colonies. The Lenape and Dutch and Swedish conceptions of land sales were markedly different. Europeans viewed land as a commodity to be bought or sold, just as they would buy or sell furs or corn. A sale involved the conveyance of absolute right to the land. The account of the Swedish landing and settlement at Christiana Creek in 1638 makes clear this European understanding of land transactions: according to the European witnesses, the natives "transported, ceded and transferred the said land with all its jurisdiction, sovereignty, and rights to the Swedish Florida Company. . . . At the same time they acknowledged that they, to their satisfaction, were fully paid and fully compensated for it."²⁶ On the other hand, the natives believed that they were transferring the rights to the *use* of that land, for a limited time, to the settlers. The Swedish settlers, however, generally accommodated the native view of land transactions, most likely for reasons of diplomacy. Israel Acrelius, a Swedish minister writing an account of New Sweden in the mid-eighteenth century, said that the natives "at no great intervals, must have new gifts of encouragement if their friendship was to remain

²⁵ For a survey of the Dutch and Swedish colonies, see Sally Schwartz, "Society and Culture in the Seventeenth-Century Delaware Valley," *Delaware History* 20 (1982), 98-122. The violent history of contact in the Hudson Valley can be traced in Trelease, *Indian Affairs*, and more briefly in Goddard, "Delaware," 220-223. One notable conflict between Indians and colonists occurred in the Delaware Valley at the Dutch whaling colony at Swanendael (now Lewes, Delaware) in 1632. The incident is best described in C.A. Weslager and A.R. Dunlap, *Dutch Explorers, Traders, and Settlers in the Delaware Valley* (Philadelphia, 1961), chap. 4.

²⁶ "Affadavit of Four Men from the Key of Calamar, 1638," in Myers, ed., *Narratives*, 88.

firm.”²⁷ If these gifts were withheld, the Indians would seek retribution by force.

By paying all Indian claimants to land and, on some occasions, by allowing Indians to continue to use ceded land, the Swedes avoided costly altercations with the natives over land sales. Because Dutch and Swedish settlements were widely dispersed, and because repeat payments for land were usually forthcoming, the Lenape had little reason to perceive the colonists as permanent invaders. Nor did they have reason to be aware of the rather different attitudes toward land use of the newcomers. Thus the relations between the Lenape and these first settlers remained generally quiescent as underlying cultural tensions were seldom, at this time, apparent.

The demographic and economic effects of Dutch and Swedish colonization on the Lenape served as groundwork for the establishment of a larger, more permanent European colony in the Delaware Valley. Events distant from the colony—the Dutch cession of New Netherlands to the English in 1668 and the efforts in the late 1670s and early 1680s by the Quaker William Penn to establish a North American colony—had unexpected consequences for the Lenape. In 1681, a Royal Charter issued by Charles II gave Penn jurisdiction over “all that tract or parte of land in America, with all the Islands therein conteyned,” ranging west of the Delaware River from New Castle and the fortieth parallel on the south to “the head of the saide River” and the forty-third parallel on the north.²⁸ Former Dutch and Swedish settlements and most of the Lenape territory came under the control of an ambitious and idealistic Quaker who hoped to create in this “wilderness” a utopian alternative to the moral depravity of his own country.

Penn’s ideology of colonization is so well-known that it needs little discussion here. The colony was to be a “Holy Experiment” in government, guided by a powerful Quaker vision of a biblical-based common-

²⁷ Israel Acrelius, “Account of the Swedish Churches in New Sweden,” in Myers, ed., *Narratives*, 72-73. On Dutch and Swedish population and settlement patterns see Bridenbaugh, “Old and New Societies,” 148-152. For other examples of land sales, see C.A. Weslager, *Swedes and Dutch at New Castle* (Wilmington, 1987), 30-33, 64-70.

²⁸ *Charter to William Penn and the Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania* (hereafter, *Laws*) (Harrisburg, 1879), 81-82.

wealth. The colony would provide for the much-persecuted Quakers a home where they could pursue their faith and their secular callings without interference. Above all, the colony offered its debt-ridden founder and its settlers virtually unlimited opportunities for pecuniary gain.²⁹ In his first promotional pamphlet, "Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania," published in 1681, Penn described the commercial possibilities of a colony and enumerated briefly the "profitable Commodities" that could be exploited in Pennsylvania. The "industrious" and "laborious," as well as those "Ingenious Spirits" who had fallen on hard times, would be best-suited to creating a "good and fruitful Land." To lure purchasers to his colony, Penn promised first purchasers large plots of land (up to 5,000 acres) with frontage on a navigable river, with additional plots in towns to be laid out.³⁰ In accounts written after his 1682 arrival in the colony, Penn vividly described the natural bounty of his proprietary lands. The ideals of Penn's Quaker vision undoubtedly inspired many men and women to leave their home countries for the new colony, but the drive for profit and wealth was from the outset an overriding consideration in colonization.³¹

In his first efforts to attract land purchasers to Pennsylvania, the proprietor paid scant attention to the problem of Indians. In March 1681—indeed before the colony's charter had been officially granted—Penn made his first sales of land.³² It is likely that Penn's enthusiasm over the new charter and his heavy indebtedness prompted the quick move to sell land in his new colony. Financial and religious motivations are evident in Penn's correspondence. In an April 1681 letter to three Quakers in Dublin, Penn bemoaned his £16,000 debt and told his correspondents of his new colony. To encourage land

²⁹ Edwin Bronner, *William Penn's Holy Experiment: The Founding of Pennsylvania 1681-1701* (Philadelphia, 1962); Mary Maples Dunn, *William Penn: Politics and Conscience* (Princeton, 1967); Gary B. Nash, *Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, 1681-1726* (Princeton, 1968), chaps. 1-2; Sally Schwartz, "A Mixed Multitude": *The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York, 1987), chaps. 1-3.

³⁰ William Penn, "Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania" [1681], in Myers, ed., *Narratives*, 207, 209-210.

³¹ See for example "A Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania" [1685], in Myers, ed., *Narratives*, esp. 264-269.

³² Hubertis M. Cummings, "William Penn of Worminghurst Makes His First Sales of Lands in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History* 30 (1963), 267.

purchases in Pennsylvania, Penn enclosed a copy of his newly published pamphlet, "Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania."³³

Penn's advertising was effective. By the summer of 1682, the colony's "First Purchasers" bought some 500,000 acres of land, yielding the proprietor nearly £10,000. Most of the property was in large blocks, averaging some 1,000 acres in each lot.³⁴ Penn was under legal obligation to compensate the natives for land offered to colonists. In his first account of the colony, published in March 1681, Penn guaranteed to purchasers land "free from any Indian incumbrance."³⁵ A deed of July 1681, typical of the sales to the first purchasers, mentioned as a condition of sale "covenants by William Penn to discharge the Indian title."³⁶

By selling land to prospective colonists before treating with the Lenape, Penn displayed an astonishing indifference to Indian rights to the land. His policy rested on the unstated assumption that the natives would inevitably transfer ownership of the land to the colonists. Penn offered the first purchasers some of the finest Lenape land, including choice river frontage, much of which had been cleared by the natives for use as summer base camps. From this perspective Penn's decision to extinguish Indian land claims by purchase must be reevaluated. Historians who argue for the "uniqueness" of Pennsylvania's land purchasing practice ignore its precedent in other British colonies as well as in Dutch and Swedish settlements and fail to see that common assumptions underlay Penn's policy and the land acquisition policies, whether violent or nonviolent, in other colonies.

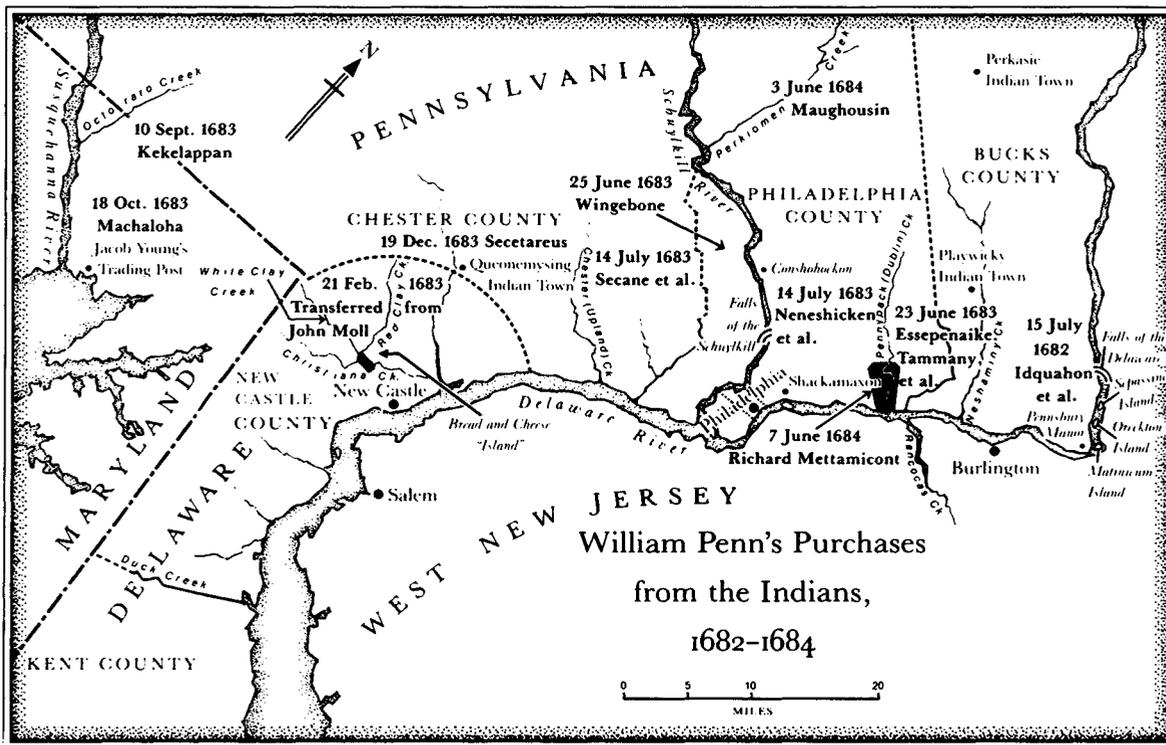
On the surface, Penn's policy seems enlightened. Penn made clear his intention to avoid the fraudulent acquisition of land from its native inhabitants. One of the colony's first laws placed strict regulations on the purchase of land:

³³ Richard S. Dunn, Mary Maples Dunn, et al., *The Papers of William Penn* (hereafter, *PWP*) (Philadelphia, 1981-1986), 2:88-89.

³⁴ John E. Pomfret, "The First Purchasers of Pennsylvania, 1681-1700," *PMHB* 80 (1956), 148; Nash, *Quakers and Politics*, 15. Much of Pomfret's article is superseded by the detailed information on the First Purchasers in *PWP*, 2:630-664.

³⁵ Penn, "Some Account," in Myers, ed., *Narratives*, 208.

³⁶ Thomas Sergeant, *View of the Land Laws of Pennsylvania with Notices of its Early History and Legislation* (Philadelphia, 1838), 25.



William Penn's Purchases from the Indians, 1682-1684. In the first years of settlement, Penn acquired land from the Lenape that he had already offered to his First Purchasers. From Richard Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, eds., *The Papers of William Penn*, Volume 2 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 491. Courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Press.

If anie person shall presume to buy anie land of the natives without leave from the Proprietary and Governour therof, or his Deputy; such person shall lose the said land, and pay at the rate of ten shillings, for every one hundred acres therof to the Governour or his Assigns.³⁷

Moreover, land could not be occupied until all Indian claims had been answered. Penn followed through on this promise, spending some £1,200 on payments to Indians by 1685.³⁸ To prevent the cheating of Indian sellers, deeds were witnessed by both colonial officials and Lenape sachems. Treaties involving property invariably mention the presence of several "Chiefes" or "Kings."³⁹

Penn's desire to protect the Lenape from unjust transactions undoubtedly emerged from his perception of the Indians as the moral equivalent of Europeans, no less worthy of just treatment than colonists. In his acclaimed Letter to the Free Society of Traders, Penn advised: "Do not abuse them [the Indians], but let them have justice and you shall win them."⁴⁰ In the first of two letters delivered to the Lenape by Deputy Governor William Markham, Penn announced his benevolent intentions: "The King of the country where I live hath given unto me a great province, but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbours and friends."⁴¹ But in his instructions to the Provincial Commissioners, to whom he entrusted the purchase of Indian land, Penn's less idealistic motives came to light. "Be tender of offending the Indians," he warned, "hearken, by honest spyes, if you can hear that any body inveighs the Indians not to sell, or to stand off, and raise the vallue upon you."⁴² Tolerance was a necessary strategy to prevent the Indians or enemies of Penn from subverting his attempt to plant a colony.

In Pennsylvania, as elsewhere in North America, the European and Indian notions of land tenure emerged from two fundamentally different mentalities. Penn and other Quaker colonists attempted to understand Lenape culture on its own terms, but on the issue of

³⁷ *Laws*, 143.

³⁸ Penn, "Further Account," in Myers, ed., *Narratives*, 276.

³⁹ Donald H. Kent, ed., *Pennsylvania and Delaware Treaties, 1629-1737* (hereafter, *Treaties*) (Washington, 1979), 476-477.

⁴⁰ Penn, "Letter to the Free Society of Traders" [1682], in Myers, ed., *Narratives*, 236.

⁴¹ Kent, ed., *Treaties*, 55.

⁴² Instructions to commissioners, September 30, 1681, in *PWP*, 2:120.

property colonial policy rested on the presumption that Europeans and natives thought alike. Pennsylvania's colonists viewed property in terms of exclusive ownership. In Lenape culture, on the other hand, land was embedded in the social fabric of Lenape communities. Lenape kin groups held rights to a hunting ground collectively; unlike colonists, no individual Lenape man or woman held land exclusively.⁴³ This notion of communal control over land befuddled Pennsylvanians. At treaty conferences, the Lenape divided "payment" for lands equally among all present. Penn noted with great astonishment the "liberality" of the Indians on matters of property. Writing of land transactions, Penn remarked on what seemed to an Englishman the strange equality of the distribution of payment: "The pay or presents I made them were not horded by particuler owners, but the Neighbouring Kings and their clans being present, when the goods were brought forth, the Partys cheifly Concern'd consulted what and to whom they should give them." The goods were then equally apportioned between all of the Indians present, "with that gravity that is admirable."⁴⁴

European and Indian conceptions of what constituted the proper use of land were also strikingly different. Coming from an agricultural society where most land was used intensively for cultivation, colonists viewed land as a valuable commodity. European settlers considered undeveloped land as "waste." Unless the land was improved, it was of little benefit to the commonweal. This notion of property was expressed most clearly in the conditions for the purchase of land incorporated into provincial laws. If a land purchaser did not improve the land within three years, it would revert to the proprietor, who could then offer it for sale to someone who pledged to make improvements.⁴⁵ Penn believed that Indians and Europeans shared this philosophy of land use. In his instructions to William Markham concerning the border dispute with Maryland, Penn wrote:

⁴³ Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Women, Land, and Society: Three Aspects of Colonial Delaware Life," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 17 (1947), 1-35; Wallace, "Political Organization and Land Tenure Among the Northeastern Indians, 1630-1830," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 13 (1957), 301-321; Frank G. Speck, "The Wapanachki Delawares and the English: Their Past as Viewed by an Ethnologist," *PMHB* 67 (1943), 340-341; Weslager, *The Delaware Indians*, 37, 39-40.

⁴⁴ James T. Lemon, *Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore, 1972), 51, 54.

⁴⁵ *PWP*, 2:474.

It hath been the Practice of America, as well as the Reason of the thing itself, even among Indians and Christians, to account not taking up, marking and (in some degree) planting a Reversion of Right; for the Indians do make People buy over again that Land [which] the People have not seated in some years after purchased.⁴⁶

Despite Penn's contention, this notion of permanent improvement had no analogue in Lenape society. The Lenape practices of hunting and gathering and occasional planting hardly constituted improvement in the European sense. Only Lenape base camps—which were inhabited for part of the year—approximated the colonists' definition of "seated" land. Land that seemed unused was not abandoned, as many Europeans imagined. What seemed to be vacant woodland was invisibly subdivided into hunting grounds under the jurisdiction of the kin group whose sovereignty was acknowledged by members of nearby bands. This "unimproved" land was crucial to the economy of Lenape bands and central to the network of kin relationships that defined Lenape society.⁴⁷

The differences between Indian and colonial perceptions of land transactions is highlighted in the ceremonies surrounding land sales. Several sachems were usually present to sign deeds of sale. Their visits to the colonists were ceremonial, replete with gifts and marked by what seemed to the colonists the "grave demeanour" of the Indians.⁴⁸ A land transaction was as much a diplomatic as an economic exchange, as evidenced in the ceremonial presentation of skins and trinkets by the Indian delegation to the colonial officials. Crucial to the conducting of land transactions was the exchange of wampum. One anthropologist has attempted to draw a distinction between "cash wampum" used to pay for lands and "formal wampum" presented when bids for coopera-

⁴⁶ *PWP*, 2:450.

⁴⁷ My analysis of land use and land sales draws from the insights of William Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 55-81. For alternative views of the meaning of land transactions between Indians and European colonists, see Robert Steven Grumet, "An Analysis of Upper Delaware Land Sales in Northern New Jersey, 1630-1758," in William Cowan, ed., *Papers of the Ninth Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa, 1978), 25-35; and Emerson W. Baker, "'A Scratch With a Bear's Paw': Anglo-Indian Land Deeds in Early Maine," *Ethnohistory* 36 (1989), 235-256.

⁴⁸ The documents of Pennsylvania's purchases of land from the natives can be found in Kent, ed., *Treaties*.

tion and joint effort were made.⁴⁹ But such a distinction ignores the Indian perception of transactions as simultaneously the payment for the right to use land and the means of establishing a relationship of reciprocity between the two parties involved. To the Lenape, land "sales" and the concurrent exchange of gifts brought the newcomers into the broader economic and political networks of the Lenape communities.

The treaties of land sale written by the Pennsylvanians, however, left no room for the Lenape conception of land transactions. Most native land transactions involved the transfer of usufruct rights. The Lenape notion of the transfer of partial or usufruct rights in a land transaction had no impact on the wording of deeds, all of which stipulated the permanent and absolute renunciation of Indian rights to the land conveyed.⁵⁰ Despite the absolute language of the deeds, the Lenape often expected to retain the right to use the "sold" land for hunting and sometimes farming.⁵¹ From time to time, differing Lenape and colonial expectations of land transactions led to confrontation. One such clash took place in February 1685. In a letter to proprietary official James Harrison, surveyor Thomas Holme wrote that the Lenape sachem Taminy had told settlers in lower Bucks County that he had not sold them the land upon which they had settled. When Taminy threatened to burn their homes if they did not leave, several families fled for nearby West Jersey.⁵² Taminy's reaction was probably the result of his interpretation of the terms of a land transaction of 1683, to which he was a party. Alarmed by English migrants' rapid settlement of his territorial land and angered by what he perceived to be a violation of his trust, Taminy threatened recourse to violence to redress the grievances of his people. Proprietary officials, including William Penn (who had returned to England the year before), were outraged by the Taminy incident. In a letter sent to

⁴⁹ Instructions to commissioners on the purchase of Indian land, in Samuel Hazard, ed., *Annals of Pennsylvania from the Discovery of the Delaware, 1609-1682* (Philadelphia, 1850), 529.

⁵⁰ Marshall Becker, "Lenape Land Sales, Treaties, and Wampum Belts," *PMHB* 108 (1984), 353-356.

⁵¹ Newcomb, *Culture and Acculturation*, 22-24.

⁵² Bronner, *William Penn's Holy Experiment*, 79-80. The deed from Taminy, dated June 23, 1683, is reprinted in Kent, ed., *Treaties*, 61.

Holme in August 1685, Penn wrote: "You must make them [the Indians] keep their word. If they see you use them severely when Rogueish and kindly when just, they will demean themselves accordingly."⁵³

Indians' demands for repeat payments and "confirmatory" treaties made clear their belief that they maintained a stake (even if it was only symbolic) in land that, under provincial law, was no longer theirs. Repeat payments reinforced the diplomatic links implicit in the land transactions. The colony's policy of multiple payments was, however, a short-lived expedient. In 1700, during a period of financial difficulty, Penn ordered colonial officials to cease such payments.⁵⁴ As it turned out, the retreat of the Lenape westward and the decline in native population diminished the possibility of conflict and thus left the colonists with no compelling reason to offer repeat payments. Confirmatory treaties continued sporadically into the early eighteenth century. As late as 1718, Sassoonan and other descendants of the Lenape who had "sold" land to the colonists in the late seventeenth century confirmed for the colony in a formal ceremony that they were "content and satisfied" with the grants made by their ancestors.⁵⁵ The 1718 treaty was a poignant reminder of the persistence of Lenape views of the land, even in the face of the inexorable expansion of English settlement. After nearly forty years of colonization, Sassoonan and the Lenape clung to a traditional notion of property transactions rooted in diplomatic ritual that was meaningless to the Pennsylvania colonists.

Differences in conceptions of property extended beyond land sales. An incident in 1685 pointed to another profound cultural difference on the issue of property. The colonists of Concord, Hereford, and Southampton charged natives with "the Rapine and Destructions of their Hoggs." Disputes over pigs were common in colonial America. Introduced to North America by Europeans as a cheap and easily-maintained food source, pigs ranged freely on the periphery of colonial settlements. Ill-tempered and destructive, rooting pigs destroyed unfenced Indian plantings. Moreover, the fact that pigs were unbound (and often neglected) signaled to Lenape that they were common

⁵³ Quoted in Jennings, "Miquon's Passing," 63.

⁵⁴ Jennings, "Miquon's Passing," 64. Cf. Uhler, *Pennsylvania's Indian Relations*, 26-27.

⁵⁵ Kent, ed., *Treaties*, 182-183.

property like deer and beaver. Whether the Lenape saw the pigs of Concord, Hereford, and Southampton as noisome pests or as food (or both) is unclear. What is clear is that as the two cultures came into contact, cultural differences in views of the land extended to the animals upon it.⁵⁶

Cultural differences involving property were not the only source of tension between natives and settlers. One of the most persistent and perplexing problems in the Delaware Valley was the cross-cultural liquor trade. Swedish and Dutch traders had introduced Indians to rum, which soon became one of the most important articles of exchange. European traders found the liquor trade especially profitable. Although the Lenape might initially have disliked firewater, alcohol soon assumed an important place in their culture. As one native recounted, "we are so in love with it, that we cannot forbear it."⁵⁷ Natives seemed incapable of moderate drinking; they drank to get drunk. Some historians have argued that Indians had a genetic disposition to alcoholism, but Indian drinking is best understood in its cultural context. Above all, drunkenness allowed them to release many of the aggressions usually repressed in their strictly regulated societies. Moreover, drunkenness might have been a natural response to the tremendous disruption of Indian culture in the period of contact. More positively, alcohol helped induce the visionary experiences so important to Lenape religion.⁵⁸

Indian leaders soon recognized the disruptive effects of alcohol. By the time of Quaker settlement, many Lenape leaders sought to curb the liquor trade. The results of drunkenness were drastic. In his famous dying words, the sachem Ockanickon graphically described the effects of Indian drunkenness and made an eloquent plea for the cessation of the liquor trade:

⁵⁶ *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government* (hereafter, *Minutes*) (Harrisburg, 1838), 1:112-113. See Robert R. Gradie, "New England Indians and Colonizing Pigs," in William Cowan, ed., *Papers of the Fifteenth Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa, 1984), 147-169.

⁵⁷ Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1685), 29.

⁵⁸ Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Some Psychological Characteristics," 38-39; James Axtell, *The European and the Indian*, 257-259; Nancy O. Lurie, "The World's Longest On-Going Protest Demonstration: North American Indian Drinking Patterns," *Pacific Historical Review* 40 (1971), 311-332.

When we drink . . . it makes us mad; we do not know what we do, we then abuse one another; we throw each other into the Fire, seven Score of our people have been killed by reason of drinking it. . . . We must put it down by mutual consent . . . the Cask must be sealed up, it must not leak by day or by night.⁵⁹

Yet colonists were often reluctant to abandon the profitable trade.

Pennsylvania's policy on liquor trade was confused and generally ineffective. In December 1682, the Provincial Court noted that "Indians do commonly drink to excess, as makes them destroy one another and grievously annoy and Disquiet the people of this Province." The colony's Great Laws thus included a ban on the unauthorized sale of liquor to Indians, under the penalty of five pounds for each offense. The proprietary government's use of liquor in conferences with Indians was not, however, included in the statute, and its use of liquor in land purchases continued through 1685.⁶⁰ But because of the availability of rum in the outpost at New Castle and in Quaker Burlington, West Jersey, the prohibition was ineffective. The efforts of Indians to obtain liquor outside the colony were often as disruptive as their drunkenness: a group of Lenape petitioned the proprietor to rescind the prohibition of liquor sales in Pennsylvania because natives left their villages and their responsibilities behind to travel to New Castle in search of rum.⁶¹

Enterprising colonial traders soon met Indian demand. William Biles, a leading Quaker merchant, traded rum with the Indians until 1687, when the Falls Monthly Meeting admonished him for the practice. Although he followed his congregation's demand, Biles was unrepentant. As the meeting minutes and a Philadelphia newspaper noted, Biles stated that his action was "not against the law neither doth he know that it is any evil to do so, but however if Friends desire him not to do it, he will for the future forbear it."⁶² On some occasions, the liquor trade led to conflict. One unfortunate settler, Nicholas Skull, complained to the Provincial Assembly that Indians had broken

⁵⁹ Budd, *Good Order Established*, 28.

⁶⁰ *Laws*, 111-112.

⁶¹ Hazard, ed., *Annals*, 531-532. For laws regulating the liquor trade in Burlington, see H. Clay Reed and George J. Miller, eds., *The Burlington Court Book: A Record of Quaker Jurisprudence in West New Jersey, 1680-1709* (Washington, 1944), 2, 6.

⁶² Miles White, Jr., "William Biles," *PMHB* 26 (1902), 194.

into his house and stolen several items. Skull's petition, however, worked against his interests. An investigation revealed that Skull "sould and trucked to and with ye said Indians Severall quantities of Liquors . . . whereby they were very much Disordered to ye notorious disturbance of the neighbouring settlements."⁶³ As Secretary William Markham noted in a letter to William Penn several months after the incident, the Indians were outraged that Skull had refused to sell them liquor as he had previously done. In retribution, a "knot had combined to gett into his house and take away his Rum."⁶⁴ The assembly indicted both Skull and the Indians, but no verdict is recorded.

The liquor trade persisted as a problem in colonial Pennsylvania. In 1687 and again in 1719, Philadelphia's Yearly Meeting admonished its members for selling liquor to the Indians.⁶⁵ Likewise natives continued to seek the limitation of liquor sales. In 1700 Penn met with a group of sachems to explain a new law prohibiting the sale of rum and other spirits to the Indians. Orettyagh, one of the sachems, "Exprest a great Satisfaction, and desired that that Law might Effectually be put in Execucon and not only discoursed of as formerly it has been; they had long Suffered by the Practice but now hoped for a redress."⁶⁶ It is unlikely that Orettyagh and his companions were satisfied for long.

The effects of the trade in liquor, however disruptive to Indian communities, were inconsequential in comparison to the effects of the peopling of Pennsylvania with thousands of Europeans. In the latter years of the seventeenth century colonial settlement proceeded at a remarkable pace, despite the hardships suffered by early colonists. The large number of immigrants compensated for the negative natural increase among colonists in the first decades of settlement in Philadelphia. No British colony grew as rapidly as Pennsylvania. Penn sold nearly 800,000 acres between 1681 and 1700. By 1690 over 8,800 English, Welsh, Scottish, Irish, German, and French Huguenot settlers inhabited the Delaware Valley, along with the remaining Swedes,

⁶³ *Minutes*, 1:140.

⁶⁴ Gary B. Nash, ed., "The First Decade in Pennsylvania: Letters of William Markham and Thomas Holme to William Penn, Part One," *PMHB* 90 (1966), 332-334.

⁶⁵ Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians*, 54, 57.

⁶⁶ *Minutes*, 2:43.

TABLE 1
POPULATION GROWTH IN SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA, 1690-1760

YEAR	POPULATION	MEAN ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH
1690	8,800	9.0%
1700	21,000	2.9%
1710	28,000	2.8%
1720	37,000	2.8%
1730	49,000	4.1%
1740	73,000	4.0%
1750	108,000	5.0%
1760	175,000	1.6%

Finns, and Dutch. Penn and his agents were tremendously successful in recruiting new colonists. By the turn of the century, 21,000 colonists inhabited Pennsylvania. With the large-scale influx of non-English immigrants beginning in the mid-1710s, the population continued to expand at an unprecedented rate, as Table 1 indicates.⁶⁷ The settlement patterns of colonists were shaped by the demands of a growing market economy and the individualistic ethos of most of the colonists. Most notable was the dispersion of the population; Pennsylvania lacked the small towns characteristic of New England. The cheapness and ready availability of land allowed entrepreneurial colonists to establish themselves with relative ease and to accumulate land to pass on to descendants. From the earliest years of settlement, the colonists found in grain a lucrative and easily grown cash crop. The fertility of Pennsylvania's soil and the expansion of markets for grain, especially in the Caribbean, made the province's agriculture particularly profitable. The colony's bounty and the expansion of an international market for Pennsylvania's crops encouraged even small producers to become agrarian entrepreneurs. Along with individualism and expansion came greed. Land speculation was rife in colonial Pennsylvania and, by the turn of the century, the provincial government had to deal with the problem of squatters on unsurveyed land, a development that grew

⁶⁷ Susan E. Klepp, "Demography in Early Philadelphia, 1690-1860," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133 (1989), 85-111, offers the most up to date discussion of population dynamics after the first decade of the settlement of Pennsylvania. Pomfret, "First Purchasers," 148. The source for Table 1 is Lemon, *Best Poor Man's Country*, 23.

more serious in the mid-eighteenth century as new immigrants began to displace Indians in the central and western areas of the province.⁶⁸

Some Lenape attempted to coexist with settlers, but as the countryside was transformed, most Lenape began to withdraw westward. Initially they found sufficient land in the upper Delaware, in the Blue Mountain area, and in the Susquehanna Valley. By the turn of the century, however, the Lenape found themselves in a squeeze between the expanding European settlement, the migration of Susquehannock and Conoy Indians into the Susquehanna Valley, and the powerful Iroquois confederation to the north. In response to the difficulties of the Lenape, the government of Pennsylvania set aside "manors" to allow the natives to pursue their traditional lifestyle. Groups of natives also moved to areas on the borders of colonial settlement. The best documented of these settlements was Okehocking, recognized by the colony in 1703. The band's choice to settle at Okehocking represented, according to Marshall Becker, a "conservative" response to the forces of colonization, a "technique for preserving Lenape group identity." The reserve was surrounded by an area that was rapidly populated by Quakers in the first decades of the eighteenth century, and the Lenape found it increasingly difficult to subsist there. As the European farmers became self-sufficient, they had little need for Indian trade goods. At the same time the natives, facing a depleted wildlife population, grew dependent on their Quaker neighbors for food and other staples. Between 1730 and 1735, the last Lenape abandoned Okehocking, joining the western diaspora.⁶⁹

The vast majority of Lenape did not remain on land in the midst of colonial settlements. No doubt a small number remained in southeastern Pennsylvania and reached some sort of accommodation with

⁶⁸ Lemon, *Best Poor Man's Country*, chap. 2, esp. 51, 54-57; Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* (New York, 1988), 126-127, 135-137.

⁶⁹ Marshall Becker, "The Okehocking: A Remnant Band of Delaware Indians," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 46, 3 (1976), 24-61; Becker, "The Okehocking Band of Lenape: Cultural Continuities and Accommodations in Southeastern Pennsylvania," in Frank W. Porter, ed., *Strategies for Survival: American Indians in the Eastern United States* (Westport, 1986), 43-83; quotation at 71.



Detail of Thomas Holme's *A Map of the Province of Pennsylvania Containing the Three Countyes of Chester, Philadelphia & Bucks* (1687). In the first decades of settlement the careful division of land characteristic of early modern Europe became the norm in Pennsylvania. The landscape of early Pennsylvania was fundamentally transformed as European settlers acquired and developed former Lenape territory. Enclosures demarcated the land in an area once undivided by fence. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

European colonists.⁷⁰ Most retreated to areas remote from European colonists. In 1709 an Anglican missionary in Chester County noted the distance of possible Indian converts, informing his English correspondent that Indians were seldom encountered in colonial settlements.⁷¹ The Lenape found it impossible to maintain their traditional economy and culture in the well-settled and cultivated plains of eastern Pennsylvania. The supply of deer and beaver, essential for subsistence and trade, was long depleted in the areas of colonization. But the Lenape reasons for relocation were as much spiritual as practical. The natives sought a religious explanation for the calamitous results of European settlement, results which included disease, the disappearance of deer and beaver, and the loss of their traditional hunting territories. The notion of *kwulakan*—that an area in which harmony had broken down could not be entered without invoking the wrath of the deities—made most Lenape reluctant to remain in southeastern Pennsylvania.⁷²

By the 1720s, the process of the depeopling and peopling of colonial Pennsylvania was well underway. The Lenape were ravaged by disease and alcohol and numerically overpowered by colonists who took over their land. They struggled to maintain cohesion and identity, and they moved westward to preserve their culture from the encroaching colony. Thousands of Europeans, lured by the promise of religious freedom, toleration, and the promise of land, replaced the Lenape in southeastern Pennsylvania. Rapid population growth, land speculation, and agricultural expansion drastically transformed the Delaware Valley. In place of the Delaware hunting territories was, by the 1720s, a sprawling patchwork quilt of farmland, sustaining a booming grain trade and husbandry. Enclosures became the norm in an area only twenty years earlier undivided by fences. Forested areas, cleared temporarily by the Lenape for hunting and encampments, were now

⁷⁰ Becker, "The Okehocking Band of Lenape," 73-76, identifies five modes of accommodation to colonization: "ultraconservative resistance to change"; "conservative," remaining in traditional group land as long as possible; becoming non-Lenape; living on the periphery of Indian and white society; and living on the "urban fringe" as "dropouts."

⁷¹ Frank J. Klingberg, "The Anglican Minority in Colonial Pennsylvania, with Particular Reference to the Indian," *PMHB* 65 (1941), 283.

⁷² Jay Miller, "*Kwulakan*: The Delaware Side of their Movement West," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 45, 4 (1975), 45-46.

permanently barren of trees. Unwittingly, Penn had created a new world, one which, less than half a century after he embarked upon his Holy Experiment, would have been unrecognizable to him and to the Lenape people his settlers displaced.⁷³

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⁷³ On Pennsylvania's changing landscape in the early eighteenth century, see Lemon, *Best Poor Man's Country*. There are no complete histories of Indians and colonists in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania. The history of conflict on the Pennsylvania frontier beginning in the 1730s is well told by Francis Jennings in several articles. See especially: "The Delaware Interregnum," *PMHB* 85 (1965), 174-198, and "The Scandalous Indian Policy of William Penn's Sons: Deeds and Documents of the Walking Purchase," *Pennsylvania History* 37 (1970), 19-39. Jennings also traces the diplomatic history of Pennsylvania's Indians in *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*. The classic ethnohistory of the Delaware in the mid-eighteenth century remains Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Teedyuscung: King of the Delawares* (New York, 1955). On the conflict on the eve of the American Revolution, see Alden T. Vaughan, "Frontier Banditti and the Indians: The Paxton Boys' Legacy, 1763-1775," *Pennsylvania History* 51 (1984), 1-29, and the vivid descriptions of frontier life in pre-revolutionary Pennsylvania in the early chapters of Thomas Slaughter, *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution* (New York, 1985).

