

“UNMANLY MEN!”: QUAKERS, INDIANS, AND THE SHIFTING RHETORICS OF  
AMERICAN MANHOOD DURING THE AGE OF REVOLUTIONS

A Thesis

by

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## ABSTRACT

From the Seven Years' War through the end of the American Revolution, masculinity remained a disputed marker of identity that offered minority groups opportunities to use rhetoric of manhood as a means for accessing and maintaining power. For two such groups, regionally marginalized Delaware Indian leaders and influential but demographically outnumbered Quaker officials, the performance of their status as men became crucial to their positions and ability to shape policies. As larger events reshaped gender conceptions in both societies, these men adjusted their rhetoric and positions to meet the new expectations of them as masculine authorities.

By examining the experience of the Delaware leader, Teedyuscung, alongside those of his Quaker neighbors, insights can be gained about the fundamental role gender played in shaping early American society. The wide power differential between each side shows that concerns with masculinity were ubiquitous in the Mid-Atlantic during the period and not wholly dependent on race or class. This also suggests that neither side was capable of unilaterally imposing their understanding of manhood on the other. Instead, white Pennsylvanians and Delaware Indians adapted their conceptions in response to local conditions while also borrowing ideas from one another. Recognizing this fact provides another example of the necessity for incorporating indigenous history into the narrative of America's founding and shows their essential contribution to the country's national identity. Furthermore, acknowledging that white attitudes concerning masculinity were informed by their relations with Indian groups forces the acceptance that these men constructed a gender system that supported their pretensions to racial superiority.

## DEDICATION

To Jay,

for making this journey not only possible but also worthwhile

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

During most of the eighteenth century, British men could access masculinity in a variety of ways, and no single model held hegemonic status. Benevolent patriarchs existed beside mollies, fops, dandies, polite gentlemen, heroic warriors, and landed gentry. While elite men often contested these alternative expressions of manhood, they contributed to a diverse understanding of masculine representation that initially failed to threaten patriarchal power. In North America, however, unique conditions reshaped colonists' gender conceptions during the second half of the century. Anglo-American men not only had to contend with multiple forms of masculinity within their own societies but also with alien gender conceptions espoused by their Native American neighbors and rising numbers of immigrants from across Europe. At the same time, violence along the colonial borders forced these men to increasingly cleave to martial expressions of manhood as the preeminent type of masculinity. This shift in attitude slowly created a hegemonic gender regime in the colonies that accepted the heroic warrior as the most acceptable version of manliness, a view that has continued to hold sway throughout the history of the United States.

From the Seven Years' War through the end of the American Revolution, though, American masculinity remained a disputed marker of identity that allowed minorities' opportunities to use rhetorics of manhood as a means to access and maintain power. In Pennsylvania, for example, the Delaware leader Teedyuscung effectively employed competing gender systems to negotiate his nation's diplomatic status with both the English and the Iroquois. By tailoring his performance of masculinity to suit multiple audiences, he increased his own authority and forced his neighbors to confer with him. Similarly, Quaker leaders used gendered

rhetoric to defend their position as leaders in the colonial legislature during wartime despite their adherence to a pacifistic dogma. While the successes enjoyed by both Teedyuscung and the Quakers were limited in duration and effectiveness, examining their efforts clearly shows the shifting attitudes that the wider community held about masculinity.

Examining the arguments and attitudes of these men allows insights into the fundamental role of gender in shaping early American society. The contested meanings of manhood embraced by the different parties clearly demonstrate that masculinity is a constructed category, but these views also shows that the form it took in the colonies was a mixture of European and Indian beliefs. Neither side unilaterally imposed their understanding of manhood on the other. Instead, white Pennsylvanians and Delaware Indians adapted their conceptions in response to local conditions while also borrowing ideas from one another. Recognizing this fact provides another example of the necessity for incorporating indigenous history into the narrative of America's founding and shows their essential contribution to our national identity. Furthermore, acknowledging that white attitudes concerning masculinity were informed by their relations with Indian groups forces the acceptance that these men constructed a gender system that supported their pretensions to racial superiority.

Teedyuscung's and elite Quaker men's rhetoric about and performance of masculinity, while undeniably particular in their details, reveal a process occurring across the colonies. The conceptualization of the Delaware as women and the Friends' peace testimony are merely anomalous characteristics that made changing notions of gender central to the debates occurring there. This fact does not preclude these cases from being more broadly representative of the shifting gender regime throughout the colonies or within the new republic.

CHAPTER II

TEEDYUSCUNG AND THE RHETORICS OF MASCULINITY AS  
POLITICAL STRATEGY IN THE DELAWARE REVOLUTION OF 1755-1756

Start the story with the arrows of the Native Americans, and not with the arrival of the British, and you have an entirely different story.... Stories matter. Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign, but stories can also be used to empower and to humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people, but stories can also repair that broken dignity.<sup>1</sup>

History may well be a series of stories we tell about the past, but the stories are not just any stories. They're not chosen by chance.<sup>2</sup>

In November 1755, a number of Eastern Delaware bands began conducting attacks on Pennsylvanian farms.<sup>3</sup> They burned houses and barns, seized goods and captives, and killed both the white settlers and the Indians living among them. Officials in Philadelphia were shocked and dismayed by the shattering of the Long Peace that had existed between them and their Indian neighbors. Lieutenant Governor Robert Morris deemed his erstwhile allies' behavior to be treachery and sought to retain his other native partners' allegiance. He was especially concerned that the powerful Six Nations should be apprised of the Delaware's aggression and assured that

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<sup>1</sup> Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, "The Danger of a Single Story," TED. October 2009. Lecture, accessed 30 March 2016. [http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda\\_adichie\\_the\\_danger\\_of\\_a\\_single\\_story/transcript?language=en](http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story/transcript?language=en).

<sup>2</sup> Thomas King, *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 3.

<sup>3</sup> The Delaware of this period would have called themselves Lenni Lenape. The documents composed by Europeans, however, use the appellation Delaware, as do the descendents of these people. To avoid unnecessary complications between quoted material and the argument being made, Delaware will be employed here.

Pennsylvanians could not be blamed for causing their alienation.<sup>4</sup> Iroquois leaders were equally interested in clarifying the reasons for their client state's unapproved aggression and to defend their own position as suzerains over the Delaware. In December, the Oneida chief Canaghquayeson reassured his English partners that the cause of the Delaware defection was to be found in "the large presents which the French make them."<sup>5</sup> For both the English and the Six Nations, this explanation was deemed sound and both imperial powers would repeat it throughout the prosecution of the war against the Delaware. Furthermore, when peace came a year later, Delaware leaders confirmed this story by repeatedly blaming the French for swaying their actions. In fact, all the parties involved were satisfied with this story because it made the transition to peace simpler and contained enough truth to be acceptable.

Despite the agreement among these men, the sources related to these events indicate this description is, at best, incomplete. For example, in arguing against his colony's culpability, Governor Morris declared that the Delaware claimed their actions were designed "to shew [sic] the Six Nations that they are no longer Women, by which they mean no longer under their Subjection."<sup>6</sup> Additionally, some Iroquois spokesmen informed English representatives that the defeat of General Edward Braddock the previous July was the event that persuaded the Delaware that the French would be stronger allies than the English.<sup>7</sup> The Onondaga chief Red Head offered

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<sup>4</sup> "A Letter from Gov<sup>r</sup>. Morris to Gen<sup>al</sup>. Johnson," November 15, 1755, in *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government, Volume VI*, ed. Samuel Hazard (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Theo. Fenn and Company, 1851), 701. (hereafter cited as *MPCP*, VI).

<sup>5</sup> *An Account of Conferences Held, And Treaties Made, between Major-General Sir William Johnson, Bart. and the Chief Sachems and Warriours of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senekas, Tuskaroras, Aughquageys, Skaniadaradighronos, Chugnuts, Mahickanders, Shawanese, Kanuskagos, Toderighronos, and Oghquagoes* (London: Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand, 1756), 7. *Sabin Americana*, accessed 07 April 2016. <http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.tamu.edu/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY103135418&srchtp=a&ste=14>.

<sup>6</sup> "A Letter from Gov<sup>r</sup>. Morris to Gen<sup>al</sup>. Johnson," 701.

<sup>7</sup> "To the Honourable Robert Hunter Morris, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, & Counties of New Castle, Kent, & Sussex, upon Delaware." November 22, 1755. In *MPCP*, VI, 727. See also "Letter to Sir William Johnson Concerning Indian Affairs," Philadelphia, December 6, 1757, in



a further reason for the defection of the Delaware even as he continued to censure “the craft and subtlety” of the “perfidious enemy the French.”<sup>8</sup> The manipulation of the Delaware, he claimed, was successful due to the Pennsylvanian governor failing to provide “friendly care of them as he ought to do”<sup>9</sup> Each of these differing interpretations of the Eastern Delaware’s motivations shows that while they were pawns in the struggle between the French, British, and Iroquois empires that would later be denominated the Seven Years’ War, they also were engaged in a complex yet coherent foreign policy strategy designed to secure their independence, advantageous military alliances, and favorable diplomatic relations with their neighbors.

The willingness of the English, the Iroquois, and the Delaware to tell a story jointly that elided these aims suggests that they each had potent motivations for choosing the narrative they did. As historian Joshua Piker points out, instances of such intercultural mutual dissembling provide an opening for “tracing out the intimate and powerful connections that constituted the all too fragile worlds out of which they emerged.”<sup>10</sup> In this instance, the Delaware decision to revolt against the Iroquois by attacking their English allies upset a delicate diplomatic equilibrium constructed around patriarchal authority. This act threatened to expose the limitations of the Six Nations’ ability to control their clients, a key element of their influence with Europeans in the mid-Atlantic region.<sup>11</sup> For the Pennsylvanians, the threat was a challenge to both their physical security and their foundational myth as a colony that enjoyed singularly peaceful relations with

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*Pennsylvania Archives, 4<sup>th</sup> Series, Volume II*, ed. George Edward Reed, 756-758. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The State of Pennsylvania, 1900), 757. (hereafter cited as *PA, 4, II*).

<sup>8</sup> *An Account of Conferences Held, And Treaties Made*, 28.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 37. Two months later the Oneida leader Scarouady would repeat Red Head’s claims in a meeting with the Quaker merchant Israel Pemberton. See *An Account of Conferences Held, And Treaties Made*, 67.

<sup>10</sup> Joshua Piker, “Lying Together: The Imperial Implications of Cross-Cultural Untruths,” *The American Historical Review* 116.4 (October 2011): 985. For an example of the application of this methodology, see Piker’s *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013).

<sup>11</sup> Timothy J. Shannon, *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier* (New York: Viking, 2008), 106-107.

native peoples.<sup>12</sup> The Delaware, though, had more pragmatic reasons for accepting this version of events: they were unable to feed their communities and needed supplies that the French could not provide them.<sup>13</sup> The same deprivations that forced them to negotiate for peace likely contributed to their willingness to accept Iroquois and English explanations for the conflict, especially since these versions also shifted blame away from them.

The stories these men constructed and rejected also draw attention to the centrality of the masculine performance as rulers, warriors, protectors, and providers as justification for their power in these societies. All of the proposed reasons for the Delaware's choice to go to war contained implicit criticisms of the ability of either the English or the Iroquois to play these parts effectively, suggesting that the Iroquois were tyrannical rulers who inspired Delaware rebellion, the English were weak militarily, and the Pennsylvanians were negligent rulers. By refusing to recognize these critiques in the story Six Nations' and English officials' promoted, the men involved protected their identities as patriarchal rulers and rightful superiors of their less powerful neighbors. Whether in warfare or in negotiation, however, individual Delaware leaders continually and selectively deployed highly gendered symbolic acts and rhetoric as a means of accessing power and forcing their neighbors to recognize them as equals.

The sources consistently represent a single voice as dominant among the Eastern Delaware leaders, that of Teedyuscung. A formerly marginal figure in Delaware diplomacy, Teedyuscung translated a single strike against Pennsylvania in 1755 into widespread, but not

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<sup>12</sup> James Logan to John Penn, Aug. 2, 1731, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, II, 181 as quoted in Francis P. Jennings, "The Delaware Interregnum," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 89.2 (April 1965): 177. By engaging in violence, the Delaware also threatened to expose the Long Peace as less the result of Pennsylvanian policy than the willingness of their Indian neighbors to coexist in amity. For this viewpoint, see Jane T. Merritt, "The Long Peace in Pennsylvania," *History Compass* 2 (2004): 2.

<sup>13</sup> Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700-1763* (1949; rpt., Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 101.

universal, acceptance of his self-proclaimed status as the King of the Delawares.<sup>14</sup> Throughout the negotiations that followed, Teedyuscung attempted to enact a similar transformation in status for the Delaware as a nation by continually performing different masculine roles. By shifting his performance to suit his audience, he continuously manipulated his Iroquois and Pennsylvanian counterparts' gender ideals to advance his own foreign policies objectives.

By exploring the public exchanges between Teedyuscung and his interlocutors at the peace treaties, this article proposes to follow Joan Scott's recommendation for historians to scrutinize how rhetorics of masculinity and femininity were employed in political debates and how such such rhetorics shaped conceptions of gender.<sup>15</sup> This focus seeks to contribute to the growing literature on Delaware gender, much of which has concentrated on either the status of actual women or the entire group's diplomatic status as "women" as they were defined by the Iroquois Confederacy.<sup>16</sup> In extending the analysis of gender as not only a marker of identity but also a political strategy that defined the contours of masculinity, further insight can be gained concerning the Anglicization of Delaware conceptions of both gender and politics.

The structure of treaties and the creation of documents recording the proceedings create a fundamental problem for any discursive analysis. Every group at a meeting had the right not

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid. 84. Wallace's work remains the definitive biography of Teedyuscung and makes numerous allusions to his subject's gendered rhetoric and behavior. For example, he writes that Teedyuscung "was often pushing, aggressive, competitive; and then again, submissive and ingratiating." (17) Although he sees these behaviors as more mercurial than strategic, his overall assessment supports the understanding of Teedyuscung's conflict with the English as in part a contestation over Delaware access to performing masculinity.

<sup>15</sup> Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91.5 (1986): 1074.

<sup>16</sup> See for example, Roger Carpenter, "From Indian Women to English Children: The Lenni-Lenape and the Attempt to Create a New Diplomatic Identity," *Pennsylvania History* 74.1 (2007): 1-20; Gunlög Fur, *A Nation of Women: Gender and Colonial Encounters among the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Jane T. Merritt, "Cultural Encounters Along a Gender Frontier: Mahican, Delaware, and German Women in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History* 67.4 (2000): 502-531; Jay Miller, "The Delaware as Women: A Symbolic Solution," *American Ethnologist* 1.3 (August 1974): 507-514. Notable exceptions to this include attention to masculinity within Delaware society in Margaret M. Caffrey, "Complementary Power: Men and Women of the Lenni Lenape," *American Indian Quarterly* 24.1 (2000): 44-63 and an examination of similarities and difference in gender conceptions among European and Delaware men in Nancy Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth-Century North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 105-124.

only to speak in their own language but also to hear every speech translated into it. This meant that every Indian speaker's recorded words were filtered through an English translator. Translations pose particular challenges because languages reflect cultural assumptions that may or may not be shared or understood, regardless of the fluency of the interpreter. In her study of European and Iroquoian meetings, Nancy L. Hagedorn finds that white interpreters were often fluent in English and at least one Indian language, but they rarely had sufficient expertise in the cultural aspects of negotiation to make them truly efficient linguistic mediators. She points out that the use of figurative language proved particularly difficult to translate. Despite this, Hagedorn suggests that the repetition of speeches in several different languages could have served to lessen the possibility of faulty translations passing undetected.<sup>17</sup> However, the fact that only English documents survive demands that they be read with caution due to the power differential favoring English scribes recording Delaware words.

Even the most conscientious and linguistically adept translator could not always exactly reproduce the words spoken by Indians because sometimes the differing grammatical structures of the languages themselves obscured the meaning of a speaker. For example, the use of kinship terms provided crucial signals of the diplomatic relationship between speakers. While in English the gender of the person being spoken about might be signaled by the words chosen, in both the Unami and Munsee Delaware dialects, the terms used to describe familial relations were based on the genders of both the person spoken about and the speaker. So, for example, a man would refer to his brother as *nímat* in Munsee, but a woman would call her brother *nítkoxkw*.<sup>18</sup> A similar problem arises in the case of the role of uncle. Within these matrilineal societies, an

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<sup>17</sup> Nancy L. Hagedorn, "'A Friend to Go between Them': The Interpreter As Cultural Broker During Anglo-Iroquois Councils, 1740-70," *Ethnohistory* 35.1 (1988): 62-64.

<sup>18</sup> Ives Goddard, "Delaware Kinship Terminology," *Studies in Linguistics* 23 (1973): 40. John O'Meara transcribes the female term for brother as *ndulínóohum*, but also recognizes the speakers' gender as decisive of the language used for kinship in *Delaware-English/English-Delaware Dictionary* (University of Toronto Press, 1996), 409.

individual's parents' brothers assumed different roles. Maternal uncles, called *nšís*, were responsible for his sister's children in ways most closely resembling fathers in a patriarchal culture and were therefore distinguished from paternal uncles called *nóxwəš*.<sup>19</sup> Since there are no parallels to these practices in English-speaking societies, translating these term yields simply brother or uncle. Without intentionally obfuscating crucial relational information, such transcriptions would distort the meaning of the speaker. Since the Delaware were diplomatically deemed women by the Iroquois, and commonly acknowledged the Iroquois as uncles and the English as brothers, knowing which words they used in councils with each group could potentially be instrumental in correctly understanding how they viewed themselves in relation to others. Unfortunately, there is no way to compensate for the omissions inherent in these sources other than to attempt to place individual speeches in context to derive the speaker's intent.

In order to appreciate fully the complexity of gender constructions and the changes that occurred during this period, it is necessary to begin by reviewing the meanings of masculinity in American Indian societies and how they changed with European influence. Since gender is constructed, many of the assumptions of eighteenth-century people differ from modern ideas as much as they varied between cultures. In the case of the Delaware, this also requires the consideration of the intricacies of gender and kinship terms in their diplomatic context. From this foundation, it will be possible to examine Teedyuscung's innovative uses of masculinity in challenging the Delaware's subject status with the Iroquois and the weakened position it placed them in regarding the English. Attention to the various male roles he performed provides examples of both how masculinity shaped his policy choices and how he exploited the fluidity of gender conceptions as a means to influence his audience.

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<sup>19</sup> Goddard, "Delaware Kinship Terminology," 43. O'Meara transcribes maternal uncles as *nzhís* and paternal uncles as *nóoxwush* in *Delaware-English/English-Delaware Dictionary*, 638.

A further interpretive problem arises from the fact that historians of colonial-era Indians are often limited in their source materials when studying how their subjects conceive of gender; precious few indigenous people have left documentation of their inner lives, either in the archives or through oral traditions. This has not, however, inhibited the development of a body of literature documenting a complex ontology of gender across most Native societies. That this system of meaning was widely divergent from the one carried across the Atlantic by the Europeans further underscores the myth of the universality of the male-female binary and of the naturalness of hierarchical gender relationships.

In contrast to the ways Europeans structured gender, Native peoples were historically much more egalitarian. In fact, many indigenous people of North America made “no distinction between the public and the private, and therefore separate, spheres for men and women.”<sup>20</sup> Delaware society seemingly conformed to this ideal, at least to some degree. Historian Margaret M. Caffrey suggests that despite evidence of Delaware women being excluded from active political participation, their opinions held sway and their support for decisions was courted by male leaders.<sup>21</sup> This equality largely stemmed from complementary roles for each gender within Delaware society specifically and native societies generally. Both males and females contributed to the success of their societies in equal measure, preventing the development of rigid Western European-style hierarchies that placed men above women. This parity also extended beyond individual relationships: women had social, economic, and political power in Native societies that were equal to, and in some cases stronger than, that of men. Even in marriage, women retained their own personhood and privileges in society.<sup>22</sup> As a result, according to political

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<sup>20</sup> Gretchen L. Green, “Gender and the Longhouse: Iroquois Women in a Changing Culture,” in *Women and Freedom in Early America*, ed. Larry D. Eldridge (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 9.

<sup>21</sup> Caffrey, “Complementary Power,” 52.

<sup>22</sup> Green, “Gender and the Longhouse,” 14. See also Caffrey, “Complementary Power,” 46-51.

scientist Darcy Leigh, the arrival of Europeans and the influence of their patriarchal definitions radically altered the ways in which indigenous peoples structured their families, determined kinship, and defined gender.<sup>23</sup>

The introduction of patriarchal gender structures affected the definition of masculinity to a lesser degree than it did to other aspects of gender and sexuality, since both Europeans and Natives essentially came from warrior cultures that associated manhood with the acts of hunting and combat.<sup>24</sup> In addition, as a contrast to Leigh's argument about the equality of gender in Native society, Sandra Slater says that Native men participated in the practice of using feminine terms as pejoratives in order to denigrate the masculinity of white men. Europeans, of course, also employed this practice, but their verbal vilification went further. For example, they frequently belittled Native men for allowing women to participate in public life, a clear sign that Native men were weaker than European men for not being in control of their women. Europeans also went much further than simple verbal insults by physically and sexually assaulting Native women as a means to damage the masculinity of Native men symbolically for not being able to protect their women.<sup>25</sup> They also maligned the masculinity of Native men for their inability to rule their communities without women, as M.A. Jaimes\*Guerrero and Slater have discussed.<sup>26</sup> Despite this, and perhaps because of it, Native men sometimes colluded with Europeans to undermine the power of women in their societies. Leigh and María Lugones both show that the

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<sup>23</sup> Darcy Leigh, "Colonialism, Gender and the Family in North America: For a Gendered Analysis of Indigenous Struggles," *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 9.1 (2009): 73. See also Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), 12-30.

<sup>24</sup> See Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness*, 105-107; Caffrey, "Complementary Power," 45.

<sup>25</sup> Sandra Slater, "'Naught but women': Constructions of Masculinities and Modes of Emasculation in the New World," in *Gender and Sexuality in Indigenous North America, 1400-1850*, ed. Sandra Slater and Fay A. Yarbrough (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011), 30, 36. Shoemaker asserts that in a native context these insults referenced sex roles rather than social hierarchy by alluding to intercourse, when men dominated women through the act of penetration. See *A Strange Likeness*, 109.

<sup>26</sup> M.A. Jaimes\*Guerrero, "'Patriarchal Colonialism' and Indigenism: Implications for Native Feminist Spirituality and Native Womanism," *Hypatia* 18:2 (Spring 2003): 67; Slater, "'Naught but women,'" 39.

powerful pressure of settler colonial groups forced this undertaking, typically resulting in the erosion of traditional gender arrangements and of women's power within Native societies.<sup>27</sup> Lugones further complicates such actions by suggesting that they were a way for colonialism to rupture the bonds between Native men and women.<sup>28</sup>

Mid-eighteenth century Delawares living near the English settlements in Pennsylvania shared many of the gender conceptions found within other native societies. Although their experience of English colonization certainly included some of the gendered violence found elsewhere, the Iroquois frontier saw generally more peaceful relations until the beginning of the Seven Years' War.<sup>29</sup> More prevalent for the Delaware were the subtle insinuations that European goods and attitudes made into their daily lives. These changes, however, were not forced upon them, and several scholars have clarified that any adaptations occurred largely on Delaware terms. They did not embrace European technologies and beliefs without making significant alterations in order to for them to be suitable for Delaware needs and consistent with their traditions.<sup>30</sup> While this view is prevalent among historians studying this area, the works of some have taken a less optimistic stance, especially regarding changes in conceptions of gender. For example, Gunlög Fur suggests that women's roles in Delaware society became more inequitable by the 1740s under the influence of Christian European ideas of patriarchy and the loss of farm

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<sup>27</sup> Leigh, "Colonialism, Gender and the Family in North America," 76; María Lugones, "Heterosexualism and the Colonial/Modern Gender System," *Hypatia* 22:1 (Winter 2008): 197, 200.

<sup>28</sup> Lugones, "Heterosexualism and the Colonial/Modern Gender System," 189.

<sup>29</sup> 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); Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness*. For more negative interpretations of contact between Pennsylvanians and their native neighbors, see David L. Preston, *The Texture of Contact: Europeans and Indian Settler Communities on the Frontiers of Iroquoia, 1667-1783* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009) and James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: Norton, 1999).

<sup>30</sup> Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 49; Merritt, "Cultural Encounters Along a Gender Frontier," 504.



lands the women controlled.<sup>31</sup> Such conceptions also gradually alienated women from their influence over political decision-making as European demands that diplomacy be conducted exclusively between men forced the abandonment of traditional, egalitarian gender practices.<sup>32</sup>

Teedyuscung's personal views on the changes occurring in his society are not accessible from the existing records. By selectively adopting and transforming aspects of European masculinity in his public performances, however, his behavior suggests that he was willing to adopt new ideas and tools he found useful. This shows that he was neither wholly resistant to nor assimilated by white cultural models but instead open to incorporating them innovatively into his own traditions. His actions do explicitly show that he comprehended the fact that women's status had begun to erode in not only his own society but among his Iroquois suzerains. Within the gendered diplomatic logic that defined the Delaware as women in relation to the Six Nations, it would be impossible for Teedyuscung not to equate actual women's loss in standing with his nation's. Unable to reverse these cultural changes, his only recourse would be to demand the Delaware be recognized as men.

Historians debate when and why the Delaware Indians became metaphorical women in relation to their Iroquois neighbors.<sup>33</sup> They also contest the meaning of the designation in its diplomatic context, but historian Gunlög Fur provides a compelling argument that for as long as traditional Delaware and Iroquois gender conceptions persisted, the classification was conceived

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<sup>31</sup> Fur, *A Nation of Women*, 158-159, 200. Women in other native communities experienced similar reductions in their status. See Karen Vieira Powers, *Women in the Crucible of Conquest: The Gendered Genesis of Spanish American Society, 1500-1600* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005) and Fay A. Yarbrough, "Women, Labor, and Power in the Nineteenth-Century Choctaw Nation," in *Gender and Sexuality in Indigenous North America, 1400-1850*, ed. Sandra Slater and Fay A. Yarbrough (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011), 131.

<sup>32</sup> Green, "Gender and the Longhouse," 16.

<sup>33</sup> Fur provides an overview of the debates. See *A Nation of Women*, 161-162. See also Wallace, *King of the Delawares*, 195-196.

of being “a position of honor.”<sup>34</sup> When women lost status due to the adoption of Western European ideas, however, the former honorific came to increasingly be deemed as derogatory.<sup>35</sup> This changing outlook transformed the implication of reciprocal, complementary obligations between Iroquois men and Delaware women into impositions as the advantages of female status disappeared while the prohibitions persisted. For example, the Delaware were proscribed from declaring war but in return were provided with protection by the Iroquois and played an important role in making peace. During the eighteenth century, however, their conciliatory role subsided. In addition, the alliance between the Six Nations and the British left the Delaware unprotected from white settlers’ encroachments and fraudulent land deals made between the two imperial powers.<sup>36</sup>

Such inequities may have plagued the Delaware even had they not been defined as a nation of women by the Iroquois. Historian Toby L. Ditz shows that unequal relationships between men are also a normalized aspect of patriarchal societies. She finds that gender hierarchies do not operate only on a binary of male dominance and female submission but also rank competing models of manhood. As a small nation with limited political, military, and economic power, the Delaware were prone to being defined as inferior by their more dominant neighbors. This reasoning also fits with Ditz’s argument that elite men in patriarchal communities commonly employ both violence and racist ideologies to maintain their authority over other men.<sup>37</sup> This contributes to explaining the region’s prolonged period of warfare that

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<sup>34</sup> Fur, *A Nation of Women*, 169.

<sup>35</sup> Carpenter, “From Indian Women to English Children,” 7.

<sup>36</sup> Fur, *A Nation of Women*, 164-165; Shannon, *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier*, 106-107; Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 44-49; Kevin Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn’s Holy Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 48.

<sup>37</sup> Toby L. Ditz, “The New Men’s History and the Peculiar Absence of Gendered Power: Some Remedies from Early American Gender History,” *Gender & History* 16.1 (April 2004): 3-12.

began with the Seven Years' War and the related hardening of racial divisions.<sup>38</sup> Delaware leaders seeking to change their status lacked the cultural influence to marginalize Pennsylvanian or Iroquois men racially, but the use of violence remained a viable option for them to challenge their position.<sup>39</sup>

No direct record survives of any Eastern Delaware leader's decision to go to war other than inferring it from the explanations they provided during the peace negotiations. This makes the sources problematic for several reasons, principally because attempts to calm the hostilities would have made the Delaware more likely to offer reasons that reassured their treaty partners. Evidence does remain that their Ohio Valley counterparts were not originally seeking to extricate themselves from their relationship with the Iroquois. This is clear from the entreaties of Beaver, an Ohio Delaware, to the Six Nations. After recounting his nation's position as women under the protection of the Confederacy, Beaver warned of impending violence in his homeland due to French incursions and requested they fulfill their obligations by being "watchful over Us, your Cousins, as you have always been heretofore."<sup>40</sup> Even the more assertive among the Delaware asked only to be relieved of the injunction against their engaging in war to protect themselves. For instance, an unidentified representative of their nation spoke to the Iroquois in the spring of 1754, saying, "Uncles the United Nations, We expect to be killed by the French your Father; We desire, therefore, that You will take off our Petticoat that we may fight for ourselves, our Wives

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<sup>38</sup> See Jeremy Engels, "'Equipped for Murder': The Paxton Boys and 'the Spirit of Killing All Indians' in Pennsylvania, 1763-1764," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 8 (2005): 358; Rob Harper, "Looking the Other Way: the Gnadenhutzen Massacre and the Contextual Interpretation of Violence," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64.3 (2007): 621-644; and Krista Camenzind, "Violence, Race, and the Paxton Boys," in *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods: Indians, Colonists, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania*, ed. William Pencak and Daniel K. Richter (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 204.

<sup>39</sup> Delaware representatives did seemingly attempt to challenge Pennsylvanian masculinity by criticizing their bravery. See "At a Council held at Philadelphia, Thursday the 22d August, 1754," in *MPCP*, VI, 141.

<sup>40</sup> "Journal of the Proceedings of Conrad Weiser in his Way to and at Aucquick, by Order of His Honour Governor Hamilton, in the Year 1754, in August and September," in *MCPC*, VI, 155-156.

and Children; in the Condition We are in You know we can do nothing.”<sup>41</sup> Instead, these men considered rebelling against their status as women only after repeated refusals by the Six Nations to either offer protection or to allow them to go to war in their own defense.<sup>42</sup>

The persistence of the Delaware dedication to their alliance with the Iroquois seems anomalous when considered alongside their rising umbrage at being categorized as women and their subsequent resort to violence. This attitude is more comprehensible when attention is drawn to the complexity and persistence of culturally defined assumptions. For example, historian Jason R. Young perceptively observes that religious conversion does not typically require the total denunciation of previous theological conceptions.<sup>43</sup> Such deeply ingrained convictions as faith and gender norms can be intentionally altered, but remnants of previous conceptions usually remain. The Delaware could have recognized the iniquity of their situation while also continuing to accept their status as natural and worthy of maintaining. The denial of their right to protect their communities against annihilation by the French, however, threatened both their

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<sup>41</sup> “News that the Indians told Mr. Weiser at Shamokin,” May 7, 1754, in *MPCP*, VI, 36-37.

<sup>42</sup> The kinship terms used by these Delaware spokesmen reflect a diplomatic conception of allied nations ranked by familial relationships. These relations were situationally dependent rather than strictly defined. So when Beaver requested the Iroquois fulfill their obligations, he did so as an equal and employed the term “cousin.” In the second example, the speaker’s request is more extraordinary and therefore more deferential, using the honorific “uncle,” which in a matrilineal society would have similar connotations as “father” would in patriarchies. See Frank G. Speck, “The Delaware Indians as Women: Were the Original Pennsylvanians Politically Emasculated?” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 70.4 (October 1946): 379; Carpenter, “From Indian Women to English Children,” 4.

<sup>43</sup> Jason R. Young, *Rituals of Resistance: African Atlantic Religion in Kongo and the Lowcountry South in the Era of Slavery* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2007), 43.

survival and their honor as men.<sup>44</sup> This fact transformed annoyance into an existential threat requiring the protection of both.<sup>45</sup>

Recognizing that their status as women was possibly a greater danger than the arrival of French settlers onto their lands explains why many Delaware leaders elected to fight. Gifts certainly did entice some Delaware to proclaim their nominal allegiance to the French, but if greed was their primary motivation, their decision to join with the French would be perplexing. The proximity these groups had to the British and to the Six Nations, as well as the close economic and political ties between them, should have kept the Eastern Delaware allied to both, because the French were too distant to offer either effective military assistance or consistent supplies of trade goods. A more comprehensible explanation is that the European conflict provided Eastern Delaware leaders an opportunity to address their own grievances with their neighbors independent of European concerns. In fact, individual Delawares repeatedly indicated that they were fighting a revolution to escape Iroquois suzerainty.

Although existing documentation does not provide insights into why they chose to do this via a proxy war with the English, the strategy was logical for the Eastern Delaware for several reasons. First, by declaring war without the permission of their Iroquois superiors, they succeeded in asserting their sovereignty. Second, the Pennsylvanians were a more desirable opponent because they were weaker militarily than the Six Nations, they were already in a state of war with the French, and they were generally reticent to fight due to pacifist Quaker leadership in the colony. Finally, the Delaware also had reasons for attacking the Pennsylvania

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<sup>44</sup> See R.S. Grimes, "We 'now Have Taken Up the Hatchet against Them': Braddock's Defeat and the Martial Liberation of the Western Delawares," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 137.3 (2013): 234. Grimes takes a similar view of the Delaware situation but sees the response as stemming from rage over Iroquois inaction. While this was a component of the Delaware violence against the English, their motivation was more centrally a concern for their communal survival.

<sup>45</sup> International relations expert Hidemi Suganami suggests that national honor provides a powerful impetus to fight regardless of the odds because to acquiesce would invite further impositions and possible destruction. See "Explaining War: Some Critical Observations," *International Relations*. 16.3 (2002): 311.

colonists unrelated to their revolutionary aims, including numerous fraudulent land claims and longstanding grievances with the English over their unwillingness to punish whites who harmed Indians.

The Delaware declaration and prosecution of a war against the English as a means for protecting their territorial rights and the security of their citizenry are also consistent with both native and European understandings of the rights of nations. The diplomatic status of women in the case of the Delaware, however, makes each component of these actions an expression of their manhood, for doing so contravened the accepted limitations of their traditional role. Even so, Teedyuscung's words and deeds, both during the war and in the peace negotiations that followed, demonstrated a remarkably flexible approach to expressing his masculinity. Repeatedly, he blended native and European conceptions of manhood in his performances.

Only a few months into the war, Teedyuscung attempted to reverse the power imbalance between himself and the Six Nations in order to force them to join the fight. Upon meeting the Oneida chief Scarouady in March 1756 at the Indian town of Chinkanning, Teedyuscung stated he was seeking the aid of the Six Nations to prevent his destruction by the English. The newly declared Delaware king had delivered this message to the Senecas and Oneidas by sending the scalps of three Englishmen. He went on to explain that he planned to send the Iroquois "a large Belt of Black Wampum of 13 Rows" before ominously remarking that "if they send an answer, well and good; if they do not, I shall know what to do."<sup>46</sup> This encounter shows Teedyuscung adopting the manly roles of warrior, ruler, and strategist. The scalps were an obvious display of his martial prowess, but they were deployed to secure the protection of Iroquois men. This clever presentation communicated his desirability as a military ally while assuring the Six Nations that

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<sup>46</sup> "At a Council held in the Council Chamber, Saturday the 27<sup>th</sup> March, 1756," in *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government, Volume VII*, edited by Samuel Hazard (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Theo. Fenn and Company, 1851), 66-67. (hereafter cited as *MCPC*, VII).

rather than posing a threat to them, he required their aid. Had this blending of warrior masculinity and feminine defenselessness worked, Teedyuscung might have splintered the alliance between the English and the Iroquois.

While Teedyuscung failed to draw the Iroquois into the war, he and other Delaware warriors were more successful in dividing the Pennsylvanians. Throughout the period of conflict, government documents and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported on the frontier violence with increasing panic.<sup>47</sup> The terror that colonists felt culminated in the governor declaring war on the unfriendly Delaware on April 14, 1756, in spite of the objections of the pacifist Quaker-led Assembly.<sup>48</sup> The disagreement over how to respond to the violence split the colony into supporters of the governor in opposition to the Quaker faction. These divisions would persist through the American Revolution and fundamentally reshape Pennsylvania's government.

Teedyuscung would benefit from these internal divisions during the peace negotiations that ended the violence. By alternating his performance to please either Quaker paternalists or their warrior detractors, he could exert his influence over the proceedings. For example, he threatened to end a treaty unless he was granted a clerk of his choosing to document the talks.<sup>49</sup> Governor Morris's successor, William Denny, was particularly vexed by this and blamed the Quakers for putting the Delaware king up to making the request.<sup>50</sup> Whoever originated the idea, the demand signaled that he conceived of himself as the equal of the white men at the conference and recognized the importance of the written word for ensuring that agreements were honored on all sides. At the same time that he was adopting the accoutrements of elite white rulers,

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<sup>47</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 February 1756; 4 March 1756; 11 March 1756; 5 April 1756; 15 April 1756; 18 November 1756. See also "At a Council held at Philadelphia, Saturday 8th November, 1755," in *MPCP*, VI, 683; "A Letter from Mr. Edward Biddle, at Reading, to his Father in the City," in *MPCP*, VI, 705; "At a Council held at Philad' the 29th December, 1755, P. M.," in *MPCP*, VI, 767-768.

<sup>48</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 15 April 1756.

<sup>49</sup> "At a Council held at Easton, Saturday the 23rd July, 1757," in *MPCP*, VII, 656.

<sup>50</sup> "At a Council held at Easton, on Sunday the 24th of July, 1757," in *MPCP*, VII, 661-662.

Teedyuscung could access violent fury to challenge Pennsylvanian infringements on his rights. For example, when the government attempted to restrict the sale of rum during treaty negotiations, a pamphleteer reported Teedyuscung saying at Lancaster “D-n your G-nr, D-n your G--r. [Pemberton] is our Governor, he allows Rum enough.”<sup>51</sup>

Such pretensions and public displays can be, and have been, deemed the excesses of a vainglorious personality.<sup>52</sup> The documents generally support this conclusion, but the views they record are those of the English and Iroquois antagonists of Teedyuscung and therefore remain suspect. True or not, though, these behaviors do remain within the range of recognizable categories of masculine behaviors among all the participants, and despite his detractors, Teedyuscung parlayed his actions into concessions to his will. Having first engaged in violence as an expression of his dissatisfaction over both the English and Six Nations refusing to recognize his concerns, such indulgences must have been gratifying for the Delaware ruler.

Teedyuscung also extended his performance of masculinity to establish himself as a patriarchal ruler of his people in ways that his English rivals would have appreciated. During the war, for example, he strove to overcome the weaknesses that accompanied traditional, diffuse Delaware governance in imitation of Iroquois and English unity.<sup>53</sup> Charles Thomson, an English translator who Teedyuscung trusted to record his words honestly, asserted that this aim was reflected in his ascension as king. Thomson also claimed that as the Delaware sovereign, Teedyuscung had arranged for simultaneous attacks on Pennsylvania, New York, and New

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<sup>51</sup> Philanthropy, *An Answer to the Pamphlet Entitled the Conduct of the Paxton Men, Impartially Represented* (Philadelphia: Printed by Anthony Armbruster, in Moravian Alley, 1764), 7.

<sup>52</sup> Wallace, *King of the Delawares*, 17, 202; Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 99.

<sup>53</sup> “At a Conference held at Easton, Wednesday the 28th July, 1756,” in *MPCP*, VII, 208.



Jersey.<sup>54</sup> Little of this narrative has any basis in fact, as Teedyuscung never held such wide authority, but of more importance is that this was the image that the Delaware king apparently sought to project. Such a depiction conformed to the ideals of patriarchal governance which equated rulers to a father, a view the English had long embraced.

Teedyuscung continued to play this part in the peace by expanding his duties to include more than the military defense of his people. In negotiations, he also spoke of the necessity for trade, improving the land, caring for his wife and child, and making decisions for the betterment of future generations.<sup>55</sup> None of this is beyond the bounds of Delaware masculinity and may have been of particular concern to Teedyuscung independent of his need to perform a specific form of manhood for his Pennsylvanian observers. In connection to this new role, though, his broaching these topics granted him access to the role of benevolent father to his people. So too did his inclusion of a request to the governor of Pennsylvania within a treaty petitioning his counterpart in New Jersey to allow Delaware Indians residing in that colony the freedom to cross borders easily in order to come to visit with his community.<sup>56</sup> All of these actions fit perfectly with Sir Robert Filmer's theory of patriarchal governance: "If we compare the natural duties of a father with those of a king, we find them to be all one....As the father over one family, so the king, as father over many families, extends his care to preserve, feed, clothe, instruct and defend the whole commonwealth."<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Charles Thomson, *An Enquiry Into The Causes Of The Alienation Of The Delaware And Shawanese Indians From The British Interest, And Into The Measures Taken For Recovering Their Friendship* (London: Printed for J. Wilkie, at the Bible, in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1759), 83-84.

<sup>55</sup> Edmund B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, eds. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Volume VII* (Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1856), 287, 298, 332-333, 343.

<sup>56</sup> "A Letter to Governor Belcher of New Jersey Concerning Indian Affairs." December 15, 1756," in *PA*, 4, II, 759.

<sup>57</sup> Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha and Other Writings*, ed. Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 12.

On the other hand, as Teedyuscung's outburst concerning the sale of rum attests, he frequently transgressed English injunctions placed against men losing control of their emotions in public.<sup>58</sup> Nicole Eustace complicates this understanding of masculinity by observing that while public displays of anger "could connote uncouth incivility, they could also convey masculine courage and might."<sup>59</sup> This observation works well with Karen Harvey's view of eighteenth-century masculinity being contested between the polite gentlemen and the military man.<sup>60</sup> This results in the interpretation of strong emotions being dependent on the observer and supports the view of Teedyuscung shifting his performance to display different forms of masculinity. Such speculation is not directly supported by the documents, though it could be the result of intentional omissions, the inability of contemporaries to recognize his behaviors, or racialized views of extreme emotion. An angry white man, for example, could theoretically be passionate and brave, but an angry Indian would just be savage lacking in self-discipline.

Cultural studies scholar Sam McKegney recently proposed that the stories white people tell about Indian masculinity fall within one of three categories: the noble savage, the bloodthirsty warrior, or the drunken absentee.<sup>61</sup> The depictions of Teedyuscung written by his contemporaries show an emergent strain of this tripartite narrative. His range of actions and the fluidity of his gender performances between a number of different understandings of masculinity undermine such oversimplifications. Ultimately, however, these behaviors are open to a wide range of interpretations, only one of which suggests that Teedyuscung was performing distinct

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<sup>58</sup> Philanthropy, *An Answer to the Pamphlet*, 7. See also Barbara Cunningham, "An Eighteenth-Century View of Femininity as Seen through the Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg," *Pennsylvania History* 43.3 (1976): 206.

<sup>59</sup> Nicole Eustace, "The Sentimental Paradox: Humanity and Violence on the Pennsylvania Frontier," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 65.1 (2008): 50-51.

<sup>60</sup> Karen Harvey, "The History of Masculinity, Circa 1650–1800," *The Journal of British Studies* 44.2 (2005): 308.

<sup>61</sup> Sam McKegney, "Warriors, Healers, Lovers, and Leaders: Colonial Impositions on Indigenous Male Roles and Responsibilities," in *Canadian Perspectives on Men and Masculinities: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, ed. Jason A. Laker (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2011), 255-256.

masculinities as a means of gaining political advantages. When considered alongside his unwavering, direct rhetorical pursuit of the removal of the status of women, however, his strategic use of gender becomes undeniable.

Teedyuscung's clerk, Charles Thomson, recorded that at the Lancaster Treaty of 1757, some Ohio Delaware rebuffed criticisms of their behavior made by representatives of the Six Nations. These Delaware bluntly stated "that they looked upon themselves as Men and would acknowledge no Superiority that any other Nation had over them" before going on to explain that they were "determined not to be ruled any longer...as Women."<sup>62</sup> The Delaware king was never as abrupt in his confrontations with the Iroquois, but he held the same sentiments. Furthermore, he was able to emerge from the war with Iroquois recognition of his position as king of a nation of men.

This result was not assured at the start of peace negotiations at Easton, when the Six Nations were quick to assert their traditional diplomatic relationship with the Delaware. Interpreting a wampum belt sent by the Confederacy, the Seneca delegate Newcastle told Teedyuscung:

You will remember that you are our women; our forefathers made you so, and put a petticoat on you, and charged you to be true to us & lie with no other man. But of late you have Suffered the string that tied your petticoat to be cut loose by the French, and you lay with them, so became a common Bawd, in which you did very wrong and deserved Chastisement, but notwithstanding this we will still Esteem you, and as you have thrown off the Cover of your modesty and become Stark naked, which is a shame for a woman, We now give you a little Prick and put it into your private Parts, and so let it grow there till you shall be a compleat [sic] man. We advise you not to act as a woman yet, But be first instructed by us, and do as we bid you and you will become a noted man.<sup>63</sup>

Yet while the Delaware remained subservient to the Iroquois, and despite the harshness of the message, Teedyuscung's war opened the possibility of attaining manhood for his people. Four

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<sup>62</sup> Charles Thomson, *An Enquiry Into The Causes*, 86.

<sup>63</sup> "At a Council held at Easton, Saturday, 31st Day of July, 1756," in *MPCP*, VII, 218.

months later, the hope contained in Newcastle's words was dimmed somewhat when the Mohawk chief Canyase repeated them, though with the added provision that the Delaware remained unable to make decisions concerning war.<sup>64</sup>

The Six Nations' assertions aside, Teedyuscung had reason to anticipate that his status had irrevocably shifted. Only weeks before the meeting at Easton, the British Superintendent of Indian Affairs and honorary Mohawk chief Sir William Johnson had concluded a treaty at Albany "by taking off the Petticoat, or that invidious name of Women from the Delaware Nation which hath been imposed on them by the 6 Nations" and promising to help convince the Iroquois to do the same.<sup>65</sup> In return, Teedyuscung declared himself on the side of the English in their war with the French. A month later Johnson's deputy received a report that the Six Nations had informed Teedyuscung's people "to take off their aprons, and that they shou'd no longer be considered as Women, but as Men, & capable of doing business."<sup>66</sup> In light of Canyase's later declaration, and the short span between this letter and Newcastle's speech at Easton, this was probably a fiction created by Teedyuscung. The spread of such propaganda, though, shows that the Delaware king was increasingly secure in his position with the Iroquois and confident in asserting his new status.

The most compelling evidence of Teedyuscung's position came a year after Newcastle's speech. Again meeting at Easton, the Delaware king proclaimed his nation's manhood by stating:

you may remember I was stiled [sic] by my uncles the 6 Nations a Woman in former Years, and had no Hatchet in my hand but a pestle or hominy pounder. But now Bretheren here are some of my Uncles who are present to witness the truth of this. As I had no Tomhawk and my Uncles were always stiled [sic] Men and had Tomhawks

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<sup>64</sup> "At a Council held at Philadelphia, the 24<sup>th</sup> of October, 1756," in *MPCP*, VII, 297.

<sup>65</sup> "Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade, Albany 17th July 1756," in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York, Volume VII*, 119.

<sup>66</sup> "Letter to Sir Charles Hanly Concerning Indian Affairs, Philadelphia, 21 August, 1756" in *PA*, 4, II, 731.

in their hands, they gave me a Tomhawk, and as my uncles have given me the Tomhawk and appointed and authorized me to make peace with a Tomhawk in my hand.<sup>67</sup>

Teedyuscung's use of the past tense in this passage clearly shows that he conceives of the Delaware as fully men at this point, though the alteration had not fundamentally changed their relationship with the Iroquois, who remain their Uncles. This makes Teedyuscung's acknowledgement of the Iroquois permission to make peace significant. Most striking in this passage is the juxtaposition of cooking utensils with instruments of war. Although it is not possible to conclusively determine the Delaware king's emotional responses from the available sources, the repetition of the word Tomhawk five times in a single sentence suggests Teedyuscung's delight in having gained access to such a fundamentally masculine tool.

At a meeting in Easton held on July 29, 1756, Teedyuscung announced to those gathered that "formerly we were Accounted women, and Employed only in women's business, but now they have made men of us, and as such are now come to this Treaty, having this Authority as a man to make Peace."<sup>68</sup> This phrasing is indicative of the consummate political skill of the Delaware king and his ability to manipulate gender conceptions to achieve his aims. Having gone to war in rebellion against his nation being denominated as women, Teedyuscung now subtly implied that if his adversaries refused to acknowledge his manhood he would be incapable of negotiating the peace. Framing the situation in this way presented only two options for the English representatives: continued hostilities with Delaware warriors or cooperation with Delaware rulers. This strategy did not break the alliance between the Iroquois and Pennsylvania, but it did briefly force each imperial power to deal with the Delaware with a degree of parity.

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<sup>67</sup> Easton, Sunday 7 Aug' 1757 7 o'Clock A. M.," in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Volume VII*, 318.

<sup>68</sup> "At a Conference held at Easton, on Thursday, 29 July, 1756," in *MPCP, VII*, 213.

His ability to adopt, adapt, and perform masculine ideals that made sense in two different cultural contexts enabled Teedyuscung to force concessions from his larger and more powerful neighbors. This manipulation of gender concepts shows that native masculinity has long been, as McKegney has suggested, vibrant and changing to meet the needs of their community.<sup>69</sup> His actions also suggest that the imposition of European-style heteropatriarchy not be treated as an irresistible force that only oppressed indigenous people. Recognizing that men such as Teedyuscung could use such a gender system against the colonizers to access his own power does not mean ignoring the fact that act of perpetuating the normalization of heteropatriarchy is certainly a component of settler colonialism.<sup>70</sup> Instead, his story provides insights into the way violence and patriarchy became increasingly linked in the mid-Atlantic. For just as he creatively responded to his situation by manipulating masculine ideals, his white detractors began conceptualizing racial violence as a part of their rights as free men.<sup>71</sup>

Teedyuscung's ultimate failure to secure his people a permanent homeland safe from the encroachments of white settlers should not lessen the importance of his ability to shift the diplomatic balance, even temporarily, of the mid-Atlantic region. He forced the two dominant powers to recognize the limitations of their hegemony and acknowledge his grievances. In doing so he slowed, though did not stop, the forces assailing his nation and changed the history of Pennsylvania in fundamental ways. Perhaps most importantly, he rewrote the story that the Iroquois and English had been telling about the Delaware.

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<sup>69</sup> Sam McKegney, *Masculindians: Conversations about Indigenous Manhood* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2014), 5.

<sup>70</sup> See Scott Lauria Morgensen, "Theorising Gender, Sexuality and Settler Colonialism: An Introduction," *Settler Colonial Studies* 2.2 (2012): 4; Martin Cannon, "The Regulation of First Nations Sexuality," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 18.1 (1998): 2-4, 13.

<sup>71</sup> Camenzind, "Violence, Race, and the Paxton Boys," 204.

CHAPTER III  
PENNSYLVANIA QUAKERS AND THE SHIFTING RHETORICS  
OF AMERICAN MANHOOD

“If we compare the natural duties of a father with those of a king, we find them to be all one, without any difference at all but only in the latitude or extent of them. As the father over one family, so the king, as father over many families, extends his care to preserve, feed, clothe, instruct and defend the whole commonwealth.”

--Sir Robert Filmer, 1631<sup>1</sup>

“The Spirit of Christ, which leads us into all Truth, will never move us to Fight and War against any Man with outward Weapons, neither for the Kingdom of Christ, nor for the Kingdoms of this World.”

--George Fox, 1660<sup>2</sup>

"The Peace of this Province has hitherto been preserved by the prudent measures thy father took at first to Settle and cultivate a perfect good understanding with the Natives, which has still happily enough continued."

--James Logan to John Penn, August 2, 1731<sup>3</sup>

In September and October of 1795, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee (PYMIC) issued a circular letter to Friends representing the five Mid-Atlantic States at Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting. The committee's message began by alluding to the distressed state of their readers' Indian neighbors and briefly recounted the Quakers' long, peaceful relationship with these peoples. The authors suggested that these facts combined to obligate

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha and Other Writings*, ed. Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 12.

<sup>2</sup> George Fox, *A Declaration From The Harmless & Innocent People Of God, Called, Quakers: Against All Sedition, Plotters & Fighters In The World* ([London?], 1684), 2. *Early English Books Online*, accessed 16 April 2016. [http://gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.tamu.edu/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:image:104457](http://gateway.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.tamu.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:104457).

<sup>3</sup> James Logan to John Penn, Aug. 2, 1731, Penn Papers, Official Correspondence, II, 181 as quoted in Francis P. Jennings, "The Delaware Interregnum," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 89.2 (April 1965): 177.

Friends to intercede on behalf of the suffering Indians in accordance with their “professed principles of peace and goodwill to men.” They then proposed answering the “loud calls for [their] benevolence and charitable exertions to promote amongst [the Indians] the principles of the Christian religion, as well as to turn their attention to school learning, agriculture, and useful mechanic employments.” As part of this outreach, the committee also recommended that they attempt to see the “disposition of government towards this desirable object improved.”<sup>4</sup>

By positioning themselves as mediators between the government and the Indians, the elite Friends who comprised the PYMIC accomplished several aims.<sup>5</sup> First, and principally, these men fulfilled an essential obligation of their faith. The peace testimony of the Society of Friends compelled them to try to mitigate the violence that characterized relations between white settlers and Indians along America’s ever-expanding western borders. Their plan to assimilate the native inhabitants of North America seemed a sound means for reducing cultural divisions and establishing peace in the only manner acceptable to the federal government. At the same time, though, these efforts provided Quakers an essential public role in the early Republic that they had been unable to claim through military service.<sup>6</sup> Adopting the status of sentimental paternalists capable of bridging the divide between native peoples and Anglo-Americans allowed

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<sup>4</sup> Religious Society of Friends, *The Proceedings Of The Yearly Meeting For Pennsylvania, &c. Respecting The Situation Of The Indian Natives In The Year 1795: And The Circular Letter Of The Committee Then Appointed To Attend Thereto, To Which Are Subjoined, Extracts Of Speeches And Letters From Some Of Their Chiefs Earnestly Requesting The Assistance Of Their Old Friends* (Philadelphia: Printed by Samuel Sansom, 1795), 4.

<sup>5</sup> As historian James H. Merrell has pointed out the language available to historians of colonial America for describing indigenous societies is always problematic. This is especially true in the case of Pennsylvania, where most of the nearby non-European peoples were also relatively new settlers, making “native” or “indigenous” technically incorrect descriptors. The use of the term Indian in this article is not intended to mask the diverse range of communities who lived near the colony but were not white. Whenever possible, individual national or tribal affiliations will be used instead. See James H. Merrell, “Second Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 69.3 (July 2012): 451-512.

<sup>6</sup> Karen Hagemann and Jane Rendall, “Introduction,” in *Gender, War and Politics: Transatlantic Perspectives, 1775-1830*, ed. Karen Hagemann, Gisela Mettele, and Jane Rendall (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 18. Hagemann and Rendall argue that conceptions of citizenship merged with the performance of military service during this period. See also Ricardo A. Herrera, *For Liberty and the Republic: The American Citizen as Soldier, 1775-1861* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), x and Sarah Crabtree, *Holy Nation: The Transatlantic Quaker Ministry in an Age of Revolution* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 63-65.



Friends to recast the negative perception of the peace testimony that had developed among their white neighbors during the recurring violence from the Seven Years' War through the American Revolution. Over this period, ideals of masculinity had shifted to place an increasing value on the citizen-soldier as the exemplar of manhood, leaving pacifist Quakers emasculated in the eyes of those outside their Society. The new role proposed by the PYMIC reversed this by giving Friends a constructive purpose in national service that endowed them with a distinctively civilizing masculinity deriving from their male privilege as political actors in the new republic.

Even as the committee members attempted to reshape the public role of Friends following the American Revolution, their strategy was not innovative. Instead, their plan aligned with the sophisticated rhetorical interpretation that elite Quaker men had used to justify their leadership during the first seven decades of the colony's history. The anomalous situation of pacifists controlling a territory the size of Pennsylvania while surrounded by potentially hostile neighbors led the original proprietor to promote friendly relations between his government and the local Indians. Rather than missionary efforts to assimilate them, however, William Penn tailored his efforts to promoting peace through equitable treatment. Thus, the maintenance of peaceful interactions with Indians became a cornerstone of Quaker rationalizations for their dominance in Pennsylvania's government. Having secured a lasting peace, Friends subsequently guided the transformation of a peripheral imperial outpost into a vibrant, cosmopolitan center of trade noteworthy for the economic prosperity enjoyed by many of their planters. Many observers, including Chief Justice James Logan, credited these successes back to Penn's original settlement with the Indians.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, this lure of financial stability was combined with the official toleration of all faiths, ensuring the colony's continual expansion by attracting a wide variety of migrants from across Europe in search of opportunity and liberty. Just as they had

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<sup>7</sup> Logan to Penn, Aug. 2, 1731, 177.

reached an equitable peace with the Indians, Quaker beneficence and fairness allowed them to rule this multiethnic, multilingual, religiously divided population as a unified and tranquil society. This story became the foundational myth elite Quakers trumpeted as validation for their holy experiment and the favor they felt God had bestowed on Friends as patriarchal rulers.<sup>8</sup>

In the forty years between the outbreak of the Seven Years' War and the PYMIC letter, this narrative dissolved under the increasing criticism of Pennsylvanians who rejected pacifism as a viable governing strategy during wartime. This reaction forced Friends to adjust their rhetoric incrementally in response to persistent critiques of their inability to be effective patriarchs due to their religious tenets being emasculating. As strict pacifists, Quakers were denied access to the traditional manly role of warrior in defending their citizens from attacks and, therefore, were increasingly perceived as ill-suited for colonial leadership. Their enemies, however, extended their rhetorical assault to challenge Quakers as deficient figurative fathers of the colony and insufficiently masculine to rule over others. To counter these charges, defenders of the peace testimony vigorously and persistently promoted Friends as benevolent patriarchs with the unique capacity to maintain peace and prosperity. The principle alteration the Quakers adopted over time was to redefine the objects of their paternal care. As martial masculinity and notions of republican equality gained ascendancy in North America, white Pennsylvanians rejected the idea of rulers as fathers.<sup>9</sup> To avoid losing their patriarchal position, Quakers rhetorically turned their weakened Indian allies into children in need of assistance and protection.

The particularities of the Pennsylvanian context do not preclude it from being an ideal case study for the adoption of new gender conceptions or the role these changes played in

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<sup>8</sup> Jack D. Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 156-157.

<sup>9</sup> John Smolenski, "From Men of Property to Just Men: Deference, Masculinity, and the Evolution of Political Discourse in Early America," *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3.2 (2007): 283.

formulating policies concerning American Indians. In fact, the distinctiveness of this colony only serves to highlight similar shifts that occurred throughout the United States. As Pennsylvanians adopted martial ideals of masculinity consistent with those of their neighbors, they also abandoned the idea of interracial cooperation and coexistence as goals and instead targeted Indians for extermination through either violence or assimilation. This language suggests that the development of American conceptions of manhood were intimately bound to the project of colonizing and eliminating Indians groups. As a besieged minority, Quakers were incapable of effectively countering this ideological shift. Instead, they embraced integration as a means for avoiding bloodshed. Attention to this process allows an early glimpse into the development of a settler colonial society's philosophy and the uses of gender conceptions in shaping them.<sup>10</sup>

Furthermore, the contestation over rival gender regimes connects Pennsylvania colonial history to developments across the wider Atlantic World. The arguments each group made while denigrating the other's manhood were one expression of a general revision of conceptions of masculinity occurring throughout the British Atlantic during the eighteenth century. Sociologist Michael S. Kimmel labels the profound shifts in the common understandings of gender norms during this time as "a new gender crisis."<sup>11</sup> Under the influence of Enlightenment thought, increasingly rigid separations between the two European categories of gender arose, with femininity coming to be seen as subordinate to masculinity. These ideas slowly replaced earlier concepts positing that all people were essentially the same, with gender distinguished primarily by behavior and dress. Under the new gender system, people began to conceive of an individual's spiritual self as being determined by their anatomy, and in a hierarchical society,

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<sup>10</sup> See Patrick Wolfe, "Race and the Trace of History: For Henry Reynolds," in *Studies in Settler Colonialism: Politics, Identity and Culture*, ed. Fiona Bateman and Lionel Pilkington (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) and Nancy Shoemaker, "A Typology of Colonialism," *Perspectives on History* 53.7 (2015): 195-212.

<sup>11</sup> Michael S. Kimmel, *The History of Men: Essays on the History of American and British Masculinities* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 130.

this equated women's weaker physical bodies with equally fragile minds and, therefore, the necessity of their subordination to men.<sup>12</sup> This conceptualization made accusations of Quakers as women particularly potent because it not only denied them access to power as patriarchal figures but also reduced them to the inferiors of all other men.

The ability of Quakers to negotiate such attacks came partially from the fact that no single understanding of masculinity predominated during this time. Historian Alexandra Shepard points out that while all men were eligible for manhood, most were excluded from patriarchy, resulting in a "plurality of masculinities, many of which existed in tension with each other and with patriarchal concepts which were themselves varied and muddled rather than a monolithic measure of manhood."<sup>13</sup> Among the most important of these alternative gender paradigms during the imperial conflicts of the second half of the eighteenth century was martial masculinity. This concept manifested itself as an ideal thanks to fears that Englishmen were losing not only their manhood but also their national identity as a result of their refinement creating behaviors that resembled those of the French.<sup>14</sup> The multiplicity of masculinities available to Pennsylvania residents allowed both sides to proclaim their version as the true standard and to denigrate all others as aberrant. The flexibility of gender regimes is supported by studies concerned with other cultural systems. For example, historian Jason R. Young observes that religious conversion

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<sup>12</sup> Clare A. Lyons, *Sex among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender and Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia, 1730-1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 2, 153-154. See also Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

<sup>13</sup> Alexandra Shepard, "From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500-1700," *Journal of British Studies* 44:2 (April 2005): 292. See also Karen Harvey, "The History of Masculinity, Circa 1650-1800," *The Journal of British Studies* 44:2 (2005): 298, 300, 301.

<sup>14</sup> Valérie Capdeville, "Gender at Stake: The Role of Eighteenth-Century London Clubs in Shaping a New Model of English Masculinity," *Culture, Society & Masculinities* 4.1 (2012): 22.

“rarely entails the complete abandonment of former belief systems.”<sup>15</sup> Instead, newly adopted ideals, in both religion and gender, exist in conversation with previous conceptions. This malleability also mirrored the fluid understandings colonists had about racial difference, which allowed for the development of new ways of viewing race and gender without the total rejection of earlier ideals.

For Quakers, the ability to access multiple forms of masculinity was particularly important due to some peculiarities of their theology. The Society of Friends adopted unusual attitudes toward women, including allowing female Quakers the right to speak in meetings and assume largely independent control over women’s meetings.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, the recognition and encouragement of feminine spirituality altered the organization of the domestic sphere as mothers assumed more authority for teaching and rearing children.<sup>17</sup> Such results of Quaker teachings lessened male supremacy and authority in traditional centers of masculine power. Elite Friends in Pennsylvania compensated for this diminishment to some degree through their dominance over political life in the colony, a status which allowed them to claim gentlemanly masculinity until war erupted and changed the popular definitions of manliness.<sup>18</sup> Even then, however, other options remained available to them. They continued to counter denigrations of their ideas of masculinity by appealing to notions of sensibility and virtue before finally adopting martial language to describe their religious tenets.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Jason R. Young, *Rituals of Resistance: African Atlantic Religion in Kongo and the Lowcountry South in the Era of Slavery* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2007), 43.

<sup>16</sup> Jean R. Soderlund, “Women’s Authority in Pennsylvania: And New Jersey Quaker Meetings, 1680-1760,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 44.4 (October 1987): 722-749.

<sup>17</sup> Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 78-80.

<sup>18</sup> Smolenski, “From Men of Property to Just Men,” 266.

<sup>19</sup> Nicole Eustace, “The Sentimental Paradox: Humanity and Violence on the Pennsylvania Frontier,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 65.1 (2008): 29-30; Crabtree, *Holy Nation*, 65.

Despite the ability to augment patriarchy by describing it as benevolent or meritocratic, elite Quaker men were essentially reduced to either patriarchal or martial forms of masculinity in the period before the Revolution. The first option rested on a long tradition of deference to propertied elites but was beginning to lose sway in the strife that engulfed the region after the Seven Years' War began. Initially some effort was made to reconcile these competing forms of manhood. The clearest example of this was the British and American press' attempts to valorize Major General James Wolfe after his death. Historian Nicholas Rogers has shown that patriotic fervor led many writers to promote Wolfe as an exemplary combination of military genius and a compassionate paternalist.<sup>20</sup> With the onset of hostilities between the colonies and the metropole, Wolfe's example became more complex, but more importantly martial masculinity began to eclipse paternalism. The hegemony of the warrior ideal conformed more readily to the democratic notions of the revolutionaries because it opened leadership to all white men and served to shape a coherent national identity.<sup>21</sup> So by the end of the Revolution, their two choices had been essentially reduced to one.

As these findings attest, Quaker gender roles, and specifically the crisis of masculinity wrought by male reformers' commitment to the peace testimony during the conflicts of the late eighteenth century, have received sustained attention from scholars. However, they have yet to address the role that similar gender insecurities played in shaping the policies that elite Friends adopted toward American Indians. Similarly, many works that have focused on the relationships between Indians and Europeans during the latter half of the eighteenth century in Pennsylvania

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<sup>20</sup> Nicholas Rogers, "Brave Wolfe: The Making of a Hero," in *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840*, ed. Kathleen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 251-252.

<sup>21</sup> See Gregory T. Knouff, "Masculinity, Race and Citizenship: Soldier' Memories of the American Revolution," in *Gender, War and Politics*, 338; Herrera, *For Liberty and the Republic*, 3; Mark E. Kann, *A Republic of Men: The American Founders, Gendered Language, and Patriarchal Politics* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1998), 109.

and some have addressed gender in their analysis.<sup>22</sup> Typically, however, less focus is given to competing masculinities among the Euro-Americans or to the impact these debates had on Quaker policies regarding Indians.

The arguments that Friends and their detractors engaged in were entirely geared toward convincing the majority of Pennsylvanian residents of their own views. This is fortunate because their points were necessarily printed in broadsides, pamphlets, and newspapers that remain accessible. Careful attention to the gendered rhetoric contained in these documents provides insights into the drift in Quaker conceptions about manhood and Indians from around the Seven Years' War into the Paxton rebellion and concluding during the American Revolution. While the authors only provide explicit critiques of the deficient qualities of their enemies, the assumptions they make about what acceptable masculinity consisted of is indirectly displayed. This makes them an invaluable resource for tracing the development of white men's understanding of their proper roles in society that would have gone unremarked in writings that were not intended for publication.

In one such source, the venerable Quaker preacher and abolitionist John Woolman recorded a prophetic dream in February of 1754. He recalled strolling in an orchard when the sky suddenly became streaked with fire. Upon entering a nearby home, he observed gloomy individuals gathered in a room inside. Taking a seat by a window, he further witnessed "a great multitude of men in military posture," including some men of his acquaintance, marching close

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<sup>22</sup> For instance, see Steven Craig Harper, *Promised Land: Penn's Holy Experiment, The Walking Purchase, and the Dispossession of Delawares, 1600-1763* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2006); Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York: Norton, 1988); Kevin Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: Norton, 1999). Gender informs the works of Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); William Pencak and Daniel K. Richter, eds., *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods: Indians, Colonists, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004); Nancy Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth-Century North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), especially 105-124.

to the house. These visions clearly foretold the coming of the imperial contest between France and Great Britain that would subsequently be known as the Seven Years' War. Woolman went on, however, to predict another looming conflict revealed in this reverie. Silently watching as the soldiers marched past his window, the eminent pacifist was addressed by some of them "in a scoffing, taunting way."<sup>23</sup> Although he failed to elaborate further on the nature or possible reasons for this heckling, the troops were undoubtedly criticizing his dedication to the Quaker peace testimony, or the strict devotion to nonviolence.<sup>24</sup>

Two linked trends informed Woolman's dream and together established the initial challenge to Quaker masculinity: the increasing rivalry among imperial powers in North America and the widespread embrace of martial manhood cultivated through prolonged conflict. Prior to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, Pennsylvania had enjoyed a period commonly referred to by historians as the Long Peace, during which the colony maintained peaceful relations with their Indian neighbors. For elite Friends, the credit for this went to both divine favor for their rule and the skillful efforts of the Quaker-dominated assembly in managing their alliances. If the assembly is to be credited for this, however, it must also be blamed for the failure to heed early warnings and proposals to secure the loyalty of native allies in preparation for the coming conflict. When receiver-general of New York, Archibald Kennedy, warned colonial governments of the necessity for strengthening alliances with indigenous groups through careful management of their relationships, he proposed providing goods more cheaply than the French, cultivating English speaking interpreters, and providing allied groups with weaponry. Most importantly, he warned that British traders and representatives should deal fairly

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<sup>23</sup> John Woolman, *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman*, ed. Phillips P. Moulton (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1989), 46-47. Quotes on page 47.

<sup>24</sup> In his analysis of this dream, Geoffrey Plank also links it to the Quaker peace testimony. See *John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 121-122.



and honestly with Indians.<sup>25</sup> Other than the trade in arms, none of these policies contradicted Quaker teachings or policies, but in their dealings with the Delaware, Friends failed to sufficiently match rhetoric with policy.

Not long after the war commenced, then, a number of Delaware groups defected to the French side and began terrorizing the Pennsylvania frontier. Throughout 1755 and 1756, government documents and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* provide numerous accounts of violence perpetrated against white settlers by previously friendly Indians.<sup>26</sup> Despite the peace testimony espoused by the Quaker-led Assembly, the Anglican governor, Robert Hunter Morris, declared war on the hostile Delaware bands on April 14, 1756, only one day after learning that some back-country settlers planned to march on Philadelphia.<sup>27</sup> The Quakers responded by pleading with the governor to set aside war until “Attempts may be made, by pacifick [sic] Measures, to reduce [the Delaware] to a Sense of their Duty” and the Assembly agreed.<sup>28</sup> The divisions between these factions—Quakers and the Assembly as benevolent patriarchs opposing the governor and the back-country settlers as warriors—would persist through the start of the Revolution.

Wartime rhetoric rapidly reshaped the boundaries for acceptable expressions of masculinity that marginalized the pacifism of the Quakers. For example, on February 26, 1756, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* published a letter from 1673, presumably written during the Third

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<sup>25</sup> Archibald Kennedy, *The Importance of Gaining and Preserving the Friendship of the Indians to the British Interest Considered* (London, 1752), 3, 14, 17, 22, 25. *Sabin Americana*, accessed 27 March 2016. <http://galenet.galegroup.com.lib-ezproxy.tamu.edu:2048/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY3800187045&srchtp=a&ste=14>.

<sup>26</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 19 February 1756; 4 March 1756; 11 March 1756; 5 April 1756; 15 April 1756; 18 November 1756. See also “At a Council held at Philadelphia, Saturday 8th November, 1755,” in *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government, Volume VI*, edited by Samuel Hazard (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Theo. Fenn and Company, 1851), 683. (hereafter cited as *MPCP, VI*); “A Letter from Mr. Edward Biddle, at Reading, to his Father in the City,” in *MPCP, VI*, 705; and “At a Council held at Philad<sup>a</sup> the 29th December, 1755, P. M.,” *MPCP, VI*, 767-768.

<sup>27</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 15 April 1756.

<sup>28</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 22 April 1756.

Anglo-Dutch War, decrying a coward as “neither a good Subject, a good Christian, nor a good or wise Man, in any Shape.”<sup>29</sup> The paper printed this alongside an article which complained that the “Healthy and Vigorous should prefer a Life of Effeminacy and Inactivity, to the glorious Labours of a *martial Employment*” and stating that this was “squandering their Youth and Masculinity,” before the author began deploring the “Infamy of Cowardice.”<sup>30</sup> Such linking of manhood with warfare and cowardice with pacifism in Pennsylvania could not be viewed by contemporaries as anything other than a criticism of the Quaker peace testimony.

Indeed, anti-Quaker polemicists quickly produced a series of pamphlets that more directly targeted the manhood of the Friends. William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia, was a particularly harsh critic, accusing the Quakers of being conniving cabalists “conducting political Intrigues, under the Mask of Religion.”<sup>31</sup> Alongside, and in contrast to, Smith’s praise for the “brave Men...fighting our Battles,”<sup>32</sup> he skewered the Quakers for leaving the colony “at the Mercy of cruel Savages, with our Hands tied up...by the absurd Principles of [the] Legislature [by which he meant the peace testimony].”<sup>33</sup> He then went on to connect pacifism with emasculation more directly by detailing the actions of marauding Indians that resulted from the Quakers cleaving to pacifism and failing to protect the frontier, stating that “Stakes were found driven into the private Parts of the Women, and the Mens private Parts cut

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<sup>29</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 26 February 1756.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* Emphasis in original.

<sup>31</sup> William Smith, *A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania: In Which the Conduct of Their Assemblies for Several Years Past is Impartially Examined* (London; Dublin, 1755). Quote on 28. *Sabin Americana*, accessed 27 March 2016. <http://galenet.galegroup.com.lib-ezproxy.tamu.edu:2048/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY3802582714&srchtp=a&ste=14>.

<sup>32</sup> William Smith, *A Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania, for the Year 1755: So Far as it Affected the General Service of the British Colonies* (London, 1756), 22-23. *Sabin Americana*, accessed 27 March 2016. <http://galenet.galegroup.com.lib-ezproxy.tamu.edu:2048/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY3800526429&srchtp=a&ste=14>.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

off, and put into their Mouths.”<sup>34</sup> This literal castration and figurative silencing provides evidence of the loss of manhood he deemed to be the result of failing to embrace warfare against the Delaware. To make his point plainer, Smith quoted the Oneida leader Scarouady’s address to the governor and the Assembly: “We...once more invite and request you to act like Men, and be no longer as Women, pursuing weak Measures, that render your Names despicable.”<sup>35</sup> By employing the words of an Iroquois ally, Smith not only showed the peace testimony to be ineffectual due to differing cultural perceptions of manhood, but also as threatening to Pennsylvania’s native alliances. Nor was Smith’s example merely anti-Quaker polemics, for Scarouady was not the only Indian to question the manhood of their English allies. The Mohawk leader Hendrick made a similar point while praising the enemy by stating “Look at the French, they are Men; they are fortifying every where [sic]. But We are ashamed to say it, You are all like Women, bare and open without any Fortifications.”<sup>36</sup> Smith also extended his attacks on the Quaker masculinity to arguments beyond the peace testimony. He portrayed his opponents as both effeminate in their mannerism, and under the control of women. For example, in describing Friends, he states that “With doleful Sighs, each whining Friend relates/Poor Fox’s Suff’rings, and the Martyr’s Fates.”<sup>37</sup> In addition, he warns that they were far from being effective patriarchs and rulers: “Each Saint in Petticoats foretells our Fate/And fain wou’d guide the giddy Helm of State.”<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 49. Scarouady makes similar statements in “At a Council held in the State House, Saturday the 10<sup>th</sup> April, 1756,” in *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government, Volume VII*, edited by Samuel Hazard, 78-83 (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Theo. Fenn and Company, 1851), 79-80. (hereafter cited as *MPCP*, VII).

<sup>36</sup> “At a Meeting as aforesaid on Tuesday the 2d July, 1754, P. M.,” in *MPCP*, VI, 81.

<sup>37</sup> William Smith, *A Letter From A Gentleman In London, To His Friend In Pennsylvania: With A Satire; Containing Some Characteristical Strokes Upon The Manners And Principles Of The Quakers* (n.p.: 1756), 16.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 17.

The criticisms of Smith and likeminded pamphleteers inevitably led to arguments that Quakers were unfit for governing on the basis that war required martial leadership instead of pacifism.<sup>39</sup> Interestingly, these attacks focused exclusively on the political machinations of Friends and their devotion to pacifism but were never extended to blaming them for failing to protect the alliances with the Delawares. A small minority of Quakers seemed to agree that their peace testimony conflicted with the requirements of sitting in the Assembly. At the onset of the conflict, fourteen Friends signed an epistle stating that it was their “duty to cease from those national contests productive of misery and bloodshed, and submit...to him, the Most High, whose tender love to his children exceeds the most warm affections of natural parents.”<sup>40</sup> A year later, six Friends chose to resign their seats in the Assembly.<sup>41</sup> Contrary to the notion that the Quakers gave up control of the Assembly, though, historians Wayne L. Bockelman and Owen S. Ireland provide quantitative analysis to show that while the Quakers lost a significant amount of power in the 1760s, their faction dominated the Assembly until the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians assumed control in the 1773-1774 session.<sup>42</sup> So despite the challenges to their masculinity, the Friends were able to retain their patriarchal authority almost until the Revolution.

In part, this success resulted from the continuing importance placed upon the view of manhood as being embodied by the polite gentlemen and benign patriarch. Defenders of the Quakers capably employed this alternate vision of masculinity to deflect the worst criticisms of

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<sup>39</sup> Smith, *A Brief View of the Conduct*, 86. This became a standard argument against the Quakers. See William Smith, *A Letter From A Gentleman In London*, 2, 13. The author states that “He’d own from Int’rest, and from Common Sense/There is no Government without Defence,” 23.

<sup>40</sup> “An Espistle from our General Spring Meeting, etc., 1755. To Friends on the Continent of America,” in Woolman, *The Journal and Major Essays*, 48.

<sup>41</sup> “At a Council held at Philadelphia, Thursday the 10th June, 1756,” in *MPCP*, VII, 148-149. See also David Sloan, “‘A Time of Sifting and Winnowing’: The Paxton Riots and Quaker Non-Violence in Pennsylvania,” *Quaker History* 66.1 (Spring 1977): 9-10, 22.

<sup>42</sup> Wayne L. Bockelman and Owen S. Ireland, “The Internal Revolution in Pennsylvania: an Ethnic-Religious Interpretation,” *Pennsylvania History* 41.2 (1974): 140-141.

pacifism, usually through the enumeration of qualities such as their honesty and adherence to principled convictions they found lacking in their critics.<sup>43</sup> This rhetorical tactic was especially powerful when combined with a recounting of the colony's success under Quaker stewardship.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps more importantly, however, was that leading Quakers continued to work at reconciling the Delaware to the proprietary government. For example, Israel Pemberton, who was often referred to as the King of the Quakers, led several negotiations with representatives of the Six Nations in 1756 to bring the Delaware back to the English side. At one such meeting, he told Scarouady that he would mediate between the Delaware and the Pennsylvania government to secure a peace, particularly because the Delaware "have no King, and their old wise Men are gone, we look on them as Children, who do not know what they are doing."<sup>45</sup> Although this signals a partial adoption of the paternalistic rhetoric of subsequent generations of Quakers, Pemberton also reasserted the equality between the English and the Six Nations by giving Scarouady a large belt of pure white wampum, stating that "it is made of many pieces which are small, and of little Weight or Strength before they are knit together, but is now strong and firm; so we when collected and united together shall appear to our Brethren."<sup>46</sup> Historian Robert Daiutolo finds that interventions such as this helped to reconcile the Delaware and the colonial government, bringing peace while simultaneously countering the proprietary party.<sup>47</sup> This is no

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<sup>43</sup> *An Humble Apology For The Quakers, Addressed To Great And Small: Occasioned By Certain Gross Abuses And Imperfect Vindications Of That People, Relative To The Late Public Fast: To Which Are Added Observations On A New Pamphlet, Intituted A Brief View Of The Conduct Of Pennsylvania For The Year 1755* (London: Stanley Crowder and Henry Woodgate, 1756), 14, 22, 28. Quotes on 22, 28.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 36-37.

<sup>45</sup> *Several Conferences Between Some Of The Principal People Amongst The Quakers In Pennsylvania And The Deputies From The Six Indian Nations In Alliance With Britain: In Order To Reclaim Their Brethren The Delaware Indians From Their Defection, And Put A Stop To Their Barbarities And Hostilities* (Newsactle upon Tyne: I. Thompson and Company, 1756), 19, 21. Quote on 19.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>47</sup> Robert Daiutolo, "The Role of Quakers in Indian Affairs During the French and Indian War," *Quaker History* 77.1 (1988): 29. For a more critical assessment of Quaker actions during the war, see Michael Goode, "A Failed Peace: The

doubt true, but these actions also helped Quakers exert themselves as men whose actions brought benefits to their entire community as well as neighboring Indians.

Following the start of peace with the Delaware, rhetorical attacks on the Quakers subsided until near the end of the Seven Years' War, when Pontiac's War again inflamed Indian hatred on the Pennsylvania frontier in 1763. In the pamphlet war that followed, many of the old arguments promulgated by Smith and his confederates were redeployed. The intervening years, however, had more firmly entrenched martial masculinity in Pennsylvania society, and the anti-Quaker faction had sharpened its rhetorical skills. This time, the key arguments against Quaker leadership came from the Scotch-Irish minister Thomas Barton following the massacre of a group of Christian Conestoga Indians in Lancaster County by a group of back-country, Scotch-Irish settlers called the Paxton Boys. Without endorsing the killings, Barton accused the Friends of colluding with the Delaware leader Teedyuscung to press land claims against the colony, gerrymandering districts to perpetuate their power at the expense of the Scots-Irish, and allowing Indians to kill back-country residents with impunity as a means of increasing their political power by eliminating rivals.<sup>48</sup> Barton then used Pemberton's extragovernmental negotiations against him to propose that they only encouraged Indians to view him as the "*first Man*, or CHIEF SACHEM of the Province" while reducing other Pennsylvanians to "a pusillanimous

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Friendly Association and the Pennsylvania Backcountry During the Seven Years' War," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 136.4 (2012): 472.

<sup>48</sup> Thomas Barton, *The Conduct Of The Paxton-Men, Impartially Represented: With Some Remarks On The Narrative* (Philadelphia: Printed by A. Steuart, 1764), 4-6. For Quaker political dominance see also Matthew Smith, *A Declaration and Remonstrance of the Distressed and Bleeding Frontier Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1764), 8-9. *Sabin Americana*, accessed 25 March 2016. <http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.tamu.edu/servlet/Sabin?af=N&ae=CY101903167&srchtp=a&ste=14>. For the Quaker desire to eliminate their enemies, see *The Quakers Grace, Prayer, and Thanksgiving, on Sunday Sixth, Tenth month 1765, for Their Late Victory Over the Rebels, in Their Province of Quylsylvania, in Electing Law-makers for the Same* (Philadelphia, 1765).

Pack of *old Women*, divided among [themselves], without SPIRIT or RESOLUTION.”<sup>49</sup> In this fashion, Barton reduced the Quakers’ role as patriarchal authorities to a scheme to emasculate their rivals, who were reduced to being “Dupes and Slaves to Indians.”<sup>50</sup>

Barton also provided an argument against his enemies’ status as polite gentlemen using Quakers’ actions against them. In the aftermath of the Lancaster Massacre, the Paxton Boys decided to march on Philadelphia. Their purpose remains in debate, with some historians emphasizing that they wanted to compel the government to provide protections for the back country while others stress the attempt to massacre another group of Christian Indians who were being sheltered in the city.<sup>51</sup> Regardless of their purpose, a minority of Quakers joined an armed militia to prevent the Paxton Boys from entering the city. This action allowed Barton to charge the Quakers as a whole with hypocrisy regarding the peace testimony.<sup>52</sup> Other pamphleteers seized on this to argue further that while Friends might be benevolent fathers to Indians, they refused the same compassion to back-country settlers of their own race.<sup>53</sup>

Those in support of the Quakers failed to address these charges directly, preferring instead to criticize their opponents. Quaker-friendly polemicists attempted to paint their enemies

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<sup>49</sup> Barton, *The Conduct Of The Paxton-Men*, 7. See also Smith, *A Declaration and Remonstrance*, 18. Smith brings up the negotiations of the Quakers led by Pemberton as a means of undermining the government and providing aid and comfort to the enemy. Emphases in original.

<sup>50</sup> Smith, *A Declaration and Remonstrance*, 9.

<sup>51</sup> Scholars who emphasize the marchers’ desire to compel the government include Jennings, *Empire of Fortune*, 202 and Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 288. Those who highlight the aim of killing the Indians include Alison Olson, “The Pamphlet War over the Paxton Boys,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 123.1/2 (January-April 1999): 31; Jeremy Engels, “‘Equipped for Murder’: The Paxton Boys and ‘the Spirit of Killing All Indians’ in Pennsylvania, 1763-1764,” *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 8 (2005): 356; Richard Bauman, *For the Reputation of Truth: Politics, Religion, and Conflict Among the Pennsylvania Quakers, 1750-1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), 109.

<sup>52</sup> Barton, *The Conduct Of The Paxton-Men*, 9, 12, 14. See also David James Dove, *The Quaker Unmask’d; Or, Plain Truth: Humbly Address’d To The Consideration Of All The Freemen Of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1764), 6, 9-10. See also Olson, “The Pamphlet War Over the Paxton Boys,” 50.

<sup>53</sup> Dove, *The Quaker Unmask’d*, 4-6, 8. See also Smith, *A Declaration and Remonstrance*, 6-7.

as uncivilized, merciless, and irrationally motivated by racial hatred.<sup>54</sup> They compared the Paxtons unfavorably—and presumably without irony—to Spaniards, Africans, and Indians for their treatment of the unarmed Conestoga, labeling them “CHRISTIAN WHITE SAVAGES.”<sup>55</sup> Then they unflatteringly compared the Paxtons to Jews for violating the peace treaty between Pennsylvania and the Conastogas.<sup>56</sup> This time it was the pro-Quaker faction that resorted to explicit claims denying the masculinity of their adversaries, referring to them as “Unmanly Men! who are not ashamed to come with Weapons against the unarmed, to use the Sword against Women, and the Bayonet against young Children.”<sup>57</sup> Such behavior was derided by pamphleteers as beyond the bounds of martial masculinity, something that “no Man of real Courage or Bravery would bear the Thought of doing.”<sup>58</sup> Finally, turning martial culture on its head, one even proclaimed that “Mercy still sways the Brave.”<sup>59</sup>

During this period, Quaker power in the Assembly continued to erode but was not curtailed. Historian Alison Olson suggests that the Paxtons were more successful in promoting

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<sup>54</sup> Benjamin Franklin, *A Narrative Of The Late Massacres, In Lancaster County, Of A Number Of Indians, Friends Of This Province. By Persons Unknown ; With Some Observations On The Same* (n.p., 1764), 7, 13. For racist language in Quaker defense and the failure to distinguish between Indian nations, see also *A Serious Address, To Such Of The Inhabitants Of Pennsylvania, As Have Cannived At, Or Do Approve Of, The Late Massacre Of The Indians At Lancaster; Or The Design Of Killing Those Who Are Now In The Barracks At Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Printed for the Author, 1764), 4.

<sup>55</sup> Franklin, *A Narrative Of The Late Massacres*, 14-27. Quote on 27. See also *A Touch on the Times: A New Song, to the Tune of Nancy Dawson* (Philadelphia, 1764), 1. *Sabin Americana*, accessed 20 March 2016 <http://galenet.galegroup.com.lib-ezproxy.tamu.edu:2048/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY3802709937&srchtp=a&ste=14>. The author refers to the Paxtons as “Beasts of prey and Murd’ring Fellows.”

<sup>56</sup> Ephesus, *A Dialogue between Andrew Trueman and Thomas Zealot: About the Killing the Indians at Cannestogoe and Lancaster* (Philadelphia, 1764), 6. *Sabin Americana*, accessed 20 March 2016 <http://galenet.galegroup.com.lib-ezproxy.tamu.edu:2048/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY3802989630&srchtp=a&ste=14>.

<sup>57</sup> Franklin, *A Narrative Of The Late Massacres*, 29. See also Ephesus, *A Dialogue*, 3-4; *A Touch on the Times*, 2, Isaac Hunt, *A Looking-Glass For Presbyterians: Or A Brief Examination Of Their Loyalty, Merit, And Other Qualifications For Government. With Some Animadversions On The Quaker Unmask'd. Humbly Addres'd To The Consideration Of The Loyal Freemen Of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1764), 12-14.

<sup>58</sup> Charles Read, *Copy Of A Letter From Charles Read, Esq., To The Hon. John Ladd, Esq., And His Associates, Justices Of The Peace For The County Of Gloucester* (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by Andrew Steuart, 1764), 4, 6. Quote on 6.

<sup>59</sup> Franklin, *A Narrative Of The Late Massacres*, 31.



their ideas both because they remained unified while successfully dividing the Quakers and because the Quaker faction was unable to employ satire effectively.<sup>60</sup> Equally important, though, the Paxton pamphleteers enjoyed the benefits of seven years' worth of warfare that promoted a masculine ideal in support of their behavior while their opponents steadfastly cleaved to a declining, but not yet obsolete, understanding of the meaning of manhood. Meanwhile, Friends also continued to possess the powerful ability to perpetuate and expand Pennsylvania's alliances with native leaders such as the Delaware Teedyuscung and the Munsee Papunhank, which continued to make them crucial to the security and economic strength of the colony.

Jeremy Engels, a scholar of rhetoric, suggests that by defending the Paxton Boys' actions, the proprietary government opened the door for continuing racialized violence in the future.<sup>61</sup> This is certainly supported by subsequent massacres, such as the one that occurred at Gnadenhütten in Ohio in 1782, and was reminiscent of the massacre at Lancaster.<sup>62</sup> In addition, historian Krista Camenzind links the escalating violence to gender conceptions by suggesting that Paxton racial rhetoric ultimately served to "legitimate an act of cowardice—killing unarmed men, women, and children—as an act of male valor."<sup>63</sup> In large part, these behaviors rested on the ability of the rhetoricians to redefine all native peoples as "Indians" and to redefine the murders at Conestoga as revenge.<sup>64</sup> This interpretation, however, fails to recognize the Paxtons' critics' role in essentializing Indian identities. Both sides engaged in rhetoric that grouped all native peoples as savage and unchristian in their attacks, marking a contrast with earlier

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<sup>60</sup> Olson, "The Pamphlet War Over the Paxton Boys," 50, 32.

<sup>61</sup> Engels, "'Equipped for Murder,'" 358.

<sup>62</sup> See Rob Harper, "Looking the Other Way: the Gnadenhütten Massacre and the Contextual Interpretation of Violence," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64.3 (2007): 621-644.

<sup>63</sup> Krista Camenzind, "Violence, Race, and the Paxton Boys," in *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods: Indians, Colonists, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania*, ed. William Pencak and Daniel K. Richter (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 204.

<sup>64</sup> Engels, "'Equipped for Murder,'" 361, 376.

discussions in which Quaker partisans were careful to distinguish between allies and enemies. By failing to make these distinctions during the Paxton affair, the Quaker party unintentionally extended the dehumanization of Indians and marking them as acceptable targets of violence.

In the aftermath of the Paxton controversy, Friends attempted to reestablish their peace testimony and influence. Their ability to do so, though, was forestalled as tensions quickly escalated between the colonies and Britain. Leading Quaker and antislavery proponent Anthony Benezet published a pamphlet opposing war as “the offspring of the inseparable union between the sensual and malignant passions.”<sup>65</sup> In this work, Benezet counters the martial idea of heroism as a glorification of violence that true Christians would eschew.<sup>66</sup> Historian Nicole Eustace has shown that such arguments would not have been effective because anti-Quaker polemicists were redefining passionate displays of emotion, and particularly anger, as within the boundaries of acceptable manly behavior.<sup>67</sup>

Having survived attacks on their public role during both the Seven Years’ War and the Paxton rebellion, the Quakers ultimately lost their access to political patriarchy when their dominance in the Pennsylvania Assembly ended shortly before the start of the American Revolution. The only avenue left to them for maintaining their public masculinity authority was through their leadership of the Society of Friends. Theological commitments, however, once again threatened their community standing when adherence to the peace testimony led Pennsylvania and New Jersey Friends to issue a statement opposing “all combinations,

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<sup>65</sup> Anthony Benezet, *Thoughts On The Nature Of War, And Its Repugnancy To The Christian Life: Extracted From A Sermon, On The 29<sup>th</sup> November, 1759; Being The Day Of Public Thanksgiving For The Successes Obtained In The Late War* (Philadelphia: Printed by Henry Miller, 1766), 5.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 8-10.

<sup>67</sup> Nicole Eustace, *Passion is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia by University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 176.

insurrections, conspiracies, and illegal assemblies.”<sup>68</sup> The consistency of their devotion to pacifism in the context of rebellion was interpreted as traitorous Loyalism by many of their countrymen, including a recent arrival to Philadelphia who rapidly became one of the most influential pamphleteers for the Patriots.

Unlike their previous adversaries, Thomas Paine set aside direct attacks on Quakers for their theology. He also did not employ explicitly gendered critiques to malign them. Still, his writings effectively reduced their access to civic engagement by making them look foolishly idealistic when pragmatism was needed. For example, he proclaimed that “Could the peaceable principle of the Quakers be universally established, arms and the art of war would be wholly extirpated: But we live not in a world of angels.”<sup>69</sup> He also pointed out that the loyalty shown by Friends to the British crown was contrary to their professed pacifism since the redcoats “*likewise bear ARMS*.”<sup>70</sup> Paine did adopt some of the strategies of his predecessors, though, including personal attacks on prominent leaders: “O! ye fallen, cringing, priest-and-Pemberton-ridden people! What more can we say of ye than that a religious Quaker is a valuable character, and a political Quaker a real Jesuit.”<sup>71</sup> This final charge reformulated old debates about the suitability of Friends for governing. Instead of attacking their faith, he credits it but objects that they were inserting their faith in government to the detriment of the citizenry.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> James Pemberton, *The Testimony Of The People Called Quakers: Given Forth By A Meeting Of The Representatives Of Said People, In Pennsylvania And New-Jersey, Held At Philadelphia The Twenty-Fourth Day Of The First Month* (Philadelphia: 1775).

<sup>69</sup> Thomas Paine, “Thoughts on a Defensive War,” in *The Writings of Thomas Paine, Volume 1, 1774-1779*, ed. Moncure Daniel Conway (New York and London: The Knickerbocker Press, 1894), 55.

<sup>70</sup> Paine, “Epistle to Quakers,” in *The Writings*, 123. Paine also observes that Quakers “are continually harping on the great sin of *our* bearing arms, but the king of Britain may lay waste the world in blood and famine, and they, poor fallen souls, have nothing to say” in “The American Crisis,” in *The Writings*, 186. Emphasis in original.

<sup>71</sup> Thomas Paine, “The American Crisis,” 208.

<sup>72</sup> This charge also appears in Thomas Paine, “Epistle to Quakers,” 121, 126.

While Paine's critiques were particularly damaging to the Quaker position, the most serious injury to their ability to influence events came in 1777, when many of the most prominent Quaker leaders in Philadelphia were arrested and held on suspicions of sedition by their old Presbyterian enemies, who were now in control of the government. Those who were arrested objected to this action by repeatedly claiming they were being persecuted for their religious beliefs in a manner that undermined the rights espoused by the revolutionaries.<sup>73</sup> The government and Paine countered that the Quakers had "intended to promote sedition and treason, and encourage the enemy, who were then within a day's march of this city, to proceed on and possess it."<sup>74</sup> Previous polemicists had tried to label the Friends as traitors and cowards, but the charges and arrest of these men finally provided official sanction to such views and came at a time of increasing devotion to the ideal of the citizen-soldier.

For the remainder of the war, Friends were denied access to masculinity through either martial means or government positions, and they continued to be suspected of disloyalty. In response, Quakers formed what historian Sydney V. James describes as "a holy army to fight for the good of the whole civil community."<sup>75</sup> Principle among their efforts was a push to "civilize" and assimilate their indigenous neighbors. Quakers again proposed themselves as best suited to mediate between the government and native groups. This is clear from Anthony Benezet's 1784

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<sup>73</sup> Israel Pemberton, John Hunt, and Samuel Pleasants, *The Following Remonstrance, Was This Day Presented To The President And Council, By The Hands Of Their Secretary: To The President And Council Of Pennsylvania. The Remonstrance Of Israel Pemberton, John Hunt, And Samuel Pleasants* (Philadelphia: Printed by Robert Bell, 1777); Israel Pemberton, *Mason's Lodge, September 9th, 1777 ... To The Inhabitants Of Pennsylvania: The Following Is A Copy Of A Paper We Received At Half Past Four O'clock This Afternoon, And We Have Since Received Orders To Prepare For Our Banishment Tomorrow* (Philadelphia, 1777), 1-2; *An Address to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania: By Those Freeman, of the City of Philadelphia, Who are Now Confined in the Mason's Lodge, by the Vice President of the Council of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Printed by Robert Bell, in Third Street, 1777). *Sabin Americana*, accessed 24 March 2016. <http://galenet.galegroup.com.lib-ezproxy.tamu.edu:2048/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY3801628235&srcht=a&ste=14>. 1-3. See also Neva Jean Specht, "'Being a Peaceable Man, I Have Suffered Much Persecution': The American Revolution and Its Effects on Quaker Religious Identity," *Quaker History* 99.2 (2010): 38.

<sup>74</sup> Thomas Paine, "The American Crisis," 217.

<sup>75</sup> Sydney V. James, "The Impact of the American Revolution on Quakers' Ideas About Their Sect," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 19.3 (1962): 360-382. Quote on 377. See also Crabtree, *Holy Nation*, 65-67.

description of Indians as fellow pacifists, a position that does not bear up under scrutiny but created a rhetorical stance making Quakers logical agents for shaping Indians into Christian Americans.<sup>76</sup> To accomplish this goal, Benezet called on Quakers “to promote...not only the civilization of these uncultivated people, whom Providence has, as it were, cast under our care; but also their establishment, in a pious and virtuous life.”<sup>77</sup> All of these points suggest that since the onset of the Seven Years’ War, the Quaker position regarding their native allies had shifted considerably. For instance, Benezet’s desire to proselytize to the Indians is motivated only in part from the desire to save their souls. Additionally, he proposed conversion would also serve as a civilizing tool that, had previous generations engaged in missionary efforts, could have aided “every reasonable purpose of settling in their country.”<sup>78</sup> These aims sought to assimilate Indians culturally and, regardless of Benezet’s intentions, used American desire to appropriate their lands in order to gain support for his goals. In this way, the renowned crusader of the oppressed linked his efforts with settler colonialist aims. His desire to help his unfortunate neighbors was no doubt sincere, but coexistence had been overwhelmed by the need for assimilation and, ultimately, eradication.

Placing Quaker missionary and charitable efforts in the service of federal Indian policies completed the acceptance of Friends back into active public life and justified their place as citizens in the early republic. In adopting many of the positions Benezet had suggested, the PYMIC made the Society of use to the government without Quakers actually having to serve in office or compromise their peace testimony. Quakers transferred their patriarchal masculinity

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<sup>76</sup> Anthony Benezet, *Some Observations on the Situation, Disposition, and Character of the Indian Natives of this Continent* (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by Joseph Crukshank, 1784), 26. *Sabin Americana*, accessed 19 October 2015. <http://galenet.galegroup.com.ezproxy.library.tamu.edu/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY101205792&srchtp=a&ste=14>.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

away from white citizens and onto helpless Indians, a strategy that removed the cause of their opposition's hostility to their civic engagement. Historian Jack D. Marietta has refuted claims that Friends undertook this humanitarianism as means of compensating for their pacifist theology. Marietta presents a strong argument that elite Quaker men "did not doubt the correctness of their pacifist course."<sup>79</sup> No doubt he is correct in this assessment, but gender insecurities did compel them to place this philosophy in the service of the state to restore their access to manhood in the early republic.

In her seminal article proposing gender as an essential analytical tool for historians, Joan Scott advises scholars to examine the purposes to which rhetoric of masculinity and femininity were used in political debate and how such rhetoric was used to shape conceptions of gender.<sup>80</sup> By considering the ways in which Quaker defenders and detractors deployed gendered language, it becomes apparent that it served two distinct but interrelated purposes. First, the authors on both sides viewed female attributes as naturally indicating subjugation. Second, each side attempted to sway public opinion to adopt their conception of the most appropriate expression of masculinity. Incidental to each of these aims were the representations of Indians. This fact is clear from the widely disparate uses of rhetoric about native peoples, alternating between noble examples of martial masculinity and irredeemable savagery, as well as representations of distinctive individuals and indistinguishable Indians. The knowledge that by the end of the Revolution each side had effectively neutered the Indian as a rhetorical device by redefining them as children suggests that both Quakers and their opponents had come together to eliminate native people from participation in civic life as either allies or citizens.

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<sup>79</sup> Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism*, 273.

<sup>80</sup> Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91.5 (1986): 1074.

Quaker rhetoric about Indians after the Revolution, therefore, can be seen as serving a dual purpose. Historian Tim Reinke-Williams's assessment of the Quakers' behavior indicates they sought to "ensure deference and obedience from their children but also displaying real love and affection for them."<sup>81</sup> By making themselves fatherly figures to Indians, Quakers were able to aid the dispossessed while also performing a recognized masculine role for other white Americans. By "civilizing" the Indian, Friends once again made themselves valuable members of Euro-American society and contributors to the nation. Alienated from the citizen-soldier ideal of masculinity, this work provided them with access to republican American ideals of manhood. This benefit suggests that Quaker concerns about manhood must thus be added to religious motivations as a reason for their missionary activities and other policy initiatives, such as the 1795 establishment of a committee tasked with civilizing the Indians. Theology alone cannot explain the uneven treatment of indigenous peoples by the Society of Friends when Quakers faced a continual need to prove their masculinity to a society that valorized martial virtue as the basis for political participation.

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<sup>81</sup> Tim Reinke-Williams, "Manhood and Masculinity in Early Modern England," *History Compass* 12.9 (2014): 687.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION

For both Teedyuscung and his Quaker neighbors, masculinity served as more than merely a marker of identity. These men's ability to be perceived as exemplars of the correct type of manhood held the potential to grant them access to political power and therefore directly shaped the policies they pursued. Similarly, their opponents often attempted to deny them authority by denigrating their status as men during a period when conceptions of masculinity were shifting. Examining the rhetorical uses of masculinity in both these cases shows that the growing hegemony of martial masculinity was not uncontested and could occasionally be temporarily subverted. Despite their successes, both the Delaware and the Quaker men became marginalized groups within the early American Republic in part due to their being defined outside the bounds of acceptable manhood by the majority. Separately their experiences show the failure of one group to be fully reaccepted into that society as men and the success of the other in accomplishing that objective. When considered together, however, these narratives provide insights into the formation of early America's national identity.

Teedyuscung and Pennsylvania Friends negotiated their performance of and rhetoric about masculinity in the public sphere as political actors because manliness emerged as the central justification for authority. For Teedyuscung, this required negotiating not only competing conceptions over types of masculinity but also two completely different gender systems. Through a masterful ability to adopt, adapt, and perform masculine ideals that made sense in two different cultural contexts, Teedyuscung challenged the dominance of his larger and more powerful neighbors. In the latter case, being unable to perform the traditional manly role of



warrior, Quakers instead redefined themselves as religious warriors in service to the republic. In both cases, and despite their many differences, both groups were forced to concede to their opponent's definitions of masculinity as a means of retaining their positions. Their compromises contributed to the redefinition of women as being outside of public life and helped position masculinity as oppositional rather than complimentary to femininity.

The eventual outcomes for both groups are also instructive. Despite being more capable of performing martial masculinity, Teedyuscung and his people were ultimately defined not as men but as children by Americans. That Friends helped to propagate and perpetuate this attitude in service of their own need to be seen as men shows the fundamental role gender played in shaping early American society. This fact also clearly shows that gender and race were interdependent identifiers used to further settler colonial aims and shape Indian policy from the time of the nation's founding. By excluding Indians from manhood, regardless of their actions, the nation eliminated their public roles and political participation. Doing so also eliminated the necessity of respecting Indian groups as independent nations and recognizing their rights as individuals. The Quakers simply adopted these racial attitudes as a means of claiming a distinctively civilizing masculinity derived from their male privilege as political actors in the new republic. Such results signal that the boundaries of masculinity served as a contributory force that defined not only citizenship, but American Indian policies and the limits of religious toleration.

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