Gender Roles of Chester County, Pennsylvania: Lenape and Quaker Conceptualizations of Gender in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

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Introduction:

Situated to the Northeast of present-day Philadelphia, Chester County, Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century existed as a crossroads between the societies, cultures, and histories of the Lenape and The Religious Society of Friends — better known as the Quakers.. These two groups were distinct in that women held a unique amount of autonomy when compared to their other contemporaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These women held more sway both politically and socially within their societies by taking on leadership positions, as well as having more freedom of movement and choice in their lives. Through this increased autonomy, The Lenape and The Religious Society of Friends demonstrated two different conceptualizations of what gender and being a woman entailed, both in comparison to one another, as well as other colonial societies during the eighteenth century. That is not to say, however, that the Lenape or the Quakers operated without gender inequality — women may have been allowed more autonomy and freedom, but that did not necessarily result in full and complete equality between men and women.

Another interesting aspect of this case study lies in the location of these two societies. Not only were they situated next to each other in the Delaware Valley, but they were actively fighting against each other for land. This tension between the two groups came to a head with the Walking Purchase of 1737, which essentially cheated the Lenape of the last of their land in Pennsylvania forcing them to either integrate into neighboring Native communities or stay on their ancestral land and adapt to Quaker and colonial society.[1]

To study Lenape women historians must rely on and dig through the sources of European colonists, who were notorious for over-sexualizing Native women in order to perpetuate the

[1] Marshall J. Becker, *Notes and Documents: Hannah Freeman: An Eighteenth-Century Lenape Living and Working among Colonial Farmers*, (*The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 114, no. 2, 1990), 252.

notion and validate their right to conqueror the land and the peoples of the Americas.[2] The Lenape's differing notions of women's roles within their society, and the relatively higher freedom that they had to express their sexuality exacerbated these claims, as they differed from the more strict rules that governed European women.[3] Lenape women were often decision makers in their society as they controlled the production and harvesting of the crops and often facilitated marriages. As a result of these roles they had both political and social power to wield within their communities.[4] Moreover, Lenape society was also matrilineal and therefore the women had the security that belonging to their kin group offered, and as such could leave a marriage if there was abuse or it was not amiable any longer.[5]

Quaker women held similar influence by virtue of their roles within their women's meetings, as well as their ability to preach to the congregation. Through the women's meetings older Quakers supervised younger women to make sure that they were following social standards and the ideals of the Religious Society of Friend's.[6] Both the women's meeting and the men's meeting also had to approve a marriage and therefore, Quaker women held social power through this oversight process. Another way in which the Religious Society of Friends created more equality between the genders was their insistence that Quaker women receive the same education as the men. Quaker girls, when compared to their colonial counterparts, had access to education for longer and were expected to study the same subjects as the boys. On account of their education these women could choose to become preachers. For this reason, female Quaker

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[2] Kirsten Fischer, *The Imperial Gaze: Native American, African American, and Colonial Women in European Eyes*, (A Companion to American Women's History, Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2002), 4.
[3] Fischer, *The Imperial Gaze,* 6.
[4] Gunlög Fur, *A Nation of Women: Gender and Colonial Encounters Among the Delaware Indians* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 16,18.
[5] Margaret M. Caffrey, "Complementary Power: Men and Women of the Lenni Lenape", *American Indian Quarterly* 24.1, Winter, 2000), 50.
[6] Jean R. Soderlund, *Quaker Women in Lenape Country: Defining Community on the West New Jersey Frontier,* (Oxford University Press, 2018), 222.

preachers had the ability to influence their congregation through their interpretation of God's words. Along with the ability to speak directly to their community, sometimes the need to travel arose and gave the women potential to travel outside the confining limits of their hometowns. Oftentimes a female Quaker preacher's dedication to God and their work gave them the opportunity to delay marriage to focus on their service to the church, or Meeting, as the Friends referred to it.[7]

The third chapter of this thesis compares the lives of Native women in Northeastern America to their colonial counterparts, especially after contact and the subsequent rise in tensions over land and politics. The mixing of these two groups was often facilitated by way of intermarriage between Native Americans and European colonizers, which created a mixed population who could interpret each societies language and culture.[8] A problem of not only miscommunication but also a misunderstanding of Lenape and Native American cultures arose from Europeans reporting in the sources that have survived to today. In many of the first hand accounts detailing Native American groups' lives, Europeans superimposed their own religious and cultural beliefs onto what they observed therefore tainting the documentation of what Native and Lenape cultures actually believed and practiced. Finally, through the Walking Purchase of 1737, as the Lenape lost almost all of the rights to their ancestral lands, Lenape women had to make the decision to either integrate into neighboring Native communities or into colonial Quaker society.[9] Examining the story of Hannah Freeman, one Lenape woman forced to make

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[7] Rebecca Larson, *Daughters of light : Quaker women preaching and prophesying in the colonies and abroad, 1700-1775* (New York : Knopf, 1999), 136.
[8] Gunlög Fur, *Reading Margins: Colonial Encounters in Sápmi and Lenapehoking in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, (Feminist Studies 32 (3) (Fall) 2006), 494.
[9] James Ciment, *Colonial America: An Encyclopedia of Social, Political, Cultural, and Economic History* (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), 1040.

this choice, illuminates the impacts of the decision on Lenape women, their views, and their culture.[10]

Studying the way Native and colonial women interacted with each other can be difficult, however, as a lack of primary sources, especially from Native women, leaves holes from which their history must be extrapolated. After the 1980s and 90s, historians changed their perception of language used when looking at primary sources to fill in the missing sections of women's lives. Instead of reading and interpreting these sources literally, the undertone of power relations became more important to understand these relationships.[11] With these new methods of historiography, historians can study how portrayals of women were used to promote and justify colonization as well as "other" differing groups of women.[12] This presentation makes for an easily mistakable interpretation that the groups of women (namely Lenape and Quaker women) who lived in Pennsylvania during the 17th and 18th century existed and should be examined as separate entities. Instead, however, emphasis should be placed on the interchangeability and morphing dynamics of the two groups.

A considerable problem with interpreting the sources on Lenape women, however, lies with an even simpler issue: the almost complete lack of primary sources written by Lenape women themselves. For the most part, accounts written by European men were contradictory and lacked the perspectives of indigenous peoples. A few cases, such as Hannah Freeman's autobiography, give historians access to firsthand accounts of a Native person's life. Often, however, they were recorded by a white man.[13] Moses Marshall, an active member of Chester County, one of nine commissioners and overseer of the poor house, took down Freeman's

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[10] Marshall J. Becker, *Notes and Documents: Hannah Freeman: An Eighteenth-Century Lenape Living and Working among Colonial Farmers*, (*The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 114, no. 2, 1990), 252.
[11] Fischer, *The Imperial Gaze*, 3.
[12] Fischer, *The Imperial Gaze*, 4.
[13] Becker, *Notes and Documents*, 249–69.

account. However, he did so under the pretext of a legal document, which biased his recording as he recorded Freeman's story through the filter of what he needed for the contract in order to admit her into the poorhouse.[14]

An even more prominent flaw in some European sources is their biased belief that Native American groups such as the Lenape were "savages" who were at one point descended from more "polished" civilizations.[15] As these outdated views are the writers' prejudices, modern historians must understand these constraints in our study of Native American groups, where auto-biographical primary sources are not often available.

Quaker sources were easier to obtain as many of the diaries or memoirs written by actual women within this thesis have been well preserved. For example, Catherine Payton and Mary Peisley, two Quaker preachers who delayed marriage because of their work, both have compiled works on their lives taken from their own letters and diary entries. By virtue of using primary sources written by the women themselves, this approach eliminates the need to filter through the author's own beliefs and biases as they take down the account. Yes, these writings still have biases, but they are the biases of the women themselves, fundamental to their feelings, perceptions, and experiences — not that of a third party, tainting the report

To understand the narrative that this thesis presents, however, readers must understand that the origins of studying gender and femininity in colonial contexts begins with the first colonizers over-sexualizing Native women. Along with this hyper-fixation on the sexuality of Native women, Europeans often pushed the idea of femininity onto the New World in order to justify their colonization. For this reason particular attention must be paid to understanding that

[14] Dawn G. Marsh, *A Lenape among the Quakers: The Life of Hannah Freeman,* (Lincoln ; London: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 24.
[15] Benjamin Smith Barton, *New Views of the Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America* (Philadelphia: Printed for the author by John Bioren, 1797), 5.

historians present day comprehension of Lenape culture is mostly based on first hand accounts of these same European men, and as such, an awareness of this limitation must be kept in the reader's mind. Working within these constraints a picture of the Lenape and Quaker's notions of gender can be reproduced and examined to better understand the notion of womanhood in two societies in colonial Pennsylvania.

Chapter One: Depiction of Native American Women in Primary Sources, and the Lives of Lenape Women

A large problem, as discussed in the Introduction, when conducting research into any Native American group, and, in particular, research on Native women, lies in the lack of primary sources written by Native women themselves. As such, historians must sift through and critically analyze descriptions from mostly European men that, more often than not, were written with a bias. One of these biases was the perception by European men of Native women as sexual objects first and human beings second. Often colonizers hyper fixated on Native women's sexuality, which often was more liberated than its European counterpart, but as such tainted the history and how historians can piece together what the lives of Native women from differing groups were actually like. From these sources, however, the narrative of Lenape women's lives can be reconstructed together.

From the first representation of Native American women sent back to Europe, the image of the semi-nude woman was used to classify the entire continent as savage and in need of saving.[16] Europeans gendered multiple facets of the Americas as feminine to demonstrate that the land and its peoples existed within accepted gender roles of Western culture at the time and, as such, was to be conquered and subdued by European men. Because of this contextualization, the colonists saw it as their right to take and control all within this New World. Terms such as "virgin land" helped perpetuate the idea that the territory was unused, uninhabited, and therefore up for the taking by any colonial male.[17] This ideology effectively wrote the Native American groups that had populated the land for millennia out of the narrative — simplifying further the idea that Europeans had the right to colonize the landscape.

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[16] Kirsten Fischer, *The Imperial Gaze: Native American, African American, and Colonial Women in European Eyes*, (A Companion to American Women's History, Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2002), 4.
[17] Fischer, *The Imperial Gaze*, 4.

In the Engraving titled *America* by Theodor Galle (ca 1580 after a drawing by Jan Van de Straet ca 1575) the allegory of the nakedly clad, lazy, Native Americans that are in need of civilizing and saving persists.[18] The engraving includes a "native woman on a hammock, aroused from her slumber by… the conquistador… [who] plants his banner into the ground with the same firm assertion with which he will stake claim to the region and the people in it."[19] Along with the analogy of the woman, the engraving includes depictions of what Europeans would consider despicable acts to further assert their right to colonize the land. In the background of the engraving, Galle included a portrayal of cannibalism, perpetuating the notion of the Natives "savage" behavior. The modern word cannibalism itself is derived from the Carib peoples who had lived on the islands of the Caribbean, especially Guadeloupe and Dominica. Spaniards in particular used the label of cannibals to justify their enslaving of Native peoples from the Caribbean into South America for decades after first contact between Europeans and Indigenous peoples.[20]

Beyond simply feminizing the land, European colonizers went so far as to emasculate Native men by feminizing them to justify colonial expansion in the New World. By asserting a stronger masculinity of European men, the colonizers decided that,

> [the] feminized Indian men offered no competition to lusty Englishmen for the sexual interest of native women. This notion of an absent sex drive in Indian men, combined with the belief that they failed to make proper and profitable use of the land, reinforced a colonial masculinity that expressed its manhood in an impulse for sexual as well as geographical conquest.[21]

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[18] America. Engraving (ca. 1580) by Theodor Galle after a drawing by Jan van der Straet (ca. 1575). Courtesy of the Burndy Library, Dibner Institute for the History of Science and Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts
[19] Fischer, *The Imperial Gaze,* 4.
[20] Erin Stone, *Chasing Caribs: Defining Zones of Legal Indigenous Enslavement in the Circum-Caribbean, 1493-1542*, (in Damian Alan Pargas and Jeff Fynn-Paul, eds., Slaving Zones: Cultural Identities, Ideologies, in the Evolution of Global Slavery, Brill, 2018), 118.
[21] Fischer, *The Imperial Gaze*, 7.

Colonists wrote off Native men and promoted the idea that Native women needed Europeans to save them from a life of arduous work in the fields and inattentive lovers.[22] William Wood in 1634 wrote of Algonquian women that he "imagined that oppressed Indian women would gladly embrace European gender roles with their presumably lighter burdens of female domesticity".[23]

A dichotomy exists, however, with this argument as the Native women with whom colonists describe here from the Carolinas were seen as promiscuous as they had control over who they had sexual relations with and often did so out of wedlock. European men were attracted to these women because of their culture — one that was not as strict and controlling about their sexuality— while European women were held to staunch and strict standards when it came to protecting their virtue.[24] Native women, then, were both seen as attractive because of their less repressed sexuality than that of European women, while also being judged as "savage" and "wild" for it.

Similarly to European women, Lenape women existed within a domestic realm of their society. Before contact with Europeans, and the subsequent changes in Lenape lives that occurred because of it, Lenape women were primarily responsible for food production and the operation of their households.[25] Women's duties included planting, harvesting maize, and other crops, as well as collecting wood for fires.[26] In Lenape culture, the women from influential lineages decided when to plant and how to divide the crops.[27] Sources indicate that women made the decision on when to sow their crops based on extensive study of the stars. Knowledge —like

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[22] Fischer, *The Imperial Gaze*, 7.
[23] Fischer, *The Imperial Gaze,* 3.
[24] Fischer, *The Imperial Gaze,* 6.
[25] James Ciment, *Colonial America: An Encyclopedia of Social, Political, Cultural, and Economic History* (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), 275.
[26] Margaret M. Caffrey, "Complementary Power: Men and Women of the Lenni Lenape", *American Indian Quarterly* 24.1, Winter, 2000), 46.
[27] Marshall J. Becker, *Notes and Documents: Hannah Freeman: An Eighteenth-Century Lenape Living and Working among Colonial Farmers*, (*The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 114, no. 2, 1990), 257.

knowing when to plant crops and how to produce household objects such as sleeping mats and cooking pots — was passed down through the generations from mother to daughter.[28] As the Lenape were matrilineal, the influential lineages were passed through the mother's side of the family.[29]

Lenapes' views on property also set them apart from Europeans. Instead of men owning all the property and passing it from father to son as occurred in Europe, Lenape men and women both owned goods. Both genders could also incur debt, for which they were individually responsible.[30] After the introduction of European goods into Lenape society, the indigenous group still upheld their distinct notion of property when incorporating new things such as cattle and horses. For example, the research suggests that cattle would be classified as property of a woman, whereas horses were the property of men — although a woman might own a pony on which she could travel.[31]

Though Lenape marriages were often seen as unequal in terms of work by Europeans — in that women did more work than their male counterparts — it is more likely that Europeans did not understand the differing roles that each gender had. Europeans even sometimes went as far as to equate the separation of work in a marriage to slavery for the woman since they worked the fields. In European society, tending the fields was considered a job for men and as such Europeans' writing about Lenapes and other Native American groups seem to be confused by the inversion of the long held gender norm of who worked the fields. In terms of inequality of labor within marriage, John Gottlieb Ernestus Heckewelder, a Moravian Missionary who lived among Native Americans across Pennsylvania and Ohio for most of his adult life, stated that marriages were

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[28] Fur, *A Nation of Women,* 16, 18.
[29] Gunlög Fur, *A Nation of Women: Gender and Colonial Encounters Among the Delaware Indians* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 105.
[30] Caffrey, *Complementary Power*, 47.
[31] Caffrey, *Complementary Power*, 47.

entered into voluntarily and could also be dissolved by either party at any point.[32] Work within a marriage, in his opinion, seemed proportionate, and he argued that if it was not, women would not have chosen to enter into the marriage freely.[33] Since men did not work the fields, a misconception of inequality developed concerning Lenape marriages that defined the men as lazy and dependent on their wives' labor. However, the men's responsibility within the marriage centered on providing for his wife by hunting game and protecting her. If he failed her in these ways, she had the ability to leave the marriage. The husband's other duties included building their shared house and obtaining essential tools like axes, hoes, canoes, dishes, bowls.[34]

From gathered accounts, it seems that Lenape women passed down the expected responsibilities of a wife from mother to daughter. These responsibilities included tilling the ground and planting crops around the home, gathering and chopping firewood, and mounding the corn. In the winter, after the planting season finished, women turned to harvesting sugar from maple trees.[35] During this time, sometimes a woman would also accompany her husband while he was hunting.[36] If a woman joined her husband in the woods, their duties complemented each other — while the husband hunted game, sometimes having to pursue his prey for miles on foot, his wife would bring their belongings and set up camp. There she would prepare the area for her husband's return so that they could cure the meat.[37] With this division of work, accomplishing all of these arduous tasks and many others became possible without overtaxing either party. If a wife did not follow her husband into the hunting ground, however, it was not unusual for the two to be separated for a few months.

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[32] John Gottlieb Ernestus Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States*, (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1881, Project Gutenberg, 2015, Project Gutenberg Online Catalog),15-24.
[33] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, 375.
[34] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, 375-376.
[35] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, 378-381.
[36] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, 381.
[37] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, 382.

Being separated from one's spouse was not uncommon for Lenape as women often separated themselves from the village during their menstruation. In Lenape culture, regulations around menstruation existed for women as soon as they began their first period — the young women left the village for separate dwellings with other women currently menstruating for the duration of their periods. During this time the women did not do their normally assigned tasks and some sources claim that the men, especially hunters and warriors, abstained from sexual relations with the women while they were menstruating.[38]

Lenape clothing differed drastically from European's fashion of the time, as it was more gender neutral. As seen here in Peter Lindeström's drawing from 1654, Lenape attire was similar between genders. Instead of drastically gendered clothing, the Lenape distinguished one's role or gender by smaller adornments.[39] In the drawing the woman is holding a gourd to signify her work in the fields, while the man has a bow and arrow on his back to indicate his hunting abilities. The man and the woman alike are holding long tobacco pipes signaling the significance of tobacco to Lenape society. Lindeström further wrote that the "habit of the women is the same as that of the men, the only difference being in the adornment of the hair."[40] Not much more is said on Lenape's hairstyle, only that it differed between genders and did not signify a difference in the status of the individual. The man, woman, and child in the engraving are all also wearing wampum belts — an important piece of Lenape culture through which accounts of treaties and accords were told in physical form. As worn by the individual, however, the Wampum belts were accessories and signified the status of the wearer.[41]

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[38] Fur, *A Nation of Women*, 106.
[39] Pehr Lindheström, *Geographia Americae, eller, Indiae Occidentalis,* (Manuscript from 1691), as cited in Gunlög Fur, *A Nation of Women: Gender and Colonial Encounters Among the Delaware Indians*, 26.
[40] Lindheström, as cited in Gunlög Fur, *A Nation of Women*, 25.
[41] Fur, *A Nation of Women*, 25.

Children's relationship to their parents was not as straightforward as in the nuclear families of European societies. Since Lenapes permitted divorce, some women had children who had different fathers, which made Lenape families more complex and elaborate. Children belonged to the mother's lineage if a father decided to leave and therefore, instead of a nuclear family, each individual was part of their larger kin group, which normally would supported each person regardless of sex or marital status.[42] Therefore, a woman in Lenape culture could thrive even without a man directly responsible for her as she still existed within her community group.[43]

When someone died or grieving was necessary throughout the community, Lenape women and men had different roles related to eachother. Some sources indicate that women were expected to grieve outwardly and wail loudly and would often start arguments in order to express themselves. Men, on the other hand, were expected to grieve privately and remain stoic in public. During funeral processions, each gender had specific tasks assigned. The same evidence claims that women dug the graves while the men made the coffins.[44] Specific women were also appointed the role of announcing a death and lamenting it throughout the village.[45] In this depiction of the mourning ritual, the grieving woman would start the funeral progression by wailing and follow the procession parallel to the corpse while carrying kettles and other such goods to the person's final resting place.[46] Finally, after reaching the burial ground and taking time for silent reflection, a group of men would cover the body. At this point in the ceremony a group of women would attempt to stop the men to ask the corpse if they would awaken and come back to them. Following this part of the ritual, the men would finish covering the body and lower it into the ground.[47] From this source's perspective, for the most part, the woman carried the emotional side of the funeral,

[42] Caffrey, *Complementary Power*, 46-49.
[43] Caffrey, *Complementary Power*, 50.
[44] Caffrey, *Complementary Power*, 46.
[45] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, 676.
[46] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, 680.
[47] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, 684-685.

weeping and mourning openly, while the men, though more reserved emotionally, physically carried the body to its final resting place and lowered it into the ground.

As seen in their death practices, women and men's roles in Lenape society often complemented each other. While moving as Lenape migrated seasonally, women carried food, supplies, clothing, and small children so that the men's hands were free to defend the group as they moved.[48] While the women spent time in the fields cultivating crops, the men spent the winter hunting to supplement their diets with meat.[49] Certain tasks took on even more symbiotic relationships. For example, women would spin hemp from which men would create fishing nets and men would clear forest space so that women could plant crops on that land.[50]

In contrast to European societies, these gendered roles were relatively more fluid. Young and old men, for example, would often help with tasks that the Lenape generally defined as women's work. With women sometimes hunting small game and fishing and men working in the fields, a blurred line existed between defined gender roles in Lenape society. The historian Gunlög Fur points out that Lenapes' "strict gender differentiation regarding chores is more the result of European expectations and reporting than the rigid nature of actual practice."[51] Other sources, however, indicate that Native men could be embarrassed to be seen doing women's work.[52] A letter from 1627 of Issack De Rasieres, describes Lenape culture by stating that "men would not once look to [farming], for it would compromise their dignity too much."[53] Fur also cites this letter, adding to the confusion about this matter. This example between different gender norms is used to describe conflicting conclusions about an integral and elemental part of Lenape culture.

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[48] Fur, *A Nation of Women*, 84-85.
[49] Fur, *A Nation of Women*,18.
[50] Fur, *A Nation of Women,*19.
[51] Fur, *A Nation of Women*,19.
[52] Caffrey, *Complementary Power*, 45.
[53] Isaack De Rasieres, and John Romeyn Brodhead, *Letter from Isaack de Rasieres to Samuel Blommaert*, (Royal library at the Hague, transmitted by Dr. M.F.A.G. Campbell to the N.Y. Historical Society. New-York, 1849), 348.

Differences in reporting aspects of Lenape culture can again be seen in a letter written by De Rasieres when he describes marriage practices. He may have superimposed the European cultural importance of virginity onto Lenape society when he described a six-week ritual that women participated in before their weddings.[54] During this time Rasieres details how, "[a Lenape woman] [bewailed] and [lamented] over her virginity… with a blanket over her head, without wishing to look at anyone, or anyone being permitted to look upon her."[55] This ritual provokes questions into how much De Rasieres may have been projecting his own beliefs and assumptions onto Lenape culture through his description.

Another discrepancy lies in De Rasieres's reporting of how a divorce could take place. He wrote that if the woman was unfaithful, she would be brought in front of the "Sakima" or leader and would have her head shaved and be called a "poerochque," or whore, and driven from her house with her children. If the man were unfaithful, then he would also be brought before the "Sakima" stripped and kicked out of the house. While this may have occurred, other sources offer a contradictory view as within Lenape society a married couple lived with the women's family as she and her children belonged to her kin network; divorces normally were the result of a mutual agreement to end the relationship and the man moved out of the shared house.[56] Divorce was not as disruptive as in European culture because the lineage family superseded the nuclear family.[57] As such, everyone belonged to a group that would take care of them whether parents divorced or died. With this example of a contrary conclusion, historians must take extra precautions while making claims about Lenape culture.

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[54] Isaack De Rasieres, and John Romeyn Brodhead, *Letter from Isaack de Rasieres to Samuel Blommaert*, (Royal library at the Hague, transmitted by Dr. M.F.A.G. Campbell to the N.Y. Historical Society. New-York, 1849), 347.
[55] Rasieres, *Letter from Isaack de Rasieres to Samuel Blommaert*, 347.
[56] Fur, *A Nation of Women*, 105.
[57] Caffrey, *Complementary Power*, 49; John Gottlieb Ernestus Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States*, (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1881, Project Gutenberg, 2015, Project Gutenberg Online Catalog), 646.

Though contradictory sources are often what historians have to work with, after piecing the sources together and critically thinking about what the sources say and who wrote them, the lives of Lenape women can be understood. One major bias that has to be overcome in the study of Native women is their over-sexualization and how that affects their depiction in the sources that have survived. This hyper-sexualization stems from European colonists attempting to validate their conquering of Native lands and its people and simply the cultural differences between the staunch and strict rules that European women had to abide by and the relative freedom that Native women, in this case the Lenape women, had around their sexuality.[58] From colonists accounts, though, historians have composed the narrative of Lenape women being mothers, farmers, and matriarchs within their society. Though the Lenape were forced to integrate into either other Native groups or colonial society after the Walking Purchase of 1737 (talked more about in detail in chapter three), studying their history, and especially their women's history, is important to keeping their memory alive, as well as to further understanding that women held, and still hold today, differing roles in different cultures.[59] The Lenape were a piece of the larger picture of colonial America and, as such, studying their conception of gender helps historians narrow in on gender across colonial America. In terms of colonial Pennsylvania's history, examining Lenape women's gender roles helps contextualize the larger picture of how much dynamics shifted in the Delaware Valley after the Walking Purchase of 1737.

[58] Fischer, *The Imperial Gaze*, 6.
[59] Ciment, *Colonial America*, 493.

Chapter Two: Gender Roles of Quakers: How Quaker Women Differed from their Colonial Counterparts

Like their Lenape neighbors, historians often depict eighteenth-century Quaker, or The Religious Society of Friends, communities as more equitable than other Protestant denominations and neighboring societies. As in most instances, however, the reality was more complex as patriarchy still existed as the default for family structures.[60] Although both the father and mother were seen as at the top of the family's power hierarchy (which consisted of parents, children, and servants), the father still ranked above the mother, and the women were legally obligated to submit to their husbands.[61] That is not to say that Quaker women led a wholly subjugated life, void of leadership or autonomy. In fact, there were several avenues in which Quaker women exerted unique, or at least unique to their contemporaries, control. Quaker women organized all women's meetings, which were focused on charitable acts, but also served as a dynamic social grouping in which older women could monitor the actions of younger women to ensure that they followed the meeting's doctrine.[62] Quaker women could become ministers and were free to preach. Through this line of work, some traveled extensively and often delayed marriage to dedicate themselves better to their Church, or as the Religious Society of Friends often call it, their Meeting.[63] Additionally, though women could not sit on juries or act as judges, they could testify at court, allowing them autonomy in cases as well as adding perspective on women's affairs.[64] As a result of these liberties, Quaker women held social power,

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[60] Stephen W. Angel, *Early Quaker Women and the Testimony of the Family, 1652–1767*, (Printed in "New Critical Studies on Early Quaker Women, 1650-1800,", Michele Lise Tarter and Catie Gill, Oxford Scholarship Online, May 2018), 17.

[61] Rebecca Larson, *Daughters of light : Quaker women preaching and prophesying in the colonies and abroad, 1700-1775* (New York : Knopf, 1999), 136.

[62] Soderlund, *Quaker Women in Lenape Country*, 222.

[63] Larson, *Daughters of light*, 134.

[64] Jean R. Soderlund, *Quaker Women in Lenape Country: Defining Community on the West New Jersey Frontier,* (Oxford University Press, 2018), 222.

similar to that of Lenape women, within their community but also emphasized intellectual freedom, whereas Lenape women held commercial control over their society through their oversight of the crops. Through these similarities and differences, two distinct conceptualizations of gender emerged.

Additionally, Quaker women received a higher level of education compared to other groups of women in the colonies. Women before the Reformation in England had had the chance to obtain training in the arts or an education through the convents. Though these women were shut away from society when they moved into the convents, they still had the opportunity to obtain an education. Not long after, the birth of Protestantism meant that Catholic nunneries were no longer an option, thus, education for girls dropped dramatically. When George Fox, the founder of the Religious Society of Friends, came across the dilemma of women and their education, his preachings addressed this by acknowledging "no dividing line between class and class or man and woman. The Light of God, the presence of God Himself within the soul — this only it recognized and honored." [65] Fox's teachings asserted that women could pursue other endeavors such as preaching and an education and were no longer constrained by marriage being their only option.

By a decree, all towns in colonial America mandated publicly funded schools for both boys and girls, although the education was far from equitable — girls' education often stopped at simple reading and arithmetic. The Religious Society of Friends' settlements had a reputation for setting higher standards for their schools than Protestants, and the women were expected to perform and achieve the same level of education as their male counterparts.[66] With these higher

[65] Mabel Richmond Brailsford, *Quaker Women 1650-1690*, (London:, Duckworth & Cco., 1915), 10.
[66] Hymowitz, Carol and Michaele Weissman, *A History of Women in America* (New York: Bantam Books, 1978), 20.

standards of education came more freedoms and responsibilities within society; they could participate in legal proceedings, organize their own meetings, and become ministers.

Though Quaker women faced similar legal restrictions as their contemporaries, they also had areas of relative freedom, such as participating in trials as witnesses and litigates.[67] Because women's testimony held meaning in the Religious Society of Friends, they were able to stand up to wrongs committed against them, especially if they banded together. In one case, a rapist was found guilty as a result of the testimony of prominent Quaker women within the victim's community. The victim, Elizabeth Hutcheson, was examined by the women, who came to the conclusion that the sexual intercourse between Hutcheson and her attacker, Charles Sheepey (a servant who lived within her parents' household) was forced.[68] The women, among whom were wives of justices, testified that,

> And that they finde it soe with relation to the state of her body; That whereas the said Sheepey declares hee hath had the use of her body severall tymes, The said Sheepey hath greatly wronged her in saying soe, As to them plainly appeares according to the naturall course of women, And that to the best of their understandings, What hath beene done, by the said Sheepey hath beene forcibly: And further they desire they make knowne the matter (for modestys sake) to some particular modest person, who may give the Jury a more particular relation thereof: which the Court approve of.[69]

Since these women were more knowledgeable than men about women's anatomy and experiences, and the case would not have been successful without their observations and testimony. Though women still could not sit as jurors or prosecute cases as lawyers, Quaker women held unique power in their society as their voices were listened to and respected in the courts.

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[67] Soderlund, *Quaker Women in Lenape Country*, 222.
[68] Soderlund, *Quaker Women in Lenape Country*, 233.
[69] Clay H. Reed and George J. Miller, *The Burlington Court Book: A Record of Quaker Jurisprudence in West New Jersey, 1680–1709*, (Washington, DC: American Historical Association. eds. 1944).

Quaker women held further influence and power in their communities through organized monthly meetings. The women's monthly meetings for business began in 1681 as a result of the growing number of Friends in the colonies and for "the better management of the discipline and other affairs of the church more proper to be inspected by their sex."[70] Principally, these meetings served as religious gatherings — both as a place for devout members to convene as well as a location of instruction for both young and new members of the group.[71] This principal purpose, however, was far from the only one: they additionally served as an opportunity to discuss matters of business and to organize acts of charity, such as by providing relief to the poor. More broadly, however, they served to supervise and moderate the actions of the women, particularly younger women, in the group. By way of enforcing decrees about modesty and managing marriages within the Religious Society of Friends, older Quaker women ensured that the younger ones adhered to the rules, practices, and faith of the community. When women deviated from the rules, the meetings also served as a place of discipline.[72]

A specific form of social surveillance was the women's meetings' oversight of marriages. Continual marriage of Friends to Friends arose from the need to grow the faith. To become married, both parties had to demonstrate good standing of membership and marry within the Religious Society of Friends. The consequences of not following these rules included exclusion of the couple from community membership. Exclusion sometimes even extended as far as to the parents. The Meeting disciplined the parents if it could be proven that they had been inattentive

[70] Preface, (Burlington Monthly Meeting, Women's Minutes, 1681-1747, Swarthmore MSS), as AQAs quoted in Mary Maples Dunn, "Saints and Sisters: Congregational and Quaker Women in the Early Colonial Period," (*American Quarterly* Vol. 30., No. 5, Special Issue: Women and Religion (Winter, 1978), pp. 582-601), 599.
[71] Women's Quarterly Meeting for the County of York (Society of Friends), *An epistle from the Women's Quarterly Meeting for the county of York : held at Leeds, the 26th and 27th of the 12th month, 1781, to the Monthly and Preparative Meetings constituting the same,* (London: Printed by James Phillips, 1782), 5-6.
[72] Soderlund, *Quaker Women in Lenape Country*, 222.

to their child's religious upbringing.[73] The meetings, therefore, assigned a group of members to moderate the marriage process to ensure that the marriage followed the Friends' beliefs. The members conducted interviews with the couple to ensure that they were steadfast in their religious beliefs and furthermore to assess their likelihood of successfully raising their children within the religion. One criterion discussed was the reputation of the couple, which acted as a way to control both men's and women's behaviors. Without approval from both the men's meeting as well as the women's, the marriage could not occur.[74]

These meeting places also served as the social core of Quaker women's lives. Though the meetings' schedule depended on the congregation, at a minimum, the group met every week on Sundays. Sometimes congregations met more often and in some instances, women attended multiple times per week. For example, Elizabeth Sandwith, a Friend who was born and raised in Philadelphia and was in good standing with the Meeting went twelve times in the month of April 1759.[75] These meetings served religious, commercial, and social purposes within the Religious Society of Friends and as such, given the frequency with which Quaker women attended the meetings, it becomes apparent that the meetings were a central part of these women's lives.[76]

Quaker women also could go beyond leadership in their meeting holding leadership positions within their society as preachers and ministers as well. Unlike other Western religions at the time that believed that women did not belong in teaching roles within the Church, the Religious Society of Friends embraced female ministers. These women's experiences contrasted sharply with, for example, Catholic women who pursued a life dedicated to the Church. Unlike

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[73] Mary Maples Dunn, "Saints and Sisters": *Congregational and Quaker Women in the Early Colonial Period*, (*American Quarterly* Vol. 30, No. 5, Special Issue: Women and Religion (Winter, 1978), pp. 582-601), 600.
[74] Dunn, *Saints and Sisters*, 600.
[75] *Diary of Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker, April, 1759, vol. 1,* (In E. Crane Ed., Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, Retrieved from North American Women's Letters and Diaries database, 26-30, 1991).
[76] Rhoads, *Catawissa*, 8-9; Brinton, *Quaker Practice*; Barbour and Frost, *Quakers*, 77 as quoted in *Diary of Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker, October, 1758, vol. 1,* (In E. Crane Ed., Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, Retrieved from North American Women's Letters and Diaries database, 8, 1991).

nuns, female Quaker ministers did not have to forsake marriage or children.[77] Quaker women had a greater ability to wield independence and autonomy in their duties, and maintained a more central role in their religion. Catholic nuns, by contrast, were relegated to the sidelines in duties, despite the responsibilities, such as teaching, caring for the sick, or dedicating themselves to prayer, they could hold within the Catholic Church, when compared to the power that priests held. Catholic nuns to this day cannot administer sacraments nor say mass. Quaker women, in contrast, could lead services — and more than that, they could hold positions equivalent to those of male spiritual leaders. Instead of discriminating against women because of gender, the Friends believed that every person had the chance to be reborn in the spirit and that a women's sex did not affect her spiritual experiences or detract from the Divine Light within her.[78] Citing the Biblical examples of Mary, Mary Magdalen, Hannah, Susannah, Miriam, and Martha, the Religious Society of Friends asserted that women could play active and prophetic roles.[79]

In addition, while Catholic priests and nuns alike denied their carnal desires and lived lives of celibacy, both male and female preachers in Quakerism were permitted to marry and, more often than not, did. The Religious Society of Friends addressed the issue of celibacy by accepting that preachers were both humans as well as spiritual vessels. They argued that they addressed their congregation "by [not] denying their gendered identities or procreative capacities, but by speaking from an Inner Light."[80] The Religious Society of Friends understood that every human has sexual needs and a sexual side and instead of repressing it to become closer to God and understand His teachings, they relied on their "Inner Light" to guide them spiritually.

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[77] Larson, *Daughters of light*, 134.
[78] Dunn, *Saints and Sisters*, 595.
[79] Dunn, *Saints and Sisters*, 597.
[80] Larson, *Daughters of light*), 134.

Most women preachers did marry. They did not, however, do so right away; often they delayed their marriages so that they could devote themselves to the Meeting and to God first. These women frequently traveled to preach and, as such, embraced the independence that single life offered them. Catherine Payton, a minister who put off marrying until forty-five, explained, "My mind had been... under strong restrictions in regard to entering into the marriage state… for as it appeared that for a series of years I should be much engaged in traveling for the service of Truth, I feared to indulge thoughts of forming a connection, which... might tend to frustrate the intention of Divine wisdom respecting me."[81] When she did marry William Phillips, he was a widower with two daughters. Their marriage stemmed from a long friendship during which they remained mutually oblivious to the other's feelings. Once those feelings came to light, they decided to marry.[82] Had she not married at all, however, that also would not have been abnormal as Quaker women could choose to abstain from marriage altogether. It was entirely acceptable for Quaker women during this time to embrace single life.[83]

Mary Peisley, an Irish Friend who traveled to the Americas on her pastoral work, likewise, delayed marriage until the age of thirty-nine. Paisley, like Payton, acted cautiously around men so as to protect herself from leading someone on and to avoid marriage. At the earlier points of these women's lives, they wanted to focus solely on their ministerial work without having the specific constraints and responsibilities that would apply to them after marriage. These women acted prudently about emotional entanglements, fearing that it might divert their attention from their religious services and from their devotion to God.[84] Peisley wrote about her views on this, stating, "my own affections and the affections of others, would . . . have

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[81] Catherine Payton Phillips, *Memoirs of the life of Catherine Phillips,* (London: Printed and sold by James Phillips and Sons, 1797), 207.
[82] Phillips, *Memoirs of the life of Catherine Phillips,* 210.
[83] Dunn, *Saints and Sisters*, 596.
[84] Larson, *Daughters of light* , 136.

stolen me out of His hand, who has an absolute right to dispose of my body and spirit, which are His."[85] Many of these women were fearful of marriage during their ministerial years because they would become legally obliged to be obedient to their husbands.[86] The idea of being utterly subservient to another besides God caused the female preachers to worry that their relationship with and ability to serve God would become overshadowed or tainted by their loyalty and emotions towards their husbands.

Beyond these fears, female Quaker preachers faced another obstacle — in general, their ministry was not accepted outside their own community, in other religions or societies. These women, though accepted in their own religion, were persecuted by others. Most Protestants at the time believed that the Religious Society of Friends, as a whole, preached heresy, and allowing their women to become ministers was simply another demonstration of their blasphemy. Though female Quaker ministers traveled often for work, they always had to be mindful of their company. These women could face legal prosecution for their beliefs and practice of preaching, and some were "fined, whipped, jailed, pillared, and in a few instances hanged."[87]

Unlike other Protestant religions who still often believe in the subjugation of women, within the beliefs of the Religious Society of Friends, equality between the genders reemerged, as a consequence of Jesus Christ's sacrifice. Fox long championed gender equality and spoke of how in Genesis, through Eve's betrayal of Adam, the idea of her inferiority to her husband started to take hold. However, after the fall Fox preached that,

> For man and woman were helpsmeet, in the image of God and in Righteousness and holiness, in the dominion before they fell; but, after the Fall, in the transgression, the man was to rule over his wife. But in the restoration by Christ

[85] Mary Neale, *Some account of the life and religious exercises of Mary Neale, formerly Mary Peisley. Principally compiled from her own writings* (Evans Early Inprint Collection, Dublin, 1796).
[86] Larson, *Daughters of light*, 136.
[87] Hymowitz, *A History of Women in America*, 21.

> into the image of God and His righteousness and holiness again, in that they are helpsmeet, man and woman, as they were before the Fall.[88]

In other words, before the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, women were guilty of perpetrating the Original Sin, but after Christ died for their sins, through rebirth and baptism, women and men were established as equal again.

As such the Religious Society of Friends saw no problem in having women ministers or giving them their own autonomy over women's meetings, which meant women had more need for a quality education which served to furthered their independence and autonomy. Through the Friend's belief in a more equitable relationship between men and women, their ability to serve as witnesses and litigates gave women a voice in the courts to protect themselves, and each other from abuse. Though still an unequal power dynamic existed in the Religious Society of Friends, it is another important example of the different ways in which women's gender roles have been dynamic and changing throughout history. Examining the Quaker's conceptualization of gender and womanhood is also integral to piecing together the bigger picture of gender within colonial America. Through studying this smaller aspect a clearer and more dynamic picture emerges as Quaker women often differed from their colonial counterparts.

[88] As quoted in Dunn, *Saints and Sisters*, 596.

Chapter Three: Comparison of North Eastern Native Women to Their European Counterparts

The history of colonial America, especially women's history, has commonly been treated as a "monolithic event" — each cultural group studied separately as if they did not interact and intertwine into a grander picture of the history of the Americas.[89] This more complicated and intricate history can be seen through the examples of Native American and colonial women, who moved within each other's society. Settling and colonizing the New World transformed each individual group's definition of themselves as well as the Native Americans narrative with whom they now interacted with on a daily basis.

As is often the case when different groups meet, intergroup marriages bring into question power dynamics about which culture will dominate. This was the same between colonists and Native Americans. Some feared that intermarriages between the two groups, especially of lower ranking men, would lead to total assimilation of the colonists into Native cultures and societies. Others, however, saw mixed marriages as a way for colonists to cement their power in the New World through land acquisition as well as conversion of the women to Christianity.[90]

In the Delaware Valley, Europeans understood marriage, sexuality, and child rearing as the potential for power. Through studying the Europeans' colonization efforts, it becomes apparent that the colonists knew the social significance that marriage had over their attempts to alter Lenape culture. However, they ignorantly equated Lenape sexuality to that of "wild people" and to acting like animals. Europeans held distaste for the lack of an easily visible gendered hierarchy within Lenape society by slandering Lenape traditions in their written records.[91]

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[89] Miller, Gwen A, *Contact and Conquest in Colonial North America*, (A Companion to American Women's History, Edited by Nancy A. Hewitt, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2002), 35.
[90] Fischer, Kirsten, *The Imperial Gaze: Native American, African American, and Colonial Women in European Eyes*, (A Companion to American Women's History, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2007), 8.
[91] Gunlög Fur, *A Nation of Women: Gender and Colonial Encounters Among the Delaware Indians* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 104-105.

Mentions of sexuality and sexual practices were often omitted from European accounts as Fur writes,

> Delaware sexuality was certainly not something amply discussed in the sources, and when it received mention it was rarely an Indian expressing him- or herself on the subject. How men and women personally experienced sexuality in their daily lives remains obscure, as we have no descriptions or specific examples of how Delawares conceived of various aspects of eroticism.[92]

As with many other aspects of Lenape's experiences, sexuality remains obscure as sexual practices were rarely mentioned in European accounts, and even less likely to have been written by Lenape themselves.[93]

Another instance of European and Lenape culture conflicting lies in the Lenapes matrilineal society. Power and inheritance was not passed down from father to son in Lenape culture as was the case in Europe, and as such affected European perceptions of the Lenapes sense of authority. In Lenape society, children belonged to the mothers lineage if a father decided to leave and, as such, the children often had closer relationships to their maternal uncles than their fathers. Lenape siblings collectively treated and raised their children together to the point where they often considered nieces and nephews like their own children.[94]

These differing notions of marriage or simply sexual relations and emotional bonds creates a cultural divide between Europeans, Lenape, and in reality any group culturally different from that of Europe. One of the main difficulties of Europeans understanding Lenape ways of life as well as historians today studying other cultures, lies in the language of records as many times European colonists imposed their own cultural norms and vernacular onto cultures, such as the Lenape, where the idea of marriage did not exist as they were used to.

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[92] Fur, *A Nation of Women*, 105.
[93] Fur, *A Nation of Women*, 105.
[94] Fur, *A Nation of Women*, 105.

A way in which European culture of marriage also differed from Lenape was through changing of family ties after the union. Europeans emphasized that through a marriage loyalties changed, as afterwards, importance was stressed on the couple and, especially for the women, lineage ties softened as the idea of the future family the marriage could bring took over. However, in Lenape culture this was not the case. Even after a relationship that may have had similarities to the European notion of marriage was entered into, Native kinship networks and one's lineage, normally through the mother's side, overpowered the linkage between the couple.[95]

European's patriarchal emphasis on family ties after marriage and their strict rules of virtue meant that women were on average more constrained and had less freedom and independence. Lenape societies, in general, however, were more egalitarian than colonial or European ones. Women had more liberties to move around, be heard, and control their lives than their European counterparts. For instance, Lenape women could travel long distances either alone or with other women.[96] The negotiation of a marriage further differed from European culture in that the couples' respective mothers would mediate the union. After the mothers noticed a budding relationship between their children, they would visit each other's houses and bring items that their children had made to demonstrate their competence; either a form of meat from the man's mother or a dish cooked by the daughter from her harvest in the fields.[97] While eighteenth-century Europeans allowed third and even second cousins to marry, Lenape considered such a close degree of intermarriage unacceptable.[98] Along with dissimilar views on who a person could marry, Lenape women were also more likely to family plan whereas many

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[95] Fur, *A Nation of Women*, 106.
[96] Margaret M. Caffrey, "Complementary Power: Men and Women of the Lenni Lenape", *American Indian Quarterly* 24.1, Winter, 2000), 50.
[97] John Gottlieb Ernestus Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States*, (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1881, Project Gutenberg, 2015, Project Gutenberg Online Catalog), 392-394.
[98] Isaack De Rasieres, and John Romeyn Brodhead, *Letter from Isaack de Rasieres to Samuel Blommaert*, (Royal library at the Hague, transmitted by Dr. M.F.A.G. Campbell to the N.Y. Historical Society. New-York, 1849), 349.

Christian societies strongly urge against any form of birth control. Lenape women, on average, had fewer children than their European counterparts. This disparity in the number of births partially stems from Lenape women breastfeeding longer and would often abstain from sexual intercourse while breastfeeding to plan her family.[99]

Sometimes Native women decided to intermarry with European colonists. Native women who chose to marry European colonists created a link between their culture and the Europeans. In the Great Lakes region many different peoples and cultures intersected during the time of colonization. Here, during French colonization specifically, Native groups were held together through kinship — as such, to cement social relations many French colonists, or coureurs de bois, intermarried Native women in order to tap into these kin networks. Hunting grounds and trading networks for furs were determined by one's kin network.[100]

Often, these women were the first to learn European languages and as such were able to act as interpreters for political negotiations as well as for everyday encounters. Native women often challenged European cultural norms of men existing as the arbiter of agriculture and trade within their societies. As Native women's cultural norms in the North East, demonstrated by the Lenapes, put them in charge of agriculture and sometimes trade, this challenged Europeans' fundamental ideas of gender norms. With the production of food, rearing of children, and overall domestic connotation, this placed women in a position of "ambiguity and mediation function [which] also involved the potential for fluidity — women could move from one position on this scale to another, crossing boundaries in the process."[101] In areas where Native women married

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[99] Caffrey, *Complementary Power*, 50.
[100] Sleeper-Smith, Susan, *[A]n Unpleasant Transaction on This Frontier": Challenging Female Autonomy and Authority at Michilimackinac,* (Journal of the Early Republic 25, no. 3 (2005), 417.
[101] Gunlög Fur, *Reading Margins: Colonial Encounters in Sápmi and Lenapehoking in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, (Feminist Studies 32 (3) (Fall) 2006), 494.

European colonists, however, and knew both the local language and the European one of her husbands, colonists had no choice but to accept that they would have to negotiate with women.[102]

Isabel Montour was an example of this intergroup marriage who then was able to act as an interpreter on the Pennsylvania frontier. Isabel, born in 1667 to Pierre Couc a French farmer and Marie an Algonquian in the region of Trois-Rivieres, was raised bilingual like most children born during this time to both a French and Native American parent. In 1706 Montour worked with her brother to solidify trade of furs between the Iroquois and New York. After her brother's assassination in 1710 she succeeded to be the head of the Mississagués delegation to Albany at the age of 42. Here she helped Governor Hunter in translating documents from Iroquoian dialect into English. However, soon after she met Carondowana an Oneiout (Oneida) sachem, with whom she married and had two children. Montour declined an offer by the French Canadian Colonial government to work for them and settled her family in Pennsylvania on the Susquehanna river prior to her death in 1752.[103] Isabel Montour demonstrates the importance of women, especially mixed or Native women, in early colonial life as both interpreters and diplomats.

The historiography on women like Montour illuminates much about European's perception of Native cultures and societies. As much of the sources that survive today tell us about this pivotal time were those written down by European colonists, their biases and, in this case, marginalization of Native Women no matter their actual importance in their societies demonstrates again a gap in the history. Gunlög Fur describes colonialists asserting their own cultural norms onto their interactions with Native Americans stating, "the colonizer's gaze

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[102] Gwen A Miller, *Contact and Conquest in Colonial North America*, (A Companion to American Women's History, Edited by Nancy A. Hewitt, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2002) 36.
[103] Denys Delâge, *MADAME MONTOUR (ELISABETH OU ISABELLE COUC) 1667-1752*, (Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec, 36, (1), 2006) 89-90.

bestows subjectivity on some Native males, perceived as influential in their societies, while marginalizing and making invisible Native women."[104]

Lenape women and missionaries held a tumultuous relationship as the influence of the Delaware women was misunderstood and underestimated by the missionaries. The missionaries let their biases against women for their "allegedly disruptive and evil manifestations, a view colored by the European view of the relationship between women, female sexuality, and Satan."[105] This was a dangerous position to hold as it minimized the power that Lenape women had both in the influence they held over the conversion of their children, their spiritual authority, and the sway that they held in social relations such as marriages. European men, through this ignorance, and the way that it went against their notion of gendered hierarchy, often described Lenape and Native women in general as either initiating or provoking opposition against Europeans influencing their society.[106]

For the Lenape, all of these tensions and differences came to a head after William Penn's creation of the colony of Pennsylvania. In 1681, William Penn's "holy experiment" of a Quaker colony began, and he attempted to create a tolerant and peaceful relationship with the Lenape.[107] However, after Penn's death his descendants defrauded the Lenape of the rest of their ancestral land through the Walking Purchase of 1737. The terms of this Purchase between the Lenape and the colony of Pennsylvania were that Pennsylvania would be given the title to all the land from which a man could walk in one day. However, the colonial officials cheated by hiring three runners instead to run along a trail already blazed down to make it easier. As a result, the Lenape were forced to cede much more of their territory than they had anticipated, effectively losing the

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[104] Fur, *Reading Margins*, 493.
[105] Fur, *A Nation of Women*, 101.
[106] Fur, *A Nation of Women*, 101-102.
[107] James Ciment, *Colonial America: An Encyclopedia of Social, Political, Cultural, and Economic History* (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), 1040.

last of their land in the Delaware Valley forcing them to integrate into either other Native groups, or colonial society.[108]

Lenape along with the loss of their ancestral land, faced growing pressure from wars with the Iroquois, and disease. As a result, some Lenape chose to integrate into other Native American groups or to move further west or north.[109] However, after the Walking Purchase of 1737, some chose to stay on their ancestral land and to adapt to colonial society.[110] Hannah Freeman and her family chose this option after her birth in Kennett Township around the year 1730.[111] After Freeman and her two younger brothers' births, her father decided to move back north onto Lenape land in Shamokin. Afterward, the family consisted of Freeman, her mother, and grandmother, and they traveled between Delaware, Southern New Jersey, and South Eastern Pennsylvania.[112]

Freeman's later life marked a significant crossroads about who lived in Chester County, Pennsylvania. By the 1790s, Freeman had been working for various local farming families spinning flax or making baskets and brooms. Renowned in the area for her medical knowledge, families would often take their sick to her instead of the local physician.[113] One of the last of her generation, and of those who chose to stay, Freeman's old age marked a time between when many in the area remembered Lenapes living as their neighbors; and one when fewer and fewer settlers personally knew any Lenape people.[114] The arrival of settlers led to massive changes in

[108] Ciment, *Colonial America*, 493.
[109] Ciment, *Colonial America*, 602.
[110] Marshall J. Becker, *Notes and Documents: Hannah Freeman: An Eighteenth-Century Lenape Living and Working among Colonial Farmers*, (*The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 114, no. 2, 1990), 252.
[111] Quoted in Becker, *Notes and Documents*, 251.
[112] Though Hannah had two younger brothers after the reference to their births they are only briefly mentioned and their fate is uncertain from the source. Quoted in Becker, *Notes and Documents*, 251.
[113] Dawn G. Marsh, *A Lenape among the Quakers: The Life of Hannah Freeman,* (Lincoln ; London: University of Nebraska Press, 2014). 8.
[114] Marsh, *A Lenape among the Quakers*, 9.

the landscape of Chester County, as the settlers dammed streams and placed fences, the land was transformed, and so hunting and Lenapes' seasonal migrations became impossible.[115]

In Freeman's old age, in Lenape culture, she would have been treated with deference. Especially with her medicinal knowledge, she would have been sought after by younger women in the community to learn their roles and place. Freeman's society would have seen her as a keeper of their culture, and she would have passed down the ceremonial responsibilities to the younger generation. Instead, Freeman was often seen as a burden to her neighbors for her stubbornness in refusing to leave her ancestral lands that had been stolen from her people. As she became more infirm each year, she was unable to work to support herself and her neighbors had to work to take care of her.[116]

In 1797, when her neighbors met to agree upon the responsibilities for Freeman's care, Moses Marshall, acting as the Justice of Peace, took down her account of her life. During this trial, Moses Marshall and the other neighbors attempted to trace Freeman's assimilation into Quaker and European society. Her ability to receive security in her old age, like her neighbors taking on her expenses and eventually committing her to the poor house, rested on documentation that she had turned far enough away from her culture and peoples.[117]

Freeman eventually died in the poor house in 1802 and was buried in the Chester County Home graveyard with a plaque marking her grave.[118] Her life demonstrates the changes in the Lenape way of life after the Walking Purchase Treaty of 1737, as well as similarities and differences attained between Lenape and Quaker women during her lifetime in Pennsylvania. In colonial Pennsylvania, the history of Lenape women is integral to understanding the changing

[115] Marsh, *A Lenape among the Quakers*, 17.
[116] Marsh, *A Lenape among the Quakers*, 14.
[117] Marsh, *A Lenape among the Quakers*, 23.
[118] Becker, *Notes and Documents*, 268.

dynamics before and after the Walking Purchase of 1737. By looking into how the land and culture shifted, focusing on Lenape women like Hannah Freeman illustrates how much autonomy the Lenape as a people lost, and the changing dynamics of colonial Pennsylvanian's memories of living as neighbors to the Lenape.

Conclusion:

Today the Lenape that remain and choose to live on the federally recognized reservation have been moved to Oklahoma and Kansas with tribal headquarters in each state.[119] Meanwhile, Quakers still have meetings across Pennsylvania, including in Germantown, and multiple locations in Philadelphia.[120] However, in Newlin Township, Chester County, just off of Embreeville Road, sits a Historical Land marker for Hannah Freeman. The marker on the rock reads "Here Rests/ Indian Hannah/ The Last of the Lenni-Lenape/ Indians in Chester County/ who died in 1802" and was put down by the Chester County Historical Society in 1909.[121] And yet, this statement is not necessarily true — as of the 2010 Census, 13,000 Native Americans live in Philadelphia, identifying as part of not only the Lenape but Cherokee, Navajo, Cree, Seminole, and Creek tribes.[122] Lenape history then, to this day, is burdened by the biased lens of Eurocentric thought. Freeman was not in fact the last Lenape of Chester County, but simply the last we have chosen to remember.

Through an examination of Lenape history — a reconstructed history held in comparison to its neighbor, The Religious Society of Friends — two different conceptualizations of gender and womanhood emerges.. Lenape women wielded power both socially and economically as they influenced marriages and controlled the production and harvesting of crops. As a matrilineal society, these women held more personal freedom within their marriages, buttressed as they were by the support of a kinship group and not limited by the more restrictive nuclear model.

Quaker women similarly had social influence to wield by overseeing marriage possibilities through their women's meetings. Not only did these Quaker women take on more

[119] "Locations." Official Website of the Delaware Tribe of Indians, 2021. http://delawaretribe.org/locations/.
[120] "Meetings Archive." Quaker.org. Friends Publishing Corporation, 2021. https://quaker.org/meeting/.
[121] Smith, Keith S. "Here Rests Indian Hannah Historical Marker." Historical Marker. Bill Pfingsten, December 27, 2020. https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=82070.
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visibly influential roles through the leading of these meetings, but also through their ability to preach directly to their congregation.

Studying Lenape women and their conceptions of gender is essential to understanding the Lenape people; both as they were in colonial America, who they are today, and to map how they have changed over time. Similarly, to appreciate the interactions between Lenape and Quakers, both pre and post the Walking Purchase, historians must examine the two societies conceptions of gender as they were, and continue to be, so fundamental to each group.

For Lenape Women this all changed after the Walking Purchase of 1737. Forced to either move off their ancestral lands or integrate into Quaker and other colonial society, their notion of gender and womanhood changed as the other cultures forced it to morph into theirs. The period after 1737 demonstrates how much colonial societies and communities, even those not directly descended from Europe, became Eurocentric as time went on. Though the Lenape and the Religious Society of Friends had unique notions of gender and womanhood, they often assimilated into the larger Eurocentric notion of gender in colonial America.

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