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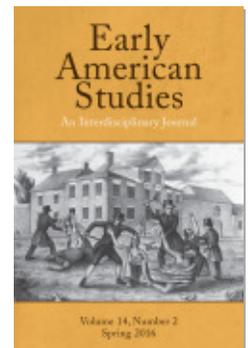
## Dangerous Spirits: How the Indian Critique of Alcohol Shaped Eighteenth-Century Quaker Revivalism

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# Dangerous Spirits

How the Indian Critique of Alcohol Shaped Eighteenth-Century Quaker Revivalism

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**ABSTRACT** “Dangerous Spirits” argues that Papunhank, a Munsee religious leader from Wyalusing, shaped Pennsylvania Quaker reform through his critiques of the colonial-Indian alcohol trade. Papunhank allied himself with Quakers during the era of Pontiac’s War, a time when racial animosities in the region, stoked by years of frontier warfare, threatened to pull Indians and colonists farther apart. Papunhank and Quakers found common ground in the experience of religious revivalism and the language of sobriety. The relationship also helped Quaker reformers develop a powerful moral critique of colonialism. Papunhank’s influence on Quakerism challenges the scholarly tendency to emphasize the Euro-American Christian influence on Indians, and not the other way around.

In July 1760 Papunhank, a Munsee leader from the Indian town of Wyalusing in the upper Susquehanna Valley, delivered three young white captives to Governor James Hamilton at the Pennsylvania State House in Philadelphia. Papunhank hoped the gesture would assure the governor that he was a “great Lover of peace, & have never been Concerned in War Affairs.” In return, the Wyalusing chief asked the governor to discourage traders under his authority from charging high prices for their goods, an

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abuse that forced Wyalusing hunters to compensate by playing “unfair Tricks with the skins.” According to the Munsee leader, such practices prevented them from walking “together in one Brotherly Love & Friendship as Brothers ought to do.” Chief among Papunhank’s concerns was the alcohol trade, and he implored Governor Hamilton not to give “any of our young Men” selling skins in Philadelphia “a drop of liquor.”<sup>1</sup> While the governor acknowledged the “mischiefs” that arose “from the intemperate use of strong Liquors,” he insisted he was powerless to “restrain our people that are at so great a distance from this City, from Carrying Rum to your Towns.” In lieu of restrictions on white traders, Hamilton offered Papunhank a few token gifts, but the Munsee leader demurred, insisting that he was there “on a Religious account” by “Invitation Sent me by Some Religious People.”<sup>2</sup>

The “religious people” turned out to be Quakers. Papunhank obtained an audience with Governor Hamilton through the assistance of the Friendly Association, a Quaker organization that promoted Indian diplomacy and whose participation in the Easton Treaty of 1758 helped end a bloody frontier conflict that was, in a larger sense, a part of the Seven Years’ War but regionally had more to do with the Indians’ struggle to keep their lands west of the Susquehanna River free from white settlement. The Friendly Association supported Papunhank, but it was the latter who played a more significant role in the relationship. Papunhank profoundly influenced Quaker revivalism at a time when scalp bounties and talk of warfare dominated Pennsylvania’s relations with its Native neighbors. The Munsee Indian became a model of piety by which Quaker reformers measured their efforts to purge the Society of Friends of moral corruptions. Papunhank

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1. “An Account of the Behavior & Sentiments of a Number of Well-Disposed Indians Mostly of the Minisung Tribe,” in George Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937), 480–81; a different version of the treaty, with only abbreviated remarks from Papunhank, appears in *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (hereafter cited as *MPCP*), *Pennsylvania Archives* (Harrisburg: Theo Fenn, 1852), 8:484–91; Papunhank’s visit to Philadelphia in 1760 is recounted in Geoffrey Plank, *John Woolman’s Path to the Peaceable Kingdom: A Quaker in the British Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 137–39. On Papunhank and Quakers more generally, see Richard Pointer, “An Almost Friend: Papunhank, Quakers, and the Search for Security amid Pennsylvania’s Wars, 1754–65,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 138 (July 2014): 237–68.

2. “An Account,” in Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet*, 480; and the version in *MPCP*, 8:487.

helped Quakers develop a moral critique of colonialism that allowed them to see, albeit imperfectly, colonization from their Indian neighbors' point of view.

Indian and Quaker revivalism intersected through a shared concern for moral purity and regulating alcohol consumption. Both groups, in their own ways, linked consumption and trade to the establishment and maintenance of orderly and peaceable relationships. Because the circulation and consumption of material objects took on ideological, even sacred dimensions, Quaker and Native revivalists regarded immoral consumption as an impediment to spiritual perfection. Both struggled to rid their communities of excessive drinking, but for Native revivalists, alcohol was a "dangerous spirit" indelibly yoked to colonialism and violence. Papunhank understood and exploited this fact in reaching out to his would-be Quaker allies. Quaker reformers, in turn, translated his message into their own religious idiom and reached out to Papunhank, seeing in the Munsee leader a "sober" Indian who behaved, seemingly, like a model Quaker.<sup>3</sup>

Much of the scholarship on colonial-Indian religious encounters, especially that focusing on Moravian Christian Indian converts in the Susquehanna Valley and the more numerous works on New England Praying Indians, have emphasized the extent to which Native communities either adapted Christianity for their own purposes or, alternatively, resisted the efforts of white missionaries. Both strands of this historiography rightfully stress Indian agency, but the Native influence on colonial Christianity has received considerably less attention.<sup>4</sup> For Papunhank, the doctrinal distinctions separating Quakers from Moravians or other Protestant denominations mattered less than the far messier but no less real experience of revivalism, a religion of the heart that stressed tears of profound joy and sadness, which provided him with the means to reach out to white allies at

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3. My thinking on the moral and reciprocal dimensions of trade is informed by David Murray, *Indian Giving: Economies of Power in Indian-White Exchanges* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000); recent scholarship is questioning the "inanimateness" normally ascribed to material objects, arguing instead that objects or things interact with and transform social relations, giving them agency; see Bill Brown, "Thing Theory," *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 1 (2001): 1–22.

4. My historiographical discussion draws from David Silverman, "Indians, Missionaries, and Religious Translation: Creating Wampanoag Christianity in Seventeenth-Century Martha's Vineyard," *William and Mary Quarterly* 62 (April 2005): 141–74, esp. 143–44; on Moravian Christian Indians, see Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

a time when he and his community at Wyalusing desperately needed them. The encounter consequently energized and validated Quaker reform in Pennsylvania at a time when settler-Indian violence threatened to overtake the colony and Friends were divided over the meaning and application of their peace principles. Moreover, it suggests more broadly that Indian religiosity deeply influenced Euro-American Christianity, and not just the other way around.<sup>5</sup>

Histories of eighteenth-century religious revivalism have tended to follow the work of the anthropologist Anthony F. C. Wallace, whose theory of revitalization argued that major turning points in prophetic traditions occurred when charismatic leaders experienced moments of personal crisis, usually brought on by a major catastrophic event or upheaval.<sup>6</sup> But as Gregory Dowd argues, Native revivalism was “interdependent and intertwined,” transcending geographic boundaries and spanning decades.<sup>7</sup> Viewed in this context, Papunhank’s nativist critiques of alcohol are connected to a much larger history of colonization in Pennsylvania, and the Quaker complicity in that colonization.

Early Americans drank for complex reasons. Indians, like colonists, drank to get drunk. But alcohol also had tremendous symbolic and religious power. It was central to Euro-American and Indian interactions, both

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5. Scholarly narratives on the Great Awakening generally pay less attention to Quakers and Moravians in comparison to other Protestant groups; see, for example, Thomas Kidd, *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007). Jack Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748–1783* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), is the definitive account of eighteenth-century American Quaker reform but focuses more on religious discipline than on the emotional character of revivalism. Patrick Erben, *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 56, argues that Quakers and radical Pietists shared a common “spiritual and linguistic sensibility” rooted in the search for a universal community and union with the divine. Moravian missionaries sought to harmonize Indian and European languages as part of this effort. On Quakers as spiritualists, see Melvin Endy Jr., “Puritanism, Spiritualism, and Quakerism: An Historiographical Essay,” in Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, eds., *The World of William Penn* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986). On the historical complexity of early Quaker pacifism, see Meredith Weddle, *Walking in the Way of Peace: Quaker Pacifism in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

6. Anthony F. C. Wallace, “Revitalization Movements,” *American Anthropologist* 58 (April 1956): 264–81.

7. Gregory Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), xix.

informal, day-to-day socializing and more formal political exchanges at conferences and treaties. Natives found alcohol's intoxicating spiritual power useful for religious ceremonies and mourning rituals. Liquor was also used as a medicine, and according to Peter Mancall, for Indian communities in close proximity to Euro-Americans, inebriation relieved, at least temporarily, the trauma and psychological stress of dealing with colonization.<sup>8</sup> Alcohol's utility, particularly its potential spiritual power, may be why, as Dowd notes, the Delaware prophet Neolin's vision of the "Creator" condemned intoxication but not alcohol itself.<sup>9</sup>

But alcohol is a drug, and unlike more durable commodities such as textiles or tools, its potentially unlimited demand made it ideal for Euro-American traders to gain a foothold in Indian country. Alcohol did not affect all Indian communities in the same ways, but in the Susquehanna, where Natives lived close to white settlements, its influence was profound. Colonists offered alcohol liberally on terms that ensured their Native trading partners would remain indebted to them. Indians, as willing participants in the trade, accepted this indebtedness but at the cost of facilitating cycles of poverty and debt that, over time, compromised their communities' autonomy. The rum trade in particular allowed Indian towns in the Susquehanna access to Atlantic markets for their skins and furs, but it also signaled, in the words of David Murray, a "failure of reciprocity—trade as exploitation and deception rather than exchange, gifts . . . that are not gifts."<sup>10</sup> Like the Atlantic slave trade, to which it was linked, the rum trade was embedded in an emergent colonial, imperial, and capitalist enterprise, simultaneously visceral and impersonal—its circulation recorded as a series of cold calculations and debits and credits in merchant account books—and Natives bore the costs disproportionately.<sup>11</sup>

In the seventeenth century significant quantities of alcohol arrived in the Delaware Valley alongside Dutch and Swedish, then later English colonization. For colonists rum generated profits as well as anxieties about its potential for disorder. In 1680 Gilbert Wheeler's neighbors in present-day Bucks

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8. Peter Mancall, *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), esp. 63–84.

9. Gregory Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 103.

10. Murray, *Indian Giving*, 28.

11. Ian Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic: Finance Capital, Slavery, and the Philosophy of History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), draws on the infamous *Zong* incident of 1781, when a British slave ship captain threw overboard at least 132 African captives and then filed a claim with the insurers for the loss, to argue that

County petitioned the governor of New York about the great number of Indian customers who gathered at his home, which doubled as a tavern, to drink and “revill and fight together.” According to the complaint, Wheeler’s intoxicated Indian customers “com furiously and break our fences and [steal] our corne, and [break] our windows and dores and [carry] away our goods . . . which oppression if it continue[s] will force som of us from our Plantations.”<sup>12</sup> Wheeler’s neighbors may have exaggerated the threat to their safety, but they also may have been telling a partial truth, or at least their version of it. In this instance, one symbol of colonialism—alcohol—became a means for Indian consumers to attack other symbols, namely, Wheeler’s neighbors’ corn, fences, windows, and doors. Wheeler was indicted, but he continued to sell alcohol openly to Indian customers in defiance of his neighbors. Years later he was indicted again for selling liquor to Indians, this time across the Delaware River in territory claimed by the new colony of Pennsylvania. Wheeler’s periodic indictments signified a larger ambivalence among provincial officials whereby they viewed the Indian alcohol trade as simultaneously profitable and potentially menacing. The solution was to allow Indians to buy alcohol from colonial traders and vendors but encourage them to do their drinking in their own communities, far away from white settlers.<sup>13</sup>

Pennsylvania’s founding in 1681 meant that the alcohol trade would become more entangled with the colonial appetite for lands west of the Delaware River. William Penn, the Quaker proprietor, wanted to build a colony predicated on peaceable relationships with Indian allies, a vision that

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the Atlantic slave trade depended in part on translating African bodies into financial abstractions.

12. “Complaint of the Inhabitants of Crewcorne against Gilbert Wheeler for Selling Liquor to the Indians,” September 13, 1680, in Charles Gehring, ed., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch*, vols. 20–21, *Delaware Papers (English Period)* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1977), 340–41; Craig Horle et al., eds., *Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania: A Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, 1682–1709 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 745–46.

13. Wheeler’s indictment for selling rum to Natives in Pennsylvania is found in *Records of the Courts of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 1684–1700* (Meadville, Pa.: Tribune Publishing Co., 1943), 77; before Pennsylvania’s founding, the provincial governor of New York permitted colonial officials in New Castle to sell a *minimum* of about seven to ten gallons of hard liquor wholesale to Indian customers as a way to promote the trade but encouraged Native drinking away from taverns, where drinks were sold in smaller quantities; see C. A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians: A History*, 5th ed. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 138–39.

depended on acquiring Indian lands, but it also required establishing good relationships with Native trading partners. Alcohol played a central role in these relationships, reflecting both the availability of the commodity and the Indian demand for it, as well as demonstrating its ceremonial value as part of the exchange of gifts during treaty negotiations. There are numerous references of alcohol given as gifts to Indian allies in this period. One treaty in 1682 included, among other prized items, two anchors of rum, two anchors of hard cider, and two anchors of beer (about sixty gallons total) in exchange for Lenape lands extending as far north as the Delaware Falls.<sup>14</sup>

The Indian demand for rum and other forms of alcohol, and the potential profits that went with it for colonists, undermined any efforts to strictly regulate the trade. In 1682 the Provincial Assembly, under Penn's direction, banned colonists from trading "Rum or Brandy, or any strong Liquors, at any time, to any Indian," but the Provincial Council, yielding to pressure from both Natives and colonists to open up the trade, eventually relented in favor of "letting [Indians] have Rum." Penn blamed Indians for "not being able to govern themselves" with regard to alcohol, but he promised he would repeal the ban on rum sales "provided they would be Contented to be punished as the English were."<sup>15</sup> Native leaders agreed, undoubtedly because most of them lived in communities outside the reach of Pennsylvania's laws.

Yet as soon as Pennsylvania opened up the trade, Lenape groups protested the destructive intrusion of alcohol in their communities. In 1685 Native leaders complained to the Pennsylvania government that servants on Jasper Farmer's plantation, north of Philadelphia, were "making the Indians drunk," getting into fights with them, and, according to the complaint, taking advantage of "their Wives." Farmer's estate was adjacent to the home of John Steelman, a local Indian trader who was probably the main supplier of alcohol. Indians and colonists on Farmer's plantation socialized and drank together, but the liquor-fueled encounters apparently grew violent and uncontrollable. When summoned by the Provincial Council, Farmer's

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14. "Deed from the Delaware Indians," July 15, 1682, in Jean Soderlund, ed., *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania, 1680–1684: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 156–58.

15. Staughton George et al., eds., *Charter to William Penn, and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: L. S. Hart, 1879, 111–12; "letting [Indians] have Rum," and "provided they would be Contented to be punished as the English were," *MPCP*, 1:98, 105, respectively.

servants begged to remain in Philadelphia because their Indian neighbors, “being drunk in the woods,” made them “afraid to goe home.”<sup>16</sup>

By the eighteenth century, Native complaints about alcohol had intensified, particularly in the Susquehanna, where, not coincidentally, Indian communities faced increased pressure from the influx of white farmers and traders seeking Indian lands and Native trading partners. In 1706 Pennsylvania Governor John Evans promised a delegation of Conestoga Indians in Philadelphia that he would “prevent any injuries” done to them “from Christians” and referred to a proposed bill that would give the Indians “the advantage of all our Laws,” including a five-pound penalty on illicit traders operating without a license.<sup>17</sup> Four years later another delegation of Indians from Conestoga complained to Pennsylvania Governor Charles Gookin that unscrupulous traders had waylaid their hunters, “making them drunk with rum, & then Cheat[ing] them of their Skins.” Unless the governor curbed these abusive trading practices, they warned, members of their community would be “forced to remove themselves or starve, their dependence being intirely upon their Peltry.”<sup>18</sup>

Part of the reason for Pennsylvania’s inability to deal effectively with the Indian complaints is that prominent Quaker merchants were heavily involved in the liquor business. James Logan, Penn’s provincial secretary and the colony’s chief Indian diplomat and land commissioner, was a major supplier of alcohol, along with other goods, to Indian customers in the Susquehanna. The Indian trade made Logan one of the wealthiest men in the colony.<sup>19</sup> Logan was also the main architect behind the infamous “Walking Purchase” of 1737, when he used a forged deed to claim, with

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16. Indian complaint against the servants of Jasper Farmer, *MPCP*, 1:147–48; on Jasper Farmer see *The Papers of William Penn*, ed. Mary Maples Dunn and Richard Dunn, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981–87), 2:484–85n11 (hereafter cited as PWP); on John Steelman see Charles Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1911), 39.

17. Governor to Assembly and Conestoga Indian delegation, *MPCP*, 2:212, 247.

18. *Ibid.*, 2:511.

19. On James Logan’s career as a politician and merchant, see Frederick Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682–1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948); Tolles, *James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1957); and Gary Nash, *Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, 1681–1726* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968).

Iroquois support, more than a thousand square miles of Lenape territory in the Delaware Forks for Pennsylvania. Logan was born to an Ulster Quaker family, and his arrival in Pennsylvania in 1699 fortuitously coincided with the Indian resettlement of the Susquehanna Valley, providing him with new Indian markets for his goods. Thanks to the Beaver Wars, the region had been briefly uninhabited in the mid-1600s, but the Delaware Valley Lenapes, along with Shawnees and other indigenous peoples facing colonization and warfare elsewhere, began settling in the region and establishing Indian towns like Conestoga and Shamokin.<sup>20</sup> In 1700 and 1701 Indian leaders from these communities ratified two treaties with Penn that gained them a measure of political autonomy from the Iroquois, who continued to assert their authority over the region by right of conquest, in exchange for granting Pennsylvania land and trading privileges. James Logan, representing Penn, promised that no colonist would “bring any Liquors or Goods to Sell” without a license from the government.<sup>21</sup>

As Penn’s representative and chief Indian diplomat, Logan did not worry about trading licenses. Instead, he monopolized the Susquehanna fur trade by supplying a cartel of Euro-American traders who provided Indian customers with textiles, tools, gunpowder, and luxury items such as tobacco and rum. Logan typically advanced these goods on credit. Over time, both traders and Indian customers became chronically indebted to him. As he tightened his monopoly on the trade, Logan charged higher prices for his goods, forcing his traders to squeeze more furs and skins from discriminating Indian customers. Rum was one of Logan’s most reliably profitable commodities. By 1721 his stock of imported Caribbean rum had reached over one thousand gallons. His account books from that period show much of it was destined for Indian customers.<sup>22</sup>

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20. Amy Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 65–70; Eric Hinderaker, “Creation of the American Frontier: Europeans and Indians in the Ohio River Valley, 1673–1800” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1991), 166–74; John Smolenski, *Friends and Strangers: The Making of a Creole Culture in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 203–4.

21. A copy of the 1700 treaty is reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 23 (April 1899): 534–35; the 1701 treaty is in Samuel Hazard et al., eds., *Pennsylvania Archives* 1st ser. (1852), 1:144–46; see also Francis Jennings, “Brother Miquon: Good Lord!” in Dunn and Dunn, *The World of William Penn*, 195–214, esp. 204–5; Smolenski, *Friends and Strangers*, 204–5.

22. James Logan Ledger, 1720–1727, p. 52, vol. 3, Logan Family Papers, 1664–1871, Collection 379, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as HSP), Philadelphia.

James Logan's mercantile empire exemplifies how rum, in the words of Peter Mancall, became one of "the most insidious aspects of colonialism."<sup>23</sup> Logan literally embodied the connection between the alcohol trade and the colonization of the Susquehanna. Between 1708 and 1718 Logan exploited his position as Pennsylvania's chief land commissioner, entrusted by Penn to manage his vast estates in the colony, by allocating about seven thousand acres of proprietary lands near the Indian town of Conestoga to his traders. John Cartledge, one of Logan's traders, received three hundred acres. At the time Cartledge ran Logan's store in Conestoga and sold large quantities of rum and other goods to Indian customers. Both he and his Indian customers were heavily indebted to Logan.<sup>24</sup>

Many of the white traders implicated in violent incidents in the Susquehanna were connected to Logan. In 1700 Conodahto, a Conestoga Shawnee, protested to William Penn that Sylvester Garland, one of Logan's chief traders, rode into town with an accomplice allegedly looking for two runaway Indian slaves. Accusing the residents of hiding the runaways, Garland, according to the complaint, "laide hould on one of the Cheife of the women with violent hands" and threatened to take her as his servant. A year later the same community complained that Garland brought in 140 gallons of rum, and, in order "to induce them" to trade, "pretended he was sent by" William Penn.<sup>25</sup> The provincial government, in response, ordered Garland to post a hundred-pound bond and cease trading rum "or any other Strong Liquor" with Indians. Yet the order went unenforced. Twelve years later Logan's account books record supplying Garland with four hundred gallons of rum in exchange for a variety of Indian pelts, which Logan profitably shipped to European markets.<sup>26</sup>

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23. Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 86.

24. Francis Jennings, "The Indian Trade of the Susquehanna Valley," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 110 (December 1966): 417; "Minutes of Property," in Hazard et al., *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser. (1890) 19:626; Francis Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from Its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 270.

25. Complaint of Conodahto to the governor of Pennsylvania, May 1, 1700, *PWP*, 3:600–601; complaint of the Shawnee chief Shemekenshoa to the governor of Pennsylvania, September 3, 1701, *MPCP*, 2:33; the story is also recounted in James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 107–10.

26. Order of bond against Sylvester Garland, October 13, 1701, *MPCP*, 2:48; James Logan's Account Book, 1712–1720, p. 54, vol. 1, Logan Family Papers, Collection 0379, HSP.

Interestingly, despite the trouble his traders caused Indian communities in the Susquehanna, Logan never faced any censure for his business practices. Though it cannot be definitely proven, neither the provincial government nor his Quaker Monthly Meeting seemed aware of the connection between his merchant activities and the numerous Indian complaints about rum at treaty councils. To a degree, Logan was fortunate. For had Indians in the Susquehanna made that connection explicit to provincial authorities, Logan's own Quaker community in Philadelphia would have probably sanctioned him.

This was because, ironically, though Logan sold vast quantities of rum to the Susquehannas, Friends struggled to curb their own drinking and divest from the Indian alcohol trade. Most Quaker reformers advocated temperance, not abstinence. Friends drank, like almost everyone else in early America, but intoxication became a moral issue because, as one Monthly Meeting put it, it was "an inlet to many other evils."<sup>27</sup> Monthly Meetings, responsible for religious discipline, sanctioned Friends for drinking to unconsciousness and engaging in drunken sexual encounters between unmarried partners. The meetings also blamed intoxicated Quakers for incurring bad debts and neglecting their children and spouses. One minister in Chester County was punished for "taking [liquor] after a clandestine manner" and preaching while intoxicated.<sup>28</sup> By the eighteenth century, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was repeatedly complaining about Friends' drinking excessively at marriages and funerals.<sup>29</sup>

Yet early efforts to divest from the Indian alcohol trade were inconsistent and at times ineffective. In the 1680s Delaware Valley Quakers sold rum to other colonists and Indian customers in taverns and public houses. Early on, Monthly Meetings pressured Quaker merchants to desist from selling rum to Indian customers, with varying degrees of success. William Biles told the Falls Monthly Meeting he did not think selling alcohol to Indians was "any evil; however, if Friends desire him not to do it, he will for the future forbear it."<sup>30</sup> To curb this practice, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting reiterated in 1685 that it was not "Consistent with the Honor of Truth . . .

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27. Quoted in Marietta, *Reformation of American Quakerism*, 19.

28. Jack Marietta, "Ecclesiastical Discipline in the Society of Friends, 1682–1776" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1968), 60–68; quotation on 65.

29. Plank, *John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom*, 44.

30. Ezra Michener, *A Retrospect of Early Quakerism* (Philadelphia: T. E. Zell, 1860), 309.

to sell Rum or other Strong Liquors to the Indians.”<sup>31</sup> Two years later the Yearly Meeting again reminded Friends they had not remained “wholly clear” of the practice and warned against “Selling Rum or other Strong Liquors” to Indians through third parties, closing a loophole that clever Quaker merchants might have used to evade sanction.<sup>32</sup>

Over time the Quakers’ thinking on Indians and alcohol evolved as part of a larger effort by Delaware Valley Friends to formalize their discipline more rigorously. In the early eighteenth century, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting began systematizing formerly ad hoc measures “relating to good order & Discipline in the Church” into a more coherent body of discipline. In 1704 and again in 1719, reformers compiled these disciplinary practices into a single manuscript book that was then circulated to Quaker Meetings throughout the Delaware Valley and even beyond. Marriages were to take place with the approbation of Monthly Meetings to ensure the couples were committed to Quaker standards of holiness. Parents and masters were to nurture their children and servants and protect them from “unchristian principles.” Friends were enjoined to protect the sanctity and purity of speech and to maintain the “plainness of apparel” by avoiding ostentatious clothing. Quakers also standardized their long-standing practice of arbitrating disputes in Monthly Meetings—a process that Quakers also referred to as “gospel order.”<sup>33</sup>

The term *gospel order* pointed at something more ambitious than arbitration. It was an articulation of a comprehensive vision for peace that linked the moral purity of Quaker households and families to the maintenance of harmonious relations with outsiders, including their Indian neighbors. The issue of alcohol, then, was deeply intertwined with the Quakers’ desire for moral purity. By the early eighteenth century, the Indian alcohol trade, slave trafficking, and the illicit consumption of luxury goods all came under increased scrutiny by Quaker Meetings. In Quaker parlance, “carnal lusts” were uncontrolled manifestations of violence rooted in avarice. Though

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31. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting minutes, August 5, 1685, MR-Ph469, p. 11, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. (hereafter cited as FHL).

32. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting minutes, September 7, 1687, MR-Ph469, pp. 14–16, FHL; quotations on pp. 15–16.

33. Quotations from 1704 Book of Discipline, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Disciplines, box 1, Collection 976 (Copy B), Quaker & Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

Friends affirmed the pursuit of wealth as legitimate, reformers rejected luxurious consumption as impure and immoral. Wealth tipped over into luxury when individuals and households consumed or displayed objects that served no other apparent purpose than to gratify one's lusts and put vain pursuits ahead of more godly behavior.<sup>34</sup>

In keeping with the Quakers' vision for gospel order, the 1704 version of the discipline enjoined Friends not to sell "Rum brandy or any other Spirits" either "directly or indirectly," a practice the Yearly Meeting claimed was "contrary to the antient care friends have had of those poor Ignorant heathen people and Contrary to [our] antient testimony." The Yearly Meeting had indeed previously cautioned against selling Indians alcohol, but the disciplinary book appended a novel concern "that no friend [should] either buy or sell any Indians land." Here was, for the first time, an implicit recognition of the links between alcohol and colonization and the threat that colonization, even Quaker colonization, posed to Indian sovereignty.<sup>35</sup>



At Wyalusing, Papunhank advanced his own reform agenda based on his nativist understandings of moral purity. Wyalusing, according to Moravian and Quaker sources, was a "newly laid out" Indian town of about three hundred inhabitants established some time in the mid-1750s. Papunhank, the descendent of notable Munsee sachems, had spent his early adult life near the Lackawanna River in the upper Susquehanna Valley, but the dislocations of frontier warfare compelled him and other Munsee refugees to find safer ground elsewhere. Wyalusing's location (in modern-day Bradford County) afforded relative safety, at least initially, from Iroquois intrusions farther north and Euro-American colonization to the south. The largely Munsee community also absorbed other refugees, including Lenape, Mahican, Nanticoke, and Conoy Indians. The Moravian missionary Christian Frederick Post, who visited Wyalusing in 1760, noted with some satisfaction that the Indian residents "are an industrious People" and that they had built "a large Town, and according to the Indian way fine houses."<sup>36</sup> At

34. My discussion of the Quakers' understanding of luxury follows Ross E. Martinie Eiler, "Luxury, Capitalism, and the Quaker Reformation, 1737–1798," *Quaker History* 97 (2008): 11–31; on the Quaker testimony of simplicity, see Thomas Hamm, *The Quakers in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 101–2.

35. 1704 Book of Discipline, Quaker & Special Collections, Haverford; see also Smolenski, *Friends and Strangers*, 233–35.

36. Christian Frederick Post, Diary, 1760, Am. 12605, HSP; on Wyalusing, see Pointer, "An Almost Friend," 239–40n3; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 32; Jane Mer-

Wyalusing Papunhank emerged as a leader, although, in keeping with Native understandings of authority, he never was the sole or primary leader that Moravians, Quakers, and Pennsylvania government officials later made him out to be.

Papunhank's authority was based on his influence as a religious visionary. He was part of a wave of Indian revivalism that had swept through the Susquehanna and Delaware valleys during the early and middle decades of the eighteenth century. The emotional charge of Indian revivalism, similar to and connected with Christian revivalism, at times threatened to blur cultural and racial lines. David Brainerd, the Presbyterian missionary, visiting Lenape communities near the Juniata River in 1744, recalled meeting a shaman shaking his rattle and dancing "with all his might." The shaman told Brainerd that he was going to revive the "ancient religion of the Indians." Brainerd, slightly frightened by the shaman, was impressed with his religiosity, noting that "there was something in his temper and disposition that looked more like true religion than anything I ever observed among the heathen." Despite his admiration, Brainerd, according to Alfred Cave, was "not inclined to inquire too deeply into [Delaware Indians'] beliefs."<sup>37</sup> A year later, however, at a revival meeting in Crosweeksung, New Jersey, he again recorded his admiration for his Indian neighbors' capacity for sincere religious feeling. There was so much weeping, in fact, that Brainerd compared it to a mighty "torrent, or swelling deluge."<sup>38</sup>

Papunhank's criticisms of alcohol resembles Neolin's, the Delaware prophet who had inspired the Ottawa military leader Pontiac to instigate what would become a coordinated series of Indian attacks against the British Empire in 1763 to keep Anglo-American settlers out of the Ohio and Great Lakes regions. Like Neolin, Papunhank believed alcohol was a moral corruption that needed purging from Indian bodies and communities. According to a later Quaker account, Papunhank claimed to be "formerly a

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ritt, "Dreaming of the Savior's Blood: Moravians and the Indian Great Awakening in Pennsylvania," *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (October 1997): 734–35; and Amy Schutt, "Forging Identities: Native Americans and Moravian Missionaries in Pennsylvania and Ohio, 1765–1782" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1995), 93.

37. Alfred Cave, *Prophets of the Great Spirit: Native American Revitalization Movements in Eastern North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 12–13.

38. David Brainerd, *Mirabilia Dei inter Indicos; or, The Rise and Progress of a Remarkable Work of Grace amongst a Number of the Indians in the Provinces of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania* (1746; repr., Worcester, Mass.: Leonard Worcester, 1793), 13, copy in the holdings of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Drunken man” until his father’s death put him in a “Melancholy State.” According to the account, Papunhank one day left his village and headed into the woods “in great Bitterness of Spirit” for five days, until a vision of the “Creator” revealed to him the interconnected “virtues” of “Roots, Plants, and trees” and he “was made Sensible that Man stood in the nearest relation to God.” Returning to his community, Papunhank resolved to “Put in Practice what he apprehended.”<sup>39</sup> His visions apparently had the support of many in Wyalusing, though probably not a majority. During his visit there in 1760, Post noted that his followers “are Religiously inclin’d & by no means allow of drinking Rum. Their religion chiefly consists in strictly adhering to the ancient Customs & Manners of their [Indian] Forefathers.” According to Post, Papunhank and the other residents “are much afraid of being seduced & [brought] off from their Ways by the White People.”<sup>40</sup>

Unlike Neolin, who preached that Indians and colonists must live separately, Papunhank sought white allies. He had practical reasons for doing so. Wyalusing was at a distance from Pennsylvania’s frontier settlements in the Susquehanna, but not far enough away that Papunhank could afford to remain neutral. In 1760, with the encouragement of Teedyuscung (another Quaker ally), Papunhank seized the opportunity afforded by the recent Easton peace negotiations and returned to the Pennsylvania government the three white captives who had been held at Wyalusing for almost five years.<sup>41</sup> The next year he made himself indispensable by warning the governor of Pennsylvania about an imminent planned Munsee attack on backcountry settlements “in Revenge of the Death of one of their Relations lately killed [by a colonist] near Fort Allen.”<sup>42</sup> The attack was averted, in part, by Papunhank’s timely intervention and gifts of wampum to the avenging Munsee party. A short time later he suffered a tomahawk attack at Shamokin after he chided a group of Indians for stealing horses from neighboring colonists. The attack left him wounded in the neck and arm.<sup>43</sup>

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39. Quoted in Anthony F. C. Wallace, “New Religions among the Delaware Indians, 1600–1900,” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 12 (1956): 8.

40. Christian Frederick Post, Diary, 1760, Am. 12605, HSP; Geoffrey Plank estimates that Papunhank enjoyed the support of no more than half of Wyalusing; see Plank, *John Woolman’s Path to the Peaceable Kingdom*, 138.

41. Ian K. Steele, *Setting All the Captives Free: Capture, Adjustment, and Recollection in Allegheny Country* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2013), 273.

42. Friendly Association Papers, 4:199, Ms. Coll. 1250, Quaker & Special Collections, Haverford.

43. *Ibid.*, 243; Pointer, “An Almost Friend,” 255.

Aside from his need for security, Papunhank sought out religious connections with his white allies, and the experiential appeal of revivalism allowed him to bridge the ideological distance that separated Euro-American Christianity from a Native-centered religion. Munsee religion historically included a Creator being, but more important was the idea that all creation was endowed with sacred powers that could be appealed to for guidance and assistance. Munsees sacralized dreams and visions and venerated elders and ancestors.<sup>44</sup> Within their own respective traditions, Quakers and Moravians also revered their dreams and spiritual ancestors, and scholars have noted the profound connections between these forms of Euro-American spirituality and indigenous religion.<sup>45</sup> The emotional fervor of revivalist worship made it possible for each side to encounter the other's religious experiences. Only when doctrinal differences came into focus did the distance between the two groups widen. Quakers had an advantage over the Moravians in doctrine, since their theology of the "inward light" allowed for a more capacious view of salvation. Rare from Quaker writings during this period is the sort of judgment that Post, the Moravian missionary, offered to Israel Pemberton in a letter while visiting the Tuscarawas River Lenapes in the Upper Muskingum Valley, in which he described the "Lost condition the Indians are [in] when [one] comes into their Country, where the Devil has his seed amongst them."<sup>46</sup>

Yet Delaware groups were perfectly capable of appropriating Moravian religiosity, particularly the emphasis on the sensual experience and power of Christ's body and blood, without invalidating their own sacred traditions.<sup>47</sup>

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44. Charles C. Trowbridge, "Account of Some of the Traditions, Manners and Customs of the Lenee Lenaupaa or Delaware Indians," in Weslager, *The Delaware Indians*, appendix 3, 493–97.

45. Carla Gerona, *Night Journeys: The Power of Dreams in Transatlantic Quaker Culture* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004), 17, argues that "Friends' dreamwork had a lot in common with indigenous dreaming"; on Moravian and Indian dreaming, see Merritt, "Dreaming of the Savior's Blood," 723–46, and Richard Pointer, *Encounters of the Spirit: Native Americans and European Colonial Religion* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 140; see also Erben, *A Harmony of the Spirits*, 301–24.

46. Friendly Association Papers, 4:167, Ms. Coll. 1250, Quaker & Special Collections, Haverford; for a classical introduction to Quaker theology, see Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), and J. William Frost, "The Dry Bones of Quaker Theology," *Church History* (December 1970): 503–23.

47. Merritt, "Dreaming of the Savior's Blood," contends that the "power inherent in the body and blood of Christ seemed to be what most attracted Indians to the Moravian faith"; quotation on 741.

Papunhank reached out to Moravians probably because they had engaged with him first. The first encounter took place in the 1750s, when the Moravian missionary David Zeisberger contacted Papunhank while the latter was still residing near Lackawanna. After relocating to Wyalusing a few years later, Papunhank regularly visited the Moravian mission at Nain and had contacts with Moravians from Philadelphia and Bethlehem. The Moravians, as Pietists, emphasized a heartfelt experience of religion that nonetheless stressed the importance of accepting Christ's sacrificial atonement as a precondition of salvation. As Richard Pointer notes, Moravians wanted their version of Christianity "to be an alternative rather than an additional source of spiritual truth and power for Papunhank and his people."<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, Papunhank requested that the Moravians send a missionary to Wyalusing. It is doubtful he saw Moravianism as incompatible with his own religious worldview, even if Moravians were less inclined to adopt an Indian cosmology. Rather, Papunhank probably engaged in a process akin to what David Silverman describes as "religious translation," that is, a filtering of Christian doctrine into something intelligible and meaningful within an Indian worldview.<sup>49</sup>

That process did not require Papunhank to misapprehend doctrine. In fact, evidence suggests he could engage fluently with Christian theology. In 1760, while embroiled in a theological debate with a militia captain near Shamokin, Papunhank made it clear that he "understood the white people had a book [i.e., the Bible] . . . wherein they were informed that god had made the world & that he had sent his Son Jesus Christ into the world to shew us how we should live." When the captain "argued very strongly" for the legitimacy of "defensive war" and asserted one was morally responsible for one's own or someone else's murder "when it was in their power to prevent it," Papunhank asked in return, "why did not Jesus Christ fight when the people took him[?]"<sup>50</sup>

The conversation, recorded approvingly by the Quaker merchant Nathaniel Holland, of Shamokin, suggests that Papunhank's own religious development was in accord with Quaker peace principles and Quakerism more generally, but the influence was hardly one-directional. Papunhank's arrival coincided with a resurgent Quaker reform movement in which Friends sought a "holy conversation" in all parts of their lives. The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, one of the largest and most authoritative Quaker

48. Pointer, "An Almost Friend," 244n13; see also Schutt, "Forging Identities."

49. Silverman, "Indians, Missionaries, and Religious Translation," 146.

50. Friendly Association Papers, 4:43, Ms. Coll. 1250, Quaker & Special Collections, Haverford.

Meetings anywhere in North America, compiled disciplinary queries to determine whether Quaker households were “careful to live within the bounds” of their religious society. Because the Quaker reform agenda emphasized sobriety, both literally and metaphorically, the Yearly Meeting admonished Friends everywhere to police “the excessive use of spirituous liquors” and the “unnecessary frequenting of taverns and places of diversion.”<sup>51</sup> The Yearly Meeting also revised its book of discipline again in 1761—the same year as Papunhank’s first visit to Philadelphia—and repeated its earlier warning that Friends refrain from selling “Rum, Brandy, or any other strong Liquors” to Indians.<sup>52</sup>

By then the liquor trade had migrated into the Ohio Valley, and Delaware Valley Quaker merchants were no longer heavily involved in it, but the Seven Years’ War brought new internal conflicts to the forefront. Scholars have long viewed Quakers as the quintessential pacifist group, but the “peace testimony,” as colonial Friends termed it, was fluid and evolving and, ironically, shaped by the very violence that it sought to prevent.<sup>53</sup> Ever since the seventeenth century, Quakers on both sides of the Atlantic had asserted that “because we are subjects of Christ’s kingdom . . . we cannot fight.”<sup>54</sup> In practice, however, there were Friends who served in militias, whereas others refused to carry weapons. Quakers also wrestled with the issue of war taxes, the arming of merchant ships, and other direct and indirect means of supporting armed conflict. Collectively, Quakers recognized the right of governments to maintain civil order and defend themselves against insurrections and from attack by outside enemies.<sup>55</sup> This legitimizing of defensive war was easier to reconcile with the peace testimony in places where Friends did not bear the responsibility to govern. But in Pennsylvania, the problem

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51. Quoted in Plank, *John Woolman’s Path*, 62.

52. 1761 Book of Discipline, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Disciplines, box 1, Quaker & Special Collections, Haverford.

53. My interpretation of the Quaker peace testimony draws from Weddle, *Walking in the Way of Peace*, although Weddle’s work is concerned primarily with Quaker pacifism as it relates to seventeenth-century warfare, rather than the broader problem of peace in relationship to colonialism.

54. [London Yearly Meeting], *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of the People Called Quakers* . . . (London: S. Clark, 1760), 67.

55. Hermann Wellenruether, “The Political Dilemma of the Quakers in Pennsylvania, 1681–1748,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 94 (April 1970): 135–72; Jack Marietta, “Conscience, the Quaker Community, and the French and Indian War,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 94 (January 1971): 3–27; see also Plank, *John Woolman’s Path*, 122–23.

was thornier because Quakers effectively *were* the state, as they dominated the colonial legislature, Provincial Council, and judiciary. While some Quakers insisted on a stricter standard of pacifism, a majority of Friends maintained a distinction between direct participation in military campaigns and indirect support, such as paying war taxes, especially when the funds supported military actions carried out by others. The Quaker-dominated Assembly pressed this distinction in 1711, during the War of the Spanish Succession, when it approved the raising of £2,000 in expenditures “for the Queen’s use,” in support of an Anglo-American and British military campaign in French Canada, far away from Pennsylvania’s borders.<sup>56</sup>

Friends tolerated these ambiguities until frontier warfare erupted in Susquehanna. In 1756 the provincial legislature, responding to public pressure, which included an angry mob in Philadelphia that threatened to tear the Assembly apart “Limb from Limb,” passed a funding bill for £55,000 “for the King’s Use.”<sup>57</sup> With the support of a provincial war commission that included two prominent Quakers and Benjamin Franklin, who believed “the best means of securing our inhabitants was to carry the war into the enemy’s country,” Pennsylvania’s Governor Robert Morris offered scalp bounties for enemy Indians, which, in effect, encouraged colonists to hunt down almost *any* Indian, friend or foe.<sup>58</sup> Six Quaker assemblymen who opposed the scalp bounties and the government’s declaration of war resigned under protest, leaving the Assembly, for the first time, in the hands of a non-Quaker majority. But not all Quaker politicians resigned their positions, and despite frontier colonists’ complaints that Quaker pacifists were to blame for the failure of the Pennsylvania government to protect them, Friends remained

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56. Wellenruether, “Political Dilemma,” 153–55;

57. “Limb from Limb” quotation in [William Smith], *A Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania for the Year 1755* (London: R. Griffiths, 1756), 52; see also Benjamin Carp, *Rebels Rising: Cities and the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 183–84. “For the King’s Use,” see Marietta, *Reformation of American Quakerism*, 151–53; quotation on 152. On the passage of the funding bill, see Kevin Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn’s Holy Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 76–79.

58. On Franklin and scalp bounties in Pennsylvania, see Geoffrey Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery: The Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the British Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 160–61; Franklin quotation on 160. See also Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 161–68.

divided.<sup>59</sup> In a process that would continue for the next two decades, Quaker reformers in the Delaware Valley took control of leadership positions in Monthly Meetings and began “disowning,” or expelling, members who they believed were not living up to the disciplinary standards that had as their objective moral purity. The Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, outraged at the actions of the Assembly, expelled the two Quaker commissioners who sanctioned the scalp bounties. Jack Marietta contends that Quaker membership was “more than decimated,” but as a result, reformers were in much firmer control over those who remained in the Meetings.<sup>60</sup>

Consequently, Quakers turned to Indian allies not only to resolve the political crisis, but also to rally around a new strategy to end the conflict that would employ moral power as an alternative to the coercive power of the state. Leading the effort was the Friendly Association, which was organized in 1756 by Israel Pemberton, a wealthy Philadelphia Quaker merchant, who, with the support of other Friends, offered the governor of Pennsylvania £5,000 to secure the return of white war captives and to find a diplomatic means to end the war.<sup>61</sup> Indians, both symbolically and literally, played a key role in this effort. Even though by the early eighteenth century Quakers were a demographic minority in their own province, they viewed themselves as the rightful heirs of William Penn, entrusted by God to fulfill a cosmic and even millennial purpose in colonizing Pennsylvania.

The myth of Penn as a peaceable colonizer blinded Quakers to their own complicity in colonizing the Delaware Valley, but it also left them predisposed to sympathizing with Indian critiques of *other* colonists. Papunhank’s outreach to Friends was timely. The Easton treaty in 1758 seemed to secure Indian-Anglo-American relations on the frontier. But the Friendly Association, despite its diplomatic contributions during the war, was shut out of the proceedings. Sir William Johnson, the British Empire’s diplomat to the Iroquois, detested what he regarded as Pemberton’s interference at Easton, and he forced Teedyuscung, the Friendly Association’s main Indian ally at

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59. Marietta, *Reformation of American Quakerism*, 158, 172. Approximately one-third of the Pennsylvania Assembly on the eve of the American Revolution remained in Quaker hands; see Richard Ryerson, *The Revolution Is Now Begun: The Radical Committees of Philadelphia, 1765–1776* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 15.

60. Marietta, “Conscience, the Quaker Community, and the French and Indian War,” 13.

61. Theodore Thayer, “The Friendly Association,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 67 (October 1943): 358.

the time, to acquiesce to Iroquois authority over his community in exchange for permission to return to his lands in the Wyoming Valley. With Teedyuscung's authority undermined, Friends were primed to cast about for a more powerful Indian ally.<sup>62</sup>

Quaker reformers were confident they had at last found their ideal partner in Papunhank. He contrasted favorably to Teedyuscung, who had a reputation for drunkenness and possessed none of the Munsee leader's religious qualities.<sup>63</sup> After his first visit to Philadelphia in 1760, throngs of Quaker admirers flocked to see Papunhank at Easton the following year. The joint worship services between the Munsee religious leader and the Quaker delegation were so emotionally charged they threatened to overshadow the political proceedings. After Easton, Papunhank visited Friends again in Philadelphia, and the Quaker abolitionist Anthony Benezet remarked that everyone "seemed much affected" by him.<sup>64</sup>

Papunhank connected with his Quaker partners through the language of religious revivalism. During his stay in Philadelphia, he spent considerable time with Anthony Benezet and John Woolman, arguably two of the most important Pennsylvania Quaker reformers of the eighteenth century. While at Benezet's home, Papunhank offered a critique of violence that undoubtedly sounded a lot like gospel order to his Quaker hosts, and their religious conversations were filled with talk of hearts and spirits. According to Benezet, Papunhank preached that the "Cause of the frequent Warrs & Bloodshed which so much prevailed in the World" was due to people "not Keeping to that love which our Maker had given us in Our Hearts," which allowed "evil spirits" to take "possession . . . and destroys all that is good in us." He confessed that "for many years" he struggled to keep "the Good Spirit in his Search," but that now the "spirit of Love . . . prevail[s] in his heart." Benezet noted approvingly that when Papunhank spoke, he had a "sweetness of voice" and often pressed "his Hand against his Breast." During his visit, Papunhank reminded Benezet and Woolman that it was "not

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62. Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*, 105–11, 116–17.

63. On Teedyuscung's drinking, see Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949). There are numerous references to Teedyuscung drinking heavily in the colonial records; see, for example, William Logan to Richard Peters, August[?] 2, 1758, Logan Family Papers: Indian Affairs, 1701–1802, Collection 0379, HSP.

64. "An Account of Papunhank's Second Visit," in Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet*, 485.

good to speak upon matters relating to the almighty only from the zeal of the tongue.” Words, he claimed, must come “from the good in the heart.”<sup>65</sup>

Crucially, Quaker reformers connected this talk of hearts to a discourse on sobriety that was understood as both metaphorical and literal. When Samuel Curtis, a Nanticoke Indian, arrived in Philadelphia with another Indian delegation from Wyalusing, Benezet remarked with admiration the conduct of these “Sober, well disposed Indians.” Curtis, Benezet noted, was “formerly much given to Drink” before he was “awakened” by Papunhank’s ministry, after which he became “a Sober Man” and was “called to preach amongst his People.”<sup>66</sup> Woolman was so inspired by these sober-appearing Indians that he made a pilgrimage to Wyalusing in 1763, despite the fact that renewed frontier warfare threatened to unravel the Easton treaty. On his way to the village, in fact, word spread about “Indians taking an English fort” and that a Native delegation had recently visited a nearby settlement with two English scalps to declare war.<sup>67</sup> Despite warnings by Friends about the perils of traveling through Indian country, Woolman confessed in his journal that he felt such “inward drawings” to Papunhank that he made the journey anyway. Though he did not express it, Woolman must have been shocked and disappointed to see the Moravian missionary David Zeisberger present as one of Papunhank’s guests. But what he saw at Wyalusing greatly pleased him. Papunhank, Woolman had noted, had created a “Place of Happiness” where he and his followers raised corn and livestock and abstained from drinking.<sup>68</sup>

Papunhank’s alliance with the Quakers was short-lived. In April Teedyuscung was murdered, probably by settlers from Connecticut who set his cabin and the surrounding buildings on fire. Surviving members of his community fled to nearby Moravian missions. That October, Teedyuscung’s son, Captain Bull, a former Moravian convert, killed about a dozen colonists in retaliation. Some had spikes and arrows plunged into their bodies; one woman had been burned alive with metal hinges bored into her hands.<sup>69</sup>

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65. “Substance of Some Conversation with Paponhoal,” p. 23, Pemberton Papers, vol. 13, HSP.

66. “An Account of Papunhank’s Second Visit,” Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet*, 489.

67. Plank, *John Woolman’s Path*, 162.

68. *Ibid.*, 161–66; Ralph H. Pickett, “A Religious Encounter: John Woolman and David Zeisberger,” *Quaker History* 79 (Fall 1990): 77–92; quotations from Wallace, “New Religions,” 8, and Pickett, “A Religious Encounter,” 81.

69. Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*, 116; Richard Middleton, *Pontiac’s War: Its Causes, Course and Consequences* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 132–33.

Papunhank's attempts to keep out of the impending war only exacerbated the suspicion from all sides that Wyalusing was not to be trusted. Job Chilloway, a Delaware diplomat, told Pennsylvania's Governor John Penn in December that a group of militant Indians passing through the town on their way to avenge the deaths of four Indians recently murdered by colonists near Fort Allen threatened to lay his head "on the Logs & cut [it] off."<sup>70</sup>

There was apparently little Friends could do. After the Paxton Boys massacred twenty unarmed Conestoga Indians in December, scalping and mutilating their bodies in broad daylight, they turned their anger on the Indian refugees in Philadelphia, whom they accused of living "under the Mask of Friendship."<sup>71</sup> They also declared Papunhank's Wyalusing community an enemy. The governor, fearing for their safety, had the refugees removed to New York under armed guard, but they were turned back in New Jersey.<sup>72</sup> The refugees arrived back in town shortly before two hundred armed Paxton Boys marched toward Philadelphia. The city mustered in a panic, and in a public display of the ambiguities of Quaker pacifism, upwards of two hundred members of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting appeared in arms alongside their neighbors. After Franklin and a militia dispersed the mob in Germantown, the Paxton Boys' supporters continued the fight with printed words.<sup>73</sup> Quakers, not surprisingly, were lambasted as Indian lovers and hypocrites who claimed pacifism only when it suited them. One doggerel poem remarked, "In many things change but the Name, Quakers and Indians are but the same."<sup>74</sup> The Philadelphia engraver Henry Dawkins turned this sentiment into sexual satire when he printed a cartoon image of "King Wampum" (Israel Pemberton) embracing a topless "squaw" while armed Friends muster in front of a sleeping pacifist Quaker nearby.<sup>75</sup>

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70. Job Chilloway to John Penn, governor of Pennsylvania, *MPCP*, 9:78.

71. Matthew Smith and James Gibson, "To the Honourable John Penn, Esquire, Governor of Pennsylvania," February 13, 1764, *MPCP*, 9:139.

72. Pointer, "An Almost Friend," 261–62.

73. Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*, 147–55.

74. [John Shebbeare], *A Letter from Batista Angeloni . . .* ([Philadelphia, 1764]), 8.

75. [Henry Dawkins], *An Indian Squaw King Wampum Spies . . .* ([Philadelphia, 1764]); James Green, "The Book Trade in the Middle Colonies, 1680–1720," in Hugh Amory and David D. Hall, eds., *A History of the Book in America*, vol. 1: *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 292.

Papunhank returned to Wyalusing in 1765, but white expansion into the region forced him to relocate to the Ohio Country only a few years later. This time he turned to Moravian missionaries for help. That alliance was already well established; in fact, Papunhank accepted Moravian baptism shortly after Woolman's visit to Wyalusing in 1763. Although the Friendly Association continued to support Papunhank politically as well as financially, the much-reviled Quakers, as Pointer rightly argues, "did nothing less than put a target on [his] back."<sup>76</sup> Papunhank died in 1775, on the eve of the American Revolution, living with Moravian missionaries in the newly founded Christian Indian town of Schoenbrunn, near the Tuscarawas River. Two years later, revolutionary upheaval in the Ohio Country forced this community to abandon its homes once again and relocate to another Moravian mission.<sup>77</sup>

Papunhank's influence on Quakerism endured. Writing in the 1780s, Benezet asserted that the most important "testimony" of Pennsylvania Friends was their relationship with their "peaceable and inoffensive" Indian allies. Papunhank, the Quaker abolitionist opined, had a "sense of the Divine Presence," and his life exemplified the virtues of sober Christian living. Extending the metaphor, Benezet turned to alcohol as a theme to underscore the relationship between colonialism and violence. In the very same tract, Benezet cited Pierre-François Charlevoix and Bartolomé de Las Casas to argue that all "impartial writers" have understood that American Indians "seldom differ with their neighbors, or do them any harm or injury, except when intoxicated by strong liquor, of which they are fond, to an enormous degree." But instead of holding Indians responsible for their drinking problems, Benezet blamed whites, and he pointed to Wyalusing and other Indian communities like it as evidence that "an increase of White Settlers" was the means "by which spirituous liquors were brought to their towns."<sup>78</sup>

Delaware Valley Quakers developed a critical awareness of colonialism in part through their face-to-face interactions with Indians. Before he labored full-time as a Quaker minister, Woolman ran a merchant business in Mount

76. Pointer, "An Almost Friend," 267.

77. Pickett, "A Religious Encounter," 90–91; R. Douglas Hurt, *The Ohio Frontier: Crucible of the Old Northwest, 1720–1830* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 88–89.

78. Anthony Benezet, *Some Observations on the Situation, Disposition, and Character of the Indian Natives of This Continent* (Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank, 1784), 9–10, 24.

Holly, New Jersey. For a time he sold rum, but he abruptly stopped in 1754, the same year that he authored his first antislavery essay, *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*.<sup>79</sup> As a reformer, Woolman believed that an overindulgence of appetite was the root cause of “too liberal a use of spirituous liquours,” which was akin to other vain pursuits such as “the custom of wearing too costly apparel.” Immoderate drinking, he argued, saps energy away from productive ends and leads to an “increase of labour which extends beyond what our Heavenly Father intends.”<sup>80</sup> Woolman initially stopped selling rum to white customers out of a religious concern for moral purity. Over time, his ministerial travels on the frontier helped transform these heartfelt convictions into a more elaborate critique of colonial markets. Reflecting on a conversation he had had with an Indian trader near Fort Allen, Woolman concluded that selling rum to Indians was a “great evil.” In his journal Woolman articulated his dismay at the “great quantities of rum” flooding American markets, and while he blamed alcohol for depriving Indians of their “use of reason,” he singled out unscrupulous colonial traders as the real culprits for ensnaring Indians and whites in violent relationships. According to Woolman, when Indians exchanged their “skins and furs, gotten through much fatigue and hard travels in hunting,” for rum “at a low rate,” they “suffer for want of the necessaries of life, [and] are angry with those who, for the sake of gain, took advantage of their weakness.”<sup>81</sup> For Woolman, Indian weakness was to blame, but colonial markets, the reach of which extended from slave plantations in the Caribbean to the Susquehanna Indian towns, were more to blame.

Though it may be tempting to assume that pacifist Quaker reformers were disposed to criticize colonial practices that facilitated violent relationships, Friends were unwilling to confront their own complicity in colonizing Indians. As Euro-Americans, they could never truly understand colonization as Papunhank experienced it, and their comprehension of his nativist religion was also filtered through a Christian lens. But revivalism dwelt in the realm of tears and spirits, in a shared space where people could, albeit imperfectly, overcome their differences, even if only briefly. It was enough that Quakers felt the gravity of his presence and respected his religious authority. Papunhank was able to meet them the rest of the way. Shortly after his first visit to Philadelphia, Papunhank warned Nathaniel Holland

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79. Plank, *John Woolman's Path*, 150.

80. Woolman, *Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman*, ed. Phillips P. Moulton (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 54.

81. *Ibid.*, 54, 125.

that unless the provincial government took “some measure” to prevent white traders from selling Indians liquor, “there would [be] greater Calamities & bloodshed [that would] ensue in a few years.”<sup>82</sup>

Papunhank’s words turned out to be prophetic. He was arguing not that rum would cause something like Pontiac’s War but, rather, that the importation of alcohol into Indian communities whose autonomy was slowly being eroded by colonization facilitated destructive relationships that would lead his people to ruin. Papunhank believed that trade was essential to forging more equitable, peaceful relationships. Because it resonated with their own brand of revivalism, Quakers not only understood that message, but were also transformed by it.

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82. Friendly Association Papers 4:63, Ms. Coll. 1250, Quaker & Special Collections, Haverford; on the myth of William Penn’s and Quaker benevolence as a form of colonialism, see James O’Neil Spady, “Colonialism and the Discursive Antecedents of Penn’s Treaty with the Indians,” in William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter, eds., *Friends & Enemies in Penn’s Woods: Indians, Colonists, and the Radical Construction of Pennsylvania* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 18–40.