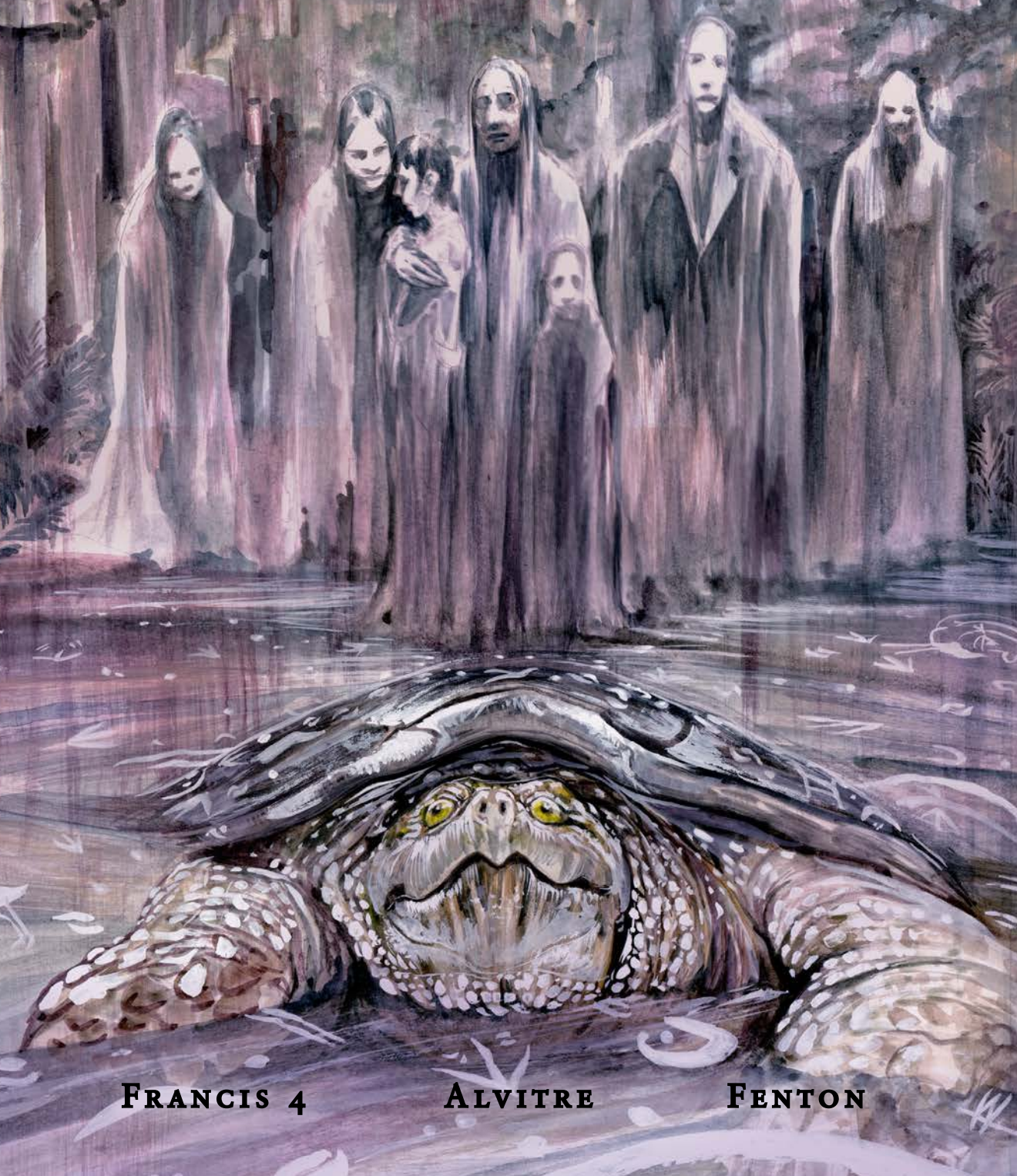


Ghost River

THE FALL & RISE OF THE CONESTOGA



FRANCIS 4

ALVITRE

FENTON



Ghost River: The Fall and Rise of the Conestoga

Story

Lee Francis 4

Art

Weshoyot Alvitre

Editor

Will Fenton

Special thanks to the *Ghost River* Native American Advisory Group and the Circle Legacy Center.

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Use this QR code to explore more
documents, commentary, and video
at www.ghostriver.org.



This is a book about the Paxton massacres of 1763. However, as the title suggests, the Paxton vigilantes associated with this tragedy are peripheral to our story. This volume introduces new interpreters and new bodies of evidence in order to foreground indigenous victims and survivors in ways that eighteenth-century printed records – with their attendant focus on colonial elites – cannot do alone. In doing so, this book confronts several challenges that accompany studies of early America. How, with only an incomplete set of records written by Euro-Americans, can we tell difficult stories that don't reproduce past assumptions? Can we recollect tragedy without eulogizing it? And how can acts of artistic reinterpretation reveal the fluidity of history, memory, and collective mythology?

The massacres that give rise to this story unfolded in rapid succession and with far-reaching ramifications. In December 1763, a mob of settlers from Paxtang Township, not far from what is today Harrisburg, murdered 20 unarmed Conestoga Indians in Lancaster County. A month later, hundreds of these

so-called “Paxton Boys” marched on Philadelphia to menace refugee Lenape and Moravian Indians who had been taken under the protection of the Pennsylvania government. The Paxton mob was halted in Germantown, just six miles north of the city by a delegation led by Benjamin Franklin, who persuaded their leaders to disband and publish their grievances in the preferred media of the day — a pamphlet.

Inexpensive and quick to produce, pamphlets answered pamphlets as Paxton critics and defenders rushed to battle in print. The “pamphlet war” that followed was not so different from the social media wars of today. Defenders accused the Conestoga people of colluding with the other groups who had attacked settlers on Pennsylvania's borderlands during the Seven Years' War (1756-63), a charge predicated upon the racist assertion

that the Conestoga—like other Indigenous Peoples in the colony—were “savages” who could not be trusted and whose presence could not be tolerated. Critics accused the Paxton mob of behaving more “savagely” than the Native Peoples they had killed. Pamphleteers waged battle using pseudonyms, slandering opponents as failed elites or racial traitors. At stake was much more than the conduct of the Paxton murderers. Pamphleteers staked claims about westward settlement, representation, and white supremacy in pre-Revolutionary Pennsylvania.

This rich print debate is well-preserved at places like the Library Company of Philadelphia, which was founded by Franklin decades before the Paxton massacres as the first subscription library in the American colonies. Printed materials include dozens of pamphlets, large sheets (also called broadsides), newspapers, and political cartoons. Given that Philadelphia was the center of the colony's print media, these records give outsized voice to Philadelphians. Notably, such records barely mention the



William Birch, *Library and Surgeons Hall, in Fifth Street Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: William Birch, 1800).
Private Collection.

Conestoga people, their traditions, or their vital history in the mid-Atlantic region.

The Conestoga people lived peacefully alongside settlers at Conestoga Manor (sometimes referred to as “Indiantown”), on a tract of land set aside by William Penn at the founding of the colony. From the beginning, Conestoga Manor was an ethnically heterogeneous community comprised of Susquehannock and Iroquois peoples, including Seneca, Oneida, Cayuga, and Tuscarora. Many of those residents were Christian, spoke English, wore English clothing, and had English names. But long before the Paxton murders, disease, and displacement had diminished the number of people living at Conestoga Manor. To categorize the Paxton massacres, however, as a “genocide” is misleading, insofar as the term fails to account for the resiliency that this community had achieved through

relocation, assimilation, and intermarriage. As local indigenous peoples at Circle Legacy Center repeated during our research trips to Lancaster, “we are still here.”

Those words have served as my lodestar as editor of this volume. As the script of *Ghost River* has evolved through drafts, thumbnails, pencils, inks, and colors, our team has consulted regularly with individuals who identify as Delaware, Haliwa-Saponi, Lenape, Munsee, and Oglala Lakota. We’ve visited their meeting space. We’ve spoken on the phone. We’ve broken bread together. *Ghost River* is not a eulogy for some lost tribe; it’s an act of active and ongoing recollection sustained by and responsible to living, breathing people.

Giving voice to historical figures and contemporary survivors has demanded acts of both critical and creative reinterpretation. On a critical level, we had to look beyond the materials that researchers traditionally consult. That is, as the inhabitants of Conestoga were largely absent from the pamphlets synonymous with the Paxton debate, we had to look elsewhere. This included drawing upon contemporary scholarship (a bibliography of which is included at the back of this volume) and revisiting historical materials that were hiding in plain sight, such as Benjamin Franklin’s account of the massacres, treaty records from the Seven Years’ War, and minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania. In keeping with Marisa Fuentes’s idea of “reading along the bias grain,” I prioritized fragments — manuscript records such as letters, diaries, and account books — which speak to the lived experiences of the Conestoga people and the settlers the Paxton mob claimed to represent. Alongside dozens of pamphlets, engravings, and political cartoons, I collected more than 175 handwritten records scattered across 20 different archives and libraries. Some of those records have even been reproduced in the back of this volume, and all of the sources that we have consulted are freely available through a digital research project entitled Digital Paxton (digitalpaxton.org).

As important as collecting obscure or overlooked materials was to the completion of this project, it would not exist unless we asked new questions of known records. Rather than partnering with another scholar, I sought out an author and an artist with decidedly different vantage points on colonial history. To that point, this book is written, illustrated, and published by indigenous peoples: Dr. Lee Francis 4 (Laguna Pueblo) wrote the script; Weshoyot Alvitre (Tongva) brought it to life through hand-drawn and hand-painted artwork.

While Francis and Alvitre brought a wealth of experience and a keen sensitivity to this story, as members of Western tribes they needed the support

of historians and local Indigenous community members. As the convener of this project, the Library Company of Philadelphia is committed to ensuring that this narrative is faithful to both the historical materials and the recollections of living relatives: we have assembled an advisory board, which includes prominent academics and representatives from the McNeil Center for Early American Studies, the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, and the Lenape Center; we organized research trips around Philadelphia and into Lancaster County before developing the narrative; and we have consulted regularly with members of the Circle Legacy Center as we revised the narrative and artwork. While dozens of individuals have contributed to this project, the Circle Legacy Center, a local nonprofit organization dedicated to supporting and empowering Native Americans, has proven a particularly generous partner. MaryAnn Robins (Onondaga Nation) arranged a potluck lunch for our creative team at the Lancaster Mennonite Church; Barry Lee (Munsee Nation) advised us on historical dress; Sandi Cianciulli (Oglala Lakota) arranged interviews in conjunction with programming for Jim Thorpe Sports Day in Carlisle, Pennsylvania; and Darvin Martin, special advisor to the Circle Legacy Center, took our team on a tour of local burial grounds and the historical site of Conestoga Manor. As a small gesture to our gratitude for this group’s expertise and hospitality, we identify the individuals with whom we consulted in the back of this volume.

In addition to the support of the Circle Legacy Center, we have relied upon both our advisory board, most especially Curtis Zunigha and Daniel Richter, as well as outside readers, including Michael Goode, Scott Paul Gordon, and Jack Brubaker. In some instances, the changes may not be readily apparent in the graphic novel. For example, Francis and I had a lively exchange about how to refer to the Indigenous People at the center of this story. Ultimately, we adopted “Conestoga” because it’s widely-adopted and draws an explicit connection to a contemporary place (Conestoga Township); however, we have preserved our discussion in the annotated script, excerpted in the back of this volume and included it in full via the digital edition of *Ghost River* (ghostriver.org). In another instance, Scott Gordon helped us to localize where Lenape were interned in Philadelphia (Province Island and the Barracks) and to identify specific individuals. While those may be small details in the context of this narrative, the context surrounding those choices is well-documented in the annotated script.

The most substantive change that we made concerned the massacre of the Conestoga people at the Lancaster workhouse. Although Francis

originally envisioned this scene unfolding in a basement, in consultation with Jack Brubaker, we revised the scene to occur outside in the yard behind the workhouse. Initially, none of us welcomed the change. Alvitre used the late change to reimagine the scene, transporting it from the physical to the metaphysical. As the falling snow absorbs the scene, figures transform into the loose beads of a broken wampum belt, the symbol of European-Native American diplomacy. A recurring visual metaphor, wampum beads are paralleled by colonial brickwork, which Alvitre renders meticulously—almost oppressively—throughout the narrative.

In shaping and reshaping *Ghost River*, Francis, Alvitre and I have labored to be faithful to historical materials and the recollections of our partners, but we have also sought to leverage the unique affordances of the graphic novel. For example, although historians know that the Conestoga people had a wampum belt commemorating the 1682 Shackamaxon Treaty—the same one commemorated in Benjamin West’s famous painting, *Penn’s Treaty With The Indians*—we don’t know precisely where it was kept and when it was taken from their possession. (By all accounts, it was collected by a county sheriff.) We have chosen to dwell in the gaps in historical records, to “imagine what might have happened,” in the words of Saidiya Hartman. By placing the wampum in the ashes of Conestoga Manor, we seek to emphasize the Paxton murderers’ betrayal of Penn’s peaceable principles and to challenge the mythology that West had sought to promote just five years after the Paxton murders.

As the editor of this volume, I opt to identify this book as a graphic novel rather than, say, a visual history, to foreground the novelistic features of this story. Whereas a visual history might dwell on historical actors and incidents, a graphic novel allows us to particularize and humanize, to entertain different ideas of temporality, and to forge new connections across time and space. The *Minutes of the Provincial Council*, which name the 20 victims of the Paxton mob, have been widely available since the early-1800s. But reading a list of names fails to convey the human cost of this tragedy. For example, Sheehaes wasn’t some historical figure: he was a parent, an elder, and a source of fortitude in his community. The form of the graphic novel allows him to exist in the same form—pictures—that we reserve for loved ones.

The structure of *Ghost River* also serves to make the past present. On one page, the reader waits in the barracks with interned Lenape; on the next, they examine the historical records of internment with the creative team at the Library Company. Time itself mirrors the meandering Susquehanna River, carrying the reader backward and forward between

past and present. Much of that past is documented in history books, such as an almost cinematic scene in which traditionally pacifist Quakers take up arms to defend Philadelphia. Other moments chafe against our very sense of historical time. It’s no mistake that *Ghost River* opens with an origin story, as narrated by the Lenape elder named Tantaque.

In this volume, you will find everything you need to navigate *Ghost River*. Immediately after this introduction are brief artist statements from Alvitre and Francis. The remaining pages are divided in two halves. The first portion of this book is devoted to the graphic novel. The second half is comprised of interpretative materials. Readers will find contextual essays on graphic representations of Native Americans (Michael Sheyahshe), the rich visual materials available to researchers (Judith Ridner), and the handwritten records that give voice to both settlers and indigenous peoples (Scott Paul Gordon). The next section collects reproductions of historical materials implicitly or explicitly referenced in *Ghost River*. Readers may continue to explore the developmental process by referencing excerpts of the final script, annotated with the comments related to significant revisions. Educators seeking to integrate this volume in classes will find a multi-part lesson, keyed to Common Core standards, as well as a list of additional print and electronic resources. Suffice it to say, there is far more interpretative material than could be printed in this graphic novel, readers are highly encouraged to use both the digital edition, *Ghost River* (ghostriver.org), and the Library Company’s standalone digital history project, Digital Paxton (digitalpaxton.org), to continue their journey. Finally, this volume seeks to make visible the many contributors who made this project conceivable, including, notably, The Pew Center for Arts & Heritage, without whose support this book would not be available.

In a recurring voiceover, Francis cautions, “History is complicated. Violence is simple.” History is complicated, not only because there are many facts to learn, but because the past is continually written and rewritten. With each successive generation, we decide who we want to be by asserting who we were and who we are. In this sense, history is neither neutral nor contained, but a self-consciously political act of negotiation and renegotiation. Just as the future unfolds through a series of actions, history ought to be understood in the present perfect tense: past events have present consequences. Thank you for helping us to imagine new futures born of the histories in this volume.



Will Fenton, Editor



Lee Francis 4

In 2017, a fella by the name of Will Fenton contacted me about a new comic book project he was working on with the Library Company of Philadelphia. I tend to get emails like this very often but what piqued my interest was that he said he wanted to meet in person at our Indigenous Comic Con that fall.

So in November 2017, I met with Will to discuss the project. Hearing about Will's work with Digital Paxton and his desire to tell the story of the Conestoga People was energizing. But I was still hesitant. As a Native writer, I am often called in to consult on projects that engage Native subject matter.

But Will had an incredible plan, one that was about collaboration and including Native creatives, Native communities, and Native history in an Indigenized process.

Working on this project has been an experience like no other. Beginning with another chance to work with the exceptional Weshoyot Alvitre to meeting the Native community (Circle Legacy) in Lancaster, Pennsylvania to hanging with comic book legend, Timothy Truman, as we toured the locations of the Conestoga People in central Pennsylvania. Moreover, it was the spirit of this work that has been refreshing and powerful.

As the writer on *Ghost River*, my job is to give voice to those who were silenced. The delicate task of balancing a tragic story with the resilience of a People has been complex and rewarding. Most importantly, the opportunity to fill in the gaps of the Western historical narrative through word and illustration aligns with my ongoing work of creating positive and dynamic representations of Native People.

Ghost River should serve as a model of how to work in and with Native communities. I am honored to be a part of this project and so grateful that Will reached out to begin this important work.

Da'wahèh (Thank You)!

Weshoyot Alvitre

My work on *Ghost River: The Fall and Rise of the Conestoga* is intended to shed light on a dark corner of early American history by giving a voice to those who have been silenced by colonialism and the patriotic propaganda of history as we know it.

For this particular project, I chose to use traditional art medium of antique dip pen and ink, with earth-based pigment watercolors handmade by THE PIGMENT HUNTER. My intention was to mimic the original political cartoons we viewed at The Library Company and to reclaim that period with fresh representational art of the Native Americans who lived and died during this period of history. My intent in using earth pigment paints was to tie this artwork to the land, directly through minerals, in the same way Native people do not separate themselves from the world they live in and care for. We care for the land, like we care for our relatives; we do not own it, show superiority over it, or own each other.

Throughout my recent work, I have made a conscious choice to work primarily within Native-owned publications and educational avenues, to further support a sovereign narrative on past, present, and future Native issues. It is through this voice, working alongside Native writers, that I feel I am able to visually communicate a viewpoint and continue a strong dialogue on issues that are personally important as a Native survivor of history and a Native woman.



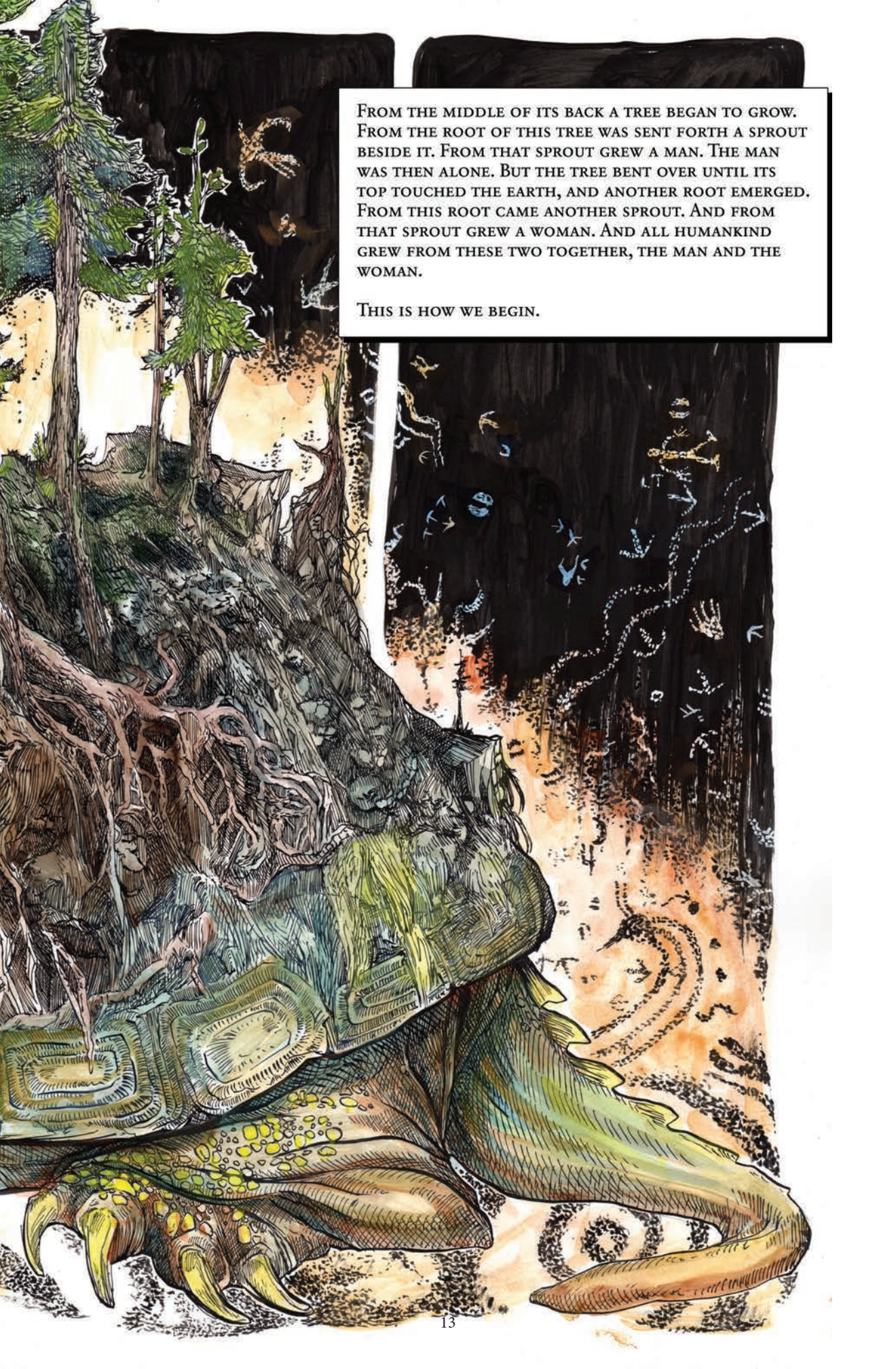
Ghost River

HISTORY IS COMPLICATED.

VIOLENCE IS SIMPLE.

IN THE BEGINNING OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF TIME THE WORLD WAS FULL OF WATER. THE FIRST CREATURE TO RISE FROM THE DEPTH OF THE WATER WAS TURTLE. AS TURTLE RAISED ITS BACK UP HIGH TO FEEL THE WARMTH OF THE SUN, ALL OF THE WATER RAN OFF ITS SHELL SO IT BECAME DRY. THIS BECAME THE FIRST EARTH.





FROM THE MIDDLE OF ITS BACK A TREE BEGAN TO GROW. FROM THE ROOT OF THIS TREE WAS SENT FORTH A SPROUT BESIDE IT. FROM THAT SPROUT GREW A MAN. THE MAN WAS THEN ALONE. BUT THE TREE BENT OVER UNTIL ITS TOP TOUCHED THE EARTH, AND ANOTHER ROOT EMERGED. FROM THIS ROOT CAME ANOTHER SPROUT. AND FROM THAT SPROUT GREW A WOMAN. AND ALL HUMANKIND GREW FROM THESE TWO TOGETHER, THE MAN AND THE WOMAN.

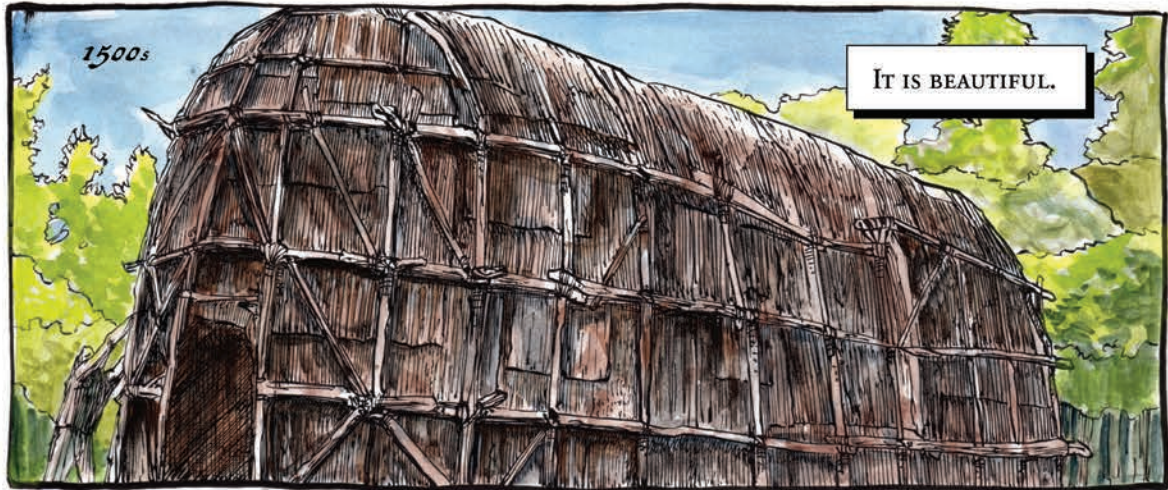
THIS IS HOW WE BEGIN.

IT IS AN OLD STORY THAT IS TOLD.



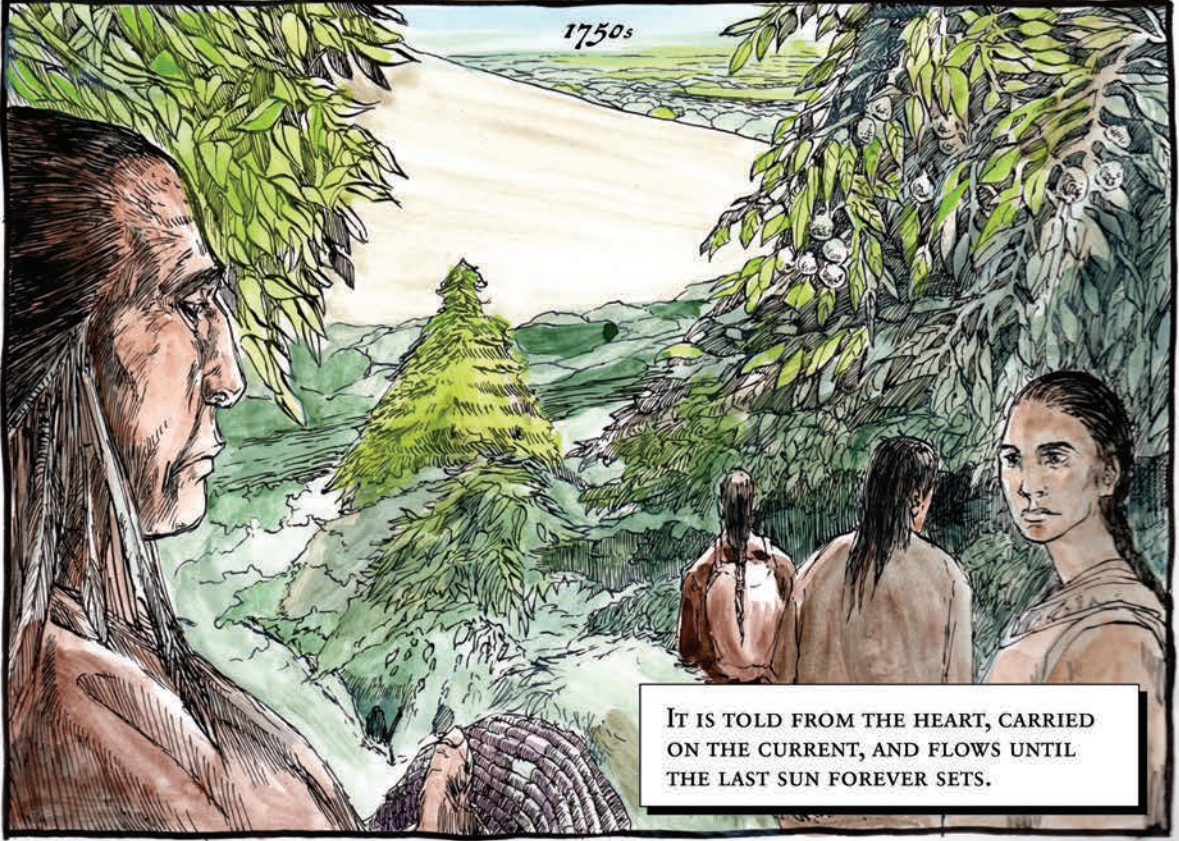
1500s

IT IS BEAUTIFUL.



AND VIOLENT AND DIFFICULT.

1640s







I REMEMBER
WHEN I WAS A BOY
OF YOUR AGE. OUR
VILLAGE WAS FULL
OF LIFE.

THERE WERE
MORE OF US
THEN.



BEFORE THE WARS.
BEFORE THE VIOLENCE.
BEFORE THE ANGER
FROM THE WHITE MEN.

BEFORE MANY
OF OUR PEOPLE
TRAVELED FAR
AWAY.



LIKE MICHAEL
AND MARY.

YES.

SHEEHAES, WHY ARE WE
STILL HERE? TENSEEDAAGUA
SAYS WE SHOULD GO NORTH,
WITH OTHER PEOPLE.



OUR LORD AND CREATOR
GIFTED US THIS BOUNTY. THEN
BROTHER ONAS GAVE US HIS
WORD OF PROTECTION, IN
WAMPUM, FOR THIS LAND.

WE COULD LEAVE,
BUT THEN THERE WOULD
BE NO ONE LEFT TO
TEND THE FIRE.

THERE WOULD BE
NO ONE LEFT TO TELL
THE STORIES.



WE STAY BECAUSE
SOME OF US ARE TOO OLD
TO LEAVE. WE STAY BECAUSE
SOME OF US ARE TOO YOUNG TO
TRAVEL. WE STAY BECAUSE OUR
ROOTS VARE PLANTED DEEP,
LIKE THE FIRST TREE.

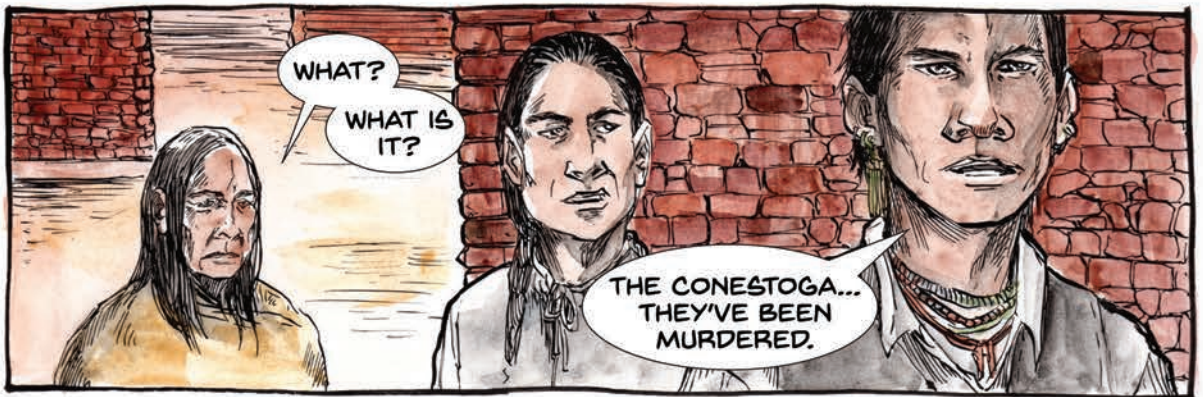


COME,
ESS-CANESH.

THERE ARE STILL
THINGS TO TEND
TO BEFORE THE
HUNT. LET'S WARM
OURSELVES BY
THE FIRE.



December 18, 1763
Lenape Indian Conversation
Province Island





DO YOU THINK
THEY ARE COMING
FOR US?

THEY MAY CONFUSE
OUR PEOPLE WITH
THEIRS. WHAT WILL
WE DO?

ANTON,
WHAT HAVE YOU
HEARD?

SAME AS
YOU, NOW.

ONLY THAT THEY
WERE MASSACRED. AT
FIRST LIGHT. NO ONE
IS LEFT IN THE
VILLAGE.

NOTHING
BUT ASHES
REMAIN.



EVERYONE!
BE AT PEACE!

THE LORD
IN HIS KINDNESS
AND MERCY HAS
BROUGHT US HERE.
WE HAVE FRIENDS.
THEY WILL
HELP US.

WE WILL
BE SAFE.



December 14, 2013
The Reading of the Names



WE ASK CREATOR
TO LOOK DOWN UPON US
AS WE REMEMBER OUR
ANCESTORS.







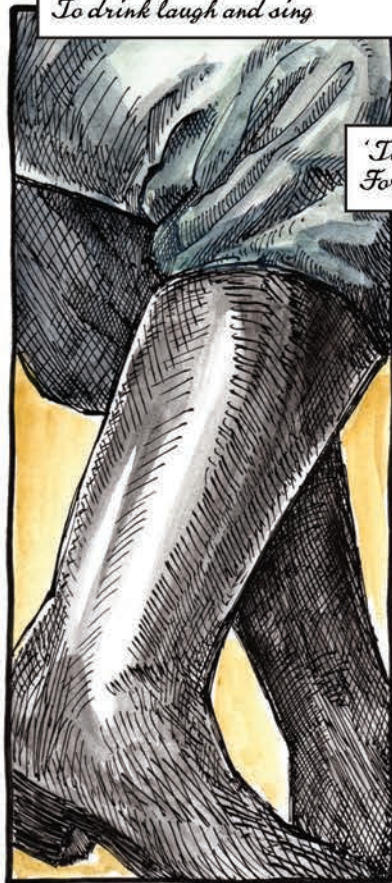
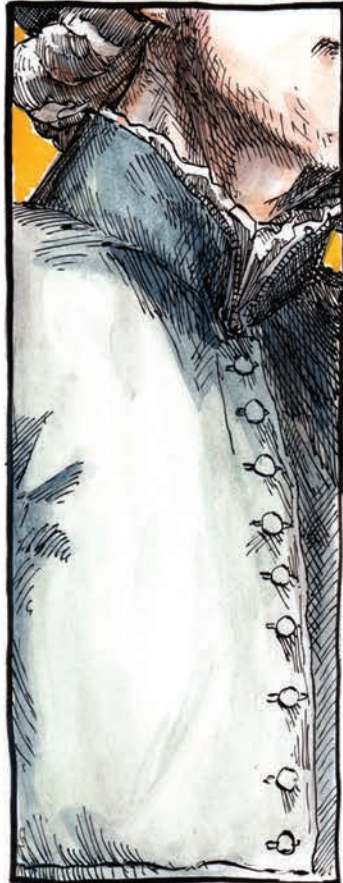
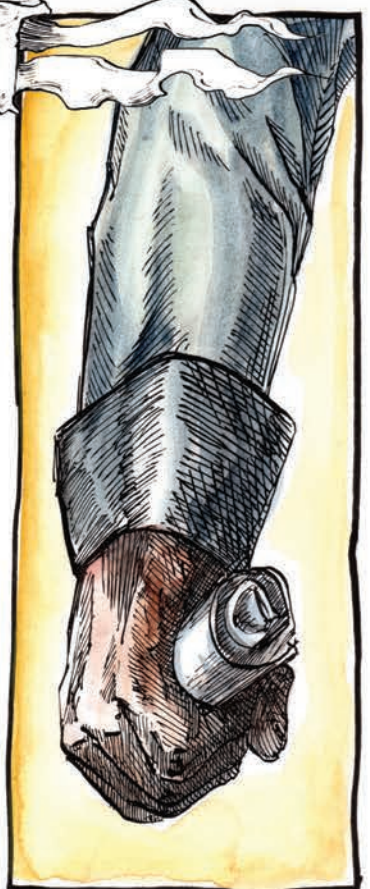
January 23, 1764
The Arming of Philadelphia



*Come let us prepare
We true Men that are,*



*(The Poll being at a Conclusion)
To drink laugh and sing*



*'Till we make the House ring
For the Quakers are now in Confusion.*



*January 23, 1764
Confinement at the Barracks*

*Joy, Joy to them all
Who occasion'd their Fall.*

*That these Fellows no longer might wrong us,
Our Choice let us prize,*

*Then will from the Skies
Banish'd Justice once more come among us.*



*To the Patriot FEW,
A Bumper is due,*



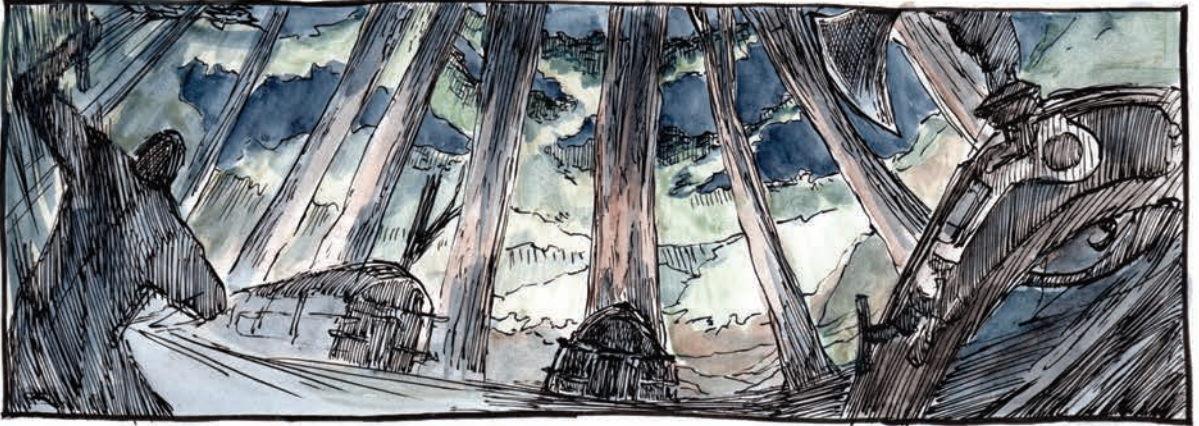
*Whose Virtue stands nobly confest Sir,
We may safely depend,*

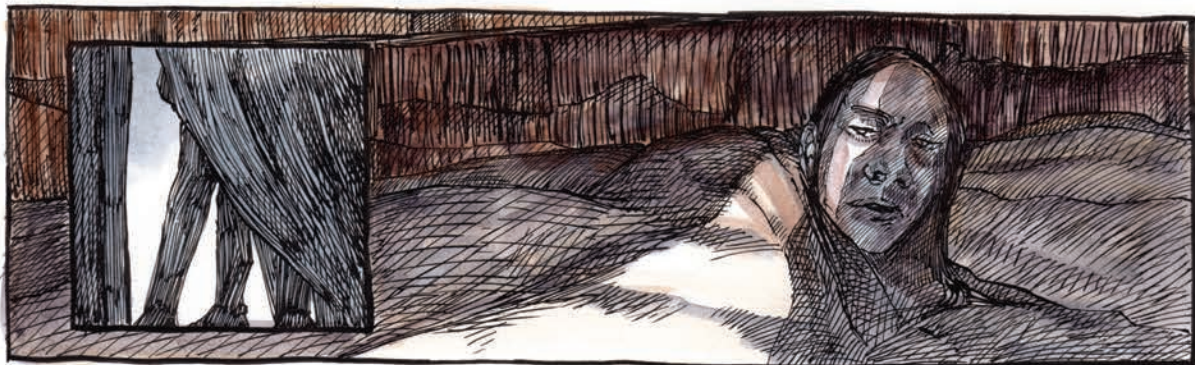
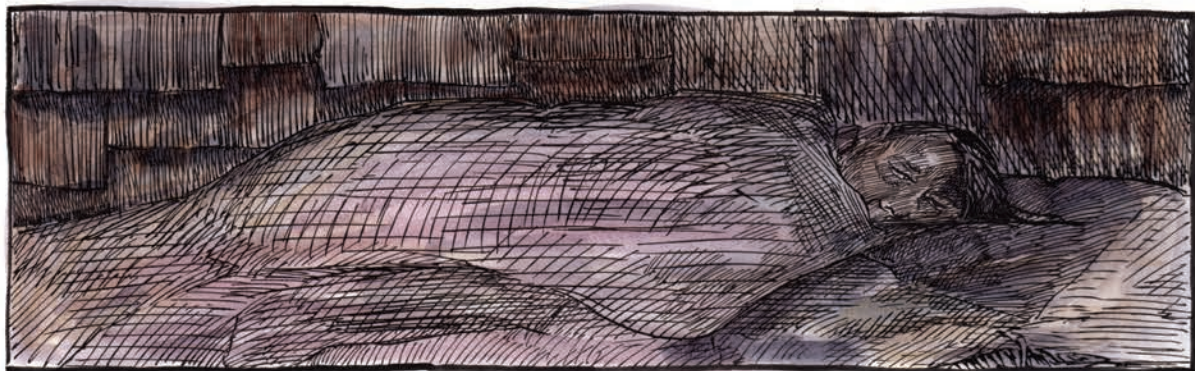


*Our Rights they'll defend,
And against all injustice protest Sir.*



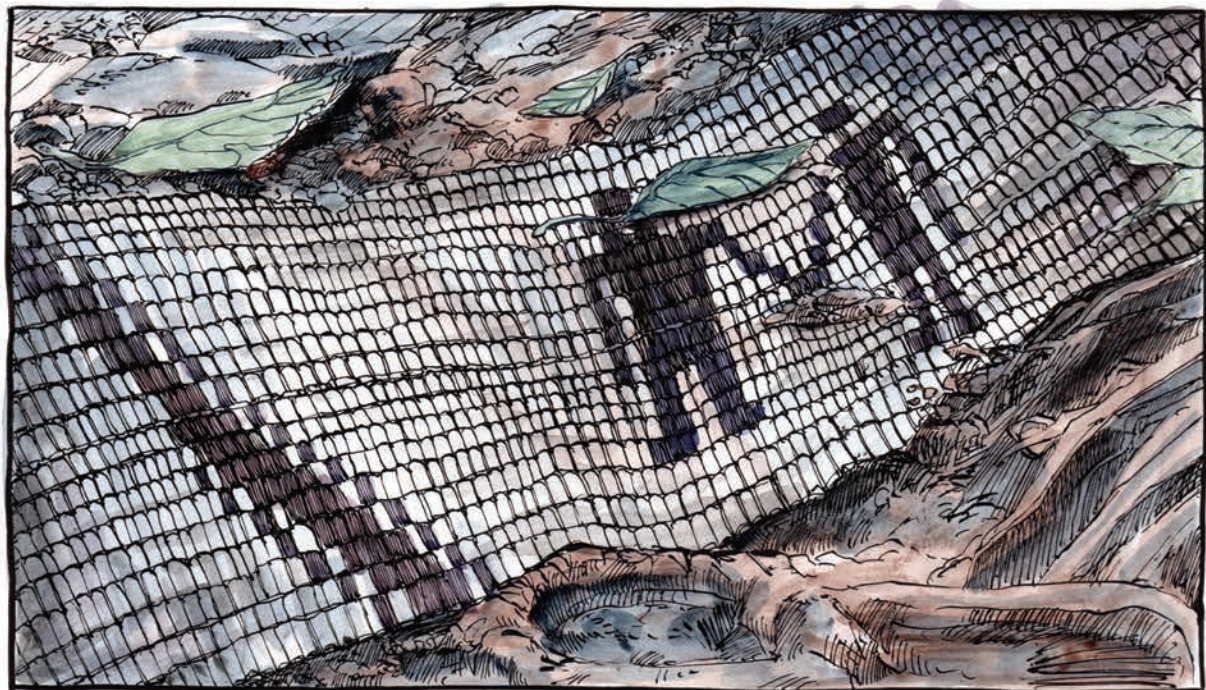
*December 14, 1763
The Massacre at Conestoga*



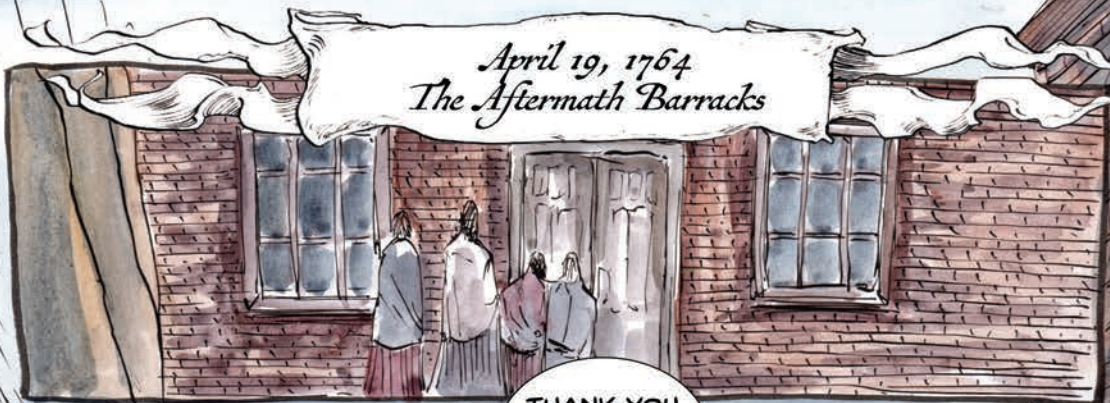








*April 19, 1764
The Aftermath Barracks*



THANK YOU
FOR YOUR
PATIENCE.



YOU WILL ALL
BE RELIEVED TO KNOW
THAT DR. FRANKLIN HAS
PERSONALLY INTERVENED
TO AVERT FURTHER
BLOODSHED.



THE PAXTON BOYS
HAVE DISPERSED AND
WE CAN ALL CELEBRATE THE
RESTORATION OF PEACE
TO OUR PEACEABLE
KINGDOM.

A CAUSE FOR
CELEBRATION,
WOULDN'T YOU
AGREE?

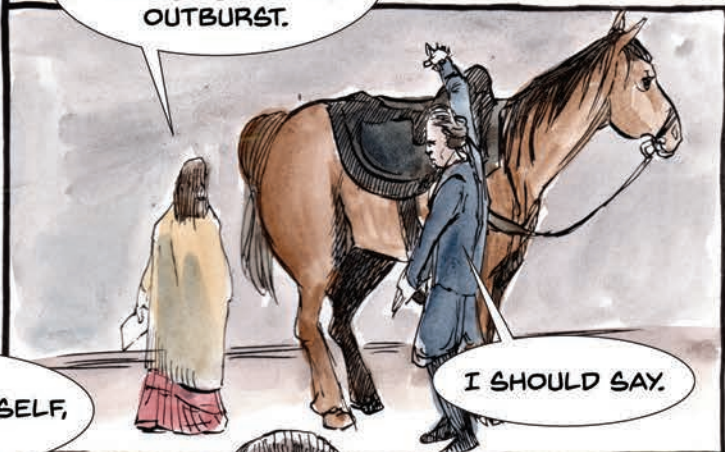
A CHEER FOR
MR. FRANKLIN!





PLEASE
CONTROL YOURSELF,
MADAM!

WE ARE VERY
TIRED, SIR. DEEPEST
APOLOGIES FOR OUR
OUTBURST.



I SHOULD SAY.



I SHOULD
REMAND YOU TO
SHOW GRATITUDE TO
THOSE OF US WHO HAVE
ENSURED THAT YOU MAY
CONTINUE TO LIVE IN
OUR COLONY.



August 13, 2018
The Documents at The Library Company



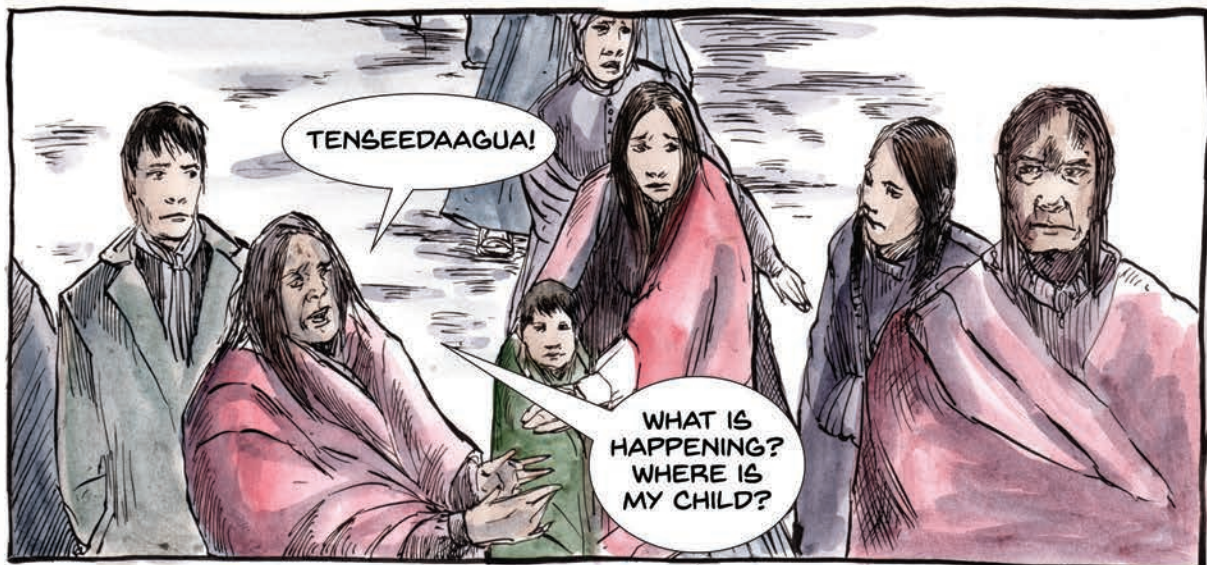




*December 14, 1763
Into the Lancaster Workhouse*

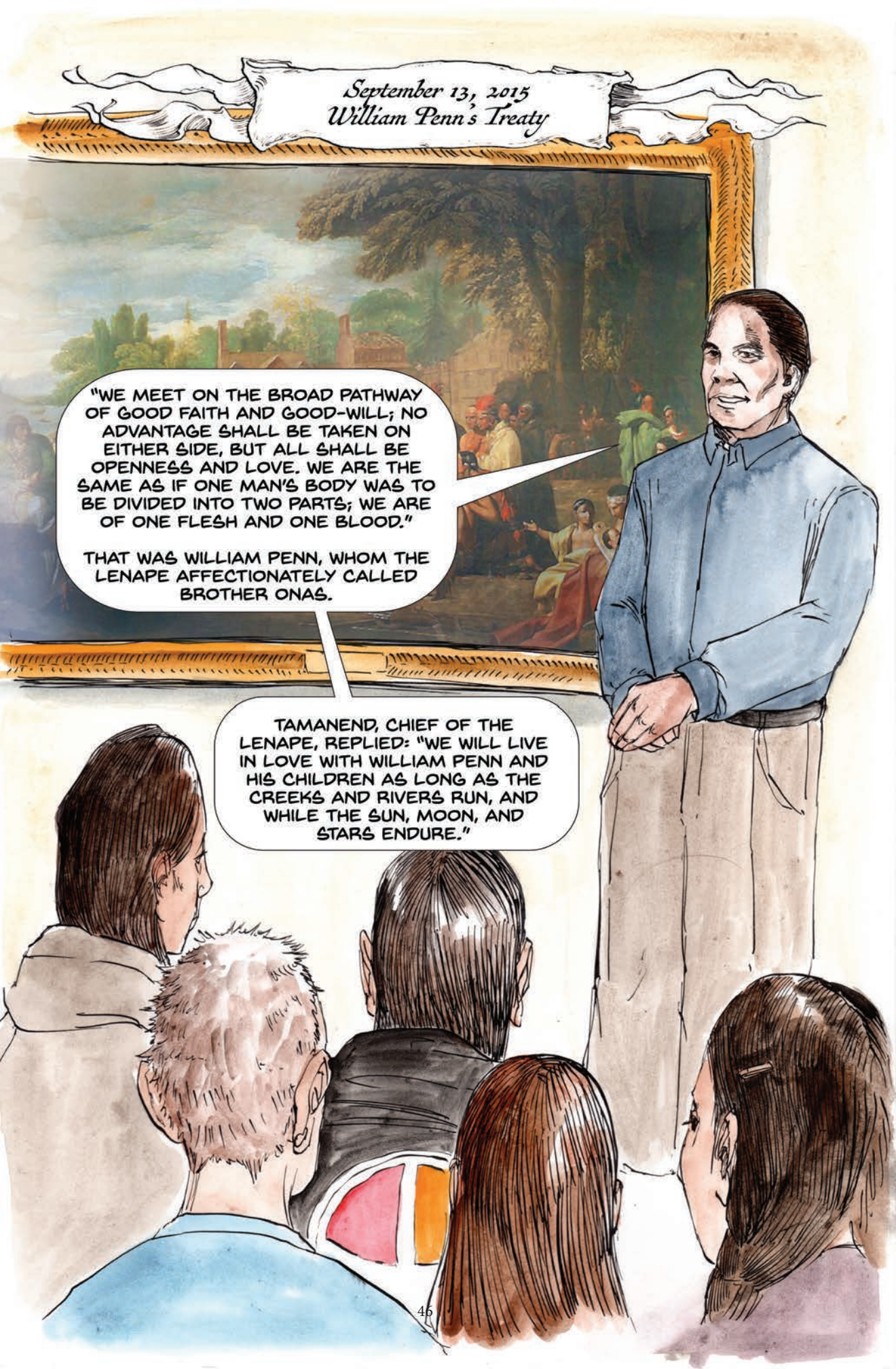








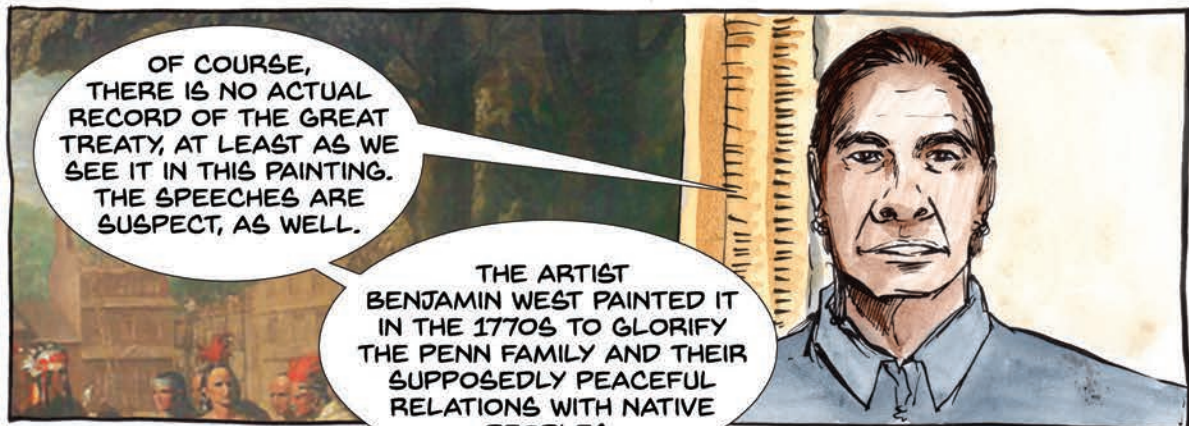
September 13, 2015
William Penn's Treaty



"WE MEET ON THE BROAD PATHWAY
OF GOOD FAITH AND GOOD-WILL; NO
ADVANTAGE SHALL BE TAKEN ON
EITHER SIDE, BUT ALL SHALL BE
OPENNESS AND LOVE. WE ARE THE
SAME AS IF ONE MAN'S BODY WAS TO
BE DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS; WE ARE
OF ONE FLESH AND ONE BLOOD."

THAT WAS WILLIAM PENN, WHOM THE
LENAPE AFFECTIONATELY CALLED
BROTHER ONAS.

TAMANEND, CHIEF OF THE
LENAPE, REPLIED: "WE WILL LIVE
IN LOVE WITH WILLIAM PENN AND
HIS CHILDREN AS LONG AS THE
CREEKS AND RIVERS RUN, AND
WHILE THE SUN, MOON, AND
STARS ENDURE."



OF COURSE,
THERE IS NO ACTUAL
RECORD OF THE GREAT
TREATY, AT LEAST AS WE
SEE IT IN THIS PAINTING.
THE SPEECHES ARE
SUSPECT, AS WELL.

THE ARTIST
BENJAMIN WEST PAINTED IT
IN THE 1770S TO GLORIFY
THE PENN FAMILY AND THEIR
SUPPOSEDLY PEACEFUL
RELATIONS WITH NATIVE
PEOPLES.

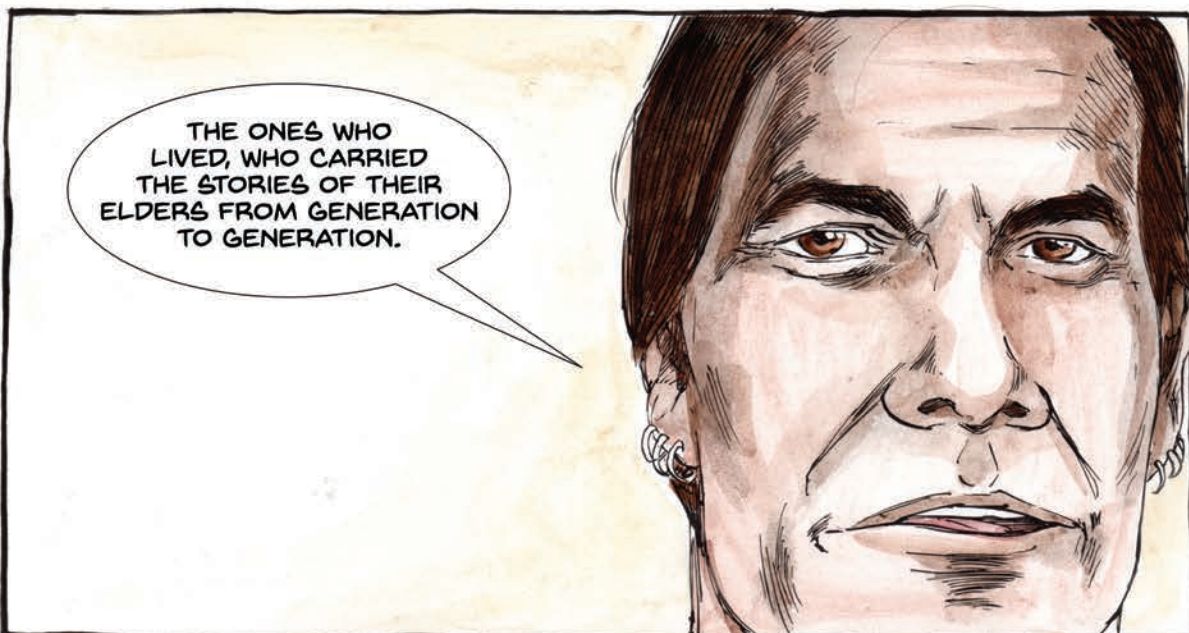


THE LENS OF
WESTERN HISTORY HAS
TO BE WOVEN WITH
TRADITIONAL MEMORY.


WE SORT OUT
HISTORICAL RECORDS,
AND WE MEASURE THEM
BESIDE THE STORIES OF
OUR ELDERS AND
OUR ANCESTORS.



THAT'S WHAT'S MISSING
FROM THESE "HISTORICAL"
DOCUMENTS--THE VOICES OF
OUR PEOPLE.



THE ONES WHO
LIVED, WHO CARRIED
THE STORIES OF THEIR
ELDERS FROM GENERATION
TO GENERATION.



AMONG THE RUINS
OF THE CONESTOGA INDIANTOWN,
THERE WAS, APPARENTLY, A DOCUMENT
AND A WAMPUM BELT THAT DESCRIBED
THE MEETING BETWEEN SHEEHAES, ONE
OF THE ELDERS OF THE VILLAGE, AND
WILLIAM PENN, WHO VISITED THEM IN
THE EARLY 1700S.

WE DON'T KNOW
FOR CERTAIN WHEN OR
WHERE THE MEETINGS TOOK
PLACE. BUT BENJAMIN WEST
IMAGINES IT HERE.

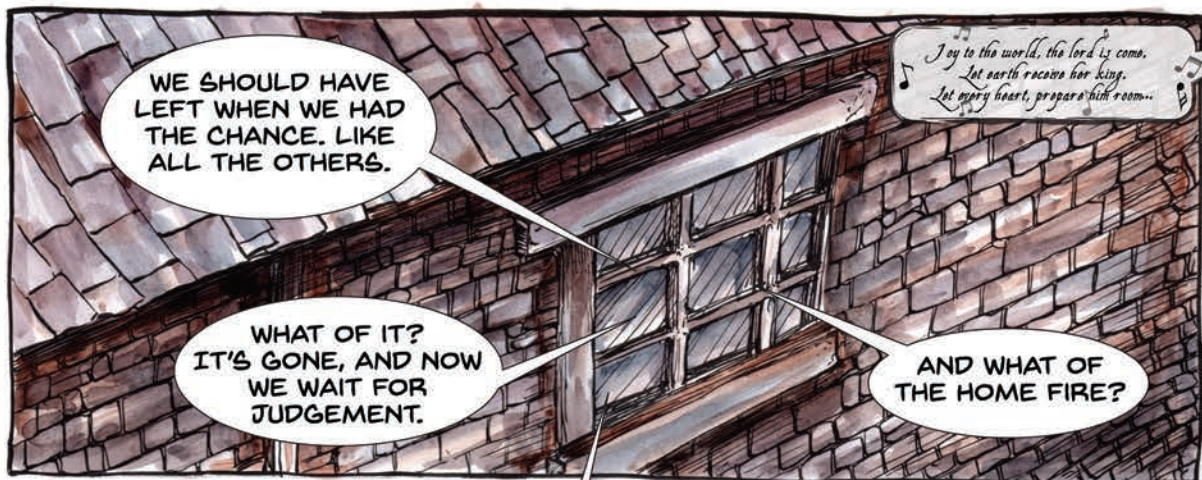
THIS PAINTING
PORTRAYS A MOMENT
WHEN THE INDIGENOUS
PEOPLES FELT SAFE
AND SECURE.

THOUGH MANY
OF THE SETTLERS
HAD ALREADY BEGUN TO
PLOT AGAINST THEM.



*December 25, 1763
Christmas Day in the Workhouse*





*Joy to the world, the lord is come.
Let earth receive her king.
Let every heart prepare him room...*

WE SHOULD HAVE LEFT WHEN WE HAD THE CHANCE. LIKE ALL THE OTHERS.

WHAT OF IT?
IT'S GONE, AND NOW WE WAIT FOR JUDGEMENT.

AND WHAT OF THE HOME FIRE?



DON'T TALK LIKE THAT. WE ARE SAFE NOW.



AND THEN WHAT?
IF WE SURVIVE THIS WINTER, WHERE DO WE GO?



PHILADELPHIA.
NORTH. TO OUR KIN.

I DON'T WANT TO GO.

I WANT THEM TO GO AND LEAVE US BE.

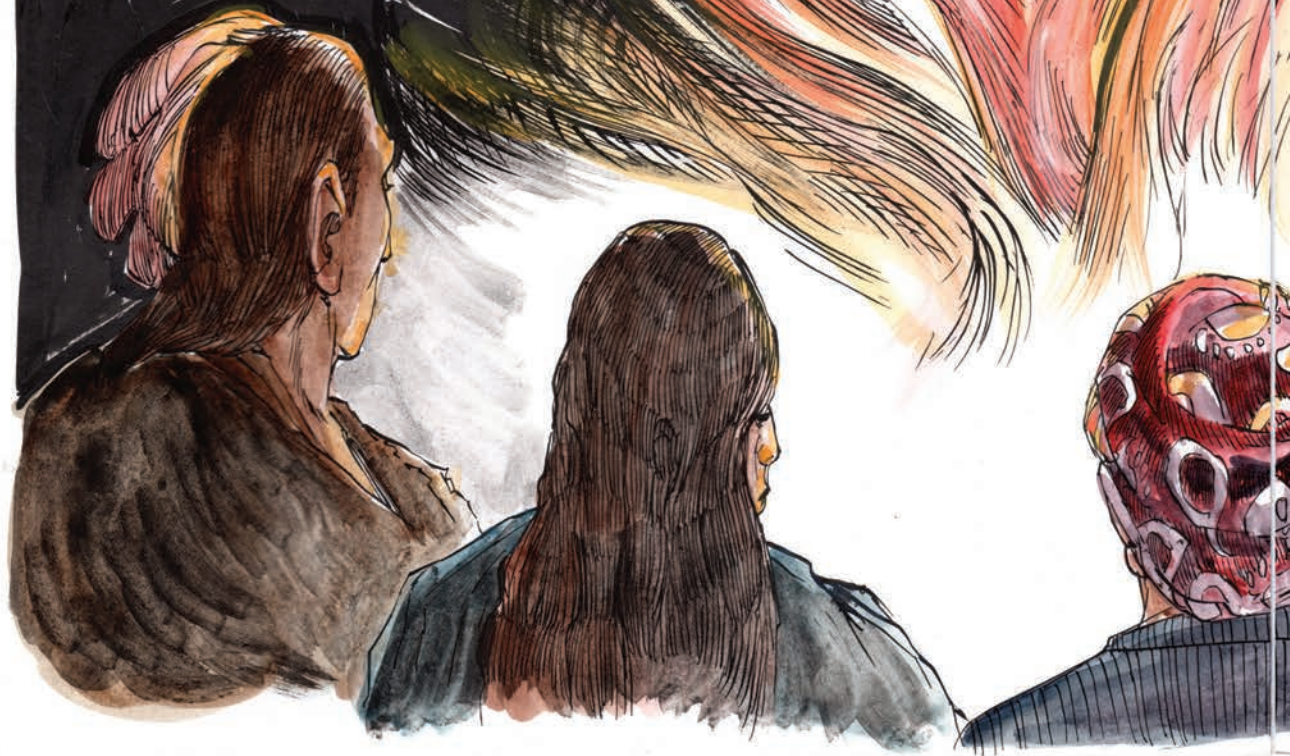


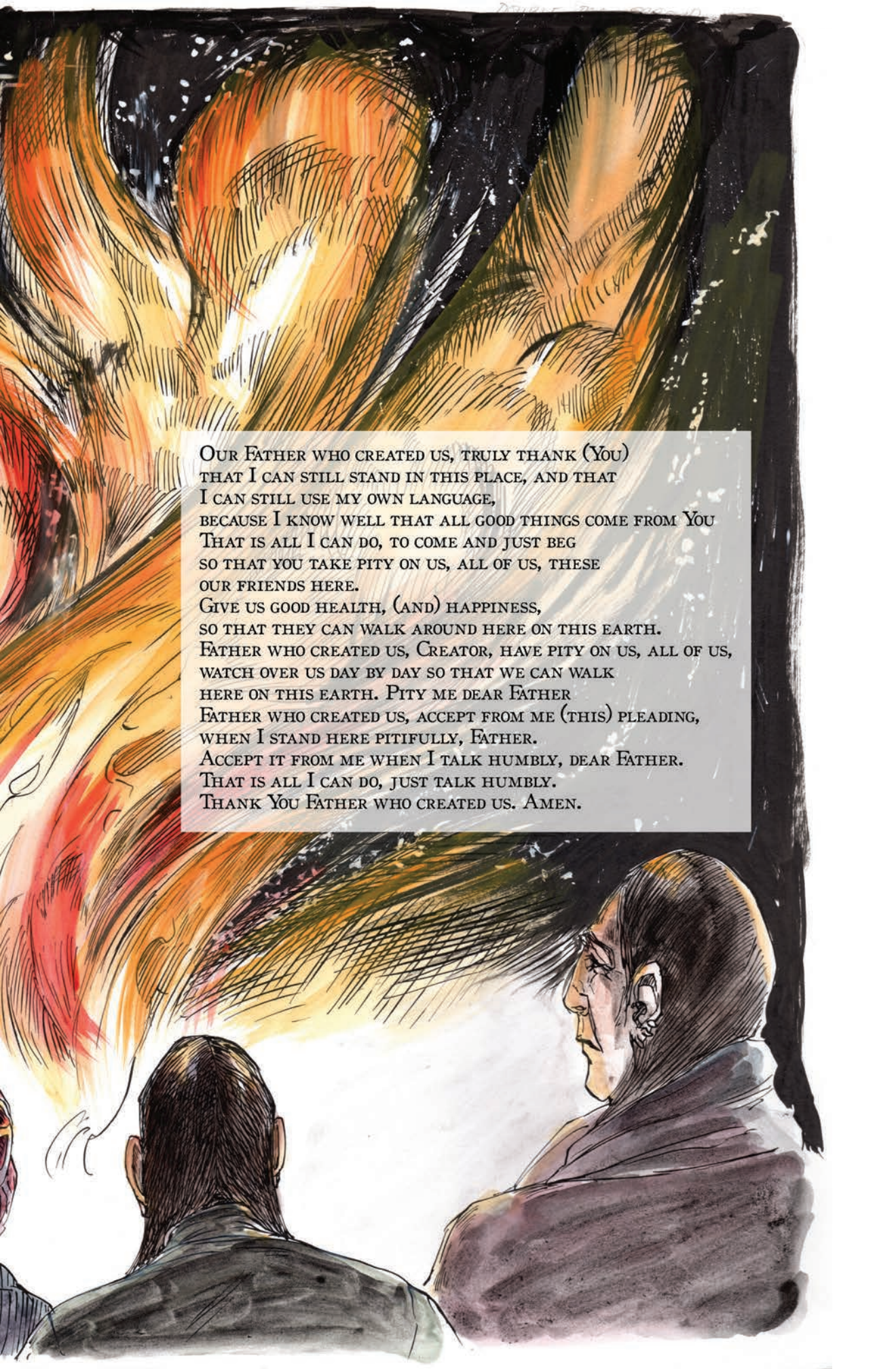


And heaven and nature
sing...



KUXÈNA KISHELÈMIENK, KEHÈLA WANÌSHITÌLI NKÀSKI KWIAKWI
YUSHÈ NIPAIN, ÒK TÌLI
NKÀSKI KWIAKWI NAKATÀMÈN NIHÈLÀCHI ÈLIXSIA,
ÈLI NULI WATUN WELTÈK WÈMI KÈKU KI WÈNCHIXÈN.
NAL NÈ SHÙK NKÀSKI LÌSIN, PÈCHI MAY SHÙK WINÈWE
TÌLÌCH TÈMAKELÈMINÈN, WÈMI ÈNTHIENKW, YUKI
KITISÈNANÀK YUSHÈ.
MILINÈN WÈLAMÀLSÈWAKÀN, WÈLATENAMÈWAKÀN,
WÈNCHÌCH KÀSKI AHPAMSKANEYO YUSHÈ ÈNTA XKWITHAKAMIKA.
NUXA KISHELÈMIENKW, TÈMAKELÈMINÈN WÈMI ÈNTHIENKW,
KENAHKIHINÈN KWÈNI KISHUKW TÌLÌCH KÀSKI AHPAMSKANÈN
YUSHÈ ÈNTA XKWITHAKAMIKA. TÈMAKELÈMI NUXATI
KISHELÈMIENKW, WÈTÈNÈMAI WINÈWEOKÀN,
ÈNTA YUSHÈ NKÈKTÈMAKI NIPAIN, NUXA.
WÈTÈNÈMAI ÈNTA KÈKTÈMAKTUNHEA, NUXATI.
NAL NÈ SHÙK NKÀSKI LÌSIN, PÈCHI MAY SHÙK NKÈKTÈMAKTUNHÈ.
WANÌSHI NUXA KISHELÈMIENKW. NA NÈ LEKÈCH.



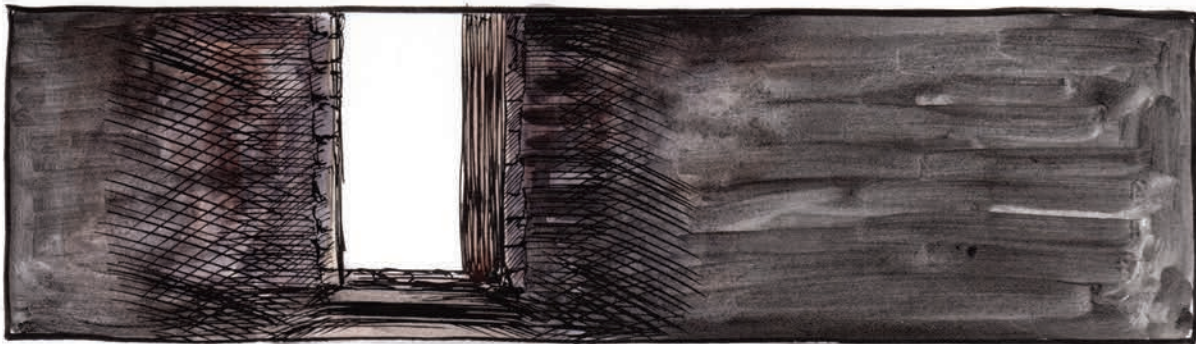
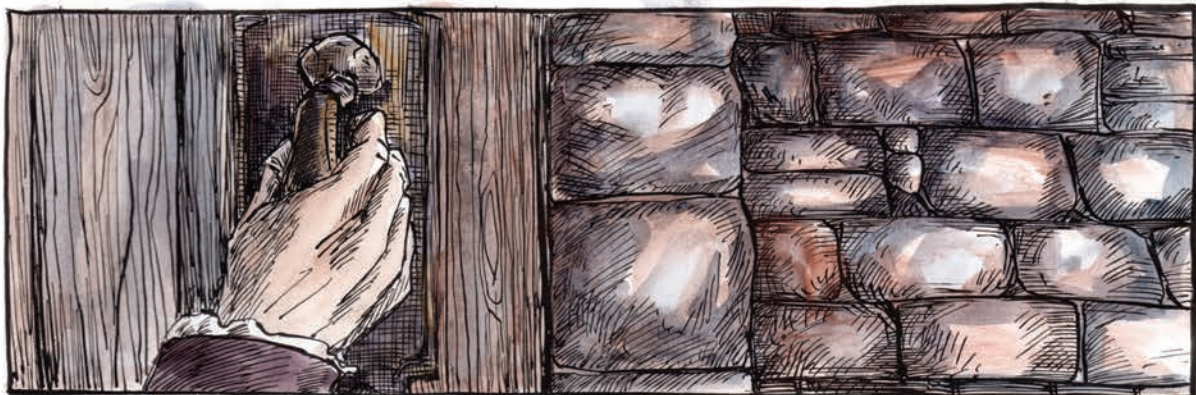


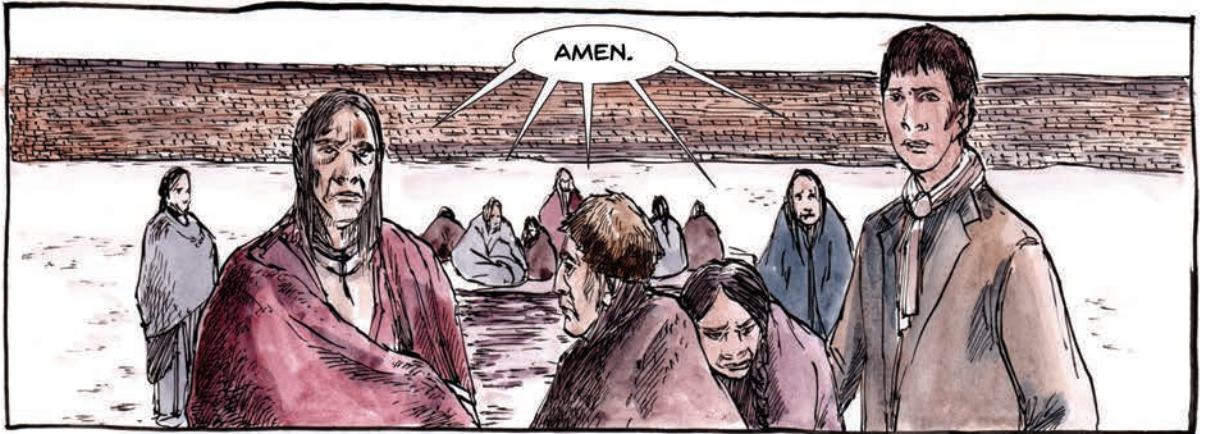
OUR FATHER WHO CREATED US, TRULY THANK (YOU)
THAT I CAN STILL STAND IN THIS PLACE, AND THAT
I CAN STILL USE MY OWN LANGUAGE,
BECAUSE I KNOW WELL THAT ALL GOOD THINGS COME FROM YOU
THAT IS ALL I CAN DO, TO COME AND JUST BEG
SO THAT YOU TAKE PITY ON US, ALL OF US, THESE
OUR FRIENDS HERE.
GIVE US GOOD HEALTH, (AND) HAPPINESS,
SO THAT THEY CAN WALK AROUND HERE ON THIS EARTH.
FATHER WHO CREATED US, CREATOR, HAVE PITY ON US, ALL OF US,
WATCH OVER US DAY BY DAY SO THAT WE CAN WALK
HERE ON THIS EARTH. PITY ME DEAR FATHER
FATHER WHO CREATED US, ACCEPT FROM ME (THIS) PLEADING,
WHEN I STAND HERE PITIFULLY, FATHER.
ACCEPT IT FROM ME WHEN I TALK HUMBLY, DEAR FATHER.
THAT IS ALL I CAN DO, JUST TALK HUMBLY.
THANK YOU FATHER WHO CREATED US. AMEN.

December 28, 1763
The Final Stand in Lancaster

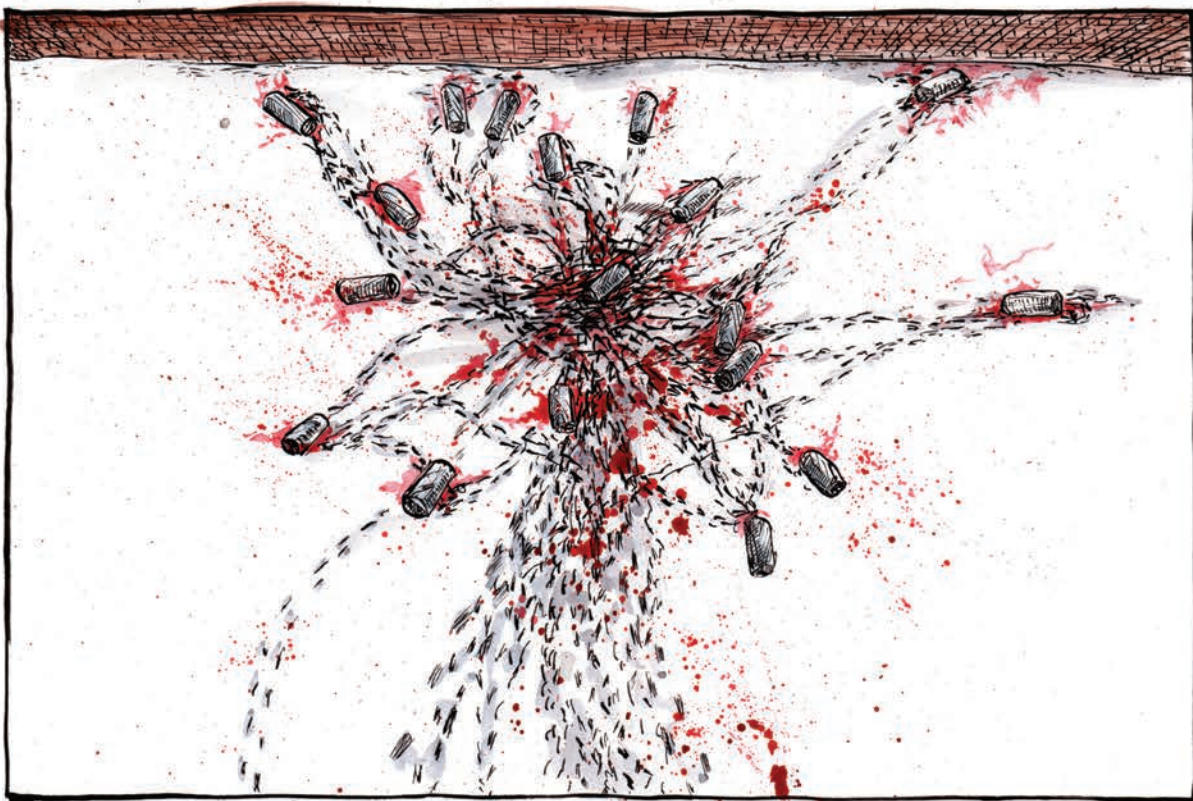
WE HOLD
THEM FOR THEIR
PROTECTION!

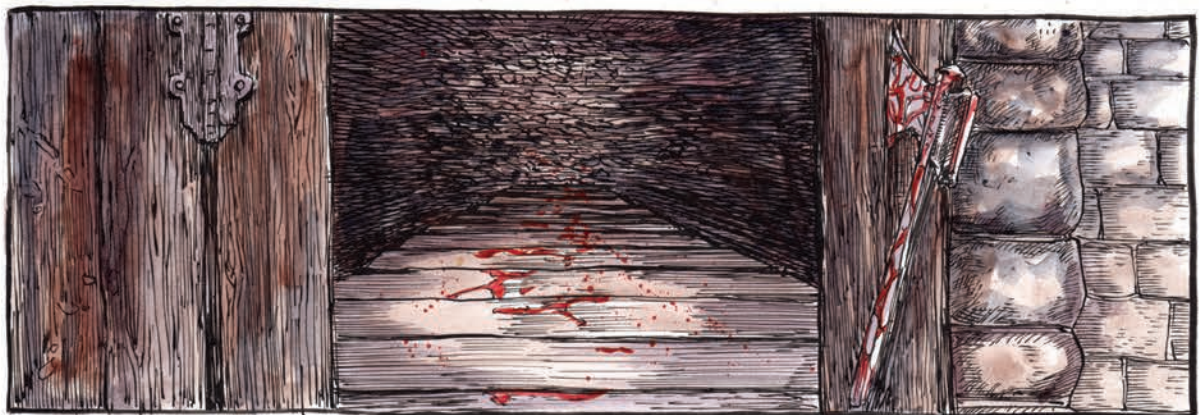
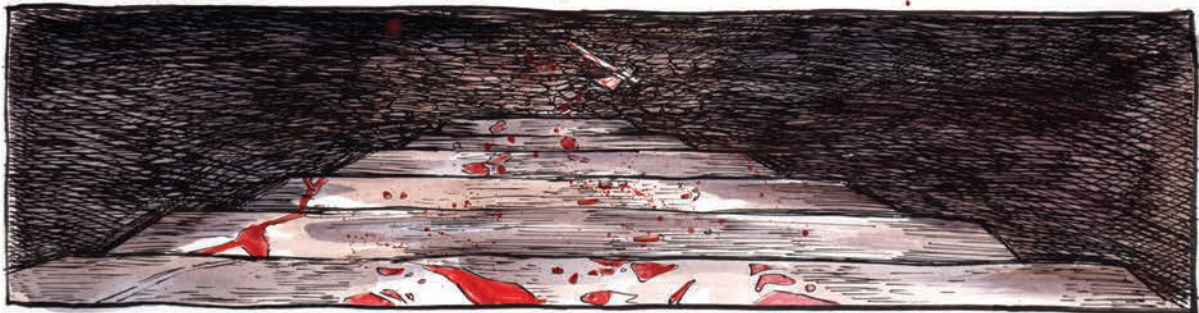
YOU DEFY THE
AUTHORITY OF YOUR
GOVERNOR AND
YOUR KING!





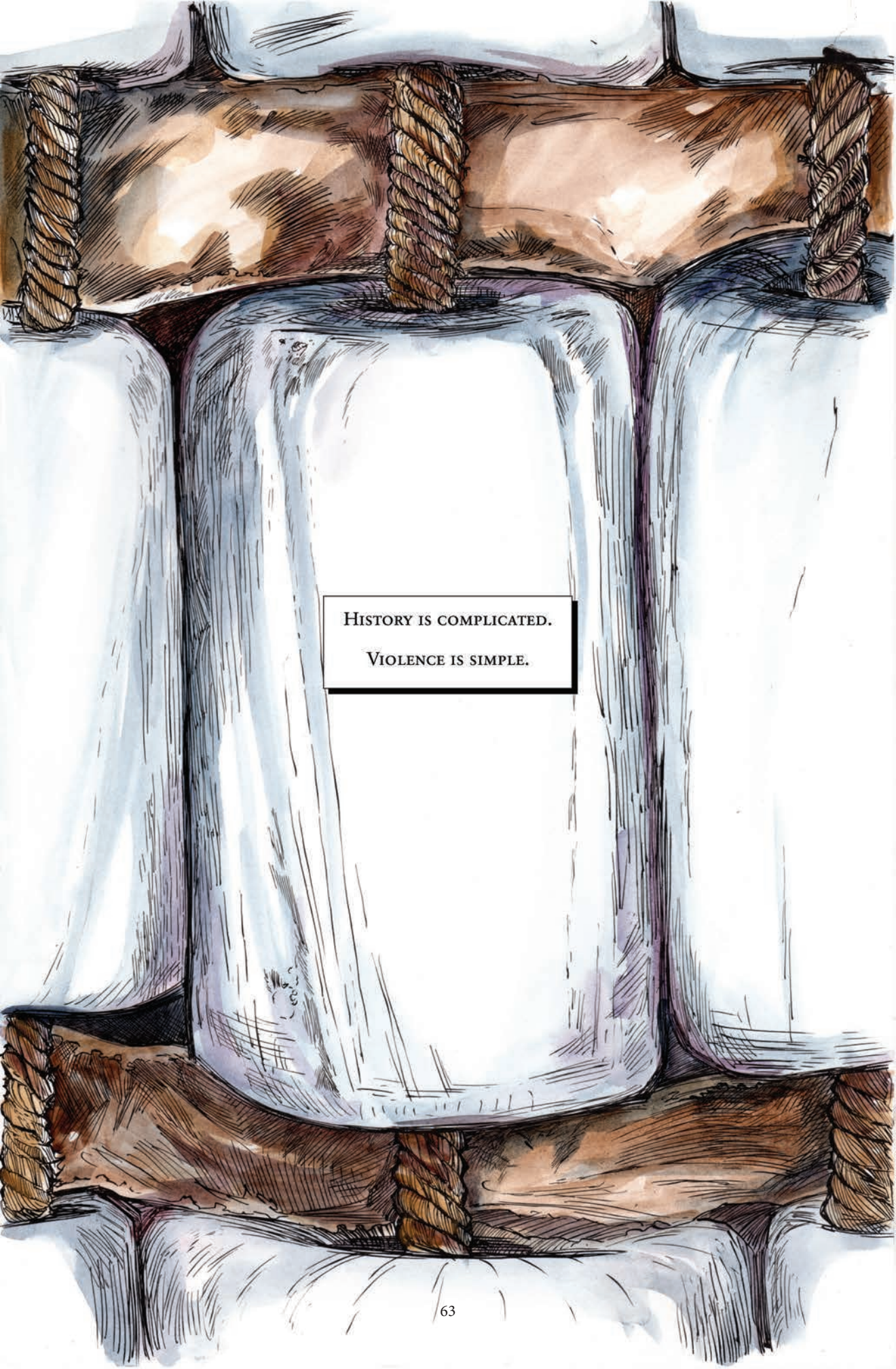












HISTORY IS COMPLICATED.

VIOLENCE IS SIMPLE.



August 14, 2018
Viewing the Land Conestoga

HISTORY IS LIKE THE RIVER. IT MEANDERS, WANDERS, SHOWS US WHERE WE CAME FROM AND WHERE WE CAN GO. IT CAN RISE AND OVERWHELM WIPING AWAY EVERYTHING IN ITS PATH. THE STORIES WE TELL OF THE CONESTOGA ARE THE STORIES OF THE RIVER AND THE WIND, OF THE FIRE AND THE SKY. THEY ARE STORIES THAT GIVE US UNDERSTANDING OF HOW A PEOPLE LIVED AND ENDURED.

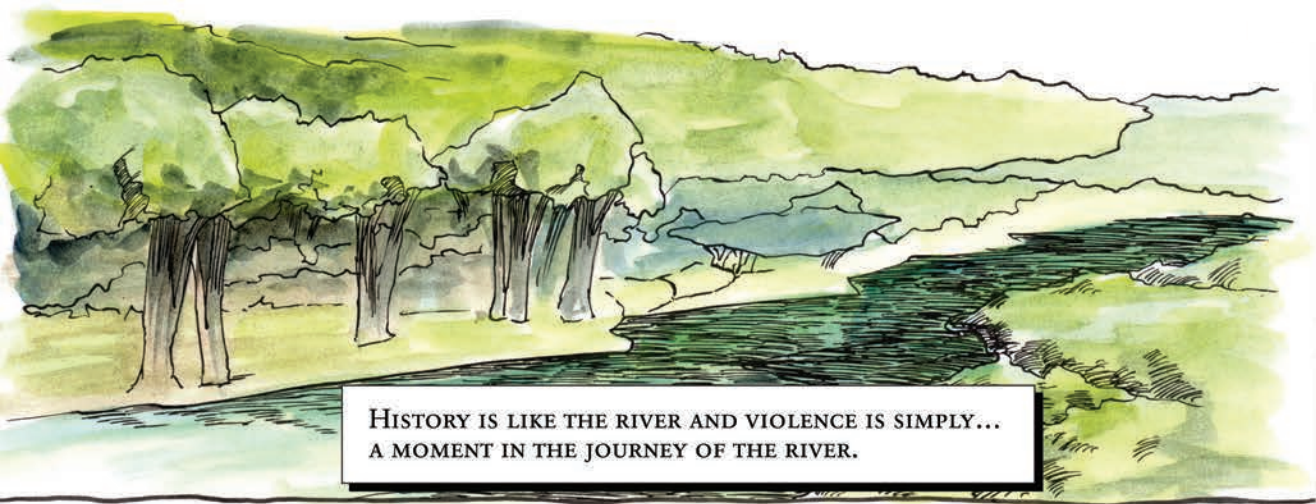


PERHAPS, LIKE PENN'S
TREATY, HISTORY BLENDS
FACT AND FICTION, MEMORY
AND MYTHOLOGY.



SOMETIMES WE ONLY HAVE ECHOES
THAT LEAD US BACK TOWARD OUR
ANCESTORS, OUR ELDERS...

...OUR LOST KIN.



HISTORY IS LIKE THE RIVER AND VIOLENCE IS SIMPLY...
A MOMENT IN THE JOURNEY OF THE RIVER.



OUR ANCESTORS KNEW THIS
FROM THE LONG AGO TIME.




FROM THE TIME OF
THE FIRST PEOPLE
WHO EMERGED
FROM THE WATERS.

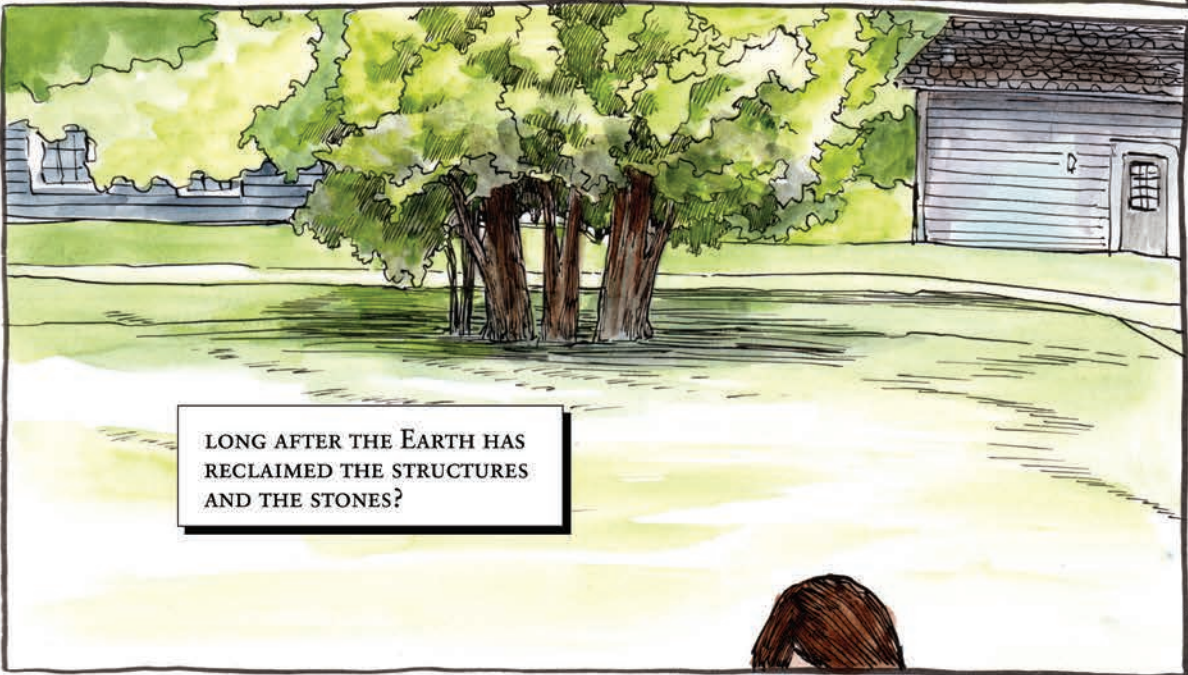


THEY KNEW OF THE TWISTS
AND TURNS AHEAD.


OF THE CELEBRATIONS AND
SORROWS TO FOLLOW.

A close-up illustration of a large, weathered hand reaching down from the top right, scattering small, reddish-brown seeds or stones onto a field of green grass. The grass is depicted with long, flowing strokes.

HOW DO WE HONOR OUR
ANCESTORS LONG AFTER
THEY'VE JOURNEYED ON?

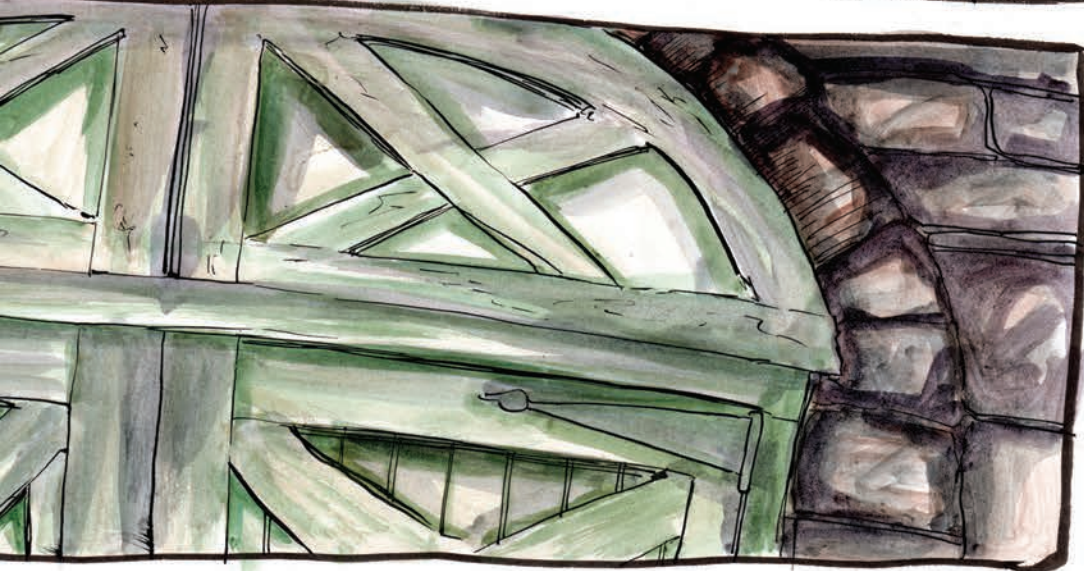
A wide landscape illustration showing a green field with a large, leafy tree in the center. To the right is a wooden barn with a stone roof. In the background, a blue fence and more trees are visible. The sky is a pale yellow-green.


LONG AFTER THE EARTH HAS
RECLAIMED THE STRUCTURES
AND THE STONES?

A composite illustration. On the left, a close-up of a woman with long brown hair and a serious expression. On the right, a man in a grey jacket and blue jeans stands with his back to the viewer, looking across a green field. In the background, there are two large black tires on the ground, a small figure of a person, and a stone wall.

LONG AFTER THE
RIVER HAS EMPTIED
INTO THE SEA?





A watercolor illustration depicting three individuals in traditional, flowing robes looking upwards towards several large, leafy trees. The person on the left wears a light blue-grey robe, the person in the center a brown robe, and the person on the right a red robe. The trees have thick, textured trunks and vibrant green foliage. The background is a soft, blue sky. A central text box is overlaid on the image.

PERHAPS IT IS IN THE BLOOD MEMORY.
THE LAUGHTER MEDICINE. THE SILENCE
OF REMEMBERING. PERHAPS IT IS IN THE
FOOD WE SHARE, THE AIR WE BREATHE,
THE WATER WE HOLD. PERHAPS IT IS ALL
OF THESE THINGS THAT WE DO TOGETHER
AS WE HOLD THE STORIES OF OUR
ANCIENT PEOPLES CLOSE IN OUR HEARTS.



Context



Indigenous Representation in Comics and Graphic Novels

Michael Sheyahshe, Caddo

Pop culture media, such as comics and graphic novels, always seems to have heroes for nearly everyone. But what heroes do we Indigenous people have? As a young boy living on a small farm in rural Oklahoma, I often watched stories from “those thrilling days of yester-year!” that featured The Lone Ranger and, of course, Tonto. The character of Tonto certainly has his share of foibles; yet, as child, I still strongly identified with him and even felt a sense of cultural pride as I watched him - alongside the Lone Ranger, of course - save the day.

Sure, his limited master of the English language suggested to audiences that Tonto was somehow less – articulate? intelligent? human? - than the white protagonist in many ways. But, given that there were so precious few other Indigenous heroes, I was glad to have any hero to look up to, even with the character’s stereotypical issues.

That was the 1970s. Thankfully, times have changed, and Indigenous readers and pop culture consumers now have many more Indigenous heroes to follow, enjoy, and in which to take pride.

On one hand, the increase in Indigenous characters and heroes is in itself a fantastic accomplishment, and one that should be lauded. However, with great power, of course, comes an even greater responsibility. We must now examine such characters for cultural stereotypes and ensure that we support Indigenous heroes that attempt to break free from tired tropes.

While it’s important to celebrate the fact that we now have so many more Indigenous characters, it’s vital to ensure these characters represent us in positive manner. I have examined, discussed, researched, and written about this very topic extensively, especially in my book, *Native Americans in Comics: A Critical Study*. Obviously, I feel strongly about this need for positive Indigenous representation in all forms of pop culture.

Why is it so important, you may ask? Depending on where you start – whether it’s with the first printed “funny books,” comic strips in newspapers or periodicals, dime store novels, or even to the earliest forms of pictographic communication, such as Egyptian hieroglyphics – sequential storytelling and graphic media has a long history. Sadly, though, much of those historical materials portray Indigenous characters fraught with dehumanizing stereotypes, tropes, and, at times, outright racism. Such misrepresentation marginalizes and minimizes our rich, varied, and diverse cultures.

The misrepresentation isn’t surprising. Up until recent years, comics have been primarily authored and controlled by non-Indigenous creators.

Thankfully, today we have more and more Indigenous heroes being created by Indigenous people. We continue to tell our own stories in comics, graphic novels, and other media. Don’t get me wrong: we need Indigenous scholars, writers, authors, and artists in other media. However, graphic and sequential storytelling media represents a relatively new frontier for accurate portrayal of Indigenous characters, rather than just stereotypical representations.

As a medium, comics have typically been viewed as more easily consumed by audiences, as they effectively communicate complex stories using simple panels, images, and sometimes words. This ease of consumption and readability, coupled with the approachability and popularity of comic book and graphic novel stories, makes the milieu very attractive for up-and-coming Indigenous storytellers.

This is why *Ghost River* and others like it are important, as they allow Indigenous storytellers to use the powerful communication of comics and other graphic media to tell our stories from our perspectives. Creating Indigenous heroes we can be truly proud of allows us to reframe skewed histories and support the notion of cultural continuance: we are still here and will continue to survive into future generations.

As a kid, all I had was Tonto, and I was grateful to have any kind of Indigenous hero, someone like me, to look up to. I’m thankful that, as an adult, I have more diverse and well-developed Indigenous characters and heroes to celebrate, ones with fewer stereotypes and cultural misrepresentations.

It’s a great time to be Indigenous.





Print and Place in the Paxton Crisis

Scott Paul Gordon

The Paxton crisis was one of the most explosive media events in early America. More than five dozen pamphlets and nearly a dozen cartoons appeared in print after the Lancaster county murders. These pamphlets were read throughout Pennsylvania and beyond: Londoners could learn about the crisis in *The London Chronicle* in April and in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in July 1764. The sheer volume of print in this “pamphlet war” has kept historians of the Paxton crisis occupied.

In eighteenth-century America, as today, the “media” were concentrated in urban areas: Boston, Philadelphia, New York. The urbanity of print has skewed the materials that survive. Most of the Paxton pamphlets were printed in Philadelphia and they offer a Philadelphian point of view. The vigorous, back-and-forth squabbling in these pamphlets creates the impression that the debate included all perspectives. But as varied as these perspectives seem, they were actually limited. The pamphlets did not capture issues that were pressing for the backcountry settlers, and they certainly did not capture issues that concerned the Conestogas.

The murders in Lancaster County prompted these pamphlets, but urban pamphleteers mobilized these murders to influence the provincial politics that they cared about. They changed the subject with an eye toward October 1764 elections. Were Quakers fit to govern? Were Presbyterians a disorderly and violent people? Should Pennsylvania become a royal colony? How should representation be proportioned in the provincial legislature? Philadelphia pamphleteers weaponized the Lancaster County murders to wage arguments about race, religion, gender, and politics to adjust power in Pennsylvania. These issues were vital for urban Philadelphians. But did they matter to, or motivate, the backcountry settlers who murdered the Conestogas in December 1763?

Focusing on this urban pamphlet war limits our ability to see what mattered to the backcountry settlers. One way to correct this oversight is to look at manuscript sources produced in the backcountry. Manuscripts are not in themselves more authentic than print. But certain perspectives are more likely to appear in print than others, and perspectives that may not have made their way into print nevertheless survive in manuscript. Local and state archives possess many diaries and letters produced in Lancaster County. Some of these materials were written by elites in Lancaster and others in backcountry communities. Others were written by ministers in Lancaster and in nearby Lititz.

Attending to manuscripts, rather than to print, sheds new light on these events and their causes. We can see this by comparing the printed Remonstrance published in Philadelphia with a manuscript version produced in Lancaster County. The printed *Declaration and Remonstrance* combined two documents: the *Declaration* defended the Paxton “Boys” murders of December 1763 and the *Remonstrance* itemized a series of grievances. The first grievance demanded for backcountry counties an “equal Share ... in the very important Privilege of Legislation.” The prominence of this demand in the printed Remonstrance has given rise to a view of the Paxton “Boys” as “frontier democrats.”

A manuscript entitled *Petition by the Inhabitants of Lancaster County* was probably a draft of the Remonstrance. But this *Petition* hardly mentioned the issue of inadequate representation. The topic appeared in the *Petition* only as a strategy to counter the more serious threat of laws that would try backcountry settlers in Philadelphia courts, rather than on the frontier by their peers: if western counties had “an Equal number of Representatives” as eastern ones they might “prevent the Enaction of any Such Law.” The remark was buried in the seventh grievance of the *Petition*. The printed *Remonstrance* promoted the issue of representation as its first grievance, expanding and reformulating the brief mention in the draft into a 460-word essay on the “Privileges” of “Free-Men and English Subjects.”

The printed *Remonstrance* over-wrote the sentiments expressed in the manuscript petition. The *Petition* focused narrowly on plight of the frontier, on injuries inflicted upon settlers and the needs of that population. Demanding protection and insisting that Native people must be eradicated from Pennsylvania, this manuscript echoed the concerns of the *Declaration* that the men who rode to Philadelphia to murder the gathered Indians carried with them. Absent from the *Petition* was the elevated language of rights and freedoms, as well as extensive knowledge about colonial politics, that turned up in the printed *Remonstrance*. The concerns of urban politicians replaced the concerns of backcountry settlers.

These manuscript materials, then, can expose backcountry perspectives absent from printed sources. They reveal traces of local relationships of deference and patronage that had become strained, if not broken. Backcountry settlers believed that Lancaster elites owed them protection from frontier violence, and they murdered the Conestogas to challenge these elites publicly for defaulting on this responsibility. These settlers rode to Philadelphia, similarly, to use deadly violence to compel elites to attend to their demands. Historians relying on

printed texts have cast the attack on Philadelphia as a “march,” an anticipation of revolutionary efforts to demand democratic participation in political processes. Manuscript sources, however, establish the Lancaster County murders and the attack on Philadelphia as conservative, backward-looking events whose violence aimed to restore relations of deference and patronage.

Surviving manuscripts may even allow us to hear the voices of the Conestogas. In November 1763, Conestoga leaders dictated a letter, full of worry, that they sent to the newly-arrived governor, John Penn. Whoever helped the Conestogas produce the letter may have influenced its content, and to a degree that is difficult to determine. However, Conestoga leaders took ownership of the letter’s sentiments with three totem signatures. (Notably, one signer, Sheehaes, was murdered by the time the letter entered the *Minutes of the Provincial Council*.)

Texts that offer the Conestogas’ perspective, even in mediated form, are exceptionally rare. The powerful, it has been said, “leave behind the fullest records.” The less powerful, who often have little access to literacy let alone print, leave fewer traces. With innovative methods to re-imagine the past, however, we can recover and amplify these voices that the written record, print and manuscript, usually failed to hear or record.



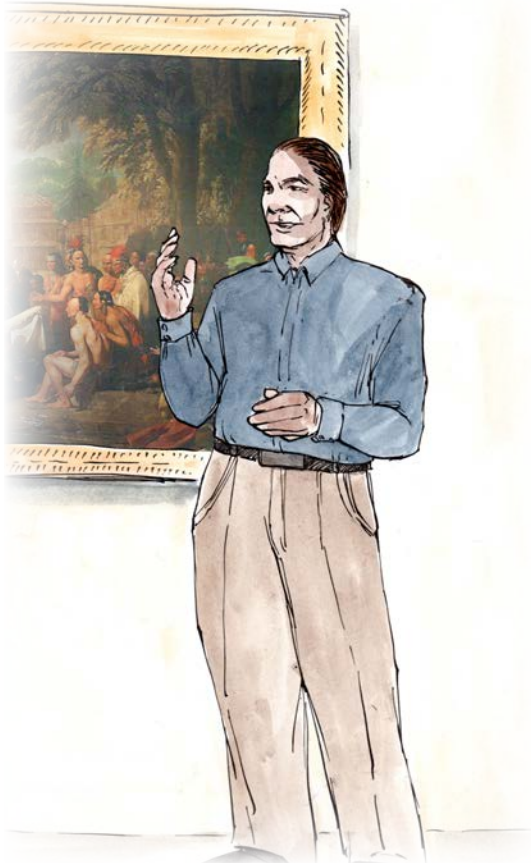
Passion, Politics, and Portrayal in the Paxton Debates

Judith Ridner

“Of all Disputes in the World, political and polemical ones have been found most apt to inflame the Passions, and mislead the Judgement,” wrote Pennsylvania’s proprietor, Thomas Penn, sometime between 1759 and 1760. Little did Penn know how accurately he would forecast the passionate, politicized public debates that would rage a few years later with the Paxton crisis. Throughout 1764, many men, including Penn, took up their quill pens and commissioned printing presses or engravings to sharply criticize or defend the Paxton vigilantes.

Today, such a debate might unfold as “tweet storm,” which we would react to and share via our smartphones, tablets, or computers. During the eighteenth century, however, paper, ink, and printed type were the technologies that people used to shape public opinion. The Paxton crisis thus took a physical form as hand-written letters or printed works, such as pamphlets, newspaper accounts, single-sheet broadsides, and political cartoons. These human-created artifacts, or material culture, conveyed the ideas that drove the Paxton debate. Yet their physical forms affected readers’ senses and perceptions and their status as consumer goods influenced how people acquired, exchanged, and shared materials. Colonists felt the texture of hand-made paper and the impressions of the typeface as they read these printed accounts; they experienced the effects of the weather when they stood on the street outside a printer’s shop in Philadelphia to examine cartoons posted in a shop window; and they felt the rise of emotions, and perhaps the effects of alcohol or coffee, as they debated these events and their implications with friends, acquaintances, and strangers in the intimate public spaces of Pennsylvania’s taverns and coffeehouses.

There was much for colonists to consider, thanks to the remarkable range of texts produced during this crisis. All of these works, however, shared significant similarities. First, their authors used the Paxton crisis to debate other pressing issues facing the colony, including the status of native peoples, the defense of backcountry settlers, and the political power of non-English immigrant groups. Second, although their communication style varied, these texts were polemics (verbal or visual attacks) authored by writers or drawn by artists who sought to influence public opinion through the most extreme language and inflammatory content, including visual stereotypes that we today would perceive as racist, misogynistic, and xenophobic.



Writing anonymously or under pseudonyms, authors traded insults and used name-calling, sarcasm, and satire to ridicule opponents. Paxton critics such as Benjamin Franklin, who authored the first published attack of the debate, condemned the Paxton men and all Scots-Irishmen as “CHRISTIAN WHITE SAVAGES” who had murdered peaceful Conestogas in cold blood. His goal was primarily to condemn his Scots-Irish political opponents in the colony rather than to defend the Conestogas, the victims of their violence. Other authors followed Franklin’s lead. They mostly ignored the Conestogas, instead employing anti-Irish stereotypes to ridicule the Scots-Irish as drunkards, or to parody their distinctive dialect as evidence of ignorance; some even fed upon anti-Catholic prejudice by asserting that these Protestant colonists were really Catholics in disguise.

Paxton apologists employed comparably incendiary tactics. Their goal was to defend the Scots-Irish and other immigrant groups in the colony, such as the Germans, while undermining the authority of Philadelphia-centered power brokers. They derided Franklin, an increasingly important politician in the colony, as a self-interested double-dealer and stereotyped all Indians, even the peaceful Conestogas, as inherently violent, traitorous savages. Wealthy and influential Quakers were their favorite targets, however. Distinctively plain forms of Quaker dress and speech, such as broad-brimmed hats and Quakers’ use of “thee” and “thou” idiom made them easy to mock.

Political cartoons offer a rich documentary record of such tactics. In *Benjamin Franklin and the Quakers*, the Quaker merchant Israel Pemberton, donning the traditional broad-brimmed hat, distributes hatchets to a group of half-naked, highly-stereotyped Indian men; Pemberton instructs them to “Exercise them [use them] on the Scotch Irish & Dutch [Germans],” suggesting that the Quakers’ greed for profits from trade drove Indian violence against backcountry settlers such as the Paxton men. Franklin, depicted in the foreground, holding a bag of money, confirms that “this is the way our Money goes.” But the Indians have their own designs, as well. As a Quaker man in the right corner of the cartoon cavorts with a young, bare-breasted Indian woman, she secretly reaches into his pocket to steal his pocket watch, raising questions of who controlled the colony and whether Indians, the Quakers, or Franklin profited most from the trade.

The German bleeds & bears ye Furs followed similar themes but shifted the setting to the backcountry to highlight the consequences of such greed. Here, a Quaker (broad-brimmed hat) and Franklin oversee a scene of death and destruction. The Quaker, who appears to be in control, rides on

the back of the Scots-Irishman with a half-naked, hatchet-carrying Indian and a blindfolded German yoked to his arm; Franklin watches from the sidelines. As the verses below the cartoon confirm, the Quaker – not Franklin or even the Indian – bears responsibility for the burning cabins and dead colonists that surround them. Franklin, the verses note, may have offered the “help at hand,” but it was the Quaker “broad-brims,” the colony’s oppressive “Lords,” whose desire for profit stoked dependence, violence, and misery in Pennsylvania. Quakers were not the humble Christians and pacifists they claimed; rather, as the wearers of masks that disguised nefarious intentions, Quakers were, as pro-Paxton writers asserted, the root of strife in the colony.

The Paxton crisis, as Thomas Penn predicted, was a war of words and images fought by Paxton critics and defenders who debated Pennsylvania’s future by inflaming the passions and misleading the judgement of many in the colony. Yet, in a war sparked by violence against Indians, it is surprising how absent or misrepresented the Conestogas were in these discussions. Few texts acknowledged the Paxton murders. Instead, most works, including political cartoons, either denied the Conestogas’ agency by portraying them as helpless dependents of the colony and its Quaker merchants, or by stereotyping them as either cunning, half-naked savages or hatchet-wielding warriors, images popularized during the Seven Years’ War. With no native voices to argue on behalf of the Conestogas, the Paxton debates document the colonial narrative of the crisis. They also capture a turning point in the history of the Pennsylvanian colony, away from acknowledgement and negotiation and towards the whole scale displacement and dispossession of indigenous peoples.





Primary Sources

Waged in broadsides, engravings, pamphlets, political cartoons, and correspondence, the debate about the Conestoga massacres ensnared some of Pennsylvania's most preeminent statesmen, including Benjamin Franklin, Governor John Penn, and Hugh Williamson, who would later sign the U.S. Constitution. At stake was much more than the conduct of the Paxton murderers. Pamphleteers used the debate over the conduct of the Paxtons to stake claims about peace and settlement, race and ethnicity, masculinity and civility, and religious association in pre-Revolutionary Pennsylvania.

The following primary source materials are drawn from numerous archives, including the Free Library of Philadelphia, Haverford College Quaker and Special Collections, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Library Company of Philadelphia, Moravian Archives of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and the Pennsylvania State Archives. All materials are freely available via the digital edition of *Ghost River* (ghostriver.org).

Beginnings



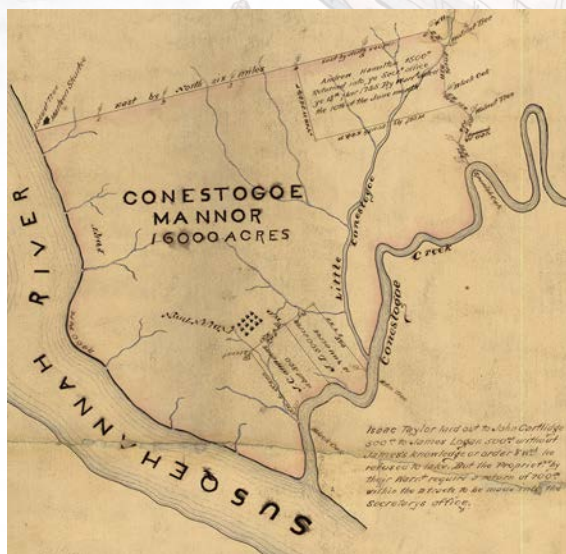
The belt of wampum delivered by the Indians to William Penn at the “Great Treaty” (1682). Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Reciprocity in treaty-making was enacted through the exchange of wampum made from shells and leather. The Delaware Indians gave this belt of wampum to William Penn at the signing of the Treaty of Shackamaxon in 1682. The scene would later be mythologized in Benjamin West's *Penn's Treaty with the Indians*.



Benjamin West, *The Indians Giving a Talk to Colonel Bouquet* (Philadelphia, 1766). The Library Company of Philadelphia.

West's engraving features several aspects of treaty-making, including the recording of minutes (the scribe takes notes) and the exchange of wampum (held by the chief).

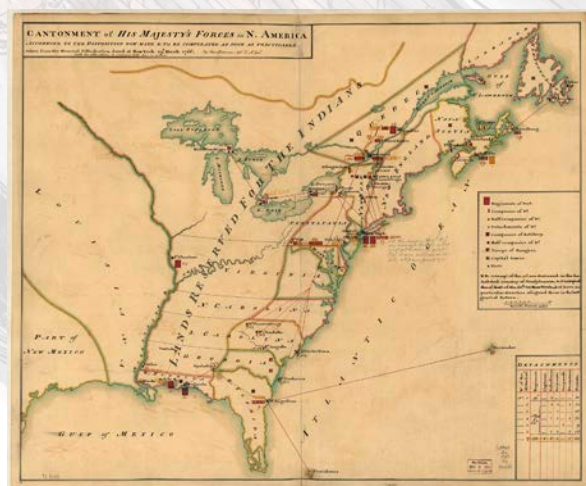


Jacob Taylor, *Survey* (Lancaster, 1717). Pennsylvania State Archives.

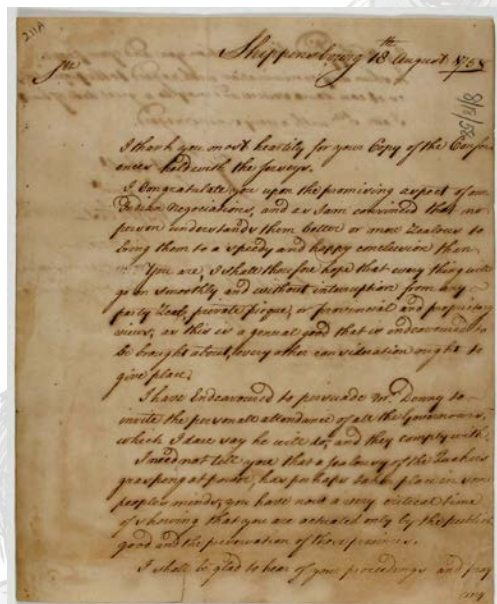
In the late-1600s, approximately 200 Susquehannocks settled on 16,000 acres restricted from colonial settlement. William Penn reportedly visited this group, then known as the Conestogas, on his second visit to Pennsylvania in 1701. This 1717 survey of “Conestoga Manor” identifies “Indiantown” immediately north of John Cartledge’s 300-acre tract.

Daniel Paterson, *Cantonment of His Majesty's Forces in N. America* (New York, 1766). Library of Congress.

Following the Treaty of Paris and the end of the Seven Years’ War, the British government issued the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which largely affirmed the territorial boundaries of the Treaty of Easton (1758). This map reflects those boundaries, designating the trans-Appalachian west “Reserved for the Indians.”



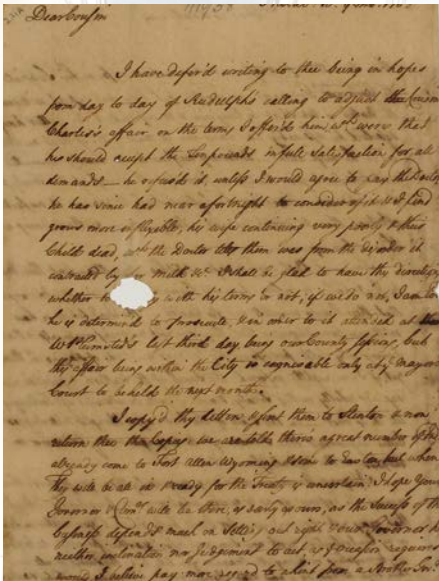
Origins of Discontent



John Forbes, *Letter to Israel Pemberton*, (Shippensburg, August 18, 1758). Haverford College Quaker and Special Collections.

During the Seven Years’ War, Quakers played a central diplomatic role by organizing the Friendly Association, a non-governmental organization that laid the groundwork for the Treaty of Easton in 1758. Friendly Association correspondence reveals the political sensitivity of diplomacy.

“I need not tell you that a Jealousy of the Quakers grasping at power, has perhaps taken place in some people’s minds; you have now a very critical time of showing that you are actuated only by the [public] good and the preservation of those provinces.”

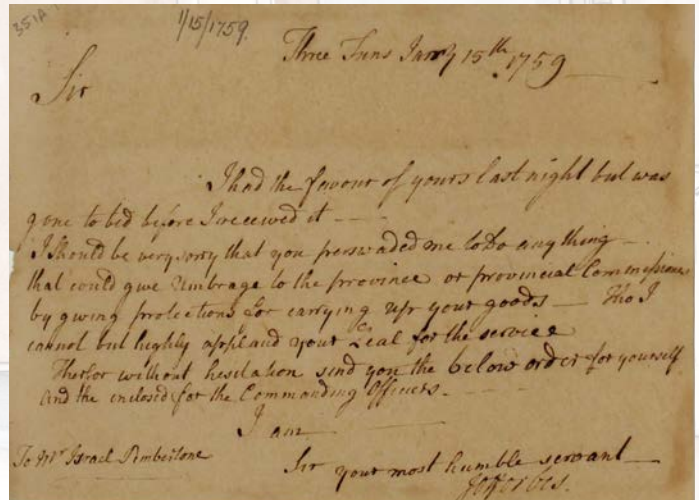


Israel Pemberton, Letter to Charles Read (Philadelphia, September 10, 1758). Haverford College Quaker and Special Collections.

"[T]he success of the business depends much on setting out right & our Governor has neither inclination nor judgement to act, as ye occasion requires & would I believe pay more regard to a hint from a Brother [Governor] than to either [persuasions] or remonstrances from his Subjects."

John Forbes, Letter to Israel Pemberton (Philadelphia, January 15, 1759). Haverford College Quaker and Special Collections.

"I should be very sorry that you persuaded me to Do any thing that could give Umbrage to the province or provincial Commissioners by giving protections for carrying [...] your goods. [Though] I cannot but highly applaud your Zeal for the service."



[James Claypoole], Franklin and the Quakers (Philadelphia, 1764). The Library Company of Philadelphia.

Dealings with the Quakers complicated Benjamin Franklin's political career. Franklin appears in the foreground of this etching, holding a sack labeled "Pennsylvania money." To the left, prominent Quaker merchant Abel James distributes tomahawks from a barrel labeled "I.P."

The Massacres

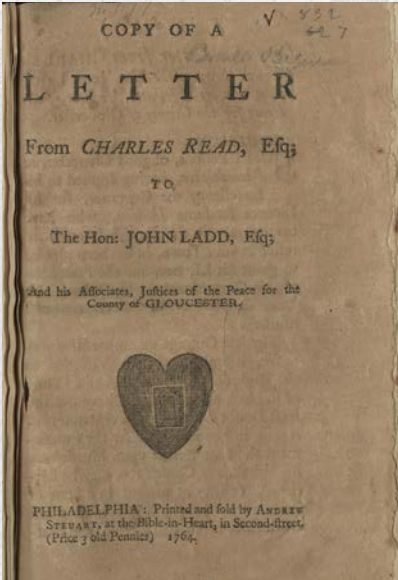
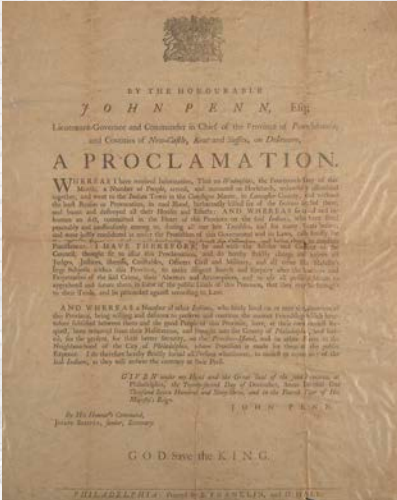


David Henderson, *Account of the Indian Murders* (Lancaster, December 27, 1763). Haverford College Quaker and Special Collections.

The first accounts of the Paxton murders published between December 1763 and January 1764 did not look favorably upon the Paxtons. In a letter written after the attack on the Lancaster workhouse but before the march to Philadelphia, David Henderson emphasizes the injustice of the Paxton murders.

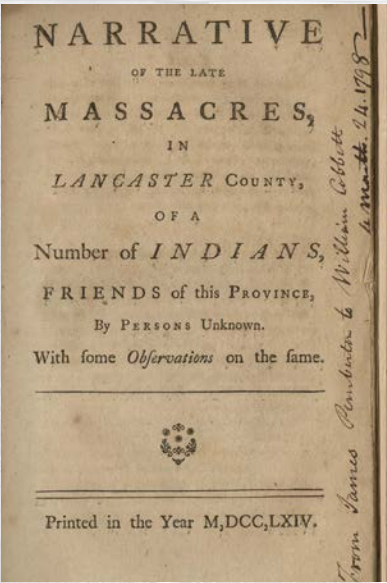
John Penn. *Proclamation* (Philadelphia, January 2, 1764). Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Governor Penn calls for the immediate arrest of the Paxton murderers in this proclamation. This broadside reflects the governor's second condemnatory proclamation, the first printed on December 22, 1763, after their massacre at Conestoga Indiantown but before their attack on the Lancaster jailhouse.



Charles Read, *Copy of a Letter from Charles Read* (Philadelphia, 1764). Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

This early account the Conestoga massacres anticipates arguments that Franklin popularizes with *Narrative of the Late Massacres*. Read presents the Paxtons as the real savages, murderers who should suffer punishment under the law. He holds that the Conestogas are subjects of the crown and entitled to security, an argument less grounded in ethics than economics.

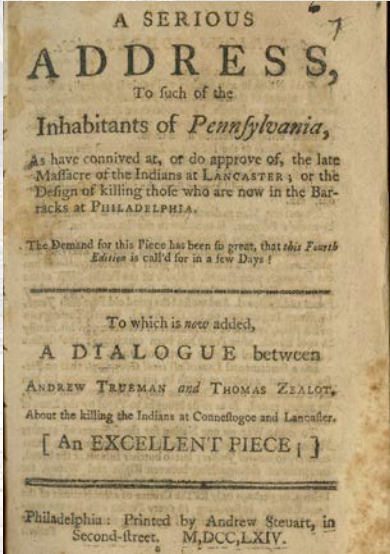


Benjamin Franklin. *Narrative of the Late Massacres* (Philadelphia, 1764). The Library Company of Philadelphia.

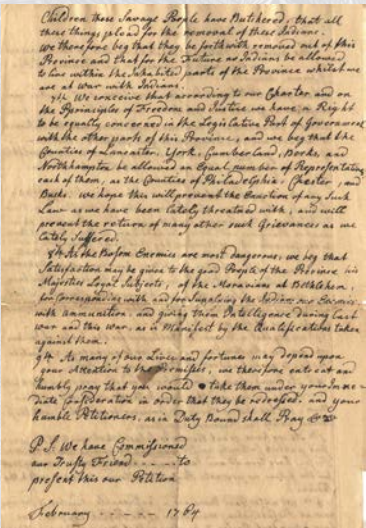
Benjamin Franklin's influential pamphlet created a template for subsequent Paxton critique. He emphasizes the need for law and order and also personalizes the Susquehannock by using their English names, describing familial relationships, and providing detailed accounts of slaughters. Notably, Franklin condemns the Scotch-Irish frontiersmen as "CHRISTIAN WHITE SAVAGES."

Anonymous, *A Serious Address* (Philadelphia, 1764). The Library Company of Philadelphia.

Published contemporaneously with *Narrative of the Late Massacres*, this pamphlet provides the first insinuations of Paxton apology. The author complains of "too general Approbation" of the killings, despite their being "contrary to the Laws of Nations." The pamphlet's appearance of impartiality earned it significant popularity – *A Serious Address* was republished in four editions.

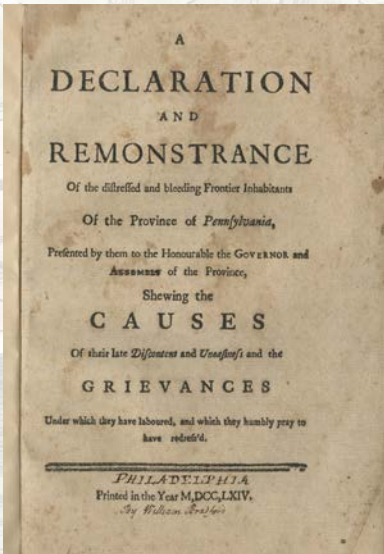


The Public Debate



Anonymous, *Petition by the Inhabitants of Lancaster County* (Lancaster, 1764). Moravian Archives of Bethlehem.

This letter may have served as a draft of the Paxton leaders' Remonstrance. Notably, *Petition by the Inhabitants of Lancaster County* only raises the problem of representation as a means to raise the concern that settlers might be tried in Philadelphia courts, rather than by their peers in the borderlands.

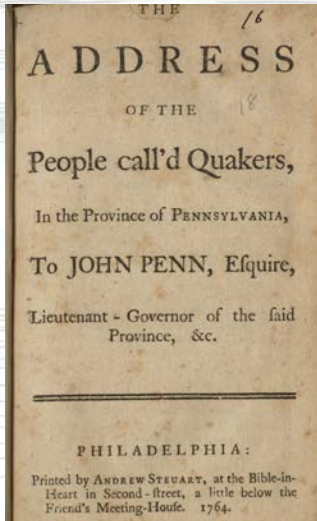
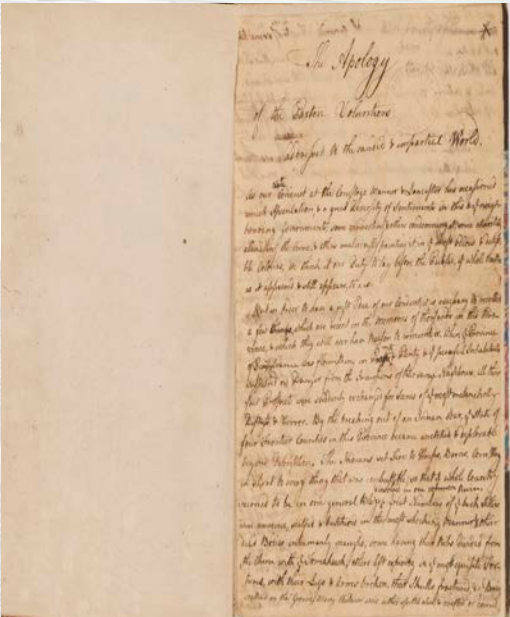


Matthew Smith, *Declaration and Remonstrance* (Philadelphia, 1764). The Library Company of Philadelphia.

In exchange for disbanding at Germantown, Paxton leaders secured the right to broadcast their grievances in *Declaration and Remonstrance*. Their representative, Matthew Smith, read the essay as early as February 15, just a week after the marchers arrived in Germantown. Though written in haste, Smith’s grievances galvanized sympathizers who distrusted the friendly relations of Quakers and Susquehannocks, and suspected that leaders intentionally withheld support from borderland settlers. The syntactical repetition of “falsely pretended Friends” (the Susquehannocks) and “falsely pretended Indian Friends” (Quakers) served to conflate Friendly Indian with Indian Friend.

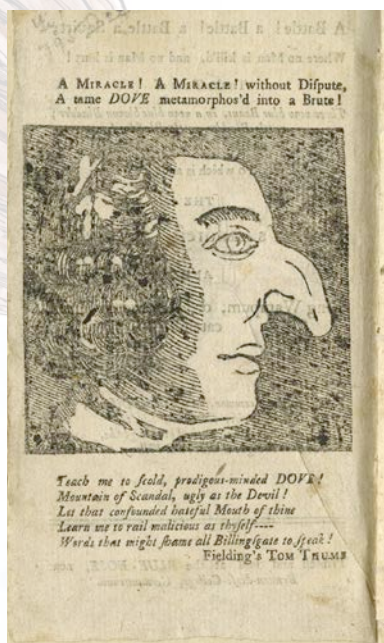
Anonymous, *Apology of the Paxton Volunteers* (Philadelphia, 1764). Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

This unpublished, anonymous manuscript added visceral depictions of frontier warfare to Smith’s account. In place of scenes of violence against the Conestogas (as in Franklin’s *Narrative of the Late Massacres*), the volunteers emphasize the mangled bodies of settlers. Whereas *Declaration and Remonstrance* advocated for changes in settlement policies, *Apology of the Paxton Volunteers* sought the vindication of the Paxtons.



The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, *The Address of the People Called Quakers* (Philadelphia, 1764). The Library Company of Philadelphia.

In this letter to the governor, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting warned the Smith pamphlet would agitate “the inconsiderate Part of the People” against the Society. Those fears proved well-founded as Paxton apologists conflated Quakers with the warring Indians that they claimed had precipitated the murders.



David James Dove, *A Battle a Squirt; Where No Man is Kill'd, and No Man is Hurt!* (Philadelphia, 1764). The Library Company of Philadelphia.

This pro-Paxton pamphlet was published anonymously, but later attributed to David James Dove, the infamous satirist, Paxton sympathizer, and headmaster of the Germantown Academy. (The printer included an unflattering engraving of the doctor.) Dove counters *A Serious Address* by mocking Friends' superficial adherence to the peace testimony. He describes the Paxtons, meanwhile, as the "worthy bleeding Men of Paxton," whom acted to prevent Indian treachery.

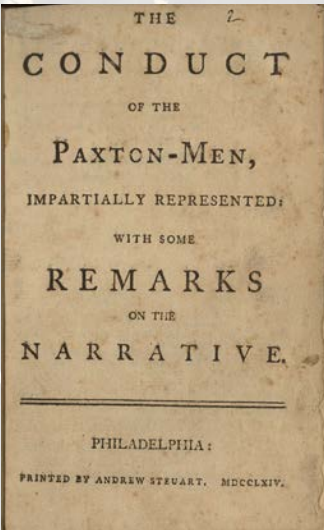
James Claypoole, *An Indian Squaw King Wampum Spies* (Philadelphia, 1764). The Library Company of Philadelphia

In this pro-Paxton political cartoon intended to accompany *A Battle a Squirt; Where No Man is Kill'd, and No Man is Hurt!*, a Quaker merchant identifiable as Israel Pemberton ("King Wampum") cavorts with a partially undressed Native woman who is stealing his money. A bespectacled Franklin watches to the right.



James Claypoole, *The German bleeds & bears ye Furs* (Philadelphia, 1764). The Library Company of Philadelphia.

Claypoole's engraving serves as a visual counterpart to Hugh Williamson's pamphlet *Plain Dealer*. A Quaker man rides a rifle-wielding Scotch-Irish Presbyterian. He is tethered to a tomahawk-clad Indian, who rides a blind-folded German. Benjamin Franklin stands to the left, clutching the Resolves of the Assembly.



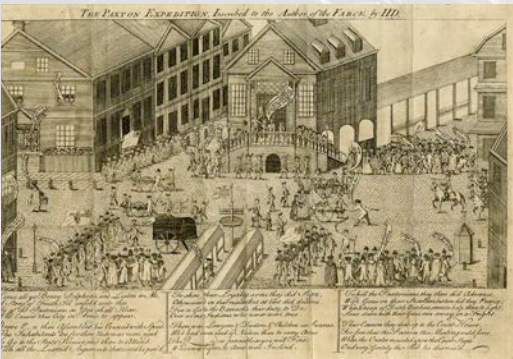
Thomas Barton, *The Conduct of the Paxton Men* (Philadelphia, 1764). The Library Company of Philadelphia.

The Conduct of the Paxton Men marked a turning point in the pamphlet war. While the pro-Paxton pamphlet was originally published anonymously, it has since been attributed to Thomas Barton, a prominent Anglican missionary from Lancaster. Barton synthesizes the apologist strategies of *Declaration and Remonstrance* and *Apology of the Paxton Volunteers* and provides a forceful response to Franklin's *Narrative of the Late Massacres*. The pamphlet disparaged the reputation of the Native victims, justified the conduct of the Paxtons using gratuitous scenes of frontier violence, and assailed the motives and pacifist principles of Quaker Assembly members.

1764 Election

Isaac Hunt, *A Conference Between the Devil and Doctor Dove* (Philadelphia, 1764). The Library Company of Philadelphia.

Hunt, whom Peter Silver has called a “one-man pamphlet shop during the Paxton crisis,” personalized the Paxton debate. In this cartoon, Hunt depicts Dove in a conference with the devil followed by a satirical epitaph that accuses him of sexual immorality.



Henry Dawkins, *The Paxton Expedition* (Philadelphia, 1764). The Library Company of Philadelphia.

Paxton apologist Henry Dawkins takes aim at Quaker militant defense of the Lenape and Moravian Indians. In Dawkins's illustration, crowds of onlookers, whose plain hats identify them as Quakers, call out in banners suitable to a parade. At the center of the frame is the ringleader, a Friend, who readies a canon. Devoid of the impetus for the confrontation (the Paxton threat to Pennsylvania's Christianized Indians), Dawkins's cartoon transforms Philadelphia's orderly, grid-patterned streets into the stage of a circus.

“The Quakers so peaceable as you will Find:
Who never before, to Arms were Inclined
To kill the Paxtonians they then did Advance,
With Guns on their Shoulders, but how did they Prance.”



**Isaac Hunt, *The Election, a Medley* (Philadelphia, 1764).
The Library Company of Philadelphia.**

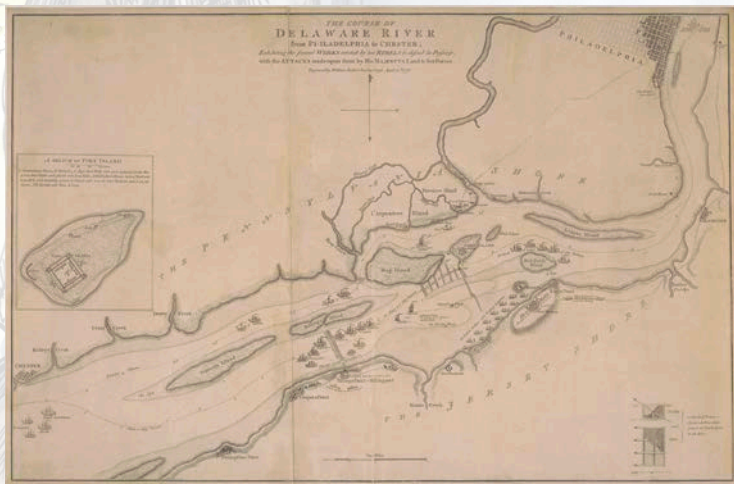
In this pro-Franklin cartoon, Isaac Hunt repurposes the plate used in Dove's *The Paxton Expedition* to caricature Presbyterians. One remarks, "We Pres[byteria]ns spring up like mushrooms," while another adds, "and wither as soon." Hunt embeds Dove (bottom center), accompanied by a black mistress to resurface rumors that he had circulated in *Conference*.

**David James Dove, *The Counter-Medley*
(Philadelphia, 1765). The Library Company
of Philadelphia.**

In this pro-Paxton cartoon, Dove answers Hunt and assails Franklin by depicting Franklin as "agent" of the Devil (bottom center). A Paxtonian character on horseback remarks, "March on brave Germantonians," framing the 1764 election as an electoral equivalent of the Paxton march.



The Unpublished Story



**William Faden, *The Course of the
Delaware River from Philadelphia to
Chester* (Philadelphia, 1778).
Free Library of Philadelphia.**

While Paxton critics and apologists assailed one another's character and debated politics, one hundred forty Lenape and Moravian Indians languished in internment. These individuals were first held at Province Island, where the Philadelphia International Airport is situated today. They likely resided at the "Pest House," noted in this map.



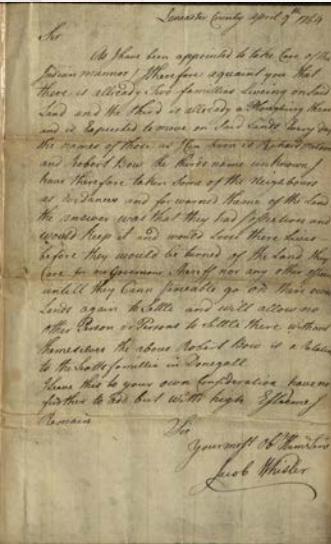
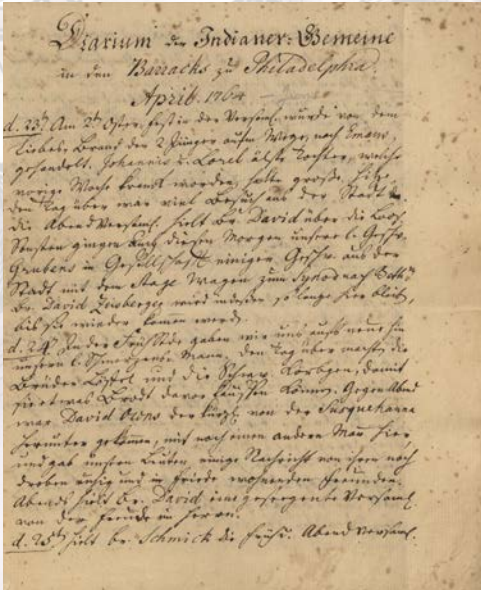
William Breton, *Washington Residence and Philadelphia Barracks* (Philadelphia, 1830). The Library Company of Philadelphia.

In early-1764, the Lenape and Moravian Indians were relocated to the Philadelphia Barracks in Northern Liberties. That military installation, built to house British troops during the Seven Years' War, appears in the bottom image of this engraving ("British Barracks, Philadelphia").

Moravian Missionaries, *Diary of the Indians in the Barracks in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, April 2, 1764). Moravian Archives of Bethlehem.

Moravian missionaries visited the Native Peoples interned at Province Island and later the Philadelphia Barracks. These diaries provide a detailed account of more than a year internment marked by illness, death, and near-continual fear and uncertainty.

"We were very worried about our poor Indians because it seemed that no one wants to take care of them anymore. One sees in the writings that are published almost every day the many accusations and great enmity against our Indians; that through [such writings] the people are enticed to be more and more against us, and if our dear Lord does not specifically protect us, then we must still become victims."

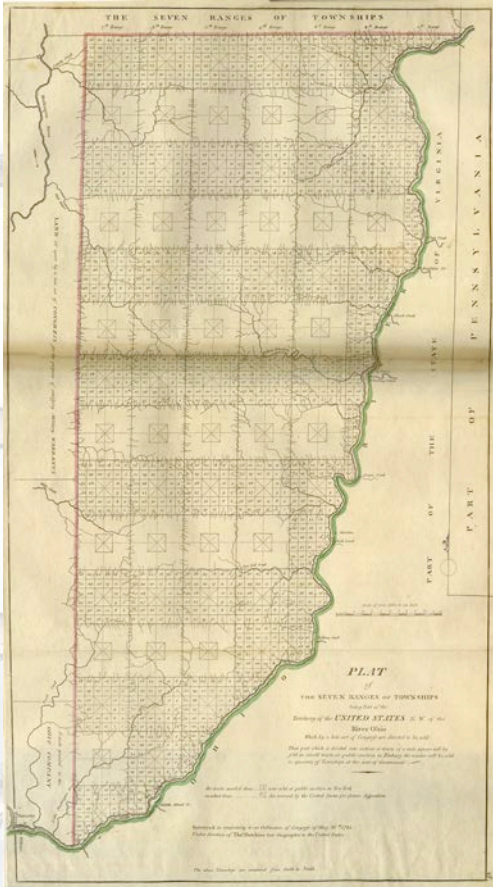


Jacob Whistler, *Letter to William Peters* (Lancaster, April 9, 1764). Pennsylvania State Archives.

Jacob Whistler, the caretaker of Conestoga Manor, records families settling where the Conestogas resided just three months earlier. Whistler notes that at least one of the families bears relation to the Paxton murderers.

"As I have been appointed to take Care of Indian [Manor] I therefore [acquaint] you that there [are] already two families living on said Land and the third is already a Ploughing there and is Expected to move on said Lands...I have therefore taken some of the [neighbors] as [Evidence] and [warned] them of the Land the answer was that they had Possession and would keep it and would [lose their] Lives before they would be turned [off] the Land they Care for no [Governor], Sheriff, nor any other officer."

Aftermaths



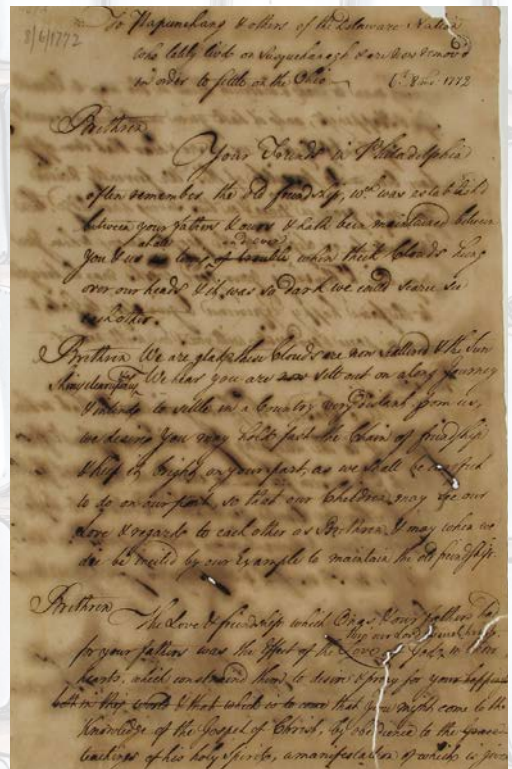
Mathew Carey, *Plat of the Seven Ranges of Townships being Part of the Territory of the United States N.W. of the River Ohio* (Philadelphia, 1814). The Library Company of Philadelphia.

Mathew Carey's atlas illustrates how the territories northwest of the Ohio River were incorporated into the United States following the passage of the Northwest Ordinance. That territory was carved out of the trans-Appalachian west, including the very territories contested by the Paxtons.

The Friendly Association, *Message to the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia, August 6, 1772). Haverford College Quaker and Special Collections.

Upon learning that the Delaware had set out to "settle in a Country very distant," a Friendly Association writer fondly recollects their longstanding friendship. The letter ends with a promise of money for resettlement.

"Your Friends in Philadelphia often remember the old friendship, which was established between your fathers & ours & hath been maintained between you & us at all times, and even when thick Clouds hung over our heads & it was so dark we could scarce see each other...hold fast the Chain of Friendship."



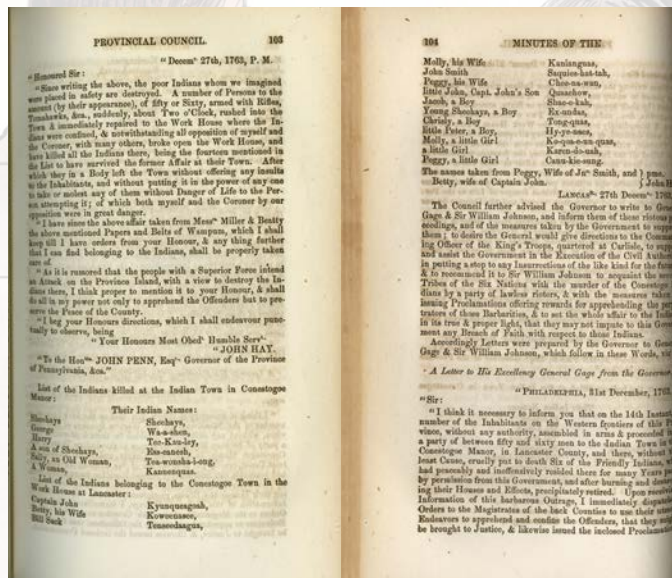


Benjamin West, *Penn's Treaty with the Indians* (Philadelphia, 1771-72). Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

In 1770, Thomas Penn commissioned a painting by Benjamin West to celebrate his father's participation in the Treaty of Shackamaxon. This famous painting, later recreated by Edward Hicks in his *Peaceable Kingdom* series, imagines a scene of Native-Colonial harmony that draws a stark contrast to the violence that had unfolded five years earlier.

James Wimer, *Massacre of the Indians at Lancaster by the Paxton Boys* (Lancaster, 1841). The Library Company of Philadelphia.

This nineteenth-century lithograph provides one of the most iconic visual representations of the Paxton massacre at the Lancaster workhouse. While Wimer's image captures the brutality of the violence, it does take some liberties. For example, the Paxton murderers are shown in formal Victorian attire, including top hats.



Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1852). The Library Company of Philadelphia.

The *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* contain a detailed account of the massacres, including the Native and English names of victims. These records have been widely available since the mid-nineteenth-century.



Creative Process



The following pages include replications of the final script as well as Weshoyot’s sketched and inked pages to give you a sense of the creative and developmental process behind *Ghost River*. The annotations to the right are notes and conversations over the course of several drafts of the script. The creative process for this work featured various members from the advisory team. Note: LF refers to writer Lee Francis 4; WF refers to editor Will Fenton. Other team members are identified with their full names.

Francis/GHOST RIVER / 1

GHOST RIVER: THE FALL AND RISE OF THE CONESTOGA

Written by Lee Francis 4
Illustrated by Weshoyot Alvitre

TITLE PAGE

LF: Use of the name and settling on the spelling. The English called them the Conestoga, after the name of their principal village, Gan’ochs’ago’jat’ga (“Roof-place” or “town”), anglicized as “Conestoga.”

Michael Goode: Kanastoge may mean “at the place of the immersed pole” or the word “Conestoga” may be derived from Andastoeague, for “people of the cabin pole.” The English word “Susquehannock” derived (possibly) from the Powhatan Algonquian word, Sasquesahanough. Their name could refer to “roily water people” or “people at the falls” or “Oyster River People.” Swedish and Dutch settlers referred to them as the Minquas, which is an adaptation of the Lenape term for them.

WF: I’d like to make the argument for embracing the established spelling, “Conestoga.” As it is, the Conestoga have a number of different names.

According to the Cecil Daily: The Huran called them Andastoerrhonon. The French called them Andaste. The Dutch and Swedes called them Minquas. The Algonquian pronunciation was Sasquesahanough, meaning “people at the falls.” In Pennsylvania, the English called them the Conestoga in reference to the village of Conestoga Town where they lived, which was based on the Pennsylvania Dutch term “Kanastoge,” meaning “place of the immersed pole.”

So, given that Kanastoge was already a colonial moniker (Penn Dutch), I really think that using the most established identifier will increase accessibility.

PAGE ONE

LF: This was one of the first things that struck me...

“History is complicated. Violence is easy.”

Francis/GHOST RIVER / 2

PAGE ONE

Fall spread all black with text.

V.O.

History is complicated.
Violence is easy.

PAGE TWO

Splash page.

Lenape Creation Story as an Invocation

The art and backdrop will spread over both pages. The feeling for the illustrations is to tell the story as two images - not using panels and borders but rather as continuous movement, a way to tell the story in an abstract manner. It can be abstract, ephemeral, leaning more on evoking emotion, intuition. It is time immemorial, the time before time, where time is not a linear construct but cyclical, momentum, the joy of Creation.

VO.

In the beginning of our knowledge of time the world was full of water. The first creature to rise from the depth of the water was Turtle. As Turtle raised its back up high to feel the warmth of the sun, all of the water ran off its shell so it became dry. This became the first earth.

PAGE THREE

Splash page.

V.O.

From the middle of its back a tree began to grow. From the root of this tree was sent forth a sprout beside it. From that sprout grew a man. The man was then alone. But the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and another root emerged. From this root came another sprout. And from that sprout grew a woman. And all humankind grew from these two together, the man and the woman.

This is how we begin.

PAGE FOUR

Three panels, horizontal.
Speeding through time.

Panel One

The earliest Susquehannock. They are gathering, coming back from fishing. Beginning to establish the village.

Panel Two (1500s)

The building of the first longhouses. The People work together to build a settlement with more permanent structures.

PAGE THREE

Francis/GHOST RIVER/ 2

PAGE ONE
Full spread all black with text.

V.O.
History is complicated.
Violence is easy.

PAGE TWO
Splash page.

Lenape Creation Story as an Invocation

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PAGE THREE
Splash page.

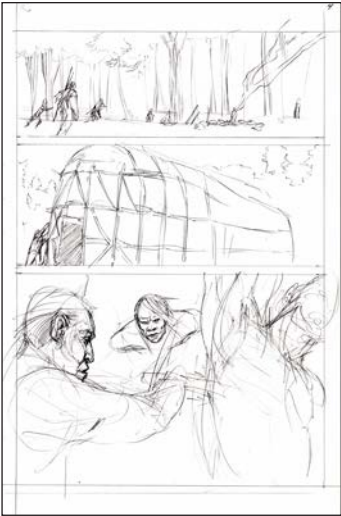
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This is how we begin.

PAGE FOUR
*Three panels, horizontal.
Speeding through time.*

Panel One
The earliest Susquehannock. They are gathering, coming back from fishing. Beginning to establish the village.

Panel Two (1500s)
The building of the first longhouses. The People work together to build a settlement with more permanent structures.



WF: I think this is a lovely story, though I wonder if using a Seneca story might create confusion. Is there an analogous Susquehannock/Wendat myth? I've contacted Dan and Curtis about it. If we do keep this origin story, I think we'll need to have it vetted by a Seneca scholar.

Dan Richter: I'm not sure we have any record of a Susquehannock origin story. ("Creation" is probably not the right word, since most Native origin stories don't begin with a time when nothing existed.) It's likely that the Susquehannocks shared a version of the Wendat and Haudenosaunee Sky Woman stories, but there is no way to know for sure, as far as I know.

WF: I've removed all instances of "tribe," a 19c anthropological term used by US Government (to determine who is/isn't sovereign).

WF: regarding the "NOTE," I can imagine surfacing it in either the front or backmatter, but I do think we need to find different sources against which to vet this. Most of the work of 19c anthropologists is a bit suspect.

WF: Sub in a Lenape origin story from either Curtis or Bierhorst's *Mythology of the Lenape*?

Curtis Zunigha: I've told a Lenape creation story (some use the word 'myth' or 'legend') for many years but I learned it from storytelling by a Lenape elder. So I was surprised having difficulty finding something in writing. Here is a story that has written origins as far back a 1679 as told by a Lenape elder named Tantaque: "In the beginning of our knowledge of time the world was full of water. The first creature to rise from the depth of the water was Turtle. As the turtle raised its back up high to feel the warmth of the sun, all of the water ran off its shell so it became dry. This became the first earth. From the middle of its back a tree began to grow. From the root of this tree was sent forth a sprout beside it. From that sprout grew a man. The man was then alone. But the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and another root emerged. From this root came another sprout. And from that sprout grew a woman. And all humankind grew from these two together, the man and the woman." Note: Many creation stories/myths/legends in many populations and cultures around the world contain the image of a flooded world. And many indigenous cultures also refer to the turtle and the water, thus "Turtle Island". I know this is brief but I will stand on my credentials in advising that this story is ok to use when writing about or redrawing history of the Lenape.

PAGE FOUR & FIVE

LF: The historical overview

WF: Are you referencing the war between the Lenapes and the Susquehannocks; if so, it was earlier, probably in the 1640s and 1650s. The enemy in the 1670s was the Haudenosaunee, which might be interesting given your choice of origin story (unless it changes). This frame also provides you with an opportunity to explain why such a mixed group of people, survivors of these wars, wound up at Conestoga village.

Jack Brubaker: Page four, panel three suggests that “other peoples (the Lenape)” have waged war against the Conestogas. I would substitute Iroquois for Lenape. The Iroquois defeated the Susquehannocks, forcing them south. When they returned to this area, they were called Conestogas. As far as I know, friction between Susquehannocks/Conestogas and Lenapes did not exist in this period.

Jack Brubaker: Page four reads, “the earliest of the Conestoga People.” They were Susquehannocks at that time, not Conestogas. This designation should be clarified because panel 3 says these people were defeated by the Iroquois. The Iroquois defeated the Susquehannocks, not the Conestogas. The survivors of the Susquehannocks fled to Virginia. They returned to Pennsylvania in the 1680s and were then called Conestogas. They were allies of the Iroquois. In fact, members of the Iroquois affiliates, especially Senecas, were among those killed at Conestoga and in the workhouse in Lancaster. If this is not clear, please ask the writer to contact me and I will explain in more detail. It’s all in my book, too.

PAGE SIX

Dan Richter: I think this date is too late. The Native people living in the Moravian villages were relocated to Phila in November, before the Conestoga Massacre. It was not, technically, a township, but a village on a larger manor owned by William Penn, or at least land that Penn owned according to his own English law.

WF: Somewhere in here it would be good to show Conestoga people interacting with colonists. Perhaps a scene of someone selling baskets or furs, with passersby mumbling about those Indians who don’t belong here, who have killed our kin during the war and are no doubt plotting more mischief. I think we need to establish a backdrop for racial animosity. That is, the Paxton murderers didn’t materialize out of thin air.

Francis/GHOST RIVER / 3

Panel Three (1640s)
Warfare. Other Peoples (the Iroquois) have come to this place to wage war. There is fighting, chaos, violence.

V.O.
It is an old story that is told. It is beautiful. And violent and difficult.

PAGE FIVE
Three panels, horizontal.
Speeding through time.

Panel One (1670s)
The first Quakers meet the Conestoga. Three Quaker men are meeting with several of the People. They are welcoming and gracious as they show the Quakers their small village and their community.

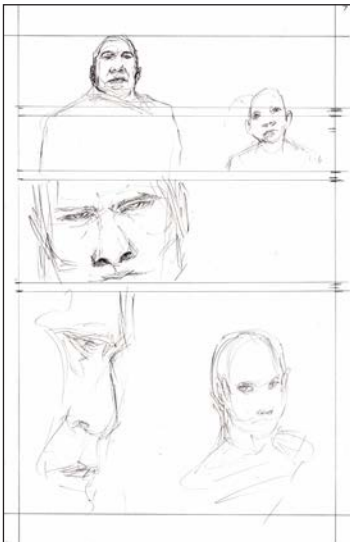
Panel Two (1700s)
The people leaving the Village. Colonization overtakes the People and we can see small colonial dwellings in the distance, as several of the Village Members are clearly leaving to head North to friendlier locations where there is more safety, more resources, more comfort.

Panel Three (1750s)
The remaining people looking toward the horizon. One of the older men is holding the Wampum. In the distance, we see the river, ever winding, ever present.

V.O.
It is told from the heart, carried on the current, and flows until the last sun forever sets.

PAGE SIX
December 1, 1763 - Conestoga Indiantown
Splash page.
Winter. There are a few people milling around the village. They are going about their days, preparing for an upcoming hunt, tending fires, just the daily routine of a small, poor village in Colonial Pennsylvania.

PAGE SEVEN
Four panels.
Panel One
Old Shachas, perhaps the eldest Conestoga is looking over folks busying for the morning. He is wearing winter clothing but it is worn and offers only a modicum of protection. The morning is cold and bright. He is speaking to someone.



SHEEHAES

I remember when I was a boy of your age. Our village was full of life. There were more of us then.

Panel Two

We see that he speaks to a young boy, Ess-Canesh. The boy has a short haircut and bright eyes.

SHEEHAES

Before the wars. Before the violence. Before the anger from the white men. Before many of our people traveled far away.

ESS-CANESH

Like Michael and Mary.

Panel Three

Close on Sheehaes, a sense of sorrow and past memories can be seen in his eyes.

SHEEHAES

Yes.

Panel Four

Medium on Ess, with an earnest question.

ESS-CANESH

Sheehaes, why are we still here? Tenseedaagua says we *should* go North, with other people.

PAGE EIGHT

Two panels. Full page with inset, bottom right quarter.

Panel One

Sheehaes looks out over the village and sweeps his hand to indicate the place.

SHEEHAES

Our Lord and Creator gifted us this bounty. Then Brother Onas gave us his word of protection, in wampum, for this land. We could leave, but then there would be no one left to tend the fire. There would be no one left to tell the stories.

Panel Two

Closer on Sheehaes.

SHEEHAES

We stay because some of us are too old to leave. We stay because some of us are too young to travel. We stay because our roots are planted deep, like the First Tree.

PAGE NINE

Three panels.

Panel One

Ess-Canesh thinks about this, but he says nothing.

Panel Two

Sheehaes puts his arm around the boy's shoulder and leads him to his dwelling.

SHEEHAES

Come, Ess-Canesh. There are still things to tend to before the hunt. Let's warm ourselves by the fire.

Panel Three

They walk together toward the dwelling.

PAGE TEN

December 18, 1763 - Lenape Indian Conversation (Province Island)

We shift to the Lenape Indians at Province Island. They discuss what happened in Conestoga and what might happen to them.

Four panels. Large top 2/3rds, three on the bottom 1/3

Panel One

Province Island, demarcated with brick and cobblestones. Two Lenape men speak outside one of a building. Joel is tall and gaunt. His face is stern and he wears colonial clothing except he still wears traditional beads around his neck and on his ears. Anton, one of the leaders of the small band of Lenape, is stocky with a broad, square face. He wears his hair long but also dresses in colonial attire.

JOEL

Did you hear?

ANTON

I heard them talking about it outside.

Panel Two

Anton and Joel are joined by Naemi, a small, thin woman with grey streaks in her dark hair. She wears traditional European clothing and she is accompanied by and several of the other Lenape. They have heard news but are not sure what has actually happened. They are convening to find more information.

NAEMI

What? What is it?

PAGE SEVEN

Dan Richter: Added beat to acknowledge Dan Richter's suggestion: I suspect they also would have been discussing their memories of the first Gnadenhutten massacre of 1755, when their kin were killed by other Native people. And also the animus of the Paxton murderers toward Moravian missionaries; see Scott Gordon's article in *Journal of Moravian History* (2014).

WF: At some point, we should probably loop in Weshoyot and see how she's thinking of depicting this clothing. I suspect she'll need some help from the Circle Legacy Center folks.

Barry Lee: I generally accept that the Lenape looked very much like the rest of NE Woodland people. As the contact period progressed, it would be fair to expect them to be influenced by local trends. Yet still there are illustrations that showed they held onto their particular fashion adornments. There is a period drawing of a Stockbridge Munsee soldier fighting alongside the colonials wearing a frock shirt and worn britches. He looks like I would expect the other Colonial militia to look right down to the felt tricorne hat and there is no evidence of a breech clout. The standard for the man is frock shirt, metal arm bands, breech clout, leggings, and moccasins. For the ladies a "Quakerish/Puritan" dress with added bead/quill work. But there is quite a bit of speculation there. For instance, I expect the Conestoga in Lancaster area looked very much like the local "plain community" in the 1700's.

WF: Tenseedaagu is Will Sock!

Jack Brubaker: Esscanesh refers to "Grandfather Sheehaes." According to Sheriff Hays' list of the 20 Conestogas who were killed, Esscanesch was Sheehaes' son. (Sheehaes was an old man, but he must have sired a very young son.)

PAGE EIGHT

WF: What about, instead of a tree, an elm, a la Penn's treaty elm? Or is that too on the nose?

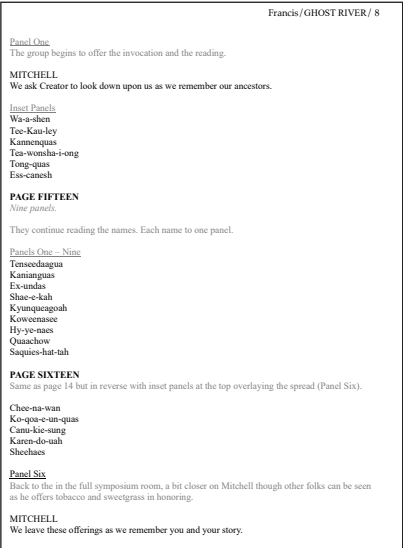
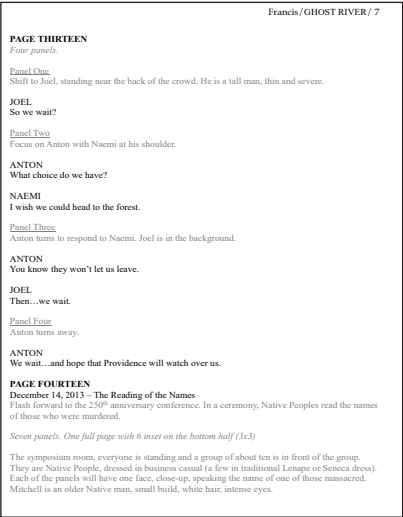
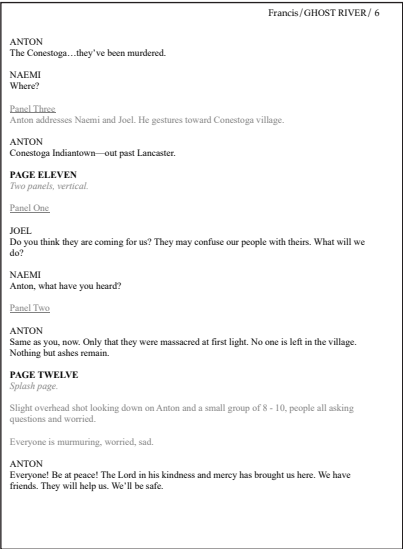
PAGE NINE

WF: I don't know who Harry is, so I suggested that we use a character you've already introduced.

PAGE TEN

WF: You might consider whether they would have this response—in fact, they might read it in the context of Gnadenhutten.





Either here or somewhere else, I think we need to briefly explain the relationship between Moravian Lenape and Conestogas in 1760s. The Lenapes may well have had kin at Conestogas; certainly they knew people who lived there. Establishing these ties are important; again, Conestogas were not all Susquehannocks.

I'm trying to show hybridity via the clothing—think it works?

We should find three Lenape that would have been confined to Philadelphia. Ideally, we would id both their Indian and English names. Perhaps we can focus specifically on the Lenape (to respect Lee's wishes) but add a contextual note in the annotated script that teases out this nuance.

Edited art direction to reflect confinement at Province Island. Changed Indian names to those identified by Scott Gordon.

Locate Province Island as the Philadelphia Airport.

PAGE ELEVEN

WF: I've changed Thomas to John and Ann to Mary because you haven't introduced Thomas or Ann as far as I can tell.

PAGE THIRTEEN

WF: Introduce Martha, however quickly.

Scott Gordon: This might be the only problematic dialogue. These Indians were confined; they did not have the "choice" to leave. The diaries record the desires of many of the Moravian converts to leave, especially after disease started killing them off, so wanting to leave & go up the Susquehanna was a real wish. So something like "I wish we could head to up the forest" might work. But "leave everything behind" doesn't really work—as they have just arrived in Philadelphia a few weeks earlier. They have not been living there.

WF: Great catch, Scott. Edited per your suggestion. Also changed names of Moravian Lenapes to reflect your research on Lenapes at the Barracks.

PAGE FIFTEEN

WF: Love this. If we can find a recording from the symposium, I'd like to integrate the readings of names into our digital version.

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PAGE SEVENTEEN
January 23, 1764 – The Arming of Philadelphia.

As the Paxton Murders march toward Philadelphia, a militia is assembled, including even new recruits from historically peaceable Quakers. We will see these echoes in the final scenes in Lancaster.

Six panels.

Think of this as somewhat of a music montage, with the poem (from one of the political cartoons) serving as a counterpoint to what takes place. All the panels on this page are close ups of various acts of arming and preparing for battle.

Panel One
Hand on a rifle.

Panel Two
A Quaker last.

Panel Three
A fist clutching a pamphlet.

Panel Four
A jacket.

Panel Five
Boots.

Panel Six
Half a face of a Quaker preparing for battle.

V.O.
Come let us prepare
We true Men that are,
(The Poll being at a Conclusion)
To drink laugh and sing
‘Till we make the House ring
For the Quakers are now in Confusion.

PAGE EIGHTEEN
January 23, 1764 – Confinement at the Barracks

Six panels.

While Philadelphia prepares for the siege of the Paxton murders (and other backcountry settlers), the Lenape are ushered into barracks. Little do they know, they will be confined to those barracks for more than a year.

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Panel One
A group of Lenape are herded into the barracks..

Panel Two
An older woman falls. Her escorts help her up gently.

Panel Three
They got her to her feet and press on.

Panel Four
The Lenape are escorted into a building.

Panel Five
The Lenape are inside the foyer of a large building at the barracks. Their faces can be seen in the half light as...

Panel Six
The door closes.

V.O.
Joy, Joy to them all
Who occasion'd their Fall.
That these Fellows no longer might wrong us,
Our Choice let us prize,
Then will from the Skies
Barish'd Justice once more come among us.

PAGE NINETEEN
Separate from the folks who were brought into the building, we see a Lenape man and woman.

Six panels.

Panel One
The Lenape man and woman hold each other.

Panel Two
Two people run by them.

Panel Three
They are alarmed. Close on their faces.

Panel Four
A group of four Quaker men march down the street. They are carrying rifles.

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Panel Five
One of the men stops to look at the Lenape couple, nods, and goes on his way with his compatriots.

Panel Six
The man and woman watch them continue to march down the street.

V.O.
To the Patriot FEW,
A Bumper is due,
Whose Virtue stands nobly confest Sir,
We may safely depend,
Our Rights they'll defend,
And against all injustice protest Sir.

PAGE TWENTY
December 14, 1763 - The Massacre at Conestoga

Early morning, before dawn, the Paxton Murderers approach the village. Most of this scene is in silhouette: shadows, violence, and death. The last image is of the wampum belt buried in the ash of the main longhouse.

Three panels. Horizontal.

Panel One
Conestoga Indianstown: Dawn is breaking over the village. All is silent. Something is dangerous. In the corners, shadows begin to form. They are ominous and deadly.

Panel Two
The shadows in the corners grow larger and begin to take shape. Human shapes but edged and sharp.

Panel Three
More shadows that almost obscure the entire panel.

PAGE TWENTY-ONE
Six Panels.

Panel One
The inside of a dwelling. Tea-womsha-i-ong sleeps on a platform bed, wrapped in blankets.

Panel Two
The door opens.

PAGE SEVENTEEN

Scott Gordon: The Moravian Indians brought from their villages were not in urban Philadelphia—so the stage direction here doesn’t quite work

WF: I’ve removed mention of the the Lenape/Barracks and placed the emphasis on Philadelphia post-militia act.

PAGE EIGHTEEN

Scott Gordon: This happened in November—before the murders. The Moravian Indians have been confined since late November.

The chronology is:

- December 1763-Jan 4 1764: Province Island
- Jan 4-24: PA tries to send them to NY, they start out, have to come back
- Jan 23-24: they are back in PA and confined to barracks.

I think the images are alright. It’s the surrounding text that could use a bit of adjusting...

WF: Edited accordingly. The digital edition may include annotation that locates the barracks in Northern Liberties.

It might be useful to maintain some consistency in how we refer to the Paxton Boys — I vote for “murderers” throughout.

PAGE NINETEEN

WF: Removed mention of the street. In the artwork, they’re outside, but there are not landmarks that locate them in Philadelphia.

PAGE TWENTY

Jack Brubaker: The date of December 7, 1763 is wrong. It should be Dec. 14. There is no indication here that this was the first of two massacres that two-thirds of the Conestogas escaped the first killings. The reader needs to understand that there were two separate massacres in Lancaster County.

PAGE TWENTY-ONE

WF: They probably would not have been sleeping on the ground--either on platform in a longhouse or in a bed in a cabin.

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Panel Three.
Tia-womaha-sung rises and sits up to look at the open door.

Panel Four.
A shadow emerges in the doorway.

Panel Five.
The shadows grow in the doorway.

Panel Six.
Black, as the shadows obliterate Tia-womaha-sung.

PAGE TWENTY-TWO & PAGE TWENTY-THREE
Two-page spread

The massacre: we see fractured violence. Like looking through a kaleidoscope, you can't quite make cohesive sense of what is happening except that it is violent and remorseless and leaves the reader with a sense of terror, unease, and sorrow.

PAGE TWENTY-FOUR
Three panels
Similar to page 20 in reverse. The shadows recede, like smoke, as the village lays in ruins.

Panel One.
Full black.

Panel Two.
The shadows recede to show the village, still quiet as before, but there are elements of violence, small pieces, like a hand in a doorway or a mark of blood.

Panel Three.
We see the village, still still and dead. The wampum belt rests in the ashes.

PAGE TWENTY-FIVE
April 19, 1764: The Unumut (Barracks)

Several of the Lenape are addressed by an associate of Benjamin Franklin who tells them about the efforts Franklin has taken to avert the violence. One of the Lenape (Autaw), pulls out the Paxton (Declaration and Remonstrance). It is a bit of a run and ends with the associate patronizing the Lenape folks to "be grateful that you have your lives..."

Two panels: one full page plus large inset.

Panel One.
The Paxtons: The Lenape are gathered together near a brick structure. They are nervous but visible.

PAGE TWENTY-FOUR

WF: There’s no record of wampum in ashes, but no record denying it either. I think we should keep it.

Jack Brubaker: The wampum belt in the ashes: this may or may not be true. We do know that wampum was among items the county sheriff collected from Conestogas who were not killed in the first massacre. Referencing a wampum belt here may undercut that historical fact.

PAGE TWENTY-FIVE

Scott Paul Gordon: Placement of these Moraivan Indians is problematic. But even in their confinement, which was in Barracks in the Northern Liberties. They were threatened by Philadelphians and visited by well-wishers—so, described differently, this scene is entirely plausible.

WF: Edited art direction accordingly.

LF: Combine into a single page of art.

PAGE TWENTY-EIGHT

LF: One of the things about this whole work was that it felt like it couldn’t be told in a linear style. A few reasons for this: 1) Native and Indigenous stories are not entirely linear in their tellings, they are cyclical and contextual. As such, it was important for me to reflect that in the work itself, which is why the narrative has a number of time jumps. 2) I felt it was necessary to show the events with the Moravian Lenape and how the Quakers were ready to go to war on their behalf. The problem was that it happened after the massacres and therefore would not have the same story arc and momentum if it was placed in a linear arc. 3) the inclusion of the creative team (Will, Weshoyot, myself and later Curtis) was a reflection of Native and Indigenous philosophical and epistemological ways of understanding constructs of history - primarily that because we are all connected, there can be no objectivity. Everything is subjective. This approach is a direct challenge to the ways in which Western historical narratives are constructed but are still and often biased. By writing us into the story, I wanted to create a counterpoint to the established Paxton narrative but frame it in a way so the reader would know that we were in the process of discovering and learning throughout the crafting of this work. Lastly, I love playing with meta-narratives and time-shifts, so this was just a fun way to explore that within the project.

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Panel Two.
A Philadelphian arrives on horseback.

PAGE TWENTY-FIVE
Four panels.

Panel One.
Samuel, a handy of a Philadelphian, dismantles his home. He clearly revels in his position.

Panel Two.
Samuel brushes dirt off his riders and addresses the Lenape.

SAMUEL
Thank you for your patience. You will all be relieved to know that Dr. Franklin has personally intervened to avert further bloodshed. The Paxton Boys have dispersed and we can all celebrate the restoration of peace to our Peaceable Kingdom.

Panel Three.
The Lenape stare at Samuel. There is anger and suspicion in their eyes.

Panel Four.
Slightly uncomfortable, he tries to give the cheer.

SAMUEL
A cause for celebration, wouldn't you agree? A cheer for Dr. Franklin!

PAGE TWENTY-SIX
Four panels.

Panel One.
Francis Naemi bursts forward, no longer able to contain herself.

NAEMI
Have you seen what they are printing?

SAMUEL
Uh, yes, those. Well, there is certainly no merit to those cuttings.

Panel Two.
Naemi, stunned, approaches Samuel. Joel looks on from behind her, alarmed.

NAEMI
We read, sir. Know our Bible well, sir. We know the words you speak and how you show who we are.

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Panel Three.
An image of Native people as depicted in a political cartoon (Indian Squaw). Naemi holds the cartoon in front of Samuel's face. The reader can see the negative portrayals of Native folks.

NAEMI
That!

Panel Four.
Naemi gets very close to Samuel's face. She is angry and scared, but not wrong.

NAEMI
This is what you think of us? We are savages? Wanton women?

PAGE TWENTY-SEVEN
Four panels.

Panel One.
Samuel gives Naemi a contemptuous look, which reveals his real thoughts about the Lenape and Native peoples more generally.

SAMUEL
Please control yourself, madam!

Panel Two.
Joel takes Naemi by the shoulders to calm her down.

JOEL
We are very tired, sir. Despect apologies for our outburst.

SAMUEL
I should say.

Panel Three.
Samuel mounts his horse and speaks down to Naemi, Joel, and the remaining Lenape.

SAMUEL
I should remind you to show gratitude to those of us who have ensured that you may continue to live in our colony.

Panel Four.
Samuel rides off, leaving the Lenape covered in dust.

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PAGE TWENTY-EIGHT
August 13, 1764 - The Documents(The Library Company of Philadelphia)

Flash forward to the present with Lee, Weshoyot, and members of the advisory board looking at documents at the Library Company.

Four panels.

Panel One.
Will beckons everyone to come close to the archive table.

WILL
Look at this!

These are the original documents colonists used to debate the massacre. Here is Franklin's original pamphlet, Narrative of the Late Massacre.

Panel Two.
A close-up on the Franklin pamphlet (Narrative) and the anti-Franklin political cartoon that shows the Quakers arming native peoples (Franklin and the Quakers). The Quakers arming the Natives.

WILL
It was printed at the very beginning of 1764 while the Paxton boys and their allies were marching towards Philadelphia. This little pamphlet launched a war for popular opinion.

Panel Three.
Medium on Lee and Weshoyot, looking over the documents and speaking to Will.

WILL
Franklin was among those who condemned the massacre, though not for entirely benevolent reasons. Others, like Thomas Burton, justified the actions of the Paxton Boys and blamed the feeble Quakers in the government for all of the recent violence.

LEE
The Native folks were essentially a pawns, for the frontier people to fight with the Quakers and the ideals that Penn and the other colonialists were trying to achieve.

Panel Four.
Side shot of Will addressing Lee and Weshoyot.

WILL
In many ways, it was a useful fiction that helped the Paxtons and their allies used to seize power in the elections that fall.

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PAGE TWENTY-NINE
Spitash page.

Overhead shot of the library folks, creative team, and advisory board viewing documents at a large table.

PAGE THIRTY
Four panels.

Panel One
Close-up on Weskovot examining a document (Franklin and the Quakers).

WESHOVOT
I feel like there is so much that explains how Native folks were viewed then...and now.

Panel Two
Close-up on her hands touching the document.

Panel Three
Shel is Lee looking at the document.

LEE
I mean, the way they present Native women...

Panel Four
Another hand on document, this time it's Lee's.

PAGE THIRTY-ONE
Four panels.

Panel One
Pull back to Lee and Weskovot, over their shoulders as they speak. They are side by side looking at the documents.

LEE
What are you thinking?

WESHOVOT
Their story needs to be told.

Panel Two
From shot, close-up of the two speaking.

LEE
Yes.

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WESHOVOT
Not just the pamphlets or the cartoons or all of this. But what is their story? Where is their voice as all of this?

Panel Three
Fading shot from the side, pulling away from the group.

Panel Four
Shot outside the window, looking in. All the brick and rock of the Library Company and Philadelphia are highlighted and will be echoed in the next panel of the workhouse.

PAGE THIRTY-TWO
December 14, 1763 - Into the Workhouse (Lancaster)

The Conestoga is in and around Lancaster are gathered and brought into the workhouse. They look fearful and uncomfortable as they survey their surroundings, what is essentially a jail.

Two panels, horizontal.

Panel One
A framed window similar to the last panel on page 31. We can see two of prominent local figures, Edward Shippen and James Bickham, in heated discussion. Near the corners of the panel we see a few of the Conestoga looking in through the window.

Panel Two
Pulls back and shows a few more of the Conestoga gathered around the window.

PAGE THIRTY-THREE
Seven panels.

Panel One
The older colonial government agent, Edward Shippen comes outside and holds up his hands to address the Conestoga.

SHIPPEN
Friends, we have received word of violence at your village.

We believe the assassins are headed this way. We will protect you and defend you from these lawless aggressors.

We would like to move you to the workhouse for your safety. There, you will be out of danger from those that seek to do you harm.

Panel 2 - 7
The remaining Conestoga are gathered from various locations around the city. Two are selling baskets. There are drinking at a shop. A few were out on the streets seeking assistance. There is a

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sense of urgency in moving and escorting them to the Workhouse. This is condensed from the actual history which took place over several days.

PAGE THIRTY-FOUR
Four panels.

There is chaos as the People are herded together. Confusion, anger, fear, sorrow, all mixed together and overwhelming for the People.

Panel One
A middle-aged woman from the village, Cans-kis-ong, is struggling near the edge of the group. Her hair is straightened, and she wears plain clothes and winter blankets. She is crying, hoping for news of her child.

CANS-KIS-SUNG
Temesedagut? What is happening? Where is my child?

Panel Two
Another woman, Kowweenase, grabs hold of Temesedagut's arm.

KOWWEENASE
Why are they doing this?

Panel Three
Shes-k-ah is close to Temesedagut as they are jostled and herded toward the Workhouse.

SHAS-E-KAH
How could this happen to us?

Panel Four
Conestogutem.

TENSEDDAAGUA
Be calm everyone. We'll learn more soon.

SHIPPEN
Make haste. This is for your protection!

PAGE THIRTY-FIVE
Four panels.

Panel One
The last of the group is ushered into the Workhouse.

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Panel Two
From the doorway we can see their faces. Sad, frightened, this will be the last time they see the outside.

Panel Three
The door closes on them.

PAGE THIRTY-SIX
September 13, 2015 - William Penn's Treaty

Benjamin West's painting of William Penn's Treaty. Native kids are taking a tour. The main hall is white and gleaming like most museums. The students are listening to a Native museum historian, Chris.

Spitash page.

Long shot of the art museum hallway with Chris and students walking toward the Treaty painting.

CHRIS
"We meet on the broad pathway of good faith and good-will; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. We are the same as if our man's body was to be divided into two parts; we are of one flesh and one blood." That was William Penn, whom the Lenape affectionately called Brother-Deer.

Tamamond, chief of the Lenape, replied: "We will live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the cereals and rivers run, and while the sun, moon, and stars endure."

PAGE THIRTY-SEVEN
Four panels.

Panel One
Chris and Chris next to the painting.

CHRIS
Of course, there is no actual record of the Great Treaty, at least as we see it in this painting. The speeches are suspect, as well. The artist Benjamin West painted it in the 1770s to glorify the Penn family and their supposedly peaceful relations with Native peoples.

Panel Two
Close on the painting of William Penn.

CHRIS
The lens of Western history has to be woven with traditional memory. We sort out historical records, and we measure them beside the stories of our elders and our ancestors.

PAGE THIRTY-TWO

Dan Richter: They were being told it's for their own good and protection. Any sense here that authorities might have actually been trying to protect them from the mob?

LF: I think it was less well-meaning and more settler-colonial. They were like children in the eyes of the well-meaning folks. The “Good Indians,” if you will. And that is also problematic when we think of how they were portrayed throughout American history. Good Indians versus Bad Indians and the propaganda that did not allow for a people to be shown having agency.

Also Panel one says Edward Shippen and John Elder are in heated discussion. This is ahistorical. No record suggested Elder was in Lancaster during this time. The two men might be Edward Shippen and Thomas Barton, the minister of St. James Episcopal Church of Lancaster. He would be a good choice. I suspect Shippen and Bickham talked regularly during this time.

WF: I like Bickham as an alternative.

PAGE THIRTY-THREE

Jack Brubaker: Shippen says, “No one seems to have survived” (the first massacre). This is not true and leaves out one of the most poignant parts of the story. Christy (or Chrisly), one of two young boys at Conestoga, somehow did escape, while 6 other Conestogas were killed. Christy survived and ran to spread the word. He later was held in the workhouse with other Conestogas who escaped the first massacre and was killed there.

PAGE THIRTY-FOUR

WF: I'm not sure this works, because if they were all dead, no one would be brought to the workhouse for protection. Maybe we could tweak so that this quote simply highlights the sense of shock/betrayal at the current circumstances?

PAGE THIRTY-SEVEN

WF: Changed names to align with Scott Gordon's research on Lenapes at Barracks

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Panel Three:
Shift to a close on the Lenape and Native folks in the painting.

CHRIS
They're what's missing from these "historical" documents—the voices of our people.

Panel Four:
Close on Chris, beside *Plan's* *Trinity*.

CHRIS
The ones who lived, who carried the stories of their elders from generation to generation.

PAGE THIRTY-EIGHT
Two panels.

Panel One (large):
Chris stands in front of the painting talking to the students. They are gathered around and listening intently. There are a few other patrons off to the sides also listening.

CHRIS
Among the ruins of the Conestoga Indianatown, there was, apparently, a document and a wampum belt that described the meeting between Sheehies, one of the elders of the Village, and William Penn, who visited them in the early 1700s. We don't know for certain when or where the meetings took place. But Benjamin West imagines it here.

Panel Two (small bottom corner):
Close on Chris, a hint of sadness in his eyes.

CHRIS
This painting portrays a moment when the Indigenous peoples felt safe and secure, even though many of the settlers had already begun to plot against them.

PAGE THIRTY-NINE
December 25, 1763 - Christmas Day in the Workhouse (Lancaster)

The remaining Conestoga are huddled in the basement of the workhouse. They are tired, scared, starving. They have one small window and can hear the revels of Christmas Day in Lancaster and church bells and servers. They discuss what is to become of them and their people.

Splash page.

The basement of the workhouse is lit by lanterns. There are cots and blankets spread around the corners of the room. Several Conestoga are huddled around a small stove for warmth. Light filters through the small window near the top of the wall.

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PAGE FORTY
Four panels.

Panel One:
Conestoga singing can be heard from the small window at the top of the wall.

SAQUES-HAT-TAH
We should have left when we had the chance. Like all the others.

TENSEEDAAGUA
And what of the home fire?

SAQUES-HAT-TAH
What of it? It's gone, and now we wait for Judgement.

Ches-na-wan
Don't talk like that. We are safe now.

SAQUES-HAT-TAH
And then what? If we survive this winter, where do we go?

Panel Four:
Focus on Tenseedagwa with Ches-na-wan holding a child in her arms in the background.

TENSEEDAAGUA
Philadelphia. North. To our kin.

CHIEE-NA-WAN
I don't want to go. I want them to go and leave us be.

FROM OFF (SINGING)
Joy to the world, the lord is come.
Let earth receive her king.
Let every heart, prepare him room...

PAGE FORTY-ONE
Four panels.

Panel One:
Close on Ches-na-wan as she soothes the child, stroking her hair.

CHIEE-NA-WAN
Sheehies would have known what to do. He could have talked to them.

Panel Four:
Sheehies looks away from her toward Tenseedagwa, as if trying to engage him in conflict.

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SAQUES-HAT-TAH
Sheehies is dead. There is no more talk.

Panel Three:
Close on Saques-hat-tah just over Tenseedagwa's shoulder.

SAQUES-HAT-TAH
They will leave us in here to rot.

Panel Four:
Shift to Ches-na-wan with anger in her eyes.

CHIEE-NA-WAN
Don't speak like that anymore. You frighten the children.

FROM OFF (SINGING)
And heaven and nature sing...

PAGE FORTY-TWO
Four panels.

Panel One:
Kamungas addresses a haggard looking Conestoga man standing near the stairs that lead out of the basement of the Workhouse.

KANANGUAS
Brother, you are exhausted. You have been on guard for days. Why do you not lay down?

KYUNQUEAGOHAI
I will do so my friend, not at my sleep.

Panel Two:
Tenseedagwa finally takes control of the situation. He is strong a powerful in this moment, a leader for his people in their final hours. He quits the room and brings order.

TENSEEDAAGUA
Enough of this talk! It is Christmas Day, so let us be glad. We raise our eyes to the Heavens and ask our Creator to smile upon us.

Panel Three:
SAQUES-HAT-TAH
(sings?)
We should pray.

TENSEEDAAGUA
...yes, we should.

Francis / GHOST RIVER / 23

Panel Four:
Tenseedagwa and Saques-Hat-Tah burn an offering and begin together to lead the others in prayer.

FROM OFF (SINGING)
And heaven and nature sing...

PAGE FORTY-THREE
Splash page.

They all gather to pray as the singing continues.

FROM OFF (SINGING)
And heaven and nature sing.

PAGE FORTY-FOUR & FORTY-FIVE
December 25, 1763 - Christmas Day in the Barracks

In Barracks, the Lenape are also in prayer. They gather around a fire to offer their thanks in their own language.

ALL
(Our Father who created us, truly thank (You)
that I can still stand in this place, and that
I can still use my own language,
because I know well that all good things come from You
That is all I can do, so come and just beg
so that you take pity on us, all of us, these
our friends here.
Give us good health, (and) happiness,
so that they can walk around here on this earth.
Father who created us, Creator, have pity on us, all of us,
watch over us day by day so that we can walk
here on this earth. Pity me dear Father
Father who created us, accept from me (this) pleading,
when I stand here pitifully. Father.
Accept it from me when I talk humbly, dear Father.
That is all I can do, just talk humbly.
Thank You Father who created us. Amen.

Kanema Kisheltemook, kisheta waniaki
iti shikiki Iwakowi yashu wipawa, ok itti
shikiki Iwakowi nakuramini nishichiki etawa,
all and wama wotika wima kika Ki wotichetika
Nal at shik shikiki Iwin, pichi may shik winawe
itlich etwach-etamini, wima itawinaw, yaki

PAGE THIRTY-EIGHT

Jack Brubaker: Chris says a wampum belt was found among the ruins at Conestoga Indiantown. There is no evidence of this. Sheriff Hay did say wampum belts were among the belongings of the Conestogas when he checked them into the Lancaster workhouse. (See my book, page 30.)

WF: I really like the symbol of the wampum belt in the ashes, so I think I'll signpost this as an artistic liberty in my intro.

PAGE FORTY

WF: I hate to throw a wrench in this scene, but it's pretty unlikely anyone would have been singing this. The only ones singing carols would have been the Germans!

LF: Yeah, had to go back and look up what might have been written about this time. I felt that the scene needed to be broken up with something festive going on beyond the walls of the Workhouse as a counterpoint to what was happening inside with the Conestoga.

PAGE FORTY-FOUR/FORTY-FIVE

LF: From *Watch Over Us Every Day (Prayer)*. This is a prayer given by Nora Thompson Dean at the dedication of the Delaware Room at the Bartlesville Public Library History Room on 20 November 1974. (<http://talk-lenape.org/stories?id=107>)

WF: Interesting find—hadn't seen this before!

LF: Took a bit of searching online. I always try and include traditional language in the work. This is a modern representation, as obviously the language has certainly changed through the centuries. However, I think there is ample evidence of the Native people translating prayers and hymns into traditional language. I think it fits well and adds to the emotion of the last scene.

Scott Gordon: These Moravian Indians would be in the Barracks.

WF: Edited art direction accordingly.

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<p>kitsénamák yushé. Mlínén wélanáshéwakán, wéstenaméwakán. wéshéshé káski ápsamkaneyo yushé énta skwítakamika. Nuxa Kishélemékw, témakélemín wéni énténtenéw, kenashkhínen kw'éni kshukw tilih káski ápsamkanén yushé énta skwítakamika. Témakélemi nuxati Kishélemékw, wéstenaméwéwakán, énta yushé akéktémaki nípam. Nuxa. Wélenéni énta kéktémaktunéha, Nuxati. Nal ne shuk náshé ísun, péshé may shuk akéktémaktunéha. Wamishi nuxa Kishélemékw. Na né lékéch.</p> <p>PAGE FORTY-SIX December 28, 1763 - The Final Stand (Lancaster)</p> <p>There is noise from outside of the Lancaster Workhouse, shouting. The Paxton Murderers have returned. The Conestoga realize what is about to happen. A few of the children begin to cry, but they are comforted by the elders.</p> <p>The door to main workhouse entrance opens. The shadows emerge again. Light illuminates their blades and hatchets.</p> <p>The Conestoga stand to face their murderers. They do not cry out.</p> <p>They are massacred in the courtyard.</p> <p><i>Four panels.</i></p> <p><u>Panel One</u> SLOUGH (FROM OUTSIDE) We hold them for their protection. You defy the authority of your governor and your king!</p> <p><u>Panel Two</u> Close on main entrance opening.</p> <p><u>Panel Three</u> At first the door is bright...</p> <p><u>Panel Four</u> ...then the shadows slowly creep in to block the light.</p>

PAGE FORTY-SIX

WF: I feel like it’s worth really hitting the point that this is a contest over authority, law, and order. That said, if this is too much, feel free to revert back to what you had, which works well.

Jack Brubaker: They were not massacred in the basement. They were massacred in the yard behind the workhouse. That yard was later enclosed as part of the expanded county prison on that site. According to the only account we have, the Indians fled out into the yard from the workhouse when the Paxton murderers broke in. They were slaughtered there in the snow. (When a Fulton tour guide shows the current basement and says the Indians were killed there, he or she should say that area was an open yard in 1763.)

PAGE FORTY-SEVEN

Dan Richter: Hate to throw another wrench, but here it goes: I don’t know that I buy this. He speaks Latin and quotes Roman Catholic liturgy?

PAGE FORTY-EIGHT

Weshoyot Alvitre: The only change in this page is the setting being outside in the courtyard, instead of inside the workhouse. I feel the tribal members, placed against white, can not only mimic the beading on the wampum belts for continuity in the visuals, but also create an interesting dynamic that light/goodness/ and the afterlife (using the color white, through the snow as a storytelling device) as the backdrop here. The murderers do not win. Death is not the end. They literally become the story, the beads, the white and black here. But they are not overcome in darkness.

Jack Brubaker: The workhouse was constructed in early 1763, not long before the Conestogas were killed there. I know of no blueprints. If there is a description, it would be in the state archives in Harrisburg, but I really doubt it. It certainly was a simple little building without any special design. By the time Fulton Hall was built, the prison had been constructed around the workhouse. So blueprints, if they exist, would show the outlines of the entire prison, not necessarily the addition that included the workhouse. I’ll check with the theater and the author of a theater history and get back to you soon.

There are no blueprints of Fulton Hall. However, my friend Leslie Stainton, author of “Staging Ground,” a history of the Fulton Theater (or Opera House) published by Penn State Press several years ago, provides some interesting details about its

Francis / GHOST RIVER / 25
<p>PAGE FORTY-SEVEN <i>Four panels.</i></p> <p><u>Panel One</u> The Conestoga people are surrounded by blinding white. This backdrop will mimic the white beads on the wampum belt.</p> <p>TENSEEDAAGUA May the Lord in his kindness watch over us. May his grace descend upon us all. In His Holy Name. Amen.</p> <p><u>Panel Two</u> In the background we see the door to the courtyard flung open. The expanse of horizontal workhouse cobblestone wall/door/Paxton boys is a line of darkness against the white snow-covered expanse of the courtyard. The people are gathered in the snow, backs to their murders, but stopped by the sounds of the intruders. The panel is more white than black.</p> <p>ALL Amen.</p> <p><u>Panel Three</u> One by one they begin to stand up. They address the intruders with glances and stature. The background is white snow.</p> <p><u>Panel Four</u> More of them stand.</p> <p>PAGE FORTY-EIGHT <i>Four panels.</i></p> <p><u>Panel 1 - 4</u> In each panel a different group of the people stands—young and old. They will die on their feet. The last panel is Tenseedagua.</p> <p>PAGE FORTY-NINE <i>Four panels.</i></p> <p><u>Panel One</u> All of the Conestoga are silent as they stand to face their deaths, resolved, unafraid. Tenseedagua is in the center with the rest of everyone around him.</p> <p><u>Panel Two</u> The shadows close in around them. Black shapes on white snow. Like dark colored beads on the wampum. The belt breaks as the first blow is brought down.</p>

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<p><u>Panel Three</u> Murderers-shapes move in on the group from an aerial above shot. The Conestoga below look like small shapes on a white backdrop, mimicking the wampum belt. A grid. Black beads on white beads with small specks of red. The beads scatter.</p> <p><u>Panel Four</u> Reverse from Panel Three. Mainly white. A full zoom out showing aerial view of bodies (tiny shapes/monocropt), murderous footprints, the jailhouse, the walls, mimicking a flat show of a wampum belt which has broken and the beads have scattered and created chaos on the right side of the panel. Order and chaos. Bodies are black beads on white snow.</p> <p>PAGE FIFTY <i>Four panels.</i></p> <p><u>Panel 1 - 4</u> We pull back in each frame. Back up the stairs, out the door, back out from front of the workhouse. The courtyard and zooming out from there, up the stairs, bloody footprints, a hatchet left, the workhouse...again, a black geometric shape on white, referencing the wampum belts. The dark rectangle of the workhouse engulfed in white snow.</p> <p>PAGE FIFTY-ONE <i>Three panels.</i></p> <p><u>Panel One</u> Pan back to snow falling gently outside the workhouse, as if nothing is happening inside. There are shadows on the edges, though. Enough to remind us what is happening.</p> <p><u>Panel Two</u> Pull back farther. More snow.</p> <p><u>Panel Three</u> Even farther from the workhouse. The snow is very heavy.</p> <p>PAGE FIFTY-TWO <i>Splash page.</i></p> <p>The snow comes grows heavier and heavier until it obliterates the page.</p> <p>PAGE FIFTY-THREE <i>Splash page.</i></p> <p>White.</p> <p>V.O. History is complicated. Violence is simple.</p>

PAGE FIFTY-FOUR

August 14, 2018 - Viewing the Land (Conestoga)

Flash to Lee and Weshoyot and the Advisory Board visiting the site of the Conestoga Indian town. The bugs, the memorial, the reflection and a silent prayer for our kin.

Splash page.

The river in early morning light. A little fog lifts off of the river, shrouding everything in that early morning blue haze.

VO.

History is like the river. It meanders, wanders, shows us where we came from and where we can go. It can rise and overwhelm wiping away everything in its path. The stories we tell of the Conestoga are the stories of the river and the wind, of the fire and the sky. They are stories that give us understanding of how a People lived and endured.

PAGE FIFTY-FIVE

For pages 55-57, the illustrations can begin to blend. There doesn't need to be a strict panel separation as we move into 58-59, which are more abstract like the opening Creation Story pages. The images/illustrations can be like a collage or a mural. They need to be more defined than the abstraction of 58-59, but they don't need to conform in any linear way.

VO.

Perhaps, like *Penn's Treaty*, history blends fact and fiction, memory and mythology. Sometimes we only have echoes that lead us back toward our ancestors, our elders, our lost kin.

The current view of Conestoga Indian town.

Passing a house with the Confederate flag in the front yard.

The monument.

PAGE FIFTY-SIX

VO.

History is like the river and violence is simply...a moment in the journey of the river. Our ancestors knew this from the long ago time. From the time of the first People who emerged from the waters. They knew of the twists and turns ahead, of the celebrations and sorrows to follow.

The drive by the river.

The Longhouse.

The suburbs and the Ancient Site.

PAGE FIFTY-SEVEN

VO.

How do we honor our ancestors long after they've journeyed on; long after the Earth has reclaimed the structures and the stones, long after the river has emptied into the sea?

Offering of tobacco beneath the ring of trees.

Then the walk back to the bus.

PAGE FIFTY-EIGHT & FIFTY-NINE

Present Day - A Falogy, A Blessing, A Weaving (Menonite Church, Lancaster)

The close of the narrative. We show the folks from Legacy Circle: feeding, eating, talking, and celebrating. We show echoes of past events, magic events, and yet the People continue. They tell stories and hold dances. The final page is a scene of Native people smiling, facing forward while their Conestoga ancestors watch over them.

Splash page.

This page and the next echo the Creation Story from the beginning with images swirling around of present day Native folks laughing, eating, and enjoying one another's presence. It can be abstract and ephemeral.

VO.

Perhaps it is in the blood memory. The laughter medicine. The silence of remembering. Perhaps it is in the food we share, the air we breathe, the water we hold. Perhaps it is all of these things that we do together as we hold the stories of our ancient peoples close in our hearts.

PAGE SIXTY

Splash page.

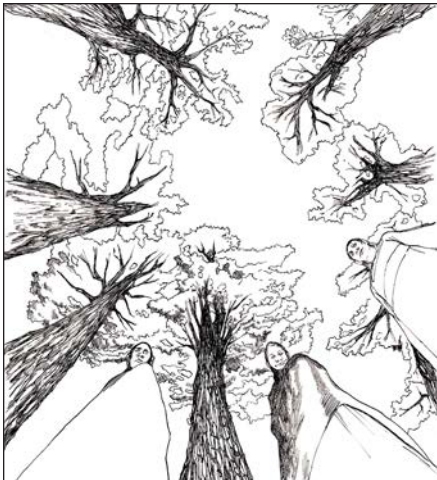
The final page is a scene of Native people smiling facing forward while their Conestoga and Lenape ancestors watch over them. They are carrying the wampum. The river is in the background.

VO.

Their legacy endures, winding along like an endless river. And there are still stories to be told. And we will tell them.

Annotations for tree drawing:

- 2018-08-13-pew-research-120
- WA2 42:14-43:46 (symbolism of trees on burial mound representing the people who were massacred, regardless of race we are all people, all connected to the earth)
- WA2 1:10:09-1:10:44 (reflecting on drawing of the trees on the burial mound that had been taken down by the farmer, her choice to draw it first)



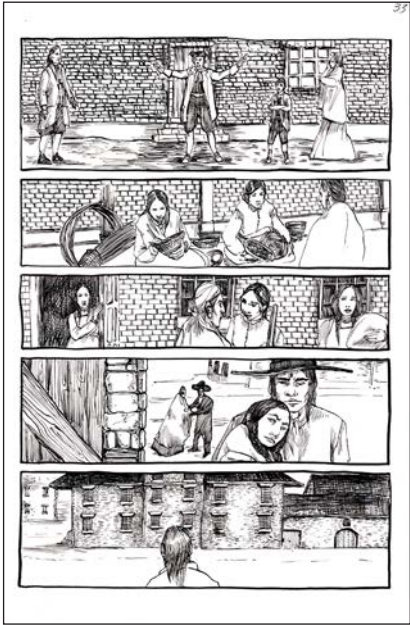
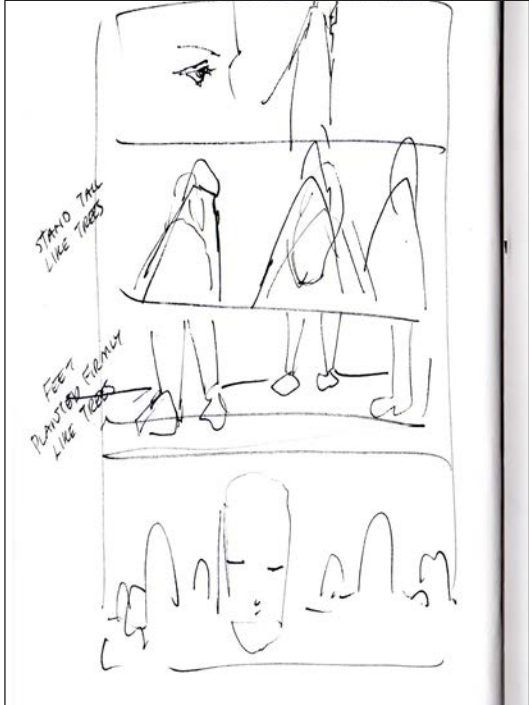
construction, using the old jail's stone walls. Here are her detailed notes, most of which would not be of value, but there are a few nuggets. (I suggest first reading my explanatory endnote 45 on page 177 of *Massacre of the Conestogas* to make sure everyone is clear on the structures built at this location. The 1763 workhouse referenced in the endnote is described on page 27 of the text, is a substantial brick workhouse at the northern end of the jail. The illustration on page 29 suggests that the workhouse was two stories tall, although I have no documentation of that height. That building was incorporated into the two-story stone addition to the jail in 1775.) In 1852, Fulton Hall retained the two-story stone walls for reasons stated by a local architect in Leslie's notes. There are other notes in there (esp. about kids peering down into the "dungeon" during construction and log "piers" being used to stabilize the stone walls) that might be of some use even if only to convey a sense of atmosphere. The stone walls of the first floor of the old prison remain uncovered and the logs are still down there beneath the main Fulton stage. It's a dark and eerie place. In that space, which once encompassed the outside "yard" of the old workhouse, the Conestogas were killed in 1763. The yard was enclosed and incorporated into the jail only 12 years later and has been left intact since. I have heard that most visitors can get a sense of the massacre site even in its highly altered current state. I certainly had that feeling the first time I went down there.

PAGE FIFTY-FIVE

WF: I think we need to push against this a bit: West's painting is a sanitized piece of Anglo mythology; our narrative serves as a kind of corrective, offering an account that can't be traced in systematically-biased colonial records.

PAGE SIXTY

LF: In all of my writings and work, I try to portray Native and Indigenous People as resilient and dynamic. My original intent in this last image was one that drew from a previous page Weshoyot drew for a mini-comic in our *Deer Woman: An Anthology*. It's a striking image of Native women looking directly at the reader. I wanted something similar but with more of the elements we included in previous pages. Although the final page was different than my initial concept, what Weshoyot does absolutely captures the spirit of the entire work and process.





Educational Resources



Murder on the Frontier: The Paxton Massacre

Ron Nash and John McNamara

The following Unit Plan was developed by our partners at the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.

UNIT OVERVIEW

This unit is one of the Gilder Lehrman Institute's Teaching Literacy through History™ resources, designed to align to the Common Core State Standards. The lessons can also be modified to conform to the C3 Framework. These units were developed to enable students to understand, summarize, and evaluate original documents of historical significance. Students will learn and practice the skills that will help them analyze, assess, and develop knowledgeable and well-reasoned viewpoints on these source materials.

The title of this unit refers to a little-known massacre in colonial Pennsylvania. Over the course of three lessons, students will attempt to understand how a vigilante group justified its role in murdering twenty Native Americans. The primary source evidence will allow students to analyze questions related to claims about colonization, peace and war, race and ethnicity, masculinity and civility, the use of violence as a political weapon, and religious association. Most of the primary sources referenced here are available in Digital Paxton an open-source repository of surviving pamphlets, broadsides, political cartoons, and correspondence related to the Paxton incident.

Ultimately, students will demonstrate what they have learned through an analysis of the various primary source materials by writing a response to essential questions posed for the unit, participating in whole-class and small-group discussions, and engaging in a news conference simulation.

OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

- Analyze both primary and secondary source documents using close-reading strategies
- Interpret, analyze, and demonstrate understanding of visual materials
- Draw logical inferences and summarize the essential message of a work of art
- Compose summaries of the major points in written primary sources
- Compare and contrast the viewpoints and perspectives of different writers

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

Below is a selection of Essential Questions that you may use to guide discussions as students analyze and assess documents in these lessons.

- To what extent did fear of Native Americans develop into racial hatred in colonial Pennsylvania?
- To what extent can the rhetoric of fear incite a population to violence?
- To what extent did fear and racism shape colonial perceptions of neighboring Native Americans?
- How did the living conditions on the frontier contribute to confrontation and conflict between Native Americans and colonists?
- To what extent did the actions of the Paxton murderers disrupt or destroy William Penn's Peaceable Kingdom?

NUMBER OF CLASS PERIODS: 4

GRADE LEVEL: 7–12

COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.2: Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.6: Evaluate authors' differing points of view on the same historical event or issue by assessing the authors' claims, reasoning, and evidence.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.SL.11-12.1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on . . . topics, texts, and issues, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.W.11-12.1: Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts, using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RI.9-10.6: Determine an author's point of view or purpose in a text and analyze how an author uses rhetoric to advance that point of view or purpose.

SEEING IS BELIEVING: GRAPHIC NOVELS IN THE CLASSROOM

One of the most difficult tasks a teacher has is engaging students with complex and unfamiliar subject matter. One solution to student engagement and content comprehension issues may be found in the appropriate use of graphic novels.

A number of research studies, including Beverley Brenna's work with elementary school students (2013) and Joanna Schmidt's work with college students (2011), among others, demonstrate the benefits to using graphic novels in the classroom. The combination of pictures and words supports comprehension and inspires self-motivation. For example, rather than decode an unfamiliar word,

students can use the visual aid to "see" what a word means. This is particularly helpful, of course, with struggling readers or English language learners. Graphic novels offer an educator the means to differentiate instruction while using one teaching resource. Students can clearly see the interdependency of the text with the images, and advanced or on-grade-level students can explore the ways in which the text complements or enhances the images and vice versa.

In addition, using images allows a story to move forward at a rapid pace without the risk of the students losing the narrative. They will be motivated to turn the pages and explore the story as it unfolds. In some graphic novels, the text is minimal or even nonexistent. In those cases, students have the opportunity to use higher-order thinking skills to infer the meaning of the images based on the clues offered in what they can see and how it relates to the context of the larger narrative.

One of the most interesting findings in the research is that processing text and images together leads to better recall and learning. Neurological experiments have shown that humans process text and images in different areas of the brain, known as the Dual-Coding Theory of Cognition. According to Allan Paivio (1986), images are much easier for the brain to retrieve from memory. He found that pairing a text with an image increases memory retention for both text and images.

Selected Classroom Strategies

While the advantages of using the appropriate graphic novels in the classroom can be substantial, some specific strategies are useful when teaching with these resources. The following are some examples of ways to use the graphic novel *Ghost River: The Fall and Rise of the Conestoga* in a classroom. Have the students approach page five of the graphic novel using one of these suggestions.

1. Have the students analyze the images one at a time without the support of the text. Use questions to get at the meaning of the image. Who or what is featured in the image? What action is taking place? What is the mood represented in the image and what specifically is creating that mood? After students have made their initial observations provide them with information that will allow them to modify their answers, such as, “In the first panel the men with hats are Quaker colonists and the ones the on the right are American Indians.” Unfamiliar vocabulary, such as wampum, can also be addressed.

2. Have the students create word or thought bubbles for the characters illustrated in the images based on what the students can infer from the image and the text.

3. As students move through the story, have them predict what will be illustrated on the following page based on the evidence from the preceding pages. Have them justify their reasoning based on evidence.

These are just a few ideas for the many ways to use *Ghost River* to teach students about this specific period in American history as well as create a better overall understanding of the changing world that American Indians faced in colonial Pennsylvania.

References

Brenna, Beverley A. 2013. “How Graphic Novels Support Reading Comprehension Strategy Development in Children.” *Literacy* 47, no. 2 (July 2013): 88–94.

Gorlewski, Julie, and Joanna Schmidt. 2011. “Research for the Classroom: Graphic Novels in the Classroom: Curriculum Design, Implementation, and Reflection.” *The English Journal* 100, no. 5 (2011): 104–107.

Paivio, Allan. 1986. *Mental Representations: A Dual-Coding Approach*. New York: Oxford University Press.

LESSON 1

OVERVIEW

Students will read a secondary source that provides historical context for a selection of six images from the eighteenth century. They will then carefully examine each image, using the questions on an activity sheet to interpret the images. Their knowledge will be demonstrated through the completed activity sheets, class discussion, and a written response.

OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to

- Demonstrate understanding of both literal and inferential aspects of written text and image-based evidence
- Summarize the essential message of a visual primary source
- Draw conclusions based on direct evidence found in a visual primary source

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- To what extent did fear of Native Americans develop into racial hatred on the Pennsylvania frontier?
- To what extent can the rhetoric of fear entice a population to violence?
- To what extent did fear shape colonial perceptions of Native Americans?

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Paxton murderers struck Conestoga Indiantown at dawn on December 14, 1763. “Fifty-seven Men, from some of our Frontier Townships, who had projected the Destruction of this little Commonwealth,” Benjamin Franklin wrote in his *Narrative of the Late Massacres*, “came, all well-mounted, and armed with Firelocks, Hangers [a kind of short sword] and Hatchets, having travelled through the Country in the Night, to Conestogoe Manor.” Only six people were in the town at the time, “the rest being out among the neighboring White People, some to sell the Baskets, Brooms and Bowls they manufactured.” The Paxton murderers killed these six and burned their settlement to the ground.

The Conestoga people lived on a 500-acre tract, which William Penn had set aside for them seventy years earlier, near the town of Lancaster, one hundred miles west of Philadelphia. By 1763 only twenty Conestoga people were living there—seven men, five women, and eight children.

After the murders, local magistrates removed the remaining fourteen residents to the Lancaster jail and workhouse for their safety, but on December 27 the Paxton murderers rode into that town to continue the attack they had started two weeks earlier. Fifty men, “armed as before, dismounting, went directly to the Workhouse and by Violence broke open the Door,” Franklin reported, “and entered with the utmost Fury in their Countenances.” Within a matter of minutes they had slaughtered the fourteen individuals sheltering at the workhouse, including the eight children.

The Paxton murderers were fully aware of the symbolic and political significance of their actions. They murdered unarmed, peaceable Conestoga people to make the point that all Indians were the same. And they slaughtered the Conestogas on government property in broad daylight. In perpetrating the massacres, they repudiated the settlement policy of William Penn.

Inspired by Quaker principles, Penn had founded his colony in 1682 as a “holy experiment” in which Christians and Indians could live together in harmony. He drew the model of his colony from the “Peaceable Kingdom” envisioned in the Book of Isaiah. That dream proved surprisingly resilient. In fact, the nineteenth-century Quaker artist Edward Hicks produced a series of paintings of the *Peaceable Kingdom* in which he always included Penn’s legendary meeting with the Delaware peoples under the elm tree at Shackamaxon, in present-day Philadelphia. In pursuit of his vision, William Penn treated the native peoples in his province with uncommon respect.

Yet for all his popularity, Penn’s holy experiment always rested on colony-building foundations. There would have been no Pennsylvania, after all, had he not received a gift of 29 million acres from King Charles II in 1681—a gift that made him the largest individual landlord in the British Empire. Within this immense territory, Penn purchased land from Native peoples and, by his understanding, fairly. But he did so because he needed to get clear title to their land so that he could sell it to settlers.

MATERIALS

- Historical Background: “Peaceable Kingdom Lost, Part 1” by Kevin Kenny, Glucksman Professor in Irish Studies, New York University. Digital Paxton.
- Activity Sheets
 - Analyzing an Essay for Lesson 1
 - Details, Description, and Decision activity sheet
- Visual Culture Array (images may be found on Digital Paxton: <http://digitalpaxton.org/works/digital-paxton/art>)
 - #1: Benjamin West, *Penn’s Treaty with the Indians*, 1771–1772, oil on canvas, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Gift of Mrs. Sarah Harrison (The Joseph Harrison, Jr. Collection).
 - #2: “Massacre of the Indians of Lancaster by the Paxton Boys,” in [James Wimer], *Events in Indian History, Beginning with an Account of the Origins of the American Indians, and Early Settlements in North America* (Lancaster PA: G. Hills & Co., 1841), p. 488.
 - #3: Charles Grignon, *The Indians Giving a Talk to Colonel Bouquet in a Conference at a Council Fire . . . in Octr 1764*, based on artwork by Benjamin West, in William Smith, *An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians, in the Year 1764: under the Command of Henry Bouquet, Esq. . . .* (Philadelphia, 1766).

- #4: [James Claypoole or Henry Dawkins], *An Indian Squaw King Wampum Spies*, (Philadelphia, [1764]), Historical Society of Pennsylvania Large Graphics Collection (#V65).

- #5: [James Claypoole or Henry Dawkins], *The German bleeds and bears ye Furs*, ([Philadelphia], 1764), Historical Society of Pennsylvania Large Graphics Collection (#V65).

- #6: Henry Dawkins, *The Paxton Expedition*, (Philadelphia, ca. 1764), Library Company of Philadelphia.

PROCEDURE

1. Introduce the following Essential Questions:

- To what extent did fear of Native Americans develop into racial hatred on the Pennsylvania frontier?
- To what extent can the rhetoric of fear entice a population to violence?
- To what extent did fear shape colonial perceptions of neighboring Native Americans?

2. Distribute Part 1 of the Historical Background essay written by Professor Kevin Kenny. You may choose to assign the reading as homework before starting the lesson, and the students can complete the Analyzing an Essay activity sheet to prepare for the class discussion. You may also choose to “share read” the document in class. This is done by having the students follow along silently while you begin to read aloud, modeling prosody, inflection, and punctuation. Then ask the class to join in with the reading after a few sentences while you continue to read aloud, still serving as the model. This technique will support struggling readers as well as English language learners (ELL).

3. If you introduce the reading in class during this lesson, distribute the Analyzing an Essay activity sheet after the reading activity. Depending on the students’ experience with examining texts, you may choose to model

the selection and analysis of the first phrase and, when the class is ready, the answer to the first critical thinking question. For the rest of the activity sheet, you may choose to have the students work individually, as partners, or in small groups of three or four.

4. After giving the students enough time to complete the activity, reconvene the whole class and discuss different interpretations developed by individual students or groups.

5. For the rest of the class period you may choose to have the students do the following activity individually, as partners, or in small groups of no more than three or four students. Depending on the time available, you may choose to provide a selection of the images or assign some image analysis as homework.

6. Distribute the first image from the visual culture array (“The Treaty of Penn with the Indians”) to the class along with the Details, Description, and Decision activity sheet.

7. Model the activity with the class for the first visual image, eliciting answers to the questions through class discussion.

8. Distribute images #2–#6 and the Details, Description, and Decision activity sheets (1 per image per student or group). The verses from three of the images are provided as well. You may ask the students to include the text in their analysis of the images.

9. After giving the students enough time to complete the activity sheets, reconvene the whole class and discuss different interpretations developed by the individual students or groups.

ASSESSMENT

Using the secondary source and the six visual images, students will select one of the essential questions and develop a viewpoint. They will then write a brief essay response to the essential question that they have chosen and support their viewpoint with evidence from the essay and visual sources.

- To what extent did fear of Native Americans develop into racial hatred on the Pennsylvania frontier?
- To what extent can the rhetoric of fear entice a population to violence?
- To what extent did fear shape colonial perceptions of neighboring Native Americans?

LESSON 2

OVERVIEW

Students will read two primary source documents representing opposing points of view about the murders of the Conestoga Indians by the Paxton murderers. Students will engage in the Key Word strategy to develop an effective comprehension as well as draw sound conclusions about these historical events.

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- To what extent were the Paxton murderers justified or not justified in attacking and annihilating the Conestoga Indians in Lancaster?
- To what extent were the factors of excessive competition and fear influential in the relationship between the colonists and the Conestoga Indians?

OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to

- Compare and contrast the views of two opposing texts
- Summarize the essential message of each primary source
- Draw conclusions based on direct evidence found in the primary sources

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The myth of the Peaceable Kingdom, already in decline by the time of William Penn's death in 1718, disintegrated gradually over the next few decades. Penn's son and principal heir, Thomas, cast off the Quaker faith and converted to Anglicanism. He and his brothers continued to negotiate with native peoples but they did not hesitate to use fraud and intimidation. In 1737 they swindled the Delawares out of a huge tract of land in a transaction known as the "Walking

Purchase." For the Delawares, the measure of this land was how much a man could walk in a day and a half. The Penns, however, sent out a team of relay runners who marked out a tract almost as big as Rhode Island. Most of the Delawares who lived there were forced to move west of the Susquehanna River, which at that time marked the western boundary of European settlement. The "Walking Purchase" remained their primary grievance when they went to war against Pennsylvania twenty years later.

Immigrants from the province of Ulster, in the north of Ireland, also posed a threat to Pennsylvania's Native peoples. These settlers began to arrive in Pennsylvania at the beginning of the eighteenth century and set up as squatters along the frontier, ignoring the land rights of the native peoples and the Penn family alike. They claimed the land by "tomahawk right"—marking trees at a distance from one another with their axes, and declaring the territory between these trees as their own. As early as 1730, a generation before the Paxton massacres, a group of Ulster squatters temporarily occupied Conestoga Manor, declaring that it was "against the Laws of God and Nature that so much Land Should lie idle while so many Christians wanted it to labour on and raise their Bread."

Conflict between western colonists and native peoples intensified during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Most of the Delawares and Shawnees west of the Susquehanna River sided with the French as the lesser of two evils and launched devastating raids on frontier settlers. The colonial government in Philadelphia responded by declaring war on the Delawares and, for the first time, establishing a militia. A handful of strict Quakers remained true to William Penn's pacifist vision, but the Peaceable Kingdom had come to an end. Frontier settlers did most of the fighting during the war and, from their perspective, both branches of the government in Philadelphia—the Quaker-dominated Assembly and executive branch, run by the Penn family—seemed indifferent to their wishes.

No sooner had the British defeated the French in 1763 than Pontiac's War, the largest Indian war in colonial American history, erupted. Delawares and Shawnees once again launched raids east of the Susquehanna River. Frontier settlers re-lived the nightmare of the Seven Years' War. It was in this context, in December 1763, that the Paxton men carried out their massacre.

The Paxton murderers arose directly out of a local militia created by the colonial government in response to frontier demands for defense in the summer of 1763. Colonel John Armstrong of Carlisle commanded a unit west of the Susquehanna River and the Rev. John Elder, the "fighting pastor" of Paxton Presbyterian Church, commanded a unit to the east. These two units were supposed to be strictly defensive, but Elder and Armstrong used them to launch raids against the Delawares. When raids failed, the Paxton murderers, led by Lazarus Stewart and Matthew Smith, attacked the Conestoga people instead.

MATERIALS

- Historical Background: "Peaceable Kingdom Lost, Part 2" by Kevin Kenny, Glucksman Professor in Irish Studies, New York University. Digital Paxton.
- Primary Sources
 - *Apology of the Paxton Volunteers*, in *The Paxton Papers*, ed. John Dunbar (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1957), pp. 193–194. Some spelling and punctuation have been modernized in the transcript.
 - Benjamin Franklin, *A Narrative of the Late Massacres*, 1764, pp. 12–14 and 25–27.
- Activity Sheets
 - Analyzing an Essay (Lesson 2)-Important phrases only, no critical thinking questions
 - Summary Organizer #1: Excerpts from *Apology of the Paxton Volunteers*

- Summary Organizer #2: Excerpts from Franklin's *Narrative of the Late Massacres*

- Summary Organizer #3: Excerpts from Franklin's *Narrative of the Late Massacres*

- Overhead projector, ELMO projector, or similar device

PROCEDURE

1. During this lesson students will engage with two primary source documents. The first is an excerpt from *The Apology of the Paxton Volunteers* outlining the Paxton murderers' grievances.
2. Hand out Summary Organizer #1. Share read the text with the students as described in Lesson 1.
3. Display Summary Organizer #1 in a format large enough for everyone in class to see. The whole class will be going through the text-analysis process together for the first reading.
4. Explain that the objective is to select Key Words from the text and then use those words to create a summary sentence that demonstrates an understanding of the passage.
5. Guidelines for Selecting the Key Words: Key Words are very important to understanding the text. Without them the selection would not make sense. These words are usually nouns or verbs. Tell the students not to pick "connector" words (are, is, the, and, so, etc.). The number of Key Words depends on the length of the original selection. This selection is 288 words, so you can pick ten to twelve Key Words. The students must know the meaning of the words they select. This will give them practice reasoning out word meanings using context and advancing dictionary skills.

6. Students will now select ten to twelve words from the text that they believe are Key Words and write them in the Key Words section of their organizers.

7. Survey the class to find out what they selected as Key Words. You can ask for a show of hands to determine the most popular choices. Using this vote and some discussion the class should finalize ten to twelve Key Words. For example, let's say that the class selects Indians, governed, dangerous enemies, spies, laws, intelligence, implements, war, source, and calamities. (Note: Two words may be allowed if they convey a single idea.) Now, no matter which words the students had previously selected, have them write the words agreed upon by the class or chosen by you into the Key Words section of the summary organizer.

8. The class will now use these Key Words to write a brief sentence or two to summarize what the author was writing about. This should be a whole-class discussion-and-negotiation process. For example, "The Indians who lived among us were not governed by our laws and were dangerous enemies and spies who gave intelligence and implements of war to our enemies (the French). They are the source of our calamities". The students might decide that they don't need some of the Key Words to make the summary even more streamlined. This is part of the negotiation process. Copy the final negotiated sentence(s) into the organizer.

9. Tell the students to restate their summary sentence in their own words; they do not have to use the author's words. For example, "The Indians who lived in our area were not governed by our laws and were dangerous enemies and spies who helped the French. They are responsible for our misery and misfortune." Copy the final negotiated sentence(s) into the organizer.

10. Wrap-up: Discuss vocabulary that the students found confusing or difficult. You could have students use the back of their organizers to make a note of these words and their meanings.

11. Hand out Summary Organizer #2. This contains an excerpt from Benjamin Franklin's *Narrative of the Late Massacres*, written as a reply to the Paxton murderers' explanations. The students may work in small groups, in pairs, or individually to complete the organizer. They should select ten to twelve Key Words for this passage.

12. Wrap-up: Discuss vocabulary that the students found confusing or difficult. You could have students use the back of their organizers to make a note of these words and their meanings.

13. You can assign Organizer #3 for homework. They may complete the whole assignment at home or only identify and circle Key Words (seven to eight) so that you are prepared to engage in the negotiation process the next day.

ASSESSMENT

Either as an in class or homework assignment, students will develop a viewpoint on one of the lesson's Essential Questions, writing a brief evaluative essay or exit card.

- To what extent were the Paxton murderers justified or not justified in attacking and annihilating the Conestoga Indians in Lancaster?
- To what extent were the factors of excessive competition and fear influential in the relationship between the colonists and the Conestoga Indians?

LESSON 3 OVERVIEW

Students will read two additional primary source documents, two pamphlets representing the Paxton pamphlet war, and complete activity sheets for each one. They will then develop a mock debate using the documents from Lessons 2 and 3 to deepen their understanding of the documents and demonstrate their comprehension. The unit concludes with an essay that builds on the assessment from Lesson 2.

OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to

- Write insightful questions on a specific topic
- Draw conclusions based on direct evidence found in the text
- Demonstrate an effective oral presentation
- Synthesize multiple sources of information in order to arrive at a logical conclusion that is supported by textual evidence

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

At the end of January 1764, a month after the massacres, reports reached Philadelphia that hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Paxton murderers were marching eastward, threatening to sack the city unless their grievances were met. They also demanded the right to “inspect” 140 Lenape and Moravian Indians who had been removed from the frontier and placed in protective custody. Given what the Paxton murderers had done to the Conestogas, the residents of Philadelphia could only imagine what this “inspection” might entail.

When several hundred Paxton Murderers reached Germantown, just six miles outside Philadelphia, they were met by a delegation led by Benjamin Franklin, who persuaded them to write down their grievances. Their spokesmen, Matthew Smith and James Gibson, submitted a *Declaration* and a *Remonstrance* for consideration by the colonial government, and what followed was a war of words instead of a war of weapons. Presbyterian supporters of the Paxton murderers in alliance with the Anglican faction surrounding the Penn family battled Benjamin Franklin and the Quaker part in print. The debate, which featured more than sixty pamphlets and ten political cartoons, went far beyond the immediate issue of the Conestoga massacres to address the fundamental question of how Pennsylvania ought to be governed.

Despite Franklin’s efforts, the Paxton murderers went unpunished. Nobody was investigated, let alone arrested or prosecuted. As a result, like-minded settlers on the Pennsylvania frontier

felt free to behave in similar ways. The result was wave after wave of violence on the frontier, culminating in total war against Indigenous Peoples during the American Revolution. In Pennsylvania, the Paxton murderers’ brutality was the exception as late as 1763, but during the Revolution it became commonplace.

Ironically, Benjamin Franklin and the Paxton men ended up supporting the same side in the American Revolution. But that is because there was more than one revolution going on—the familiar struggle for lofty principles of liberty and equality in the east, and a lesser-known struggle involving land and American Indians in the west. Some historians have seen the Paxton murderers as frontier democrats fighting against the privilege of the Penn family who extended their fight for democracy into the revolutionary era. John Elder, Matthew Smith, John Armstrong, and Lazarus Stewart all rallied to the patriot cause, to be sure, but they were fighting for the same thing as they had fought for in the 1760s—access to land, personal security, and vengeance against Indigenous Peoples.

In their *Remonstrance*, the Paxton murderers had demanded greater political representation for the western counties in the Pennsylvania Assembly, but that was only one of nine grievances; all of the others concerned the “savages” in their midst. The American Revolution did more than destroy the privilege of the Penn family; it doomed the region’s Native Peoples.

During the Revolutionary War, American patriots enacted the brutal logic of the Paxton murderers on a devastating scale.

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- To what extent was the violence of the Paxton murderers motivated by fear, economics, politics, and/or racism?
- To what extent should the Paxton murderers be viewed as democratic freedom fighters or brutal murderers on the Pennsylvania frontier?

- To what extent were the Paxton murderers justified or not justified in attacking and annihilating the Conestoga Indians in Lancaster?
- To what extent were the factors of excessive competition and fear influential in the relationship between the colonists and the Conestoga Indians?

MATERIALS

- Historical Background: “Peaceable Kingdom Lost (Part 3)” by Kevin Kenny, Glucksman Professor in Irish Studies, New York University. Digital Paxton.
- Activity Sheets
 - Analyzing an Essay (Lesson 3): Important phrases only, no critical thinking questions
 - Analyzing a Pamphlet
 - News Conference Organizer
- Primary Sources
 - Excerpts from *Declaration and Remonstrance*, 1764, pp. 10–17.
 - *A Dialogue between Andrew Trueman, and Thomas Zealot*, [1764]. Some spelling and punctuation in this text have been modernized to aid comprehension.
 - From Lesson 2: *Apology of the Paxton Volunteers*, in *The Paxton Papers*, ed. John Dunbar (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1957), pp. 193–194. Some spelling and punctuation have been modernized in the transcript.
 - From Lesson 2: Benjamin Franklin, *Narrative of the Late Massacres*, 1764, pp. 12–14 and 25–27.

PROCEDURE

1. Assign and distribute the two readings from the Paxton pamphlet war—excerpts from *A Declaration and Remonstrance* and *A Dialogue between Andrew Trueman, and Thomas Zealot*.

2. Divide the class into groups of four to six students. Within their groups they will work collaboratively to complete an Analyzing a Pamphlet activity sheet for each of the new documents.
3. After the groups have completed the Analyzing a Pamphlet activity sheets, each group is assigned or chooses one of the four Digital Paxton documents (two from this lesson and two from the previous lesson). It is best if all four texts are used before doubling up on any of the documents.
4. Students select who will portray the speaker, and the rest of the group members will take the roles of reporters at a news conference.
5. If possible, have the students watch an actual news conference prior to this activity.
6. Hand out the News Conference organizer. Together the students in each group will write both the questions and the answers to the questions for each reporter. The questions should highlight the major issues in the document. If time permits, the students could script follow-up questions. They should be careful to cite evidence from the text for the answers given by the speaker. All students will write out their own complete copy of the questions and answers, not just their own question.
7. Presentation:
 - a. The speaker reads the text aloud to the class.
 - b. The reporters raise their hands and the speaker selects them one by one to ask their question.
 - c. Continue until all of the questions have been asked, one per reporter; if time permits, they may ask their follow-up questions.

d. Repeat the process with all of the groups. This may mean going into another class period to allow time for all of the presentations as well as time to debrief the experience.

8. Have the class debrief the presentations: Which were the most effective? What made them effective? How could the presentations have been improved? Focus on good oral presentation skills as well as which questions elicited the most meaningful answers and whether the answers were based on evidence in the text.

9. Students should now write an essay addressing one of the Essential Questions from Lesson 2. The students may elaborate on their short essay or exit card from the previous lesson or a new essay on the alternate question:

- To what extent were the Paxton murderers justified or not justified in attacking and annihilating the Conestoga Indians in Lancaster?

10. To what extent were the factors of excessive competition and fear influential in the relationship between the colonists and the Conestoga Indians?





Further Reading

The following resources are recommended for further reading about the Paxton massacres and their aftermath. Many of the resources can be found at Digital Paxton (digitalpaxton.org), The Library Company's digital history project. Digital Paxton, features nearly 3,000 pages of material, including 39 artworks, four books, 17 broadsides, 180 manuscripts, 27 newspaper issues, 71 pamphlets, and nine political cartoons, many of which have never before been digitized.

Digital Paxton

- Benjamin Bankhurst, "Anti-Presbyterianism."
- Jack Brubaker, "The Aftermath of the Conestoga Massacre."
- Jay Donis, "One Year Later: The Black Boys of 1765."
- Nicole Eustace, "Condolence."
- Will Fenton, "Introduction" and "A New Looking-Glass for the 1764 Paxton Pamphlet War."
- Michael Goode, "Pontiac's War and the Paxton Boys."
- Scott Paul Gordon, "Elites" and "Print and Place in the Paxton Crisis."
- Kevin Kenny, "Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Riots."
- Angel Luke-O'Donnell, "Paratexts."
- Darvin Martin, "A History of Conestoga Indiantown."
- James P. Myers, Jr., "Anonymity."
- Judith Ridner, "Material Culture" and "Passion, Politics, and Portrayal in the Paxton Debates."

Books

- Jack Brubaker, *Massacre of the Conestogas: On the Trail of the Paxton Boys in Lancaster County*. History Press, 2010.
- Gregory Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Nicole Eustace, *Passion is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.
- Michael Goode and John Smolenski (eds.), *The Specter of Peace: Rethinking Violence and Power in the Colonial Atlantic*. Boston: Brill, 2018.
- Patrick Griffin, *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and Revolutionary Frontier*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2008.
- Kevin Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

- Michael McConnell, *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724-1774*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.
- James Merrill, *Into the American Woods: Negotiations on the Pennsylvania Frontier*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2000.
- Jane Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- Richard Middleton, *Pontiac's War: Its Causes, Course, and Consequences*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Daniel Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Daniel Richter and William Pencak, eds., *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods: Indians, Colonists, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004.
- Judith Ridner, *The Scots Irish of Early Pennsylvania: A Varied People*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2018.
- Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2008.
- Peter Smolenksi, *Friends and Strangers: The Making of a Creole Culture in Colonial Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
- Patrick Spero, *Frontier Country: The Politics of War in Early Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.
- Matthew Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754-1765*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004.
- Edward White, *The Backcountry and the City: Colonization and Conflict in Early America*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.
- White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.



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Creative Team

- Lee Francis IV (Laguna Pueblo), Author and Publisher, Red Planet Books and Comics
- Weshoyot Alvitre (Tongva), Artist
- Will Fenton, Editor and Curator, Library Company of Philadelphia
- Exhibition Designer: Keith Ragone, President and Creative Director of Keith Ragone Studio
- Documentary Team: Ben Kalina, Director and Executive Producer; Marc D'Agostino, Editor; Clay Hereth, Cinematographer; Joe Myers, On-set Producer, Mangrove Media, LLC

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- Nicole Scalessa, Digital Edition Consultant
- Eleanor Andersen, Fall 2018 Intern
- Emma O'Neill-Dietel, Spring 2019 Intern

Copyediting

- Linda August
- Sophia Dahab
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- Curtis Zunigha (Delaware Tribe of Indians in Oklahoma), Co-Director of the Lenape Center

Outside Readers

- Jack Brubaker, Author and Journalist (The Scribbler)
- Michael Goode, Associate Professor of Early American History, Utah Valley University
- Scott Paul Gordon, Professor of English, Lehigh University
- Barry Lee (Munsee Nation), Executive Director of the Circle Legacy
- Daniel K. Richter, Professor of American History and Director of the McNeil Center for Early American Studies, University of Pennsylvania
- Jordan Windholz, Assistant Professor of English, Shippensburg University
- Curtis Zunigha (Delaware Tribe of Indians in Oklahoma), Co-Director of the Lenape Center

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External Advisors & Contributors

- Suse Anderson, Assistant Professor of the Museum Studies Program, George Washington University
- Lee Arnold, Senior Director of the Library & Collections and Chief Operating Officer, Historical Society of Pennsylvania
- Benjamin Bankhurst, Assistant Professor of History, Shepherd University

- Alex Bartlett, Collections Manager, Germantown Historical Society
- Christine Brubaker, Retired Scholar
- Jack Brubaker, Author and Lancaster Newspaper Columnist (The Scribbler)
- Brian Carpenter, Curator of Native American Materials, American Philosophical Society
- Cinnamon Catlin-Legutko, President/CEO, Abbe Museum
- Jay Donis, Ph.D. Candidate in History, Lehigh University
- Nicole Eustace, Associate Professor of History, New York University
- Scott Paul Gordon, Professor of English, Lehigh University
- Beth Twiss Houting, Senior Director of Programs and Services, Historical Society of Pennsylvania
- Peter Jaros, Associate Professor of English, Franklin & Marshall College
- Kevin Kenny, Professor of History and Glucksman Professor in Irish Studies, New York University
- Angel Luke-O'Donnell, Teaching Fellow in Liberal Arts, King's College London
- Darvin Martin, Lancaster Historian and Special Advisor to the Circle Legacy Center
- James Myers, Jr., Professor Emeritus, Gettysburg College
- Paul Nevin, Manager of the Zimmerman Center for Heritage, Susquehanna Heritage
- Kelsey Pollard, Community Engagement Coordinator, Fulton Theatre (Lancaster)
- Judith Ridner, Professor of History, Mississippi State University
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- Jonathan Stayer, Supervisor of Reference Services, Pennsylvania State Archives
- Heather Tennes, Director of Archival Services, Lancaster History

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