



*An Almost Friend: Papunhank,
Quakers, and the Search for Security
amid Pennsylvania's Wars, 1754–65*

PAPUNHANK WANTED NO PART OF WAR.¹ The community he had gathered of Delawares, Nanticokes, and Munsees in the early 1750s hung in the balance as violence raged across major portions of the British and French mainland colonial empires from 1754 to 1765, even seeping to the edges of imperial centers in Quebec, Montreal, and Philadelphia. In Pennsylvania, within Indian country and colonial settlements alike, religious leaders struggled to map out paths for their peoples to avoid destruction. Papunhank's followers coalesced around his reform message, which combined an emphasis on the wisdom of ancient native ways with a willingness to benefit from the resources other communities

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¹ Eighteenth-century sources offer many spellings of Papunhank's name, including Papunhang, Papoonan, Papounan, Papunchay, Papunhang, Papunahung, Papanohal, and Paypunchay. Knowledge about Papunhank comes almost exclusively from Quaker, Moravian, and government documents,

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possessed. From his town of Wyalusing along the north branch of the Susquehanna River, Papunhank pursued various strategies to maintain the community's viability amid a decade of war, none more important than searching for key allies who could aid his people politically and spiritually. Naturally, he sought productive relationships with other Indians, especially larger numbers of eastern Delawares and the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. But he also endeavored to make himself valuable to the Pennsylvania government and to explore connections with Euro-American pacifist Christians. Ultimately, Papunhank joined himself and a portion of his community to the Moravians, but not before seriously considering a close attachment to the Friends. During the first half of the 1760s, his band and influential members of the Society of Friends were drawn to one another, each believing the other had something valuable to offer. Crafting an alliance appeared to hold great promise. Yet, in the end, that promise dissipated almost as quickly as it arose, and Papunhank and Philadelphia Quakers went their separate ways.

Exploring the encounters between Papunhank and Friends provides a glimpse of one Indian leader's attempts to grapple with the immense challenges of the mid-eighteenth century by obtaining new sources of spiritual and political power. Given his quest for security amid the pressures and perils of the early 1760s, Papunhank could have been expected to cast his lot with Quakers. The reasons why he did not give insight into the complex webs of relations between Munsees, other Indians, Quakers, Moravians, colonial governments, and other political factions that shaped the lives of natives and Euro-Americans in the mid-Atlantic. These connections evolved against a backdrop of persistent violence and war, and Papunhank's band operated in this dangerous environment with far fewer resources and options than their Quaker counterparts. But both parties maintained a strong belief that building strategic alliances could benefit the cause of peace and, in turn, their peoples' hopes, dreams, and security.

some of which record transcriptions and translations of his speeches. A number of the Quaker sources present him in idealized form. Nevertheless, I believe there is sufficient diversity in the sources and enough consistency in how Papunhank is represented within those materials to have some reasonable certainty about his thinking, values, and motives. Recent historians have paid increased attention to him, but he has yet received no comprehensive study. Valuable discussions may be found in works by Gregory Evans Dowd, Amy Schutt, Jane Merritt, Peter Silver, Siegrun Kaiser, Patrick Erben, and Geoffrey Plank, cited throughout this article. A religious tract celebrating Papunhank's Christian conversion and postconversion life was published in Ireland in the 1820s: *John Papunhank A Christian Indian of North America: A Narrative of Facts 1820* (Dublin, n.d.; repr., London, [2010]).

Religious Reform and a Holy Experiment

Pennsylvania in the mid-eighteenth century prided itself on treating Indians well. Long before Friends became acquainted with Papunhank around 1760, a powerful founding myth of Lenape sachems and William Penn forging a relationship of peace and justice in the 1680s shaped the identities of most Quakers and plenty of other colonists. Many Delawares, Susquehannocks, and other Pennsylvania-area Native Americans were equally enamored with the myth—or, at least, they found it a usable past when negotiating with colonial authorities. Asking Pennsylvania officials to follow in the established path of harmony became more contentious after the controversial Walking Purchase of 1737, and by the outbreak of war in 1754 most Pennsylvania Indians preferred to join forces with the French against the British and their colonists in the conflict that became the Seven Years' War.²

During the early years of the war, when fighting in the Pennsylvania backcountry was intense, Papunhank wasn't keen to support either side. Son of Dostou and grandson of Mamanuchqua, both prominent Munsee sachems, Papunhank inherited from his mother and grandmother sorely needed leadership skills, including a knack for knowing when to change location. In the 1750s he moved his band of predominantly Munsee Indians to Wyalusing in northern Pennsylvania, far enough removed from the Six Nations to the north and the advance of white settlement to the east and south to afford a measure of political autonomy. Delaware, Conoy, and Nanticoke refugees filtered into Wyalusing as well.³ By that point, Papunhank had become, in the words of Gregory Evans Dowd, "swept up in the waves of visionary spirituality that had washed down the

² *An Epistle from our Yearly-Meeting in Burlington, For the Jerseys and Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1722); J. William Frost, "William Penn's Experiment in the Wilderness: Promise and Legend," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 107 (1983): 577–605; James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York, 1999), 119; James O'Neil Spady, "Colonialism and the Discursive Antecedents of Penn's Treaty with the Indians," in *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods: Indians, Colonists, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania*, ed. William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter (University Park, PA, 2004), 30–39; Krista Camenzind, "From Holy Experiment to the Paxton Boys: Violence, Manhood, and Peace in Pennsylvania during the Seven Years' War" (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2002), 2.

³ On Papunhank's family background, see Robert S. Grumet, *The Munsee Indians: A History* (Norman, OK, 2009), 155, 199, 204, 257, 348–49n21, 364–65n4. Papunhank may have arrived in Wyalusing as early as 1752 or as late as 1758. The confusion arises from unclear reports from sometime Moravian missionary and diplomatic go-between Christian Frederick Post. Christian Frederick

Susquehanna Valley since the 1740s.”⁴ Like other Delaware and Shawnee leaders, he became convinced that the well-being of his community would be enhanced through spiritual renewal. Moved by a personally dramatic religious experience, he preached the need for inner change and urged his community toward an adherence to traditional Native American ways. Papunhank balanced this nativist impulse with an eye open for outside spiritual resources and for the political leverage that association with other religious communities might afford. Moreover, in contrast with most Indian prophets, he opposed war. As a member of the Turkey phratry of the Munsees, he followed its typical bent toward negotiation and repudiated the violent ways of Munsees of the Wolf phratry. Soon, he was in contact with both Moravians and Quakers, whose pacifism attracted his attention.⁵

Meanwhile, with war underway, Friends’ contacts with natives took on greater urgency as Quaker leaders sought to restore the peace they considered a hallmark of their colony and faith. For many Friends, harmonious relations with Indians had long been more than just prudent political policy; they were a measure of Quaker conformity with their deepest Christian commitments. No wonder, then, that as decades of relative peace came to a

Post diary, 1760, May 19, 1760, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Christian Frederick Post to Israel Pemberton, May 20, 1760, vol. 3, p. 521, Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures, Records of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, PA (hereafter cited as FAP). Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore, 1992), 31, Grumet, *Munsee Indians*, 257, and Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2003), 84, endorse the earlier year for Papunhank’s arrival in Wyalusing; Siegrun Kaiser, “Munsee Social Networking and Political Encounters with the Moravian Church,” in *Ethnographies and Exchanges: Native Americans, Moravians, and Catholics in Early North America*, ed. A. G. Roeber (University Park, PA, 2008), 155, and William A. Hunter, ed., “John Hays’ Diary and Journal of 1760,” *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 24 (1954): 67n24, the later year. Hunter says that Papunhank’s band had lived along the Lackawanna River, then fled north to Tioga and beyond in 1755–56 amid the years of intense fighting before returning south, most likely in 1758. The Munsees were Algonquian-speaking Indians who had previously been in lower New York and northwestern New Jersey. Kaiser, “Munsee Social Networking,” 149, 153; Lenore Santore, “Resiliency as Resistance: Eastern Woodland Munsee Groups on the Early Colonial Frontier,” *North American Archaeologist* 19 (1998): 118, 127–29.

⁴ Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire* (Baltimore, 2002), 194.

⁵ Christian Frederick Post diary, May 19, 1760; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 31; Grumet, *Munsee Indians*, 257, asserts that Papunhank was a “Moravian convert” at Shekomeko in the early 1740s, but this seems unlikely in light of later Moravian evidence. It is possible that he had contact with Moravians at Shekomeko or elsewhere in the 1740s or ’50s without becoming a convert per se. Kaiser, “Munsee Social Networking,” 50, 155. Kaiser defines a phratry as a “union of clans and lineages” and suggests that among the Munsees, the Wolf and Turkey phratries were the most significant. *Ibid.*, 148.

crashing halt, Quaker consciences were strained to the breaking point. Still, many Friends were not inclined to give up on the experiment in intercultural relations they believed Penn had initiated. Peace and harmony were worth trying to restore. So, too, were the valuable trade connections and economic stability peaceful relations could make possible. Consequently, reformist Quakers centered in Philadelphia took up the task. In 1756 they founded the “Friendly Association,” an essentially philanthropic organization designed to foster peace and to address the factors that had precipitated the war. Its members were among those Quakers who decided that more could be accomplished for the cause of good through private, philanthropic means than through political office holding and whose commercial interests in seeing peace restored were especially strong. The new organization gave activist Quakers an instrument to exert informal influence over colonial affairs and to distribute charity to the Delawares and others in need. Their efforts brought them support from German sectarian groups, such as the Mennonites and Schwenkfelders, who shared their willingness to “suffer for peace.” But it also brought them fierce opposition from many others in the colony who were convinced that Friends’ pacifism was largely to blame for Pennsylvania’s inability to protect its backcountry settlers.⁶

Much of the Friendly Association’s work over the next half-dozen years focused on initiating a series of councils that brought together native leaders, government representatives, and Quaker “observers.” Their collective task, put simply, was to end the violence—and, once they did, to keep it from resuming. Headmen of the Six Nations, Delaware, and other Indian

⁶ Quaker assemblymen faced hard choices and harsh criticism amid the war. Some chose to withdraw from the government in 1756. Minutes for Council held in Philadelphia, Oct. 19, 1756, and Council held at Newcastle, Oct. 21, 1756, in *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government*, in *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, ed. Samuel Hazard, 10 vols. (Harrisburg, PA, 1838–53), 7:292–93, 295 (hereafter cited as *MPCP*); Anthony Benezet to Jonah Thompson, Apr. 24, 1756, in *Friend Anthony Benezet*, by George S. Brookes (Philadelphia, 1937), 220; Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York, 2008), 98–103; Jack D. Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748–1783* (Philadelphia, 1984), 92–93, 135–36, 157–58, 188–89; Sydney V. James, *A People among Peoples: Quaker Benevolence in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, MA, 1963), 178–92; Richard Bauman, *For the Reputation of Truth: Politics, Religion, and Conflict among the Pennsylvania Quakers, 1750–1800* (Baltimore, 1971), 77–125; Camenzind, “From Holy Experiment to the Paxton Boys,” 161–204; Theodore Thayer, “The Friendly Association,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 67 (1943): 356–76; Francis P. Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York, 1988), 339, 375; Patrick Erben, *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2012), 270–76 (quote on 270); Kevin Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn’s Holy Experiment* (New York, 2009), 76–82.

communities repeatedly invoked the peaceful legacy of William Penn and their desire to find Penn-like provincials in the current moment.⁷ In parallel fashion, Quakers looked for Penn-like natives who would bury the hatchet and once again make the colony a peaceable kingdom. At a time when Friends' confidence in the peaceful intentions of their own government was low and their political rivalry with the colony's proprietors was high, they turned their gaze toward Indians in hopes of finding an ally who could restore relations to a more positive footing. Although it was by no means their only strategy for seeking peace and justice in the divisive years from 1754 to 1765, the quest for a native partner, or better yet, an Indian protégé, was nevertheless a critical piece of activist Quaker efforts to revitalize the Holy Experiment. For a time, Friends believed they had found their man in Delaware leader Teedyuscung. In the late 1750s, Quaker merchant Israel Pemberton Jr. and other leading Friends coozied up to him, offering political advice and supporting his efforts to craft a peace treaty and to seek redress for past colonial injustices, particularly the land fraud perpetrated in the Walking Purchase.⁸ Yet Teedyuscung's politics and personal behavior proved erratic in Quaker eyes, and by 1760, members of the Friendly Association wondered if he would ever wield the type of influence among other Pennsylvania Indians they had imagined. At that realization, Quaker interest in alternative Indian leadership rose.⁹

The Relationship Begins

Into that void came Papunhank. Details are sketchy on exactly how or when Philadelphia Friends became aware of him. He did not attend the treaty councils in the late 1750s, and his village was far enough removed to keep him largely out of colonial politics and the Quaker eye—but not

⁷The first of these treaties occurred in Philadelphia, while the later ones were held mostly at Easton in the Lehigh Valley. Substance of Conferences between Several Quakers in Philadelphia and the heads of the six Indian nations, [Apr. 19–25, 1756], vol. 1, pp. 103, 107, 111, 115, FAP.

⁸Steven Craig Harper, *Promised Land: Penn's Holy Experiment, the Walking Purchase, and the Dispossession of Delawares, 1600–1763* (Bethlehem, PA, 2006), 92–94, 103–14; Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 224–25; Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763* (Philadelphia, 1949), 108–15, 137–44, 158–60. Teedyuscung played a role in bringing about the Treaty of Easton in 1758 that largely ended hostilities in Pennsylvania.

⁹Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 250–52, 256–57, 306n49; Robert Daiutolo Jr., “The Role of Quakers in Indian Affairs during the French and Indian War,” *Quaker History* 77 (1988): 23–24; Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*, 92–97, 105–11; Wallace, *King of the Delawares*, 192–207. Activist Quakers remained in contact with Teedyuscung until his death in 1763.

forever. If they had not heard of Papunhank before, Friends certainly learned of him via sometime Moravian missionary and colonial negotiator Christian Frederick Post, alongside whom they had worked for peace in the previous several years. Post was aware as he set out in April 1760 on a diplomatic mission to interior natives that Quaker patience with Teedyuscung had grown short. By mid-May, Post was in Wyalusing writing Friends excitedly about a new prospect. There he found a well-laid-out town inhabited by a “religious People” and led by Papunhank, “the beginner of the company & their Minister.” These natives, Post reported, “want to see the Friends chiefly and to show that they really are Friends, they have not joined in the War.” Post also noted that Wyalusing’s inhabitants were eager to avoid liquor and to aid diplomatic efforts to return white captives.¹⁰ Post’s traveling companion, John Hays, confirmed the favorable assessment of Wyalusing and its leader, whom he described as a “very Religious Civilized man in his own way, [who] Shewd us a great deal of Kindness.”¹¹

Post’s and Hays’s reports reveal Papunhank’s strategies to bolster his community’s size and security. At Wyalusing, he had overseen the building of a “large Town, and according to the Indian Way fine houses,” efforts that had reaped a steady influx of native newcomers. Post also observed that the Wyalusingites’ “Religion chiefly consists in strictly adhering to the ancient Customs & Manners of their Forefathers, thinking it is pleasing to God that they strictly observe and keep the same, on which account they are much afraid of being seduced & brot. Off from their Ways by the White People, from whom they will receive no Instruction.” Papunhank had promoted a nativist message as one means of self-preservation, and it had evidently taken root. Yet Post noted two days later that the town had been so anxious to have him preach that he did so three times in thirty-six hours.¹² Perhaps by 1760 Papunhank and others in the community were not so averse to what whites had to say after all. In fact, it seems clear that in this moment, Papunhank seized the occasion to try to build bridges with two powerful white entities outside his community. He warmly wel-

¹⁰ Israel Pemberton to Christian Frederick Post, May 6, 1760, folder 2, Pemberton Family Papers, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College; Post to Pemberton, May 20, 1760, vol. 3, p. 521, FAP.

¹¹ “The Journal of John Hays, 1760,” *Pennsylvania Archives*, ed. Samuel Hazard et al. (Philadelphia and Harrisburg, PA, 1852–1949), 1st ser., 3:736; Hunter, “John Hays’ Diary,” 67; Christian Frederick Post diary, May 19–21, June 3, and June 5, 1760.

¹² Christian Frederick Post diary, May 19–21, 1760.

comed these representatives of the Pennsylvania government and let it be known that he was anxious to help diplomatically where he could. And he likewise made sure the visitors knew of the Wyalusingites' strong desire to meet with Friends, whose peaceful and sober ideals matched their own.

It is curious that Post's Moravian contacts had, seemingly, left him unaware that Papunhank had already made similar overtures to Moravians. Each year since 1758 Papunhank had visited the Moravian mission at Nain, where he had expressed grave concern about future prospects for peace. He had also conversed with Moravians in Philadelphia and Bethlehem. At all of these meetings, according to Moravian sources, he had been told about the Savior, considered the good news carefully, and thereafter begun to lobby to have a Moravian teacher sent to his village.¹³

Papunhank's outreach to Quakers in the summer of 1760, then, represented a continuation rather than the beginning of his willingness to approach white Christians. Whatever hopes had been kindled among Friends and the Wyalusing Indians about each other grew exponentially when they soon met face-to-face in Philadelphia. Papunhank and twenty-eight others from Wyalusing came to meet with Lieutenant Governor James Hamilton and the colony's council, as well as to visit with Friends, whom they had heard, perhaps via Post, would "be glad to see" them.¹⁴ Friends Israel Pemberton and Joseph Fox recorded what the Munsees said as they exchanged ideas with the heads of the colonial government. The Quakers quickly learned how Papunhank and his town were already functioning as diplomatic go-betweens, news that fed their hope that here was a potentially vital political instrument. The next day, at the urging of the Friendly Association, Fox and Pemberton, now accompanied by ten other

¹³ Nain diary, Aug. 27 and 29, 1758, box 125, folder 1, item 10; Copy of Nain memorabilia, 1759, box 125, folder 2, item 3; and Wechquetank diary, Aug. 16, 1760, box 124, folder 1, item 5, all in Records of the Indian Missions, Moravian Church Archives, Bethlehem, PA, and all translated for author by Roy Ledbetter; Earl P. Olmstead, *David Zeisberger: A Life among the Indians* (Kent, OH, 1997), 113; George Henry Loskiel, *A History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America*, trans. Christian Ignatius Latrobe, 3 parts (London, 1794), part 2, 191. With their faith reflective of German Pietism, Moravians in North America emphasized the need for heartfelt repentance and an embrace of the Savior's bloody sacrifice on a sinner's behalf. They accordingly pressed upon Papunhank, in a way Friends would not, his need for salvation. Their desire was for Moravian Christianity to be an alternative rather than an additional source of spiritual truth and power for Papunhank and his people.

¹⁴ Friendly Association Minutes, 1760–1764, July 11, 1760, ser. 7, box 18, folder 11, Cox-Parrish-Wharton Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; [Anthony Benezet], "An Account of the Behaviour & Sentiments of a Number of Well-Disposed Indians Mostly of the Minusing Tribe," in Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet*, 479.

Friends, returned to the State House with thirty pounds worth of supplies for the Indian visitors and heard Papunhank lay out a new vision of how to carry on intercultural relations in the colony. First, he kindly but sternly declined the gifts offered by the governor, lest their motives in coming to the city be misunderstood by other natives and become a source of jealousy among those “who transact the publick Business and are wont to receive Presents on such Occasions.” The presents might also “be apt to corrupt my own mind,” Papunhank claimed, “and make me proud, and others would think I wanted to be a great Man, which is not the case. [Instead], I think on God, who made us, and want to be instructed in his service and Worship.” Gift exchange had long oiled the wheels of diplomacy among Pennsylvania Indians, but Papunhank believed that in the hands of the colonial government, such exchanges had degenerated into a cause of greed, rivalry, and corruption.¹⁵

The Munsee reformer continued by asserting his love of peace, disinterest in the affairs of war, fond remembrance of the “old Friendship” between Indians and the colony’s founders, and loyalty to the British. Still, he was not done calling for change. He wanted to “mention something to you [colonial officials] that I Think wrong in your dealings with the Indians.” English traders announced one price for Indian-supplied skins and then paid another: “God can not be pleased to see the prices of one and the same thing so often altered and changed.” In turn, Indian suppliers, faced with unreliable prices, resorted to practices that cheated their buyers, such as soaking their furs to add weight to them. Under these conditions, trade relations deteriorated to the point where there was “no Love nor honesty on either side.” “Therefore, Brother,” Papunhank concluded, “we propose to fling This entirely away, for if it remains so we shall never agree and love one another as Brothers do.” Reordering the economic behavior of whites and Indians alike, according to Christian moral standards (ones plainly understandable to the English) was necessary if harmony and peace were to prevail.¹⁶

¹⁵ “Minutes of meetings with a delegation of Minisink, 2 Nanticokes & 3 Delawares from an Indian Town called Mahachloosen about 50 or 60 miles above Wyoming on the Susquehannah, July 11–16, 1760,” [1–8], Huntington Library Manuscript 8249, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA; Minutes for Council held at the State House, July 11, 1760, and July 12, 1760, *MPCP*, 8:484–88; [Benezet], “Account of the Behaviour,” 479–81; Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 84–85. Papunhank was not opposed to gift giving in other contexts, including his interactions with the Friendly Association in 1760 and 1761.

¹⁶ “Minutes of meetings with a delegation of Minisink,” [4–8]; Minutes of a Council held in the State House, July 12, 1760, *MPCP*, 8:488–89; [Benezet], “Account of the Behaviour,” 481–82; Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 85.

Quakers listened in what was likely awed approval as Papunhank espoused principles of peace, sober living (he had asked the governor to prevent liquor sales to Wyalusing natives), and economic justice—ideals revered by activist Friends. Their delight would only have grown when Papunhank finished the day with repeated assertions of his deep religious interest. And that delight continued in the days after the conference as, they reported, Papunhank's band "regularly attended our Meetings during their stay in Town, kept themselves quite free from Drink, & behaved Soberly & orderly." Moreover, the Quakers expressed their "Satisfaction with what they had heard, from friends, which they said exactly answered to their own Religious Prospect."¹⁷

That at least is how Quaker reformer Anthony Benezet characterized Friends' first extended encounter with the Wyalusingites. He likely edited an account of their visit based on government and Quaker sources. Apparently initially intended for private circulation among other Friends, the account was soon published in London.¹⁸ It gave highlights of the treaty conference and reported on extended conversations fellow Quaker Moales Pattison had had with Papunhank, through Delaware interpreter Job Chillaway, as the natives headed home.¹⁹ Pattison found Papunhank's "Mind to be quiet & easy, accompanied with a becoming Solidity & Gravity." Moreover, his band appeared to be "very earnest in promoting true Piety, which they apprehend is an inward work, by which the Heart is changed from bad to Good." "An immediate awakening" had been going on for several years in their town; Papunhank himself, according to what Chillaway privately told Pattison, had been "first enlightened" after the death of his father. Overwhelmed with grief, he began to meditate on the world's wickedness and to long for a deeper knowledge of the "Great

¹⁷ "Some Account of the Behaviour & Sentiments of a Number of Well-Disposed Indians," Huntington Library Manuscript 824, Huntington Library; [Benezet], "Account of the Behaviour," 481–82.

¹⁸ *An Account of a Visit Lately Made to the People Called Quakers in Philadelphia, by Papanahool, an Indian Chief* (London, 1761). Benezet and Pemberton spread the word quickly on Papunhank's visit to other Friends and religious colleagues, including Moravian leader Augustus Spangenberg and Schwenkfelder leader Christopher Schultz. The latter had the report translated into German. Anthony Benezet to Augustus Spangenberg, July 19, 1760, box 211, folder 1, Records of the Indian Missions; Patrick Erben, *Harmony of the Spirits*, 286–89. Erben suggests that Papunhank became nothing less than "the spiritual center around which revolved Quaker and Schwenkfelder religious visions and activism for peace." *Ibid.*, 289.

¹⁹ Friendly Association Minutes, Aug. 7, 1760.

Power” that had created it. Frustrated in his quest, Papunhank fled to the woods alone; there, after five days, “it pleased God to appear to him to his comfort . . . and he was made sensible of his Duty to God, & he came home rejoicing & endeavouring to put into practice what he apprehended was required of him.” High on that list was having his community absolutely refuse to participate in the war, for “he was fully persuaded, that when God made Men he never intend[ed] they should kill or destroy one another.” Papunhank confessed to his traveling companions that though he had “ceas’d from War, yet I have not Labour’d to bring about a peace so much as I ought to have done.” At the same time, he “often thought it Strange that the Christians are such great Warriors, & I have wondered they are not greater lovers of Peace.” The reformer concluded that recent wars had resulted from Indians and whites alike having grown “Proud & Covetous,” provoking God’s anger and judgment in the form of violence, devastating weather, and disease.²⁰

As they parted that July, Pattison asked Papunhank for any final words of advice. The Munsee sent him on his way with the assurance that

I have heard a Voice speak to my Heart and say The Quakers are right, it may be a wrong voice but I believe it is the true voice, However if the Goodness, which I feel in my Heart remains with me I shall come again to see the Quakers and If I continue to grow Strong I hope the time will come that I shall be joined in Close fellowship with them.²¹

²⁰ [Benezet], “Account of the Behaviour,” 48–85. The quotes are taken from George Brookes’s printed version of a manuscript written or edited by Benezet. There are several extant versions of this manuscript, each containing variations from the others. Brookes used Huntington Library Manuscript 824 but made some edits of his own. Huntington Library Manuscript 8249 is likely an earlier, rougher draft of this account. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania houses two other manuscript versions of this text: “Some Remarks made by a Person who accompanied Papunahoal and the other Indians on their way home as far as Bethlehem [1760],” box 11C, folder 5, Society Miscellaneous Collection; and “Some Account of the Visit of the Friendly Indians to Philadelphia, 1760,” box 10, Gilbert Cope Collection. Two more manuscript versions of “Some Remarks made by a Person who accompanied Pawpoonahoal & the other Indians from Philadelphia as far as Bethlehem on their way” are in the Allinson Family Papers, box 8, Indians folder, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College. Another printed version of the text may be found in the London pamphlet cited above. These many copies suggest the Friends’ desire to get the word out quickly on Papunhank.

²¹ The quotes are taken from the manuscript versions of this text cited in footnote 20, specifically from Huntington Library Manuscript 824, rather than from Brookes’s printed version. For whatever reason, Brookes omitted the word “wrong” from before the word “voice.” Other manuscript versions of the text include the word “wrong.”

For a people in search of new Indian leadership, the Papunhank of this Quaker narrative could hardly have been more perfect. His performance before the colonial authorities had been appropriately deferential but, at the same time, strikingly prophetic. He wanted the political corruption and economic fraud that had spoiled Indian-white relations to be replaced by integrity and justice. His pacifism seemed genuine, and, better yet, he wanted to intensify his peacemaking efforts. His opposition to the sale and use of liquor and his denouncement of greed demonstrated his commitment to simple living. He was active in colonial diplomacy, seemingly trusted by whites and Indians alike, and apparently eager to do more. And he revered the old friendship between natives and the colony's founders and wished to counter the evils that had spoiled it. Finally, his religious faith was real, active, of the "awakened" variety, and perhaps not so tied to ancient native ways as Frederick Post had indicated a few months earlier. It was instead remarkably Quaker-like, a fact that Papunhank himself seemed to realize.²²

Here, then, was a native kindred spirit, a man attached to all the ideals activist Quakers held dear. He gave them hope that the darkness of the war was lifting and better political and economic times lay ahead.²³ As Friends met with him that summer, they read Papunhank's every word and deed as more evidence that the type of Indian leader and community they hoped to foster was already forming. In the process, Friends repeated the longstanding pattern of Euro-American Christian bodies to construct, whether in theory or reality, native followers (including native leaders) in their own image.²⁴

For his part, Papunhank's interactions with the Provincial Council and with Quakers indicate that by 1760 personal and public trauma pushed him toward seeking additional political and spiritual allies that could shore up the prospects of his band. He became willing to consider Christianity

²² Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 127, suggests that the different readings Post (a Moravian) and Quakers gave to Papunhank's religious faith makes plain that "neither recognized or realized . . . the complex way in which Indian religious eclecticism could embrace both customary [native] practices and Christian beliefs." While this is certainly a possibility, the different readings also likely resulted from the different theologies and spiritualities of these two Christian bodies as well as from the different needs they had at that moment.

²³ Geoffrey Plank, *John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom: A Quaker in the British Empire* (Philadelphia, 2012), 137, argues that Quakers had interpreted the war as a "providential trial," and Papunhank became a "sign of promise" that times were improving.

²⁴ Richard W. Pointer, *Encounters of the Spirit: Native Americans and European Colonial Religion* (Bloomington, IN, 2007), 122–24.

as one of those potential assets—particularly the faith of peace churches such as those of the Moravians and Quakers, which squared with Papunhank's own conclusions, both philosophical and pragmatic, about the ill-advisedness of war. Those bodies might also become useful political friends. During the first years of the French and Indian War he kept his people neutral and as much out of the fray as possible. By the late 1750s, though, with English victory virtually assured, he shifted approaches and looked for ways to be useful to the Pennsylvania government without compromising his credibility among fellow natives still upset with past colonial policies. Maintaining productive relationships with other Indians was essential, but he also wanted to win the colonial government's favor so his people would have chips to cash in when they needed help. Yet he also wanted to be free to critique the actions of Pennsylvanians, and, if need be, the government. Friendship with Moravians or Quakers might aid in maintaining that delicate balance by giving his community a helpful advocate within colonial political circles and a potential source of economic relief should they need it. Moreover, given the colony's otherwise mostly hostile political environment, they were his only likely allies. Believing that Quakers were eager to explore a relationship, he came to Philadelphia and seemingly fashioned himself and his people as just the sort of Indians Friends would find appealing.²⁵

As summer turned to fall in 1760, then, Papunhank may be seen as continuing to pursue the strategies that had kept his people comparatively secure through the prior difficult years: geographic mobility, religious reform, shrewd diplomacy, and alliance building. What part Friends might play in their future was still unclear. So, too, was Papunhank's role in the Quaker quest to revive the Holy Experiment. But hopes were growing on both sides as they looked forward to meeting again.

²⁵ Amy C. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia, 2007), 94–149, discusses the Delawares' strong propensity to function as mediators and to forge alliances with other native peoples and Euro-Americans. Also see Amy C. Schutt, "Tribal Identity in the Moravian Missions on the Susquehanna," *Pennsylvania History* 66 (1999): 378–98. Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 5–7, 51–52, 61–64, examines the importance of alliance-building for Indians and whites alike, and on 91–92 and 98 identifies the possible benefits for Indians of alliances with white Christian groups. Plank, *John Woolman's Path*, 138, emphasizes Papunhank and his band's desire to show "the perceived affinity between their own beliefs and Quakerism." Quaker and Moravian views on pacifism were not identical. See Jared S. Burkholder, "Neither 'Kriegerisch' nor 'Quäkerisch': Moravians and the Question of Violence in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania," *Journal of Moravian History* 12 (2012): 143–69.

Winning Friends and Gaining Influence

That meeting came the following August at Easton. In the intervening months, Friends continued to show strong interest in Papunhank, and he, in turn, nurtured his contacts with Euro-Americans on his own terms. Papunhank remained connected to Friendly Association members primarily through Nathaniel Holland, a Quaker merchant serving the colony's commissioners for Indian affairs as overseer of the Indian trade at Fort Augusta (Shamokin), located further south on the Susquehanna River. Papunhank made sure to accept gratefully the tools and other goods the association sent him and, according to Holland, gave sound political intelligence and advice amid rumors of impending renewed conflict. In their conversations he also reiterated his opposition to the liquor trade and war, expressed interest in having a white trader set up a store at Wyalusing, and "spoke very freely in praise of Friends, asserting that he thought they walked nearest to what Jesus Christ had requir'd of us to do." He also remained a bold critic of the ways of certain white Christians. Papunhank could not understand, for example, how they could have the Bible's clear example of Jesus Christ not resorting to retaliatory violence and still engage in warfare. He could only conclude that "white people were very wicked, as they had so great an advantage of that book & liv'd so contrary to it."²⁶

Papunhank likely used Holland to keep powerful Friends interested, and they obliged. When the Friendly Association received news in late July 1761 that many natives were headed to Easton, they voted unanimously to send representatives there and quickly spent over £400 on goods to be distributed primarily to Indians at the treaty.²⁷ Reformist Quakers were clearly eager to resume a more active role as advocates for peace and Indian rights, and perhaps to protect their considerable economic interests, so they made the trek from Philadelphia. Once there, they encountered more

²⁶ William Edmonds to Israel Pemberton, July 19, 1760, folder 1, Pemberton Family Papers, Haverford College; John Fothergill to James Pemberton, Nov. 2, 1761, vol. 34, p. 111; and John Hunt to Israel Pemberton Jr., Nov. 13, 1761, vol. 15, p. 71, Pemberton Family Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Nathaniel Holland to Israel Pemberton Jr., Sept. 12, 1760, vol. 4, p. 27; Nathaniel Holland to Israel Pemberton Jr., Sept. 17, 1760; Nathaniel Holland to Israel Pemberton Jr., Oct. 16, 1760 (quotes from this letter); Nathaniel Holland to Israel Pemberton Jr., Oct. 30, 1760; Nathaniel Holland to Israel Pemberton Jr., Dec. 29, 1760; Nathaniel Holland to Israel Pemberton Jr., May 21, 1761; and Israel Pemberton's Accounts of the Friendly Association, Apr. 7, 1761, all vol. 4, pp. 27, 35, 43, 47, 63, 115, and 83, FAP.

²⁷ Friendly Association Minutes, July 29, 1761, July 30, 1761, Aug. 10, 1761; Israel Pemberton Jr.'s Accounts of the Friendly Association, vol. 4, p. 241, FAP.

than four hundred Indians from at least nine nations gathered for ten days of talks with Pennsylvania officials. Papunhank and about eighty of his people were among them, present to report back to the governor on the small diplomatic task assigned him the prior summer and ready to explore what more they could gain from the Friends.²⁸

As the conference got underway, the Friends and the Wyalusingites wasted no time in getting reacquainted. According to Quaker sources, on the day they arrived, a number of Friends conversed with Papunhank and later that evening found the Munsees gathering for worship. After all were seated, “some time was spent by the Elder Indians in Conversation, after which a short space of Silence ensued, then Papunahung said something, in a deliberate easy manner, in the Way of Preaching.” Quakers were told by an interpreter that Papunhank’s main exhortation was to live lives consistent with the goodness shown to them by their creator, and that these Indians met for worship before sunrise and after sunset each day because Papunhank had had it “early revealed to him, from above, that Men ought daily to begin and end the Day with the worship of their Maker.”²⁹

With that reintroduction to the Wyalusing band’s piety, Friends’ excitement built at the prospect for religious fellowship and more. Over the following week, the treaty council proceeded, but the highlights for Quakers and Papunhank’s people seemed to be their religious conversations and joint worship services. When Quaker preacher Susanna Hatton arrived, for example, about a dozen Munsee women, including Papunhank’s wife, and a few men immediately went to greet her, having been told that a “Woman

²⁸ [Anthony Benezet], “An Account of Papunahung’s Second Visit to Friends the 4th of the 8th Month, 1761,” in Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet*, 485–87; Minutes of a Conference with the Indians, Aug. 5 and Aug. 11, 1761, *MPCP*, 8:634–35, 649; Israel Pemberton to Mary Pemberton, Aug. 4, 1761, vol. 4, p. 153, FAP. As with Papunhank’s first visit to Friends in 1760, multiple manuscript accounts of their interactions in 1761 are extant. The account in George Brookes’s *Friend Anthony Benezet* is once again based on Huntington Library Manuscript 824. “Some account of a Visit divers Friends made to the Indians at the time of the Treaty of Easton, taken by one of the Company as follows, 1761” is part of another Huntington manuscript, 8249, [pp. 12–18], and contains material not contained in Brookes’s published version. Other manuscript accounts that overlap, and, in some cases, duplicate, what is contained in the Huntington manuscripts include “Report of the Trustees of the Friendly Association who attended the Indian Treaty of Easton,” vol. 4, pp. 139–52, FAP; John Woolman, “The Substance of some Conversation with Paponahoal the Indian Chief at AB’s in presence of Jo. W_____n Ab etc.,” vol. 13, p. 23, Pemberton Family Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and Quaker Journal (attributed to Susanna [Hatton] Lightfoot), Easton, PA 1761, Quaker Collection, William Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

²⁹ Israel Pemberton to Mary Pemberton, Aug. 4, 1761; [Benezet], “Account of Papunahung’s Second Visit,” 485–86.

Friend from Europe was coming to see them on a Religious Account.” As they met, they grasped hands “without Speaking, at which the Indians were much tendered, & the Tears ran down their Cheeks.” They then sat down together in silence and “the Over-shadowing of Ancient Goodness was soon felt, to the tendering of most if not all hearts present, [and] great brokenness appear’d amongst the Indians in the time of Silence.” When Hatton finally got up and preached, it produced what another Quaker called “the most melting season I ever saw amongst such a number of people.” Emotions continued to run high in the days that followed for both natives and Friends, whether in small meetings with Papunhank or in Quaker-led gatherings of several hundred Indians and Euro-Americans. So charged were these encounters that one Quaker diarist felt it necessary to defend the unusual outpouring of sentiment as something more than people getting carried away in the moment. It was instead a genuine “visitation from on high.”³⁰

On the other hand, if these reform-minded Quakers had become carried away, who could blame them? Here they were, worshipping side-by-side with Indians who seemed genuinely moved by the Christian message. Quaker accounts of the conference took pains to depict Papunhank and his company’s spirituality as Quaker-like in its reverence for silence, elder conversation, plain preaching, and the right hand of fellowship, and ignored any alien elements they may have noticed.³¹ Perhaps before long, all the obstacles to achieving a lasting peace could be burned away by the light emanating from their model relationship with this ideal Indian.³²

Quaker optimism certainly did not cool in the two weeks that followed, as Papunhank and some of his community came to Philadelphia and once again, Benezet reported, “behaved in an orderly becoming Manner, & attended most of our Meetings of Worship.” Based on their interactions, activist Friends emphasized to other Quakers Papunhank’s heartfelt gratitude for their kindness, deep-seated commitment to being guided by

³⁰ “Some account of a Visit divers Friends made to the Indians, 1761,” [12-17; quotes on 12 and 17]; Israel Pemberton to Mary Pemberton, Aug. 7, 1761, vol. 4, p. 163, FAP. Originally from Ireland and a minister at seventeen, Susanna Hatton lost her first husband, Joseph Hatton, in 1759, and married Pennsylvania farmer Thomas Lightfoot in 1763. Rebecca Larson, *Daughters of Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700-1775* (New York, 1999), 223, 241-42, 312.

³¹ [Benezet], “Account of Papunahung’s Second Visit,” 485-87; “Some account of a Visit divers Friends made to the Indians, 1761,” [12-16]; Plank, *John Woolman’s Path*, 158-59.

³² Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*, 104-5.

a “Spirit of Love,” and unusual sensitivity to the “Workings of Truth.” Friends’ written accounts also told of Samuel Curtis, one of a number of Nanticokes who arrived in Philadelphia shortly after the Wyalusing band. He had been a drunk, “but having been awakened, to a sense of Religion by Papunahung’s Ministry, was become a Sober Man, and after a while apprehended himself called to preach amongst his People.”³³

These Quaker testimonies make clear that if one of Papunhank’s goals in coming to Easton and Philadelphia was to make a favorable impression upon influential Friends, he could hardly have been more successful. His performance as preacher, prophet, and diplomat caused Friends—already predisposed to embrace his religion and politics as Quaker-like—to come away with strengthened interest in him and his company. At the same time, he had a prime opportunity at Easton to observe the Friendly Association’s political position within Pennsylvania and imperial affairs. Additionally, he and a large number from his community had multiple chances to sample Quaker spirituality and to experience its power. All of this was vital for Papunhank’s evaluation of potential allies, a strategy whose urgency was increasing that August amid his own renewed worries that Pennsylvania’s fragile peace would not hold. If reports about emerging troubles proved to be true, should he and his band accept an invitation from Ohio Country Indians to move westward and join them? Was life there likely to be any more secure than it was in Wyalusing?³⁴

Papunhank and his people pondered that prospect in the summer of 1761 amid a broader range of strategic possibilities. Aligning with Friends was no clear-cut choice. Quakers had lost considerable political influence in the colony in the past few years and had provoked intense opposition from other settlers, especially for their aid to Indians. Befriending them would almost certainly arouse antagonism from many other whites and natives alike. Yet Papunhank was willing to consider it seriously, given his affinity with Friends’ political positions, their history of being advocates for just relations, their economic resources, and their spiritual insights that could add to the power of his people’s hybrid faith. Nevertheless, he was certainly not ready to rely solely on Quakers. So he continued to navigate

³³ [Benezet], “Account of Papunahung’s Second Visit,” 488–90; Woolman, “Substance of some Conversation with Paponahol.” Curtis gave an impromptu testimony at one Quaker meeting in the city that “begot a religious awe over the Meeting especially amongst the Younger People” and was in a style “very much like that of Friends.”

³⁴ Israel Pemberton to Mary Pemberton, Aug. 4, 1761.

carefully Wyalusing relations with other Indians, including Six Nations diplomats intent on realizing Iroquois hegemony over the Susquehanna Valley and Munsee warriors still distressed over “lands lost and relatives killed.”³⁵ With other Delawares in the region, he shared the belief that his band’s strength depended on building alliances with many groups. To that end, in August he once again visited the German and Native American Moravians in Nain, and he kept his contacts with the United Brethren alive in spite of their less favorable (compared to Friends’) assessment of his religion and character.³⁶ He also kept open the possibility of alliance with the colonial government. Fresh from the Easton treaty council, he now may have thought that body could be of greatest help to his band. He hoped to keep proving himself to Pennsylvania authorities through peacekeeping work so that when his people most needed it, he would have some political capital.

The Cost of Peacemaking

Such an opportunity for serving the cause of peace arose even sooner than Papunhank might have preferred. As natives made their way home from Easton, a Munsee was shot by a colonist in a liquor-fueled encounter. The victim’s angry friends and relatives soon set out on a path to take revenge on backcountry whites, but as they passed through Wyalusing, they were stopped by Papunhank, who made a passionate plea for giving diplomacy a chance. He “made them presents of large Quantities of Wampum to the value of many pounds, in order to appease their Wrath, & prevailed on them to stop until they sent messengers to the Government of Pennsylvania, in order that the Matter might be accommodated without spilling Blood.” The irate Munsees agreed to wait at Wyoming while several key Wyalusing residents, otherwise needed for the fall hunt, went to see the governor. Papunhank reported through them what his company had done to prevent more bloodshed. In return, Governor Hamilton expressed appreciation for their intervention and committed to continue sharing military and diplomatic intelligence. He told Papunhank that any future

³⁵ Grumet, *Munsee Indians*, 264–70 (quote on 265).

³⁶ Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys*, 114–15; Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, part 2, 196, says that while at Nain, Papunhank’s faith was critiqued by both German missionary Johann Jacob Schmick and his Indian assistant, Joachim. Among other things, they were distressed by the fact that although Papunhank wanted the Moravians to send a missionary to Wyalusing, “he wished to keep his post as a teacher of the people.”

conflict would be the fault of Indians, assigned him the task of delivering a message of condolence and assurances that justice would be done to the offended Munsees, and promised him that his “kind & friendly behaviour” would always be remembered “to your advantage.”³⁷

Those mostly encouraging words reached Papunhank at a time when he could sorely use some encouragement. He was seriously wounded after having taken a tomahawk to the neck and arm—his reward for trying to put out other potential fires, or, depending on your point of view, meddling into other natives’ affairs. In Shamokin, where he had gone to wait for the governor’s reply, he reproved a group of Indians for some misconduct (probably stealing horses). The wrongdoers did not take kindly to his rebuke and tried to shut him up permanently. As Papunhank lay bleeding on the ground, others seized the native assailant, but, a Quaker account rapturously recounted, “Papoonhang was endued with so much of a Christian Spirit that he requested he [the Indian] might be loosed & not hurt on his account, Saying, let him go he is a poor Indian.”³⁸

Papunhank’s response to being physically assaulted, at least as it was recorded in the Quaker account, confirmed in Friends’ minds his thoroughgoing pacifism and endeared him further to their hearts. When Israel Pemberton received news of the attack, he sent a tender note to Wyalusing inquiring “wither our Brother Papunehang is yet alive or not,” and assuring his community that “if He is Dead we have no doubt He is gone to everlasting rest, & will recive the reward of welldoing.” Pemberton’s confidence in Papunhank’s salvation bespoke the promise Friends saw in the Munsee reformer and their relationship with him. Just weeks earlier, the Friendly Association had responded enthusiastically to his request to have “some sober religious Persons settled among them capable of instructing their Children to read and write,” resolving to send “two or three young Men suitable for such an undertaking” as soon as they could be recruited. Now the association feared that their hopes had been quickly dashed. To their relief, word came from Nathaniel Holland in mid-November that Papunhank was recovering from his wounds. Holland further reported

³⁷ “Some account of a Visit divers Friends made to the Indians, 1761,” [18]. This manuscript includes two paragraphs detailing events in the months following the Treaty of Easton and the Friends’ meetings with Papunhank’s band in Philadelphia in August. Papunehayl, Job Chilliway, and David Owens to [?], Sept. 15, 1761; Papunehang to Governor Hamilton, Oct. 2, 1761; Governor James Hamilton to Papoonan of Wighlusing, Oct. 12, 1761; “The Governor’s Answer to Papounham and the Indians at Wighalousing,” Oct. 12, 1761, all vol. 4, pp. 191, 223, 235, 236, FAP.

³⁸ “Some account of a Visit divers Friends made to the Indians, 1761,” [18].

that because “the old man hath been deprived of his hunt,” he was going to supply him for the winter, expenses the Friendly Association ultimately paid.³⁹

Friends remained solicitous of the Wyalusingites’ security and interested in their efforts on behalf of peace—specifically, their role in helping to return white captives—through the course of 1762. But it was not until June 1763 that they had another firsthand, formative encounter with them. By that point, reformist Quakers had experienced significant disappointments at treaties with Indians at Easton and Lancaster the prior summer. At both conferences, members of the Friendly Association renewed their support for longstanding Delaware charges that the colony’s proprietors had defrauded them of their rightful lands. However, when Teedyuscung acquiesced to the proprietary party and joined other Delaware leaders in giving up all claims to Pennsylvania territory, Quaker hopes for a “peace based on justice” sagged. Their spirits only darkened further in the spring of 1763 when frontier violence resumed. In April Teedyuscung’s village at Wyoming was burned to the ground and him with it, most likely at the hands of recently arrived settlers from Connecticut. Then in May came news that Pontiac, an Ottawa chief in the West, had launched an attack on the English. Warfare was beginning to move rapidly eastward, with many other native peoples poised to join in.⁴⁰

Within that frightful context, Quaker social reformer and spiritual leader John Woolman visited Wyalusing, his interest in Papunhank having been sparked by meetings with him in Benezet’s parlor in Philadelphia two years earlier. Inclined to expand his ministry beyond fellow Friends, Woolman overcame fears for his own physical safety in hopes of renewing Quaker spiritual contacts with Papunhank’s band. Despite the challenges of language barriers, he enjoyed five days of religious conversation and worship with Papunhank and sixty or more of the Wyalusing community;

³⁹ Israel Pemberton to Tonquakena, Oct. 31, 1761, vol. 4, p. 239, FAP; Friendly Association Minutes, Oct. 1, 1761; Nathaniel Holland to Israel Pemberton, Nov. 12, 1761, vol. 4, p. 243, FAP.

⁴⁰ Israel Pemberton and the Friendly Association to Papunehang, Mar. 20, 1762; and Israel Pemberton’s Accounts of the Friendly Association, vol. 4, pp. 271, 267, FAP; Friendly Association Minutes, June 3, 1762, Sept. 2, 1762; “Account of the Easton Treaty with the Indians [June 15–27, 1762],” Friendly Association Records, 1758–1762, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA; Harper, *Promised Land*, 114–21; Daiutolo, “Role of Quakers,” 27–29 (quote on 29); Wallace, *King of the Delawares*, 239–51; Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*, 115–22; Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 257–61; Richard Middleton, *Pontiac’s War: Its Causes, Course, and Consequences* (New York, 2007), 65–99.

he confided to his journal that he “believed that a door remained open for the faithful disciples of Jesus Christ to labour amongst these peoples.”⁴¹

That was a curious comment given that Woolman wasn’t the only Euro-American Christian at Wyalusing. Papunhank’s repeated appeals to the Moravians to send a missionary to his community had finally born fruit in May with a visit from David Zeisberger. According to the German’s diary, he arrived amid a crisis of religious authority in the village. Some wanted a Quaker teacher, more wanted a Moravian, and most were ready to stop listening to Papunhank. Zeisberger seized the moment and spent at least three days and nights preaching and teaching to great effect. He reported that Papunhank himself was among those moved to tears by his message. In mid-June, after a brief sojourn to Moravian headquarters in Bethlehem, Zeisberger returned—at the invitation of Papunhank and other community leaders, with an appointment from the United Brethren, and with the approval of the Six Nations—to establish a mission station at Wyalusing. Despite this competition, Woolman, who visited shortly after Zeisberger’s return, apparently remained persuaded that Quakers could make a contribution to the Wyalusingites’ well-being. Perhaps he feared that renewed warfare would make Zeisberger’s efforts shortlived or retained hope that the warm reception he received in Wyalusing was an indication that Friends might yet play a vital role in the town’s spiritual care and development.⁴²

No diplomatic envoy, Woolman had made a conscious effort not to engage the Indians he encountered in discussions about the resumption of backcountry violence lest he arouse suspicions that he was more political agent than evangelist. Nevertheless, he reported back to powerful Friends in Philadelphia that these Indians seemed to have no “Evil disposition towards the English”; they were as concerned as Quakers about present

⁴¹ *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman*, ed. Phillips P. Moulton (New York, 1971), 122–34 (quote on 134).

⁴² Brief Report of the Visit of the Brethren David Zeisberger and Anton the Indian up the Susquehanna as far as Machemihilusing [Wyalusing], May [16–29,] 1763, box 227, folder 9, quote from entry for May 22, 1763, and Diary of the Brethren Dav. Zeisberger and Nathanael the Indian from their Journey and Stay in Chwihilusing [Wyalusing], June 10–July 10, 1763, box 227, folder 10, Records of the Indian Missions, both translated for author by Roy Ledbetter; Moulton, *Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman*, 134; Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Beautiful Soul of John Woolman, Apostle of Abolition* (New York, 2008), 250–61; Ralph Pickett, “A Religious Encounter: John Woolman and David Zeisberger,” *Quaker History* 79 (1990): 77–92; Plank, *John Woolman’s Path*, 161–66; Olmstead, *David Zeisberger*, 113–15.

troubles and “would join any Endeavour that could be tho’t on to prevent the Spreading this Calamity.”⁴³

Some members of the Friendly Association wanted to know more and wondered what role, if any, Quakers could now play vis-à-vis natives. Was the spread of Pontiac’s War into Pennsylvania the coup de grâce for their cherished experiment? Was Woolman’s visit a portent of Friends someday overseeing their own Christian native communities? More immediately, what could they do to provide spiritual care and physical protection for this body of natives for whom they retained the most “tender Regard”? They decided to lobby the governor to protect the natives, either by securing them where they were or by recommending to them that they move closer to English settlements. Anthony Benezet went a step higher and wrote to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, commander in chief of British forces in North America, imploring him to keep enraged whites from attacking the “industrious, religiously minded people” in Wyalusing and other settlements of peaceful natives.⁴⁴

As Woolman had indicated, Papunhank shared Quaker worries about the fate of his company as rumors of Indian attacks and white rage swirled in and out of Wyalusing. As before, he considered how best to ensure the security of his people. But this time he did so amid their growing skepticism that his religious leadership was up to the task. Faced with mounting external pressures, internal community divisions, and a personal dark night of the soul, the Munsee reformer was moved to believe that even closer associations with Euro-American spiritual and political resources might make the difference between life and death. And he determined with others that it was time for his band to decide which set of white Christian allies to embrace, for “to adhere to two parties [Quakers and Moravians], they would only become more confused than they had previously been.” That spring they had been in “much distress for they had seen that they were running around in circles and in this way would never become blessed [saved].” Perhaps not surprisingly, then, almost as soon as Zeisberger returned to his village, Papunhank offered an emotional confession and asked to be baptized. A few days later—and just four days after Woolman had left—the

⁴³ John Woolman to Israel Pemberton, June 27, 1763, and John Pemberton to Israel Pemberton, July 2, 1763, in *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, ed. Amelia Mott Gummere (New York, 1922), 91–93; Slaughter, *Beautiful Soul*, 262; Plank, *John Woolman’s Path*, 166.

⁴⁴ Friendly Association Minutes, July 7 and 21, 1763; Anthony Benezet to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, July 1763, in Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet*, 248–53 (quote on 252).

Moravian missionary complied, christening the Munsee leader Johannes. Papunhank's spiritual journey had been moving in this more definitively Christian direction for several years. Zeisberger's preaching, as well as that of his native assistants, Anthony and Nathanael, clearly pushed it along in May and June to the point of eliciting the type of decisive turn to the Savior that Moravians thought necessary for Christian salvation. Yet the timing of Papunhank's declaration of Moravian Christian faith was shaped by more than the state of his own soul. Amid that summer's growing crisis, Papunhank felt the need to move himself and his band (or at least those who were willing) more fully into the Moravian orbit. Through a resident missionary, the Moravians could offer the steady spiritual counsel and comfort required in this difficult time. And they were accustomed to shepherding communities of Christian natives. Papunhank had seen first-hand the lives of Moravian Indians at Nain and elsewhere; he may even have had kin among them. Those contacts had steered him down this road. Moreover, by June 1763, joining forces with Moravians must have seemed a better option to Papunhank than simply having his authority supplanted by them. And yet, almost as soon as that choice was made, Zeisberger was called back to Bethlehem in early July, leaving Papunhank and his people to function once more on their own.⁴⁵

At that point, Papunhank was not ready to cut off his connections to Friends completely, but he increasingly realized that Quakers could supply few, if any, of the assets Moravians provided. His request for the Friends to send teachers to his town had yielded no fruit, and Woolman's visit, though cordial, gave no guarantees of future aid. Nor was the Quakers' traditional advantage over Moravians—their political influence—seemingly of much value right now. He needed to seek out a stronger political partner.

To that end, Papunhank used all his native negotiating skills in appealing anew to Governor Hamilton. In a series of exchanges during the fall of 1763 that culminated in meetings with the colonial government in Philadelphia in early December, Papunhank took pains to reassure Pennsylvania's authorities that the Wyalusing Indians were committed to peace and had no interest in joining with the warring western nations.

⁴⁵ Diary of Zeisberger, June 10–July 10, 1763, quotes from entry for June 20; David Zeisberger to Nathanael Seidel, June 18, 1763, box 229, folder 2, item 2, Records of the Indian Missions, translated for author by Roy Ledbetter; Olmstead, *David Zeisberger*, 113–15; Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, part 2, 206–7; Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 304, suggests that Papunhank's motives for joining the Moravians included the fact that he had kin among them.

Although violence was on the rise from Delaware warriors and extralegal frontier forces, his community had “minded nothing else but the religious worship of God.” Rumors that they aided and abetted raiding natives by relaying information or giving them refuge were unfounded. Instead, he and his followers remained reliable sources of intelligence and were willing to provide ongoing service as messengers and go-betweens. Papunhank even suggested that the basis of Anglo-Indian amity lay not simply in the colony’s heritage of friendship with natives, as had once again been proposed by white officials, but in something more fundamental: “You look but a little way, but I don’t: I look as far back as the Creation, when God Almighty first made us, & placed the good Spirit in our Hearts.”⁴⁶

Whether that conviction stemmed from Moravian teaching, a Quaker theology of the Inner Light, or a traditional Munsee cosmology, it was part of what proved to be a successful appeal for help. With tensions rising, fears spreading, whites increasingly disinclined to trust any native, Christian or not, and the whole region poised to explode with even greater bloodshed, Papunhank concluded that nothing less than direct government protection for him, his family, and his community would ensure their survival. That decision was likely confirmed once he learned that companies of armed whites intended to attack Wyalusing in October but turned back after encountering the remains of an Indian raid. Papunhank was reassured when word came in November, supposedly from the governor, that the Wyalusingites should either head north to New York to find refuge under the watchful eye of Sir William Johnson, British superintendent of Indian affairs, or come to Philadelphia, there to join other Moravian Indian refugees from settlements at Nain and Wechquetank. The Munsee leader responded that “our hearts inclineth towards you, the Governor of Philadelphia,” but most of his community opted instead to remain in Indian country and go north. Papunhank understood their decision and was clearly unsure of what might befall him in the new locale. He wanted and needed protection, but was removal to Philadelphia the best choice?⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Minutes of Council held at Philadelphia, Sept. 17, 1763, *MPCP*, 9:44–45, 66–69, 77–78, 85–88 (quotes on 46 and 78); “Governor John Penn address to the Assembly Concerning several Indian conferences and the late murder of six friendly Indians at Conestogoe Manor, December 21, 1763,” *Pennsylvania Archives*, 4th ser., 3:252–53; Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*, 126–28; Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 305–6.

⁴⁷ Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*, 128–29; “Col. James Irvine to Gov. Penn, Nov. 23, 1763,” *Pennsylvania Archives*, 4th ser., 4:138; Minutes of Council held at Philadelphia, Dec. 10, 1763, *MPCP*, 9:87–88; “1763 Petition by John Jacob Schmick to Governor John Penn [Nov. 9, 1763],” Bethlehem

Members of the Friendly Association responded to the news of the Wyalusing Indian arrival in Philadelphia in late November with quick offers of material assistance, though they also wanted the natives to be sure they understood that it was the government's responsibility and not the association's to provide for them. They were clearly excited to have Papunhank back in their midst, yet they did not want him to have false expectations of them based on his prior visits to the city. Such a worry soon proved trivial. Neither they nor the Munsee leader could know just how much danger they would soon face or that the next sixteen months would represent the final phase of their near alliance.⁴⁸

A Year in Captivity

Barely a month in Philadelphia, Papunhank and the other twenty-one Wyalusing Indians with him were told that they had to move again. Papunhank was accustomed to navigating difficult circumstances, but he now had less control over the fate of his people, whether they were with him in Philadelphia, back in Wyalusing, or anywhere else they may have migrated. In the months that followed, he did everything he could to ensure his group's security but found himself largely impotent. Activist Quakers were, likewise, increasingly powerless as their hopes of regaining political prominence and reestablishing more benevolent colonial relations with Native Americans became ever more fanciful. So, too, did their plans for the Munsee reformer. As a result, though their friendship endured, it became plain to the Friends and Papunhank alike that neither could supply the long-term needs of the other.

Papunhank and the other Wyalusing refugees joined the larger body of Moravian evacuees on Province Island, situated in the Schuylkill River about five miles south of Philadelphia. That is where colonial officials had

Digital History Project (hereafter cited as BDHP), item at http://bdhp.moravian.edu/personal_papers/letters/indians/1763schmick.html; Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 272–79; Dowd, *War under Heaven*, 194–95. In February 1764, amid the heat of the Paxton Boys crisis, John Penn, Hamilton's successor, informed the Pennsylvania Council that the invitation to the Wyalusingites to come to Philadelphia had actually come from "some private people [presumably members of the Friendly Association], who took every opportunity in their power to interfere & meddle in Indian Affairs," and not from him. At that moment, he had good reason to be distancing himself from that decision. Minutes of Council held at Philadelphia, Feb. 14, 1764, *MPCP*, 9:136–37. Papunhank's choice to come to the city may have been influenced by his earlier positive encounters there or by the fact he was going to be a prime witness for the defense in the trial of Renatus, a Christian Indian accused of murder.

⁴⁸ Friendly Association Minutes, Nov. 21, Nov. 22, and Nov. 29, 1763; Friendly Association to James Ervin [Irvine], Nov. 22, 1763, vol. 4, p. 375, FAP.

decided the 140 or so Indians could best be kept, after initially placing them in army barracks in the city and arousing the ire of some Philadelphians who wanted no new natives in their midst. But even Province Island soon seemed inadequate when news came from Lancaster County of the brutal massacres of Conestoga Indians, first on the fourteenth and then on the twenty-seventh of December, by several dozen angry settlers. The armed frontier inhabitants, soon known as the "Paxton Boys," voiced numerous grievances but none more essential than the claim that the colonial government had no business protecting and supplying natives, especially in the wake of its failure to provide adequate defenses for whites against raiding Indians. Unduly influential Friends were particularly to blame for the miseries other Pennsylvanians had suffered, and now they would need to pay the price. Those words were unsettling, to say the least, to officials, Native Americans, and Quakers alike in Philadelphia. Their fears only intensified when reports came that the Paxtonians were now marching toward the city to wreak their vengeance on both the perpetrators and the beneficiaries of such ill-advised policies.⁴⁹

Government leaders, Moravian missionaries, local Friends, and the natives themselves scrambled to devise an escape plan. The interned Indians were told on December 29 that they had to leave Province Island, but where would they go? Various possibilities emerged in the next few days, including an offer from Philadelphia Friends to transport them to the care of Quakers on Nantucket Island in New England. But the Moravian Indians and their white missionaries quickly declined that proposal "in the hope that our dear Father will show us another means by which we can be in security."⁵⁰ The means settled upon was a middle-of-the-night departure from Philadelphia and a scheme to travel north through New Jersey, cross to New York, make their way up the Hudson, and, finally, head west into Six Nations country, where they might come under the general protection of William Johnson. There was even some hope that they could eventually find refuge back along the upper Susquehanna and

⁴⁹ Conference held Dec. 1, 1763, and Dec. 8, 1763, *MPCP*, 9:77–79, 85–88; "Diary of the Indian *Gemeine* on Province Island . . . , [December] 1763– January 4, 1764," trans. Katherine Carté Engel, BDHP, at http://bdhp.moravian.edu/community_records/christianindians/diaires/province/1764province.html; "Penn to the Assembly, December 21, 1763," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 4th ser., 3:252–53; Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*, 130–46; Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 282–92; Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*, 175–83.

⁵⁰ "Diary of the Indian *Gemeine*," Dec. 29 and 31, 1763, and Jan. 2, 1764; Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*, 183.

there reunite with other Wyalusingites in southern New York.⁵¹ But the whole plan came to naught at the New York border, where the Moravian refugees were rebuffed on orders from Governor Cadwallader Colden. So it was back to Philadelphia, hardly a safe haven in early 1764.⁵²

Events climaxed as around two hundred Paxtonians reached the city's edge on February 4, 1764. For the next four days, tensions ran high as opposing forces poised to do battle. Royal troops and local militia, including perhaps as many as two hundred armed Quakers, stood ready to defend the refugee Indians. Fortunately, diplomacy prevailed; grievances were submitted, the Paxton Boys headed home, and a pamphlet war, rather than a literal one, ensued. Over the next year, powerful Quakers were excoriated repeatedly for their sins of commission (aiding Indians of any variety) and omission (failing to protect white frontier settlers adequately and then failing to provide sufficient relief to war victims after the fact). Friends' rejoinders could not prevent a further erosion of their political influence.⁵³

Life was only grimmer for the interned Indians. As winter turned to spring, the refugees endured more published attacks in the press, the mounting prospect of the army's departure and the return of the Paxtons, and a sense that any will to care for them was eroding. Worst of all, disease began to infect the barracks. By year's end, smallpox and dysentery would claim the lives of fifty-six natives.⁵⁴

⁵¹ John Heckewelder, *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians* (1820; repr., New York, 1971), 80–82; "Diary of the Indian *Gemeine* on Province Island," entry for Jan. 2, 1764; Olmstead, *David Zeisberger*, 126–27.

⁵² "Travel Diary of the little Indian *Gemeine*—1764 [Jan. 18–24, 1764]," trans. Katherine Carté Engel, BDHP, at http://bdhp.moravian.edu/community_records/christianindians/diaires/travel/1764travel.html. Papunhank and his family had actually been diverted to the home of Friendly Association member Abel James near Burlington, New Jersey. But according to Moravian sources, Papunhank was not content there, so they, too, returned to Philadelphia by late January and rejoined the larger group of Moravian refugees. "1764 Message by Lieutenant Governor John Penn delivered to the departing Christian Indians through William Logan [Jan. 7, 1764]," BDHP, at http://bdhp.moravian.edu/personal_papers/letters/indians/1764governor.html; "Diary of the Indian *Gemeine* in the Barracks in Philadelphia 1764," Jan. 28, Jan. 29, Feb. 2, and Feb. 8, 1764, trans. Katherine Carté Engel, BDHP, at http://bdhp.moravian.edu/community_records/christianindians/diaires/barracks/1764/translation64.html; Journal of Frederick Marshall, Oct. 28, 1763–Jan. 18, 1764, entry for Jan. 15, 1764, box 217, folder 14, item 1, Records of the Indian Missions, translated for author by Roy Ledbetter.

⁵³ "Diary of the Indian *Gemeine* in the Barracks, 1764," Feb. 4–9, 1764; Remonstrance from the Frontier Inhabitants to Governor John Penn, Feb. 13, 1764, *MPCP*, 9:138–42; Heckewelder, *Narrative of the Mission*, 84–86; Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*, 185–90, 202–26; Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*, 147–202; Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 288–94; Daiutolo, "Role of Quakers," 28–29. Many of the key pamphlets of the verbal war may be found in John R. Dunbar, ed., *The Paxton Papers* (The Hague, 1957).

⁵⁴ "Diary of the Indian *Gemeine* in the Barracks, 1764," Apr. 2, June 16, June 19, and July 20, 1764, and notes at end of diary with numbers of deceased. Young and old alike succumbed to the diseases.

Under those circumstances, Indian leaders, and especially Papunhank, grew increasingly desperate for another option. He spent the rest of the year searching for a way out of the city. In late February and again in November, with the government's permission, he risked returning to Wyalusing to check on the fate of the rest of his band, to promote peace in the interior, and to explore options for a future home for all of the Philadelphia refugees. Despite finding that his former village had been almost completely destroyed, Papunhank convinced himself, other community leaders, and the Pennsylvania government that Wyalusing offered the best place to start over. And so in March 1765, after sixteen months of exile, Papunhank headed home, now in the company of six or seven dozen fellow Moravian Indians who had become his new band.⁵⁵

As they left Philadelphia, Papunhank sent a letter of thanks on behalf of the Christian Indians to Governor Penn. Papunhank knew better than any that continuing to skillfully navigate relations with Pennsylvania's government would be a key for their security. The Indians also expressed great thanks to Joseph Fox, Quaker assemblyman and the government's commissary in charge of supplying the natives during their stay in the city, and to other benevolent Friends who had come to their aid. A number of Quakers, including Pemberton and Benezet, had regularly visited the refugees, especially in the early weeks and months of their internment. They came with words of encouragement, offers of assistance, and even, in some cases, a willingness to go against their own peace testimony and take up arms.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Heckewelder, *Narrative of the Mission*, 85–92; “Diary of the Indian *Gemeine* in the Barracks, 1764,” Feb. 16, Feb. 17, Feb. 21, Mar. 25, Apr. 5, Apr. 7, Apr. 10, Apr. 12, Aug. 14, Aug. 16, Oct. 14, Oct. 20, Nov. 13, and Dec. 20, 1764; “Diary of the little Indian *Gemeine*, currently in the barracks in Philadelphia, 1765,” Jan. 24 and Feb. 5, 1765, trans. Katherine Carté Engel, BDHP, at http://bdhp.moravian.edu/community_records/christianindians/diaires/barracks/1765/translation65.html; Minutes of the Council, Feb. 14, 1764, *MPCP*, 9:136–37; David Zeisberger to Nathanael Seidel, Mar. 29, 1764, box 229, folder 2, item 30; and Johann Jacob Schmick to Nathanael Seidel, Feb. 16 and 21, 1764, box 221, folder 9, items 8 and 9, both Records of the Indian Missions, translated for author by Roy Ledbetter. Schmick's letter of February 16 stated that Papunhank's upcoming journey was “very dear to us [Moravians] and to the Quakers as well.”

⁵⁶ “1765 Address of the Christian Indians at the Barracks in Philadelphia to Governor John Penn [Mar. 19, 1765],” BDHP, at http://bdhp.moravian.edu/personal_papers/letters/indians/1765indianaddress.html. Papunhank was one of four Indians who signed the letter. The address may also be found in *Pennsylvania Archives*, 4th ser., 4:170–71; “Diary of the little Indian *Gemeine*, 1765,” Mar. 19, 1765; “Diary of the Indian *Gemeine* on Province Island,” Dec. 30, 1763, Jan. 2 and 3, 1764; “Diary of the Indian *Gemeine* in the Barracks, 1764” Feb. 11, 1764; Friendly Association Minutes, Feb. 2, 1764; Friendly Association Expenses, 1764–1776, ser. 7, box 18, folder 13, Cox-Parrish-Wharton Papers; Heckewelder, *Narrative of the Mission*, 92.

Men like Fox, Benezet, and Pemberton no doubt particularly relished the opportunity to reconnect with Papunhank. Yet, as the months passed it must have become clear to all four men that their previously cherished hopes were not going to materialize. Neither Papunhank nor the Friends could supply the other what had seemed possible a few years earlier. By 1764–65, activist Quakers, including members of the now disbanded Friendly Association, were reeling from a decade of war, a bloody pamphlet fight, and the loss of political clout. Strengthening ties to any Indians at that moment would only make their situation worse. Moreover, Philadelphia Friends' attention had turned to determining how to discipline those members who had taken up weapons in February, a discussion that lasted into 1767. They also became preoccupied with and divided over efforts to make Pennsylvania a royal colony.⁵⁷ Activist Friends remained fond of Papunhank, but it was clear that he was in no position to help revive their political fortunes or resurrect their Holy Experiment. Nor could they be of much help to him. During his months in Philadelphia, he had seen firsthand how much Quakers—especially those Friends with whom he had interacted most—were hated by other Pennsylvanians. To be linked with them was to invite great hostility. In addition, they offered no alternative prospect for what to do or where to go in early 1765. Friends had no plan or means to have a Quaker Indian town, and he certainly did not want to stay in the city. His choice that spring to continue his attachment to Moravians was the only choice he really had. This alliance gave him the means to leave Philadelphia, resume life in Wyalusing with a critical mass of like-minded natives, and gain wider Moravian religious, moral, and financial support. It was a way to secure a future and to once again reinvent his community.

An Almost Friend

Back in familiar territory in Wyalusing, Papunhank reexerted critical political and diplomatic leadership, though now with less religious authority. His new town, christened Friedenshütten, owed its existence and persistence in the next few years in no small measure to his determination to convince colonial, Iroquois, and Moravian officials, as well as

⁵⁷David Sloan, "A Time of Sifting and Winnowing: The Paxton Riots and Quaker Non-Violence in Pennsylvania," *Quaker History* 66 (1977): 3–22; Marietta, *Reformation of American Quakerism*, 194–202.

the community itself, to trust his wisdom on numerous occasions. Along with its German missionary pastors, he kept the town going for seven years, during which it functioned as the “central mission congregation of the Moravians” and grew to shelter more than 150 inhabitants. Certainly, Papunhank endured new trials in those years, including accusations that he engaged in witchcraft. Still, he was exonerated from those claims and remained firmly within the Moravian fold. Eventually the pressures of colonial politics forced the community to move west once again, this time to the Ohio Country in 1772. Though slowed by age and infirmity, Papunhank remained an active and important Indian assistant in his new surroundings and helped place his native Moravian brethren on a firm foundation there until the ravages of a new round of warfare threatened their security once again.⁵⁸

Perhaps mercifully, Papunhank didn’t live to see that revolutionary violence. On May 15, 1775, Zeisberger recorded Papunhank’s death. His journal entry for the next day noted the large crowd that attended the burial, then launched into a mini-biography. Zeisberger recounted Papunhank’s flight to Philadelphia, where “the Quakers . . . knew him and made much of him, and they kept him with them and took care of him and his people.” While Zeisberger was quick to point out that Papunhank “just did not feel satisfied until he was with the [Moravian] Brothers,” his earlier remark could not have been more on target: *the Quakers did make much of him*.⁵⁹

Amid the challenging years of the early 1760s, reformist Friends enthusiastically latched on to Papunhank as fellow peacemaker, diplomatically, joint advocate for economic justice, and Christian brother. The participants in the Friendly Association were those Quakers who felt most responsible for continuing Penn’s legacy with Indians, most accustomed to wielding clout in the colony, most concerned about ensuring favorable economic conditions, and most hopeful about reasserting themselves into the middle of Pennsylvania politics and Indian affairs. As a religious and political leader with views and values akin to their own, Papunhank seemed

⁵⁸ Hermann Wellenreuther and Carola Wessel, eds., “Introduction,” *The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger, 1772–1781*, trans. Julie Tomberlin Weber (University Park, PA, 2005), 48–51 (quote on 48); Olmstead, *David Zeisberger*, 137–45; Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, part 3, 64–77.

⁵⁹ Wellenreuther and Wessel, *Moravian Mission Diaries*, 272–73. Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 317–18, provides another translation of Papunhank’s *Lebenslauf* (life story), a popular genre among the Moravians.

to hold great promise for helping the Quaker cause. He was one part of their larger strategy to save themselves and their place in Pennsylvania.

So, too, were Quakers a part of his strategy to save his people. Drawn to them particularly by their pacifism and evident care for natives, Papunhank hoped to tap into their spiritual, political, and economic resources to bolster his people's fortunes. He wooed them as they wooed him. In the end, Friends were only able to provide Papunhank and his band with some modest assistance. The two groups shared a few episodes of spiritual fellowship and mutual instruction, and genuine bonds of affection seemed to grow up on both sides as they conversed about their faiths. In addition, Friends' enthusiasm for many of the positions Papunhank affirmed may have reinforced his determination to stay true to his principles. Quakers also periodically contributed material aid, including gifts to the Philadelphia refugees as they left to start over in Wyalusing in 1765. And Friends exerted some political influence in urging colonial and British officials to make special efforts to protect the Wyalusingites. Those gains were real, and Papunhank did not take them lightly. Yet he became all too aware by the mid-1760s that, on balance, they were largely offset by the political cost of association with activist Quakers who had no shortage of enemies. Being linked with the Friendly Association eventually did nothing less than put a target on Papunhank's back. By that point in 1764, joining the Moravians was also dangerous, for they, too, were under attack. Still, Papunhank's close contacts with David Zeisberger beginning in the spring of 1763, including his personal spiritual awakening and baptism and his joint exile with the larger body of Moravian Indians in Philadelphia throughout 1764, persuaded him that here was where he, his kin, and the remnants of his band had the best chance of survival. It proved a wise choice.

Papunhank's Quaker friends seemed to harbor no resentment over that choice in the mid-1760s. They might have, considering the outcome of their alliance efforts and especially given that in the years that followed they made no headway in spreading Quakerism among natives and saw their role in colonial and imperial politics diminish further. On the contrary, though, they remained enamored with the Munsee reformer and continued to idealize him in the decades to come. In the 1770s, Philadelphia Friends exchanged warm letters with him and other Christian Indians in the West and even sent three emissaries in 1773 to explore possibilities for establishing some type of mission work there. In the 1780s, Anthony Benezet cited Papunhank as a model native in a pamphlet dedicated to de-

fending the character of Indians. And in 1803, a new printed version of the account of the Friends' highly successful first encounters with Papunhank appeared. A generation after his death, he was still their choice, even if he hadn't chosen them.⁶⁰

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⁶⁰ Friendly Association to Papunhang & others of the Delaware Nation, Aug. 6, 1772; and John Ettwein to Friendly Association, Nov. 17, 1772, vol. 4, pp. 467 and 473, FAP; John Papunhang et al. to Israel Pemberton . . . & the Rest of the Friends in Philadelphia, Mar. 21, 1773, vol. 2, p. 123, Jonah Thompson Collection of Colonial Pennsylvania Documents, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Minutes for Meeting for Sufferings for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Minute Book One, 1755–1775, July 5, 1773, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College; Friendly Association to John Papunhang & the rest of the Indian Brethren . . . living beyond the Ohio, July 8, 1773; and John Ettwein to James Drinker, July 17, 1773, vol. 4, pp. 483, 487, FAP; John Parrish, "Extracts from the Journal of John Parrish, 1773," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 16 (1892): 443–48; [Anthony Benezet], *Some Observations on the situation, disposition, and character of the Indian Natives of this continent* (Philadelphia, 1782), 24–25; *An Account of the Behavior and Sentiments of some well disposed Indians, mostly of the Minusing Tribe* (Stanford, NY, 1803). In July 1773, Quakers Zebulon Horton, John Lacey, and John Parrish visited Indians in the Ohio Country, including the Moravians at Schoenbrunn, where Papunhank lived, but he was away at the time. Nothing substantial came of their visit.