Daniel Boone and Joshua, the Mohican:
American Lives and American Myths

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From 1853 until 1958, a person climbing the steps of the U.S. Capitol passed between two sculptures: on the left was Christopher Columbus cupping a globe in his outstretched hand, and on the right was a heroic pioneer. In *The Rescue*, a gigantic Daniel Boone towers over and restrains a nearly naked Native man who savagely wields a tomahawk. A white woman and child cower in the background, clearly saved from a horrible fate by the heroic Boone. Horatio Greenough's sculpture was meant to illustrate "the peril of the American wilderness, the ferocity of our Indians, the superiority of the white-man, and why and how civilization crowded the Indian from his soil." *The Rescue* was manifest destiny chipped in stone. By the 1950s, the work had become an embarrassment. Largely through the activism of the National Congress of American Indians and Leta Myers Smart (Omaha) who objected to the presence on "our Capitol" of sculptures that did not represent the best kind of "Americanism" the pair of statues was removed for restoration, never to be returned.[1]

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The removal of *The Rescue* from the Capitol in 1958 proved a fitting harbinger of a revolution that would sweep American society and the academy in the next decades. The political activism of the Civil Rights, American Indian, and women's rights movements inspired a generation of scholars to turn their attention to rewriting American history, this time with the experiences of the once marginalized brought center stage.[2] The new questions and innovative methods pioneered by this generation have made it possible to discover and write the biography

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of an obscure Mohican-Moravian man known in the historical record only as Joshua, who was one of those Indians "crowded from his soil." Joshua's life unfolded along a remarkably parallel—yet radically discordant—trajectory to Boone's.[3]

Boone was born in 1734 in Berks County, Pennsylvania; Joshua in 1742 in Duchess County, New York. Born in the East both men moved steadily westward during their lifetimes, on roughly parallel routes. But while Boone pursued game and lands in order to turn a profit, Joshua and his community sought secured land to provide for their subsistence. Both men lived much of their lives in the context of war, but while Boone was an active participant in these wars, Joshua and his community continued to move west seeking escape from war. Both men were essentially bi-cultural, fluent in Indian and white ways: Boone learned the ways of Native hunters, while Joshua built frame houses, farmed, and played the spinet. Both men had fathers who made choices about religion that profoundly shaped the course of their lives. Boone's father left the pacifist Quaker fold. Joshua's father joined the pacifist Moravian community. Both men had their loyalty questioned during the Revolution, but while Boone was elected to the Virginia legislature in 1781, two of Joshua's daughters were killed by American militia at the Gnadenhütten massacre in 1782. Both men fathered ten children, though only Boone knew the joys of welcoming dozens of grandchildren to the world. Joshua buried all ten of his children.[4] Boone died of old age in 1820. Joshua went to a fiery death as an accused witch at the hands of the Shawnee Prophet in 1806. Boone became a legend during his own life. Joshua remains almost wholly unknown.[5]

Boone and Joshua's lives are strikingly parallel, and yet, the realities of colonialism and empire constrained their lives in quite different ways that have led scholars, rightfully, to pursue distinct analytical frameworks in making sense of their lives. Joshua's story does not fit easily

into early nationalist narratives of Protestant triumph, for it shows that Native Christians were often forced from their homes to become unwilling settlers on the frontier, paving the way for white settlement. Nor do Native Christian communities like his figure centrally in the seminal revisionist refutations of triumphalism beginning in the 1960s and 70s. Literary scholars analyzed the ideological underpinnings of colonialism and manifest destiny, including popular literary forms like captivity narratives and the Boone legend.[6] Historians trained their attention on the Native peoples whose lives were turned upside down by the arrival of Europeans.(and those who resisted/nativist movement[7] The emergence of "lived religion" methods in the 1990s helped reframe the study of Native Christianity away from the question of "were Native conversions bona fide?" to ask instead, "how did Native peoples practice Christianity in ways that spoke to their particular experiences under the broader structural forces of colonialism?"[8] The recent growth in the comparative study of empire and settler colonialism emphasize the reach of structural webs of power on a grand and intimate scale. Indigenous studies methods build from examinations of the logics of empire to study the ongoing struggles of Native peoples for sovereignty and decolonization.[9]

The tremendous productivity and insight from burgeoning fields including Native American and Indigenous Studies, lived religion, settler colonialism and early American literature, together with renewed culture wars over the teaching of American history prompts reflection on the lives of these two men and how their stories are linked to the ways we make sense of America. Joshua's life can certainly be written as unmitigated disaster, with tragedy at nearly every turn, serving as further evidence, if such were needed, of the violence at the core of America's founding. Placing Joshua's very human story at the center of histories of American expansion and American religion stakes a claim on the meaning of America, and not simply as

exemplar of the ravages of settler colonialism. His story is an important counter to the exceptionalist narrative of America. But it is also a reminder that Native peoples have imagined themselves richly in this land for thousands of years and continue to do so both as sovereign peoples and also as United States citizens. Joshua and his community imagined a world in which they could be Native and Christian, bound by ties of fictive kinship to Euro-Americans. The stories of Joshua and Boone (as representative types) have long been perceived as two sides of a binary: the Last of the Mohicans and the Columbus of the Woods, colonizer and colonized, before and after. It is essential to tell the stories of empire, displacement, colonialism, attempted genocide and erasure, as well as the stories of the survival and persistence of Indigenous peoples.

In the same way that Boone's story has encapsulated a variety of meanings for Americans centering on the expansion and triumph of Anglo-Protestant civilization, so Joshua's story, grounded in the rich archival record of his life, offers a kaleidescopic vision of America's past. One angle of vision lays bare the deep structures of empire and colonialism. Another twist of the lens brings into focus the press of these forces on individuals and communities. Christian, Native, American: Joshua's life reveals how these terms were never stable entities.

Recent decades have seen an explosion of microhistories bringing to light scores of little-known figures from early America, yet there is little consensus as to what these stories mean for the project of narrating American history. Some see cause for despair in the seeming impossibility of a unifying narrative. Others celebrate the new multiplicity as spelling the end of grand narratives.

Revisionist scholars have long been and continue to be animated by a de-mythologizing agenda when it comes to American history: educate people of the violence and damage wreaked by exceptionalist narratives and the people would, or should, happily give them up.[10] The

impasse appears intractable, but here the mythologizing of Boone is instructive. Boone's historical significance lies less in his actions than in the ways his story was told and retold in service of a particular (and shifting) set of cultural ideals. Joshua's story, together with the many others of similarly unheralded figures, may indeed be seen as constituting an alternative myth of America, one that in fact rests on surer evidentiary footing than the famed Columbus of the Woods, for it highlights the cauldron of sometimes peaceful and often violent cultural encounters through which the many and varied peoples of America continually fashioned and refashioned their identities.[11] Migration, war, and religious conversion have been central themes in the historiography of early America. These themes provide a means to compare the lives of Joshua and Boone and from there to reflect on the meaning of their lives for the project of understanding America's past.

MIGRATION

Migration was a way of life for the Boone family and their migrations were virtually always a result of "pull" rather than "push" factors, a matter of pursuing opportunities, not fleeing war or persecution. Daniel Boone was born in Oley, Pennsylvania in 1734, the sixth child of Squire and Sarah Boone, both Quakers who had come to Pennsylvania from England. Squire was "disowned" by the Quaker fellowship in 1747 after two of his children married "worldlings." Soon after, in 1750, the Boones set out to find new opportunities in Yadkin Valley in North Carolina. In 1755, Boone served as a wagoner with General Edward Braddock's disastrous expedition to take Fort Duquesne. It was during his wartime service that Boone first heard about the bountiful hunting grounds of Kentucky. The following year, Boone married Rebecca Bryan and within nine months their first of ten children was born.

Over the next decade, the Boone family continued to move further west in North Carolina, seeking new supplies of game and more land to settle a rapidly expanding clan. By the mid-1760s, Boone was determined to bring his family to settle in Kentucky (his wife had refused the prospect of Florida). Boone's hunting and exploring sojourns—sometimes lasting up to two years—were generally into lands not ceded by the Native owners. His first attempt to settle in Kentucky was turned back by a Shawnee attack that claimed five men, including his son James. His next venture was as head of a team of ax-men hired to clear the "Wilderness Road" that would soon funnel settlers onto Indian lands. Boone's intrusions provoked warnings and retaliations, and it was 1775 before Boone successfully established Boonesborough and brought his family to Kentucky. More moves westward followed at regular intervals. Boone was most successful as a hunter and warrior. He was less successful in his other endeavors: land surveying, speculating, and politics. By the 1790s, Boone had scarcely an acre to his name, having lost most of what he owned in lawsuits relating to his poor surveying skills. Banking on Boone's renown as a pioneer, the governor of Spanish Missouri made the aging Boone an offer of land, hoping the famous pioneer could draw more settlers to the area. Boone lost his lands once again when Missouri changed from Spanish to American hands, making Boone liable for suits from other Americans. When he died in 1820, he was living on land granted him after special petitions to the U.S. Congress. Already within his lifetime, Boone's less than shining career was burnished into a mythology that gave transcendent purpose to his migrations: he was clearing a path for Christian civilization.

At just about the time Boone's family arrived in Pennsylvania in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Joshua's grandparents settled a small village named Shekomeko nestled into the Taconic Mountains of New York. The growing population of white settlers in colonial New

York had pushed many Mohicans eastward from their Hudson River homelands toward the Taconic Mountains and the Housatonic Valley. Within a generation, however, these communities were being pressed by New Englanders to the east. When Moravian missionaries first made contact with Mohicans, Mammat'nikan, the chief of Shekomeko was in the midst of an unsuccessful campaign to gain compensation from the governor of New York for ancestral lands now being settled by White settlers.[12] Not quite two years after Christian Heinrich Rauch had first met two Mohican men in New York City in July 1740, Mammat'nikan and two other men were on their way to Oley, Pennsylvania (home of a 7 y.o. Daniel Boone) where they were baptized by the Moravian leader Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf. The men took the names Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, testimony to Zinzendorf's desire to create a "Church of God in the Spirit" among the diverse peoples in the region. It was perhaps little Joshua's impending birth that prevented his father, Tassawachamen, from joining the other men that February. But the new father was baptized several months later, taking the name Joshua, and by the following year, the majority of Shekomeko's residents (including little Joshua's mother and grandfather) had received baptism by the Moravians.

One might have expected the Shekomekoans' embrace of Christianity to ease tensions with neighboring English Protestants, but instead, relations deteriorated even further: due both to the heated debates over revivalism and religious "enthusiasm" as well as the renewal of imperial war between France and England in 1744. The groundwork for hostility to the Native Moravians was laid in several anti-Moravian tracts published by leading colonial revivalists, including Gilbert Tennent. Tennent's attack, published in 1743, skillfully defined Moravians as outside the pale by charging them with enthusiasm, associating those same traits with "papism," and heightening fears of Moravians by likening their missionary practices to the tactics of Native

warfare. The Moravians, according to Tennent, go "ravening after Souls, as Wolves, and use cunning like Foxes. They take sculking methods, creeping into Houses, and lead Captive silly Women." Tennent feared the consequences of a faith that empowered "young Persons, Females, and ignorant People who are full of affection."[13] According to Tennent, Moravians leaned dangerously close to Catholicism by insisting that "we must quit our Reason and turn real Fools; we must believe thro' thick and thin, Absurdities and Nonsense, and so turn Papists."[14] To their critics, Moravian missionary success in gaining a Native audience (especially compared with English efforts) provided further evidence that they must in fact be Catholic. New England ministers often lamented the French Jesuits were more skillful at recruiting Native peoples to their missions.

These clerical attacks added fuel to popular antipathy toward the Native Moravians.English neighbors grew increasingly nervous about the mission-affiliated Natives, and eventually both New York and Connecticut enacted legislation barring the Moravians from preaching to Native peoples without a license.[15] The outbreak of King George's War in the summer of 1744 ultimately made the continued residence of Joshua's community in New York untenable. Shekomeko's neighbors became increasingly paranoid that the Moravians were in fact Papists who were training their Native associates to kill Protestant settlers. Rumors flew that a thousand French troops were on the march to attack, with Shekomekoans set to join them. Settlers at Rhinebeck, New York sought a warrant to kill all of the nearby Shekomeko residents.[16]

The tensions that exploded in the 1740s were an extension of larger imperial and confessional conflicts. It was in large part the embrace of the wrong sort of Christianity—whether perceived as "enthusiasm" or "papism"—by Joshua's community that rendered it

impossible for them to remain at Shekomeko. Most of the community, including Joshua's family, moved to Moravian headquarters in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in the spring of 1746. A smallpox epidemic that autumn claimed Joshua's mother and two younger brothers as well as many others in the nascent Mohican Christian community. To ease overcrowding, Moravians secured land—land that had once belonged to local Lenapes—for the creation of a Native Moravian agricultural settlement thirty miles northwest of Bethlehem. The new town was named Gnadenhütten, meaning "cabins of grace" and for a time it appeared well named. Joshua's father (known as Joshua, senior) served as a religious leader of the new community and oversaw the distribution of land to Mohicans and Lenape wishing to plant.[17] Under joint missionary and Native leadership, Gnadenhütten quickly became a thriving settlement, attracting the first Lenape affiliates from nearby communities, drawn in no small part by the promise of secured land on ancestral homelands.[18]

But the circumstances of Gnadenhütten's founding contained the seeds of its destruction less than a decade later. Many of the Lenape in the region feared the Moravians would continue the alienation of Lenape lands unleashed by the fraudulent Walking Purchase of 1737. Displaced Lenape communities resented the Moravian presence in their midst, believing, quite reasonably, that the missionaries would serve as a conduit by which more White settlerswould be funneled into the area. In November of 1755, a year into the Seven Years' War, a party of Lenapes destroyed Gnadenhütten, killing eleven Moravian missionaries (yet sparing Native mission residents). The destruction of Gnadenhütten left Joshua's community homeless once again and seeking new lands to settle. They took refuge at Bethlehem before rebuilding across the river at Nain. This settlement too would not last. When Pontiac's War followed close on the heels of the

Seven Years' War, Native Christians again became suspect to many of their White neighbors, despite their affirmations of loyalty to the English.

With each reluctant move westward, the Moravian-affiliated Native community hoped for secured land and freedom from both the prejudices and the negative influences of White settlers. But these moves westward brought them into the neighborhood of other Native communities that were decidedly opposed to British (and later American) incursions and who looked at first with pity and later with suspicion on those who professed themselves friends of the colonists. Native peoples opposed to the White settlers were pushed westward through warfare, while British-allied Native peoples were pushed west by economic pressures and an unshakeable suspicion of all Native peoples . Boone's pioneering depended on the existence of a rapidly expanding Euro-American population and transatlantic trade that provided a market for the skins of the thousands of deer Boone felled. Market hunting and settlement by Whites like Boone chipped away at the ability of communities like Joshua's to provide for their own, and often led to indebtedness to White neighbors. Such debts were then commonly used by Whites to gain further land cessions. War, rather than opening new opportunities as it generally did for Boone, often meant drastic land loss for Native peoples, even allies. War often generated antipathy to all Native peoples, Indians, even pacifist, Christians. The new land cessions sent waves of White settlers westward where they quickly surrounded the communities of Moravian Indians, and the process began all over again.

Joshua's life makes clear the omissions of the myth of Boone, an omission mirrored in triumphalist nineteenth century histories. The same generation that baptized Boone the "Columbus of the Woods" was hard at work representing America in art and letters, eager to establish America's distinctiveness from its European roots, while solidifying the linkage of

American identity with white, Anglo-Saxon civilization, particularly important as non-Protestant, non-Anglo immigrants began arriving on American shores by the hundreds of thousands.[19] Transcontinental—rather than trans-Atlantic—migration of Anglo-Protestants came to seen as the forge of American identity. Francis Parkman famously located the meaning of America in the battle between England and France, with Anglo-Protestant civilization triumphing over French effeminacy, Native savagery, and America's natural wildness.[20] Similarly, Robert Baird chronicled America's religious history as the triumph of Anglo-Saxon civilization over savagery and the wilderness.[21] These framings of American expansion elide Joshua's community and the complexity their story of forced migration represents. Yet early revisionist rejoinders to triumphalism retained its characteristic essentialism, albeit with an inverted morality, which did little to carve out interpretive space for Native peoples like Joshua who indigenized Christianity.[22] Attention to the story of Joshua and his community makes clear that the forced migration westward of Christian, British- (and later American-) allied Native communities played an important role in opening territory for settlement by Euro-Americans. During these many migrations, Native and colonial identities shifted in fundamental ways, as identity came to be more closely bound up with race, rather than religious confession or tribal affiliation, a shift illuminated by the divergent war experiences of Joshua and Daniel Boone.

WAR AND CAPTIVITY

Joshua and Boone faced dramatically different fates in war, both in their lifetimes and in representation in history and myth. Boone's migrations sparked war; Joshua's moves were necessitated by war. Boone's intrusions on Native lands brought defensive retaliation and led to numerous captivities and occasionally death for Boone, members of his family, and fellow settlers. By contrast, Joshua and his family and community members faced captivity and death at

the hands of ostensible allies (both White Christians, and Native who doubted their loyalty. In the mythologized accounts of Boone's life, war was stripped of its geo-political context and was represented instead as a cosmic struggle between "savagery" and "civilization," a struggle that forged the distinctive American character. Boone mythology rationalized the violence of settler colonialism, providing a popularized underpinning for manifest destiny, while also modeling a masculinity well suited to an increasingly market-oriented American culture. In historian Daniel Herman's words, "Boone became a symbol of progress wrapped in a blanket of tradition—or at least a blanket that appeared to be tradition."[23] By contrast, Joshua's experiences in war and captivity reveal the development of a racialized ideology of American exceptionalism. Joshua's captivities were never based on an actual military threat, but always on a perceived threat rooted in his identity – as presumed Papist, as a pacifist Indian, and in the end, as a Christian. His captivities serve as a barometer of shifting identities among Native and Euro-American peoples.

Both men's lives were punctuated by war: King George's, the Seven Years' War, Pontiac's Rebellion, and of course, the American Revolution. The politics of war and empire in the American backcountry during the long Revolutionary era has remained one of the most vibrant fields of early American history for the last half century. Much of this literature is in agreement about the centrality of the Seven Years' War in fostering a sense of shared American identity over against both British and Native identities, and that these identities were increasingly oriented around race as opposed to confession or ethnicity. [24] Joshua and his community's experiences add a degree of nuance to that shift: religion did not become unimportant, but "Christian" came to be understood by many as an identity that Native peoples by nature were barred from accessing.

The outbreak of King George's War in 1744 led to the persecution and removal of the Shekomeko Mohicans to Pennsylvania, where, not far away, a young Daniel Boone was peacefully tending his family's herd of milk cows with his mother. A decade later, in July of 1755, 20 year-old Boone served as a teamster driving a wagon on Braddock's disastrous campaign to expel the French from Fort Duquesne (present day Pittsburgh). Boone escaped unscathed, but likely having witnessed firsthand the cost of refusing to retain Native scouts or adopt Native conventions of warfare.[25] That November, Joshua and his father were out hunting when Gnadenhütten was burned by a party of Lenape who believed (rightly) that even the more Native-friendly Moravian settlement would be a conduit for further White encroachment on Native lands.[26] The destruction of Gnadenhütten affected Native and European Moravians quite differently. Euro-American Moravians saw improvement in their reputation among their colonial neighbors after the attack, for it exposed as absurd accusations that Moravians were "Papists" in collusion with the French. But suspicions of the Native Moravians only grew. Moravian missionary John Heckewelder noted that already at the outset of the war, an increasing number of colonists saw Native peoples as "a race of beings, which, (in their opinion) had no claim to Christianity, and whom to destroy, both root and branch, would not only be doing God a service, but also be the means of averting his wrath which they otherwise might incur by suffering them to live, they being the same as the Canaanites of old, an accursed race, who by God's command were to be destroyed."[27]

Throughout the course of the Seven Years' War and its aftermath, Boone married and welcomed four children into his life, while also ranging widely on hunting expeditions and military campaigns against the Cherokees. The Treaty of Paris, signed in February 1763 marked the official end of war and opened up new possibilities for men like Boone, who promptly set out

to prospect in Florida, newly ceded by Spain to Britain. However, the Proclamation Line, intended as a hard barrier between Natives and colonists, did little to quell backcountry tensions as settlers continued to spill over the line. In the face of such intrusions, a Lenape visionary, Neolin inspired Native peoples from the Great Lakes, Ohio, and Pennsylvania regions to coalesce behind the leadership of Odawa war chief, Pontiac, who coordinated raids on White backcountry forts, as well as settlements in Pennsylvania.[28]

The resumption of frontier violence ultimately forced the removal of Joshua's community from eastern Pennsylvania. In July 1763, Joshua and 24 other residents of Nain (near Bethlehem) petitioned the Pennsylvania governor, affirming they were "true Friends to the English, and that we love the great King and the government of this Province and that we will be faithfull to him and you" and that "we love our dear Savior." They declared they had nothing to do with the frontier attacks, but stood in the same danger as White settlers of being killed. "Yet," wrote the Nain residents, "some of the white People are jealous of us, and threaten to kill us. We remind you therefore of Your good Promises, to protect us for we are faithfull to you, as much as the white People." Around the same time, the Moravian ministers at Nain felt compelled to issue a document, "Marks whereby Christian Indians may be distinguished from Wild Indians." Nain residents scarcely dared work their fields, let alone travel through the woods without a white person to vouch for them. By October of 1763, tensions were high following the murders of several local White settlers, and the Native Moravians were effectively under house arrest, stripped of their hunting weapons, and subjected to daily monitoring.[29] Scots Irish settlers were increasingly outraged at the continued presence of Native residents near their settlements and exasperated at a Provincial government they felt was indifferent to their suffering. And so, in November, ostensibly for the protection of the community of Native Moravians, but also to more

closely monitor their activity, the Pennsylvania government ordered them to Philadelphia where they would be kept under watch. On their march to the city in the cold of November, the party of 140 Christian Indians were jeered by throngs of white settlers who came to see the procession.[30]

Held under guard for over a year, Joshua and the other Native Moravians were the object of constant scrutiny: curious Philadelphians—mostly Quakers—came to bring aid and observe the curious sight of Native peoples at worship, young boys brought hickory sticks for the Native boys to fashion bows and arrows, Joshua played the spinet before the Governor and other dignitaries, and angry backcountry settlers threatened to attack, convinced the captive Native Christians had a hand in the murders of their relations. Such threats were far from idle. In December 1763, the so-called Paxton Boys had killed 14 Conestoga Indians—professed friends of the British—and now the mob set their sights on the Moravian affiliates.. [31] In February 1764, a throng of 500 Paxton supporters marched on Philadelphia. They were held off by militia regiments organized by Benjamin Franklin, but smallpox accomplished what the mob did not: held captive for over a year in cramped quarters nearly half of the Native community held in Philadelphia succumbed to the disease, including many of Joshua's close friends and family.[32] Thus, what might have been a joyous year in Joshua's life—for Joshua had married the daughter of Lenape prophet, Papunhank, and the young couple was expecting their first child—was also one of tragic loss.[33]

While the year was undoubtedly tragic for Joshua and his community, the larger ramifications are worth pondering. The events surrounding Joshua's Philadelphia captivity reveal an important shift in many colonists' views of Native peoples. Whereas in the midst of King George's War, the Moravians' Native affiliates were held suspect by their immediate neighbors for their alleged political and religious alliances, in the Seven Years' War and beyond, they were

feared more for their alleged nature than their religion,. This fear is evident in the pro-Paxton literature that emerged after the thwarted march on Philadelphia. The authors of a "Declaration and Remonstrance of the distressed and bleeding Frontier Inhabitants" criticized the Pennsylvania Assembly for "coddling" Indians and failing to police racial boundaries: "One hundred and Twenty of the Savages, who are with great Reason suspected of being guilty of these horrid Barbarities, under the Mask of Friendship, have procured themselves to be taken under the Protection of the Government, with a view to elude the Fury of the brave Relatives of the Murdered; and are now maintained at the public Expence." [34] Following the Paxton murders, political power in Pennsylvania effectively tipped toward those who deemed Indians, by their very nature, to be incapable of being loyal British subjects.[35] A significant portion of Native peoples in the region rendered a similar judgment: they had come to claim a common identity as Native, and for many, that identity precluded Christian affiliation. An equally seismic shift was already underway in the Moravian community, prompted by the death of their leader, Zinzdendorf in 1760 and the subsequent dissolution of Bethlehem's communal economy in 1762. Mission work was no longer Bethlehem's *raison d'être* and from that point on, missions became the work of a few dedicated individuals to be undertaken at locations removed from the Euro-American Moravian community.[36] Without their distinctive economic arrangements and with the relocation of mission efforts to the periphery of the Moravian world, the Moravians were slowly but surely moving inward from the margins of colonial society.

These shifting understandings of Native, Christian, and colonial identities did not go unchallenged. Some settler neighbors of the Moravian communities of Nain and Wechquetank defended their loyalty, whether out of pragmatism or affection: they understood that the presence of the Native Christians provided a layer of protection from enemy attack and feared retribution

if their Native neighbors were unjustly accused.[37] Members of the colonial political elite like Benjamin Franklin pushed back against religious nationalism and racialized religion, criticizing the Paxton Boys for their illogic: "with the Scriptures in their Hands and Mouths, they can set at naught that express Command, and justify their Wickedness, by the command given *Joshua* to destroy the Heathen. Horrid Perversion of Scripture and of Religion!" He went on to ask, "If an *Indian* injures me, does it follow that I may revenge that Injury on all Indians?"[38] Meanwhile, Joshua, his family, and community dissented by persisting as Native and Christian.

Joshua's community was finally released from captivity in the spring of 1765. They undertook a perilous journey to the Susquehanna where they settled a new community named Friedenshütten on the site of Papunhank's former town, Wyalusing. Once again, they experienced a brief respite from war and relocation and built a prosperous agricultural community.[39] The Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 would change prospects for both Joshua and Daniel Boone. The Treaty between the British and the Six Nations protected Iroquois homelands, but ceded vast swaths of Mingo, Shawnee, and Lenape lands, (including Friedenshütten, and much of what would become Kentucky) to the British. Joshua's community was soon surrounded by White settlers and facing conflicting pressures about where to relocate: Mahican kinsmen attempted to persuade the community to join other Native peoples at the community of Oquaga on Haudenosaunee lands, but they elected to move instead to Ohio lands along the Muskingum together with Moravian ministers..[40]

By contrast, the Treaty of Stanwix meant new opportunities for Boone, who promptly set out on extensive hunting and scouting ventures into Kentucky country. The Shawnee, justifiably angered by the Treaty, resented Boone's intrusions and attempted to warn him away. Undeterred, Boone founded Boonesborough in 1775, resulting in numerous captivities for Boone and his

associates, including his daughter Jemima, taken captive by Shawnee in 1776 and famously rescued by Boone. The beginning of the Revolution only intensified skirmishes in the backcountry as Britain solicited the aid of formerly anti-British Native peoples against the newly declared independent states. Shawnee War chief Blackfish led an expedition to avenge the recent murder of prominent Shawnee leader, Cornstalk by Virginains and in February 1778 captured Boone and several companions near the Licking River. The captives were forced to run the gauntlet, and Boone, admired for his hunting skills, was adopted into Blackfish's family before being brought to Detroit for questioning by British officials. When he escaped after five months, a taint of treason and "going native" hung about him, but the stain did not linger, and Boone was elected in 1781 to serve in the Virginia state legislature.[41] Just three years later, at the age of 50, Boone was on his way to being immortalized by Kentucky booster, John Filson, who published the wildly popular Adventures of Col. Daniel Boon in 1784.[42]

Joshua was not so lucky. Three years after Boone had been questioned in Detroit, Joshua and several Moravian ministers were ordered to appear before British authorities in Detroit on charges of spying for the Americans. While they were gone, the residents of the three Native Moravian communities on the Muskingum were led away by British-allied Natives and held for the winter at the appropriately named "Captive's Town." When rations ran out the following March, about 100 of the captives returned to Gnadenhütten for supplies. They were only there for several weeks when a company of 160 American soldiers arrived, ostensibly to lead the Native Christians to safety from their British captivity. Once the frightened captives had been reassured and disarmed of their hunting weapons, the militia accused them of participating in the raids on backcountry Pennsylvania settlements. The captives denied the charges, but the militia members took a vote and proceeded to murder the 96 men, women and children before buring

the town to the ground.. Among the dead were Joshua's two teenaged daughters, Anna and Bathseba.[43]

The captivities and deaths inflicted on Boone and his associates were largely a defensive response to White intrusions and by and large followed Native cultural norms that valued preservation of human, natural, and spiritual relationships. But these meanings were lost as the stories of Boone's captivities were transmuted into American nationalist myth of a clash of civilizations. Boone's rescue of his daughter—immortalized in Cooper's Last of the Mohicans and Greenough's sculpture—became a tale of virtuous masculinity simultaneously redeeming white femininity and native soil.[44] The Boone myth sacralized violence against Native Americans in the service of expansion, while eliding the motives of the Native participants by rendering them simply foils for the development of Boone's superior character. Highlighting Joshua's experiences of war and captivity alongside Boone's calls attention to the way boundaries of community—of inclusion and exclusion, were constantly shifting on the basis of shifting understandings of religion, culture, ethnicity, and increasingly, race.

CONVERSION

When the Boone family moved to North Carolina they left behind Quakerism, pacifism, and organized religion altogether. Over the course of his life Daniel Boone engaged with Native American cultures, particularly in adapting the skills of Native hunters and warriors. Boone's assimilation of Native ways—whether out of affinity or pragmatism—clearly served him well: it kept him employed as mercenary and professional pioneer even when his actual success in these pursuits was questionable. It also earned him a degree of respect and the preservation of his life among the Shawnee. As the Boone legend grew, the depiction of Boone's captivity shifted from an almost easy familiarity born of regular contact to a coldly strategic gaming for advantage. By

the time Timothy Flint published his biography in 1833, Boone's cultural borrowings came to be rationalized and justified as strategically serving the larger good of expansion without compromising Boone's loyalty to white, Christian civilization. Flint wrote:

> To become, during this tedious captivity, perfectly acquainted with their most interior domestic and diurnal manners, was not without interest for a mind constituted like his. To make himself master of their language, and to become familiarly acquainted with their customs, he considered acquisitions of the highest utility in the future operations, in which, notwithstanding his present duress, he hoped yet to be beneficial to his beloved settlement of Kentucky. [45]

Joshua and his community's movement toward Christianity and pacifism arguably made them even more vulnerable among their neighbors, both European and Native. Joshua's community practiced Christianity, farmed in European ways, built European style houses, adopted aspects of European dress, and yet beginning in 1765, they were repeatedly pressured more or less forcibly to remove from the "White" to the "Indian" side of the settlement line, where they were often looked on with suspicion or pity by their Native neighbors. Boone's cultural mixing was mythologized and spun as the forging of the distinctively American character, while Joshua's cultural mixing came increasingly to be seen as inherently treacherous. But to leave the story there misses an important chapter in the history of American religion: the indigenization of Christianity by the communities of Moravian-affiliated Mohicans and Lenapes. Through the many removes, through war and captivity, Joshua and his community converted Christianity to a Native form of religion. The first generation of Moravian missionaries and Native affiliates shared an operating assumption that the spiritual powers of a spirit-man named Jesus could be

accessed by Native peoples in ways that spoke to their particular physical and spiritual circumstances.

The indigenizing of Christianity long remained invisible. Early nationalist histories worked to erase the significance or even the possibility of such conversions, as when Francis Parkman pronounced, “While humanity is in the savage state, it can only be Christianized on the surface.”[46] Christian missionary effort was doomed to fail, Parkman believed, because “the Indian is hewn out of a rock. . . it is this fixed and rigid quality which has proved his ruin.”[47] American imperialism was thus rationalized by the intractable nature of its Native peoples. Inverting this morality, early revisionist priorities tethered Christianity inextricably to European colonialist agendas, thus limiting the interpretive possibilities of Native religion to the poles of accommodation and resistance, and leaving little room for the Native conversion of Christianity. In recent decades, however, scholars have turned their attention to Native Christianity as a form of Christianity *and* Native religion. This new direction comes from shifting the question away from: “were Native conversions bona fide?”[48] to “what did Christian affiliation and practice come to mean as lived by Native individuals and communities within the context of colonialism?”[49] In the case of the Moravian missions, the distinctive blood and wounds theology tht emphasized the power of Christ’s spilled blood to mediate powerfully for the petitioner through ritual practices of communion, hymn singing and petitionary prayer became an important means for Native peoples to cope with the very concrete forms of suffering caused by colonialism. Examining Joshua’s, his family’s, and his community’s engagement with Christianity refocuses the study of American religion in important ways.

Joshua was born in February 1742, the same month Mammatnikan, Otabawanemen, and Kiop became the first Mohicans to be baptized by the Moravians, taking the names Abraham,

Isaac, and Jacob. Later that year, Joshua's father, mother and grandmother were all baptized and the following March, a full fledged revival was underway, and the first communion was celebrated.[50] Several Shekomekoans, including Joshua senior, became leaders of the nascent Christian community, preaching regularly at Shekomeko and abroad to other Indian communities, testifying to the power available through the blood of the Savior. This spiritual power operated in the familiar ways of *manitou* and could be enlisted to address the new social, physical and spiritual problems brought about by colonialism. The same spirit could be called on to heal the sick, to bind frayed social ties, and to provide spiritual and physical sustenance.[51]

Joshua's father regularly preached the Christian message to Native and White visitors. He held devotions among his hunting companions, composed hymns in Mohican, and assisted the missionaries in translating Christian texts into Mohican. The core of the senior Joshua's preaching was the power, protection, and sustenance available to all through the blood of Jesus, a theme recurrent in the hymns he composed: "Strong wounds/ whoever drinks the sap that flowed out of your body is the one who gets health." Another reads: "The wounds of the Lamb of God/ in our God's side/ are still open today; an enlivening source/ The sinners who come/ get what they desire/ None will go away empty."[52] Rather than a simple mirroring of the particular Moravian emphasis on the mystical power of Christ's blood, these hymns suggest Native engagement with Moravian Christianity was a means to expand the pantheon of spirits who might be called on to aid Mohican individuals and communities.[53] Likewise, a conversation between Joshua senior and a White (and presumably Anglo-Protestant) visitor demonstrates how Christianity was adapted into Native religious modes. When asked if he could read, the elder Joshua replied, "yes, not much, but I know five important letters and my brothers in Gnadenhütten know these letters too. I read these letters day and night, and when I go in the

woods to hunt, and I shoot deer, so I read these letters, not with my head, but with my heart." Joshua then showed the visitor his picture of Jesus, pointed to the wounds and said "see, these are my five letters that I love to read. They give me strength and power in my heart. I think about them all day long, wherever I am."[54] Jesus became a spirit helper who could be called on to address the problems brought by colonialism. And for a time, the Moravian missionaries fully encouraged such adaptation, in stark contrast to the mission policies of their Anglo-Protestant counterparts.

The younger Joshua's engagement with Christianity was far more complicated than his father's, due in part to the fact that he was born into the Christian affiliated Native community and thus almost by definition, lacked the zeal of his parents' generation. But more importantly, during Joshua's lifetime, the political and cultural landscape surrounding the Moravian mission communities shifted dramatically. The mentions of Joshua in the mission records reveal this shift: Joshua as a four year old eager to join the Moravian boys' school, as an early teen studying German and learning to write, as a sixteen year old participating in communion for the first time, a twenty year old leading devotional services for children and for his hunting companions in the woods.[55] These milestones were punctuated by his community's exile from Shekomeko and the death of his mother and others from smallpox when he was five, the burning of Gnadenhütten when he was 13, and the long, cold march to Philadelphia when he was 20. As an adult, he and his wife Sophia welcomed ten children into the world at regular intervals beginning in 1765, and must have suffered immeasurably as they lost one after another, half of them in infancy, two in the Gnadenhütten massacre, and the other three to illness as adults. Throughout, Joshua served as translator, emissary, and occasional leader of Christian worship.[56] Mission records from Joshua's adult years reveal a man who struggled to hold his family and community together in the face of

devastating losses brought by the constant pressures of colonialism: migration, war and disease. Over the course of his life, being a Native and Christian had transformed from being a viable means of seeking spiritual and communal sustenance to being a possible death sentence.

Joshua's final move came in 1801 from Goshen, Ohio to the White River in what is now Indiana. The Lenapes at Woapikumikunk (many of whom had relatives killed in the Gnadnehutten massacre) invited the small Goshen community to join them. They promised secured land for the Native Christians and indicated the mission teachers could accompany them if they wished. Among the thirteen who made the move were Joshua, now 59 and a widower, and his only remaining child, Christian.[57] Despite hopes of a new beginning, things went badly for the mission generally and for Joshua personally. Some of the Lenape who had once affiliated with the Moravians were eager for their return, but many more found little reason to hope that association with Whites could lead to anything other than dislocation and violence. One explained his reasoning,

> I cannot become a singer because it always reminds me of how many of my friends have been killed in Gnadenhütten. I believe, as all the Indians believe, that the teachers have been the cause of it, for they called the white people to do it and they will do the same here when they have tamed many Indians. Then they will write to the white people to come and kill them. I shall get away therefore before I too, have been tamed.

The commentary added by the missionary makes clear that Moravian missionaries had come to resemble their Anglo-Protestant counterparts in their views of Indians: "we must often hear this foolish talk of the Indians. It is the Devil who uses this deceit in order to keep the poor heathen in his power." [58] Gone was the acceptance of spiritual melding Joshua's father had experienced among both early Moravian missionaries and non-mission affiliated Native peoples.

Joshua felt this loss keenly as his son Christian lay dying. Desperate for spiritual assistance, Joshua turned both to Christian prayer and to traditional Native healers, but to no avail. Christian died in April 1802. At some point in the midst of these tragedies, Joshua reported to the minister that "if, after the heathen manner, he wanted to make use of the dream of his youth, he could also do evil, for in his vision a bird had appeared unto him and said: 'I am a man-eater, and if you wish to feed me, you need but point out to me some one, and then I will put him out of the way."[59] A relationship with an other than human being, kin relationships that traditionally supported the well-being of the community, had come to be seen as a threat.[60] Joshua's efforts to be both Native and Christian caused him to fall out of favor both with other Native peoples and with the Moravian ministers. In 1803 he was accused by a Lenape family of having killed their young child by means of "black magic." [61]

Joshua's life soon became even more precarious. In April 1805 the despairing younger brother of the esteemed Shawnee warrior Tecumseh fell unconscious for several days. Just as burial preparations were being made, Lalawethika awoke and told of being transported to meet the Great Spirit, who revealed to him that Native peoples' troubles were caused by the embrace of European goods and religion. If the Native peoples followed the new rituals prescribed by the Prophet (who came to be known as Tenskwatawa) and abandoned Euro-American ways, then White people would be destroyed and the Native Americans could regain the favor of the spirits and with it their former prosperity. Like Mohicanized Christianity, the nativism of the Shawnee Prophet was a religious response to the constant war and forced migration Native peoples had endured for generations. It, too, was a creative melding of inherited Native religious ways with new components introduced by European Christianity that spoke to the depredations of

colonialism.[62] At the same time, it mirrored the hardening of racial lines that had gained momentum among white settlers from the Seven Years' War through the Revolution.

In early March of 1806, emissaries of the Prophet arrived at White River and carried Joshua away to face charges of sorcery. Joshua was accused of harboring a medicine bundle that he used to do evil. Although a search of his house turned up no bundle and his accuser recanted, his fate had been sealed. During his last hours on March 17, Joshua spoke and sang in a language his tormentors could not understand, presumably appealing in German to the Savior he hoped could redeem all suffering. The Prophet's followers dealt Joshua two blows to the head, and then threw him onto the flames. The missionaries reported that, much to his tormentors' consternation, Joshua's body was scarcely singed after two hours on the pyre. It was not reduced to ashes until morning.[63] Several months after his death, the Moravian missionary Abraham Luckenbach remembered Joshua as he preached the verse "Come unto me all ye that are heavy laden, I will give you rest," using a translation that had been prepared by Joshua.[64]

Conclusion

Joshua's death on the pyre offers clear testimony that for the Shawnee Prophet and his followers Native and Christian were mutually exclusive identities. The murder of Joshua's two daughters and dozens of others at the Gnadenhütten massacre rendered a similar judgment: being Native barred one from being Christian and American. The tragedies of Joshua's life differed from those of many other Native peoples only in their visibility in the archival record. Thanks to the explosion of scholarship in recent decades, whole libraries could now be filled with stories like Joshua's. Collectively, they form a powerful counter-mythology of America. Joshua forged new ways of being Mohican and new ways of being Christian. And though his life was tragic on

so many levels, it should not be remembered only as tragedy, for his life too stakes a claim on the meaning of America.

The myth of Boone, represented in Greenough's "The Rescue," grounds the story of America in the genocide of Native peoples and the appropriation of Native lands and culture, thus reinforcing and disseminating the ideology of manifest destiny. Told one way, Joshua's life is the story of America's original sin, an early chapter in the national narrative that concludes with Dee Brown's classic, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee,* the 1970 best seller chronicling the 1890 massacre of nearly 300 Lakota people at Wounded Knee in South Dakota by the U.S. Army. But as Ojibwe author, David Treuer recently argued in *The Heartbeat of Wounded Knee,* to focus primarily on the tragedy of how the victims *died* at Wounded Knee to the neglect of the details of how the massacre victims—and survivors—*lived* serves to perpetuate the tragedy. Attending to the details of how Joshua lived—how he and his family and community faced the challenges of colonialism, imagined community in new creative new ways continues the process begun when "The Rescue" was taken town from the steps of the United States Capitol. Joshua's story provides further chapters in a new history of Americans origins, demonstrating, in Treuer's words, that "Indians lived on, as more than ghosts, as more than the relics of a once happy people. We lived on increasingly invested in and changed by—and in turn doing our best to change—the American character."[65]

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[1] Although Greenough did not identify the pioneer as Boone, it was commonly understood to be Boone, and an 1874 print based on the sculpture was titled *Daniel Boone Protects His Family*. Vivien Green Fryd, "Two Sculptures for the Capitol: Horatio Greenough's 'Rescue' and Luigi Persico's 'Discovery of America.'" *American Art Journal* 19, no. 2 (1987): 16–39. Smart emphasized Native American military service and patriotism in her campaign. Paul C. Rosier discusses The Rescue and Smart's involvement in its removal in his book, *Serving Their Country: American Indian Politics and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009). Myers Smart, "The Last Rescue," *Harper's Magazine* (October 1, 1959), 92.

[2] Philip Deloria offers an excellent survey of the historiography of American Indian history through the late twentieth century. Deloria, "Historiography," in Deloria and Neal Salisbury, eds. *A Companion to American Indian*

History (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), pp. 6-24. In the fifteen years since Deloria's essay, the field has burgeoned. Native American history features far more prominently in works of early American history than it did a generation ago. Perhaps the greatest shift in the last ten to fifteen years is the increased presence of native scholars, which, not surprisingly, has led to important shifts in the field. Two important collections include Susan A. Miller, James Riding In, eds. *Native Historians Write Back: Decolonizing American Indian History* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2011), and Craig S. Womack, Daniel Heath Justice, and Christopher B. Teuton, *Reasoning Together: The Native Critics Collective* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2008). Important recent works of Northeastern indigenous studies include Lisa Tanya Brooks*, The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), and Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018); Christine M. DeLucia, *Memory Lands: King Philip's War and the Place of Violence in the Northeast* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018).
[3] Not surprisingly, Daniel Boone was due for reconsideration at the height of revisionist scholarship, with the most notable treatment being John Mack Faragher's *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer* (New York: Holt, 1992). This book is particularly interesting in that it builds on the revisionist scholarship with its careful attention to the lives of long neglected others—Indians, women, and slaves—and uses this view to reshape the narrative of Boone, and by extension, white, male expansion. It is also a thoroughly post-modern biography, constantly calling attention to the unreliability of the sources and the difficulty of separating life from legend. Another recent treatment explores the meanings found in the Boone myth in nineteenth-century America: Daniel J. Herman, "The Other Daniel Boone: The Nascence of a Middle-Class Hunter Hero, 1784-1860." *Journal of the Early Republic* 18, no. 3 (Oct. 1 1998): 429–57.
[4] Boone's seven children who survived to adulthood produced 68 children. Meredith Mason Brown, *Frontiersman: Daniel Boone and the Making of America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008), 23.
[5] This biographical sketch is largely drawn from Faragher's *Daniel Boone*. Important treatments of in art and letters include J. Gray Sweeney, *The Columbus of the Woods: Daniel Boone and the Typology of Manifest Destiny* (St. Louis: Washington University Gallery of Art, 1992), and David M. Lubin, *Picturing a Nation: Art and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century America*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 55-105. There is very little written about Joshua. The only publication devoted to him is Lawrence W. Hartzell, "Joshua, Jr.: Moravian Indian Musician," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 26 (1990), 1–19. He makes a cameo appearance in Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 85, 137 and receives brief mention in accounts of the Shawnee Prophet's witch hunt.
[6] See especially Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: the Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860.* (Middletown Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1973). Robert Berkhofer, *White Man's Indian* (New York: Vintage Press, 1978).
[7] The literature in these fields is vast. Foundational works in history and ethnohistory include Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975); James Axtell*, The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); James Merrell, *The Indians' New World: The Catawbas and Their Neighbors from Contact through the Era of Removal*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).
[8] See David D. Hall, *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997); David J. Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity, and Community Among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard, 1600-1871.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Rachel Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope: Mohicans and Missionaries in the Eighteenth-Century Northeast* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008); Linford D. Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Native Cultures In Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).
[9] Foundational works in these fields include: Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 1, 2006): 387–409; Wolfe edited a recent volume of the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, later published in book form: *Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Alternatives in Global Context* 37, no. 2 (2013). See his introduction to the volume, "The Settler Complex: An Introduction," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 37, no. 2 (2013): 1–22. On the relation of settler colonialism and indigenous studies, see J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, "'A Structure, Not an Event': Settler Colonialism and Enduring Indigeneity," *Lateral* 5, no. 1 (Spring, 2016). A foundational work in Indigenous Studies is Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples.* 2nd ed. (London: Zed Books, 2012). A recent forum in the William and Mary Quarterly assesses the the state of Indigenous Studies methodologies within the

study of early American history: Alyssa Mt. Pleasant, Caroline Wigginton, and Kelly Wisecup, "Materials and Methods in Native American and Indigenous Studies: Completing the Turn." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (2018), 207-236.

[10] In an article that previewed the argument of his magisterial three volume work, Slotkin argued: "the myth of regeneration through violence defines one major component of the American mind, one stream of American consciousness, one major and characteristic conception of history and the cosmos held by Americans. Under certain conditions of stress, the myth emerges from our personal and social 'unconscious' to define, motivate and rationalize behavior. It does not seem an evil thing, a state of mind similar to that of Nazi Germany, because it is an American myth: it carries with it images and associations which are beneficent, heroic, noble—Custer's Last Stand, Remember the Alamo, the cavalry rescuing the wagon train. Our power over the myth and the 'scenario' it demands we live and think by, lies solely in our awareness of its existence, its sources and its powers, and our choosing to expose and criticize its character and its works." Richard Slotkin, "Dreams and Genocide: The American Myth of Regeneration through Violence." *Journal of Popular Culture* 5, no. 1 (1971): 58. For a recent example see Drew Lopenzina, *Through an Indian's Looking-Glass: A Cultural Biography of William Apess, Pequot* (University of Massachusetts Press, 2017).

[11] Here I am using myth in the Religious Studies sense to mean a narrative that does some sort of work in establishing identity, not something that is false. The Freudian and secularist hope that religious myths would be replaced by reliance on scientific principles has proved illusory, suggesting that our labor should be driven not by the aim of eliminating myths qua myths, but that we might think instead about how alternative narratives of America that privilege the lives of the previously marginalized might the content of the myths and the ramifications for society is more

[12] Rachel Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope: Mohicans and Missionaries in the Eighteenth-Century Northeast* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), ch. 4 and William A. Starna, *From Homeland to New Land: A History of the Mahican Indians, 1600-1830* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013). The Moravians too were migrants, and those who settled in Pennsylvania came from across Northern Europe from Norway to Silesia and Saxony. The "pilgrim community" established at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in 1741 with its distinctive communal economy existed for the sole purpose of supporting mission work to Native Americans. Katherine Cartè Engel, *Religion and Profit: Moravians in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), chapter 1.

[13] Gilbert Tennent, *Some Account of the Principles of the Moravians* (London, 1743), 45.

[14] Tennent, *Some Account*, 38.

[15] Daniel Horsmanden, "Reasons for Passing the Law against the Moravians Residing Among the Indians," May 1746, in E. B. O'Callaghan, ed. *The Documentary History of the State of New-York*, vol. III (Albany: Weed, Parsons, & Co., 1850), pp. 1022-27.

[16] George H. Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America*, trans. Christian Ignatius LaTrobe (London: Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1794), pt. II, 82-3.

[17] Agriculture was coming to occupy a larger part of the community's subsistence, not because of missionary pressure, but because hunting was becoming increasingly difficult due to settler encroachment. In an odd twist, both Moravians and Mohicans practiced communal ownership of land, but native residents at Gnadenhütten petitioned for individual ownership in part to defend against rumors circulating among neighboring Delaware communities that the Moravians intended to enslave the Indian affiliates of the mission.

[18] The most thorough treatments of the Moravian missions among the Delaware are Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); and Amy C. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

[19] Sweeney, *The Columbus of the Woods*, 37.

[20] Nicholas Carr notes how the national and the individual self merged for Parkman, particularly in his own Oregon trail self-imposed ordeal. Carr, "'I Have Not Abandoned Any Plan': The Rage in Francis Parkman," *Massachusetts Historical Review* 17 (2015), 1-34.

[21] Robert Baird, *Religion in America: or an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relation to the State and the Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1844).

[22] The work of Francis Jennings exemplifies this line of historiography. See especially Jennings, "Goals and Functions of Puritan Missions to the Indians." *Ethnohistory* 18, no. 3 (1971): 197-212. Lisa Brooks has stressed the importance of making sense of Native Christianity: "As in many indigenous communities, the practice of Christianity in Native New England was syncretic, combining indigenous and European spiritual practices, taking on its own character in relation to particular brands and movements of Christianity, and becoming a staple of life for many families, thus part of the fabric of communal identity and history. Now, we might not *like* that so many of our

ancestors sought refuge in Christianity, and we may be able to see clearly in retrospect the damaging impact of such choices, but we should not deny our own histories and what we might learn from them or fall into the illusion that those choices made them somehow less Indian." Brooks, "Locating an Ethical Native Criticism," in Womack et al., *Reasoning Together,* p. 262, n. 30.
[23] Herman, "The Other Daniel Boone," p. 432.
[24] Fred Anderson*, Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (New York: Knopf, 2000). Francis Jennings*, Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988); Michael N. McConnell, *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its People 1724-1774* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992); Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Colin G. Calloway*, The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empire: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Patrick Griffin, *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and the Revolutionary Frontier.* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2007); Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008); Robert G. Parkinson, *The Common Cause: Creating Race and Nation in the American Revolution.* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2016); Samuel Fisher, "Fit Instruments in a Howling Wilderness: Colonists, Indians, and the Origins of the American Revolution," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 73, no. 4 (2016): 647–80. On Moravian engagement in the eighteenth century wars, see: Albert F. Jordan, "The Moravians and the Indians during the French and Indian War," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 22, no. 1 (1969): 1–14; Scott Paul Gordon, "Patriots and Neighbors: Pennsylvania Moravians in the American Revolution." *Journal of Moravian History* 12, no. 2 (2012): 111–42; Jared S. Burkholder, "Neither 'Kriegerisch' nor 'Quäkerisch': Moravians and the Question of Violence in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania." *Journal of Moravian History* 12, no. 2 (2012): 143–69.
[25] Faragher, *Daniel Boone*, 14-15, 35-37.
[26] Martin Mack to August Spangenberg, Nov. 19, 1755, box 118, folder 6, item 27, Records of the Moravian Mission among the Indians of North America (hereafter cited as MissInd.), Moravian Archives Bethlehem (hereafter cited as MAB).
[27] John Heckewelder, *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians* (M'Carthy & Davis, 1820), 43.
[28] Calloway, Colin G Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Gregory Evans Dowd*, War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations and the British Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).
[29] Peter Silver discusses these events and the fear local residents had of a retaliatory attack if local Indians were convicted of murder. A Moravian affiliated Delaware, Christian Renatus, was charged with the crime, but he was eventually acquitted. Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*, 60-60. "Address by the Christian Indians of Nain," July 27, 1763, 124/7/1 MissInd.; "Plan for Protecting and Supporting the Christian Indians at Nain...to ease the Inhabitants of that County from their Apprehensions and Fear." Oct. 1763, 124/7/5 MissInd; Nain Diary, Aug. 1763, 127/7/4 MissInd.
[30] The experiences of the Moravian Indians are chronicled in the Moravian mission diaries, especially box 125 for Philadelphia. For transcriptions and translations of the Moravian records relating to these events, see Katherine Cartè Engel's translations at the Bethlehem Digital History Project:
http://bdhp.moravian.edu/community_records/christianindians/indiandiaryintro.html
[31] I have written in more detail about the Philadelphia captivity in Wheeler, "A View from the Philadelphia Barracks: Religion in the Mid-Atlantic," in Benjamin Park, ed. *A Companion to American Religious History* (Wiley and Sons, 2021), 25-43. See also Kevin Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). See also Griffin, *American Leviathan*, pp. 46-50.
[32] Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*, p. 152.
[33] After an initial relationship with the Quakers, Papunhank and his daughter, Sofia, were baptized by the Moravians. For more on Papunhank, see Richard W. Pointer *Pacifist Prophet: Papunhank and the Quest for Peace in Early America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2020. And Pointer, "An Almost Friend: Papunhank, Quakers, and the Search for Security amid Pennsylvania's Wars, 1754–65." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 138, no. 3 (2014), 237-68.
[34] John Dunbar, *The Paxton Papers.* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1957), 103.
[35] Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost*, ch. 19.

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[36] For the changes in the place of missions in the Moravian community, see especially Engel, *Religion and Profit,* ch. 6.
[37] Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*, pp. 60-64.
[38] For Franklin's full argument, see Dunbar, *Paxton Papers*, 63. While Franklin and others in the Quaker party and British imperial administration criticized the frontier settlers' treatment of Indians, as Gregory Dowd has shown in *War under Heaven,* they were moving toward a view that Indians and whites needed to be separated by a hard, though moving, line of demarcation, yet this arrangement ultimately undermined its aims. Franklin's stance, like much of his career, should be read for pragmatism, rather than idealism. See Griffin, *American Leviathan*, 46-50.
[39] The new village was named Friedenshütten. The land was sold by the Iroquois in the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix and the Moravian affiliated Indians left several years later for Ohio. Rachel Wheeler and Thomas Hahn-Bruckart, "On an Eighteenth-Century Trail of Tears: The Travel Diary of Johann Jacob Schmick of the Moravian Indian Congregation's Journey to the Susquehanna, 1765," *Journal of Moravian History*, vol. 15, (Spring 2015), 44-89; Loskiel, *History of the Mission,* pt III, 64-5.
[40] Schutt, Amy C. "Tribal Identity in the Moravian Missions on the Susquehanna." *Pennsylvania History* 66, no. 3 (July 1, 1999): 378–98.
[41] On Boone's questioning in Detroit, see Griffin, *American Leviathan*, 162. Boone and an associate, John Stewart, were first captured by Shawnee in December 1766, but escaped soon after. The Shawnees intended the captivity as a warning against future intrusions. In 1773, Boone's first attempt at a permanent settlement in Kentucky was thwarted by an attack by Shawnee, during which Boone's son James was captured, tortured, and killed. Boone brought his family to the newly founded Boonesborough in 1775, and the following summer, his daughter Jemima and two other girls were taken captive. In the midst of the Revolution, Boone was taken captive by Shawnee for five months. Boone's brother was killed in 1780 and his son Israel two years later, both by Shawnee. Faragher, *Daniel Boone*, pp. 79-81, 92-96,134-138, and 154-176. See also Colin Calloway*, The Shawnees and the War for America* (New York: Penguin Books, 2007), pp. 60-61, 67-69.
[42] "The Adventures of Col. Daniel Boon," published as an appendix to John Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucke* (1784). According to Faragher, Boone largely approved of Filson's rendering. Faragher*, Daniel Boone*, pp. 2-7.
[43] For the Moravian account of events, see Loskiel, *History of the Mission*, pt 3, ch. 9, 10. For a recent consideration of the massacre, see Rob Harper "Looking the Other Way: The Gnadenhutten Massacre and the Contextual Interpretation of Violence," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd ser., 64, no. 3 (July 2007), 621–44.
[44] Faragher, *Daniel Boone,* 331.
[45] In the Filson version, Boone recounted that he had been "adopted according to their custom, into a family where I became a son, and had a great share in the affection of my new parents, brothers, sisters, and friends." Filson, *Adventures of Col. Daniel Boon*, p. 50. Timothy Flint, *Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone, the First Settler of Kentucky: Interspersed with Incidents in the Early Annals of the Country* (Cincinnati: H. S. & J. Applegate & Co., 1851), 148.
[46] Parkman, Francis, and David Levin. *France and England in North America: Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV A Half-Century of Conflict. Montcalm and Wolfe* (New York: Library of America, 1983)*,* 479.
[47] Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada,* vol. 1 (New York: Little, Brown & Co. 1877), 44.
[48] James Axtell, "Were Indian Conversions Bona Fide?" in *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
[49] The work of missiologists Andrew Walls and Lamin Senneh has been particularly suggestive, as their work rejects the notion that European Christianity is the yardstick by which other Christianities should be measured. Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1996); Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion Is Christianity? The Gospel Beyond the West* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2003). Important treatments of Native Christianity include: James Treat, *Native and Christian: Indigenous Voices on Religious Identity in the United States and Canada* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Sergei Kan*, Memory Eternal: Tlingit Culture and Russian Orthodox Christianity through Two Centuries* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999); Michael D. McNally*, Ojibwe Singers: Hymns, Grief, and a Native American Culture in Motion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Hilary Wyss, *Writing Indians: Literacy, Christianity, and Native Community in Early America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000); Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Kristina Bross, *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons: Praying Indians in Colonial America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004); David Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity, and Community among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard, 1600-1871* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope;* Joel

Martin and Mark Nicholas, eds. *Native Americans, Christianity, and the Shaping of the American Religious Landscape* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Tracy Neal Leavelle, *Catholic Calumet: Colonial Conversion in French and Indian North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Linford D. Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Native Cultures in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).
[50] Shekomeko Diary, March 1743, 111/1 MissInd. MAB.
[51] Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope,* ch. 6.
[52] All translations my own unless otherwise noted. Several of the hymns are attributed to Joshua, senior. The hymns are in Mohican and German. Probe zu Einem Gesang-Büchel #24, 33 from the Unity Archives, Herrnhut. Copy in 331/2 MissInd. The Gnadenhütten Diary mentions Joshua and his wife Bathsheba working on the hymns, February 2, 1752, 117/3 MissInd. Sarah Eyerly and I have written extensively about these hymns, their history, and our collaborative project with members of the Stockbridge Mohican community. Wheeler, Rachel, and Sarah Eyerly. "Songs of the Spirit: Hymnody in the Moravian Mohican Missions." *Journal of Moravian History* 17, no. 1 (May 9, 2017): 1–25; Wheeler and Eyerly. "Singing Box 331: Re-Sounding Eighteenth-Century Mohican Hymns From The Moravian Archives." *OIEAHC*. Wheeler, Rachel, and Sarah Eyerly. "Singing Box 331: Re-Sounding Eighteenth-Century Mohican Hymns from the Moravian Archives." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 76, no. 4 (November 7, 2019): 649–96. A digital companion site can be accessed at: https://oieahc.wm.edu/digital-projects/oi-reader/singing-box-331-rachel-wheeler-sarah-eyerly/
[53] Wheeler, *To Live upon Hope*, ch. 6.
[54] Gnadenhütten Diary, December 3, 1750, 117/1 MissInd.
[55] Nain Diary, February 25, 1758 125/1/4; Wechquetank Diary, March 23, April 6, 1761 124/2; Nain Diary, October 12, 1762, 125/3/2, MissInd.
[56] Stockbridge Mohican sachem Hendrick Aupaumut noted Joshua's work as interpreter when the Stockbridges passed through the Moravian settlement on the White River in 1803. Gipson, Lawrence Henry, ed. *The Moravian Indian Mission on White River: Diaries and Letters May 5, 1799, to November 12, 1806*. Translated by Herman T. Frueauff, Harry E. Stocker, Samuel C. Zeller. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1938), pp. 222-23. At the Goshen, Ohio mission, the Moravian diarist noted that Joshua had been responsible for translating many Moravian hymns into the Delaware language for the hymn book published by David Zeisberger. Goshen diary, October 9, 1803, 171/13 MissInd, MAB.
[57] Stocker, *History of the Moravian Mission among the Indians on the White River,* 42.
[58] Gipson*, Mission on the White River,* 155.
[59] Gipson, *Mission on the White River,* 621.
[60] Loskiel gives a similar account of a deer sacrifice, recounting "when a boy dreams that he sees large bird of prey flying towards him saying 'roast some meat for me" the boy is obliged to sacrifice first deer or bear he shoots." Loskiel, *History,* pt I, 42. Early Moravian mission records make no mention of the continuation of native religious practices, which I take to indicate at least a passive acceptance.
[61] Gipson, *Mission on the White River,* 231.
[62] For a detailed description of Tenskwatawa's message, see R. David Edmunds, *The Shawnee Prophet*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), ch. 2. For a comparison of Native Christianity and the revitalization movement of the Shawnee Prophet, see Wheeler, "Hendrick Aupaumut: Christian-Mahican Prophet." *Journal of the Early Republic* 25, no. 2 (2005): 187–220.
[63] Gipson, *Mission on the White River,* 417-8, 561.
[64] Gipson, *Mission on the White River,* 432.
[65] Treuer, *The Heartbeat of Wounded Knee*, 451.